

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Issue of Terrorism has been noticed as the most important issue in every single state in the world and also in international relation affairs after the tragedy of 9/11 in New York. Many countries have experienced the terrorism issue with hundreds and thousands of people becoming the victims. Recently, the world is busy discussing terrorist attacks occurred in the Republic of Turkey. The high number of the terrorist attack in Turkey which led the other countries put their attention to Turkey's terrorism issue. Then, in this undergraduate thesis will discuss and analyze on how does the Turkish government counter the terrorism issue in Turkey.

A. Background

The Republic of Turkey or commonly known as Turkey is known as a country with abundant historical wealth and strategic geographical location. This country is one of the major countries in the Eurasian region squeezed by two continents at once with an area of 783,562 Km². Turkey precisely located Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia. The country is directly adjacent to the state of Armenia (268 km), Azerbaijan (9 km), and Iran (499 km) in the East, Georgia (252 km) in the Northeast. Iraq (352 km) and Syria (822 km) in the Southeast. The Mediterranean Sea to the south. Bulgaria (240 km) to the northwest, Greece (206 km) and the Aegean Sea to the west; and the Black Sea in the North.

The country with 80,274,604 of the population is led by President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Recep Tayyip Erdogan or known as Erdogan is the 12th Turkish President who known for his new breakthroughs for Turkey. He was the first President of the Republic of Turkey to be elected by a majority of the three candidates on 10 August 2014. Prior to his election, Erdogan occupied the prime minister's seat from 2003 to 2014 and served

as Mayor of Istanbul from 1994 to 1998. Behind all that, Erdogan had a party that supported him during his time in politics, the Justice and Development Party / *Adelet ve Kalkinma Partisi* (AKP) with Erdogan as one of the founders and high-ranking officials of the party (Presidency of The Republic Turkey, n.d.).

Erdogan with his new breakthrough is strong enough to face many obstacles that want to attack his leadership. There were many coups occurred in Turkey, yet, Erdogan was always successfully thwarted it. In addition, a recent Turkish referendum was also won by Erdogan to change the governmental system from parliamentary to presidential. Erdogan said that the change was necessary to address the security challenges facing Turkey and to the fragile coalition of government as it had in the past (BBC Indonesia, 2017).

Most people know Turkey as the beautiful and peaceful country with its huge and great history they have. However, the reality is totally different. In fact, Turkey has dilemmas and thousands of problems. Terrorism attack is one of the problems that have to be faced every day. Turkey's people should always be wary of the surroundings every day because they do not know when the terrorist attack will come. Thousands of people were dead in many terrorist attacks happened in Turkey. Terrorism attack always brings huge effect in many fields such as economic growth, social activity, and all activities are done by the community and government. When the attack happened, the nearby and surrounding area of the attack will have no economic activity. It will stop for a while. Furthermore, it will bring a tremendous economic growth too. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan led Turkey since 2014. However, the number of the terrorist attack is far from decreasing. It even increases. Talking about international security is talking about how human collectivity relates to each other in terms of threats and vulnerabilities, although it is discussed in such a way that such collectivism sometimes deals with threats from the natural

environment. Unlike the case with security issues in general. Security according to the book *Security a New Framework for Analysis* is about survival. it applies when an issue comes and threatens the existence of objects such as state, government, territory, and society. The special nature of security threats is to justify the use of extraordinary measures to address them. It also mentions that security appeals have been key to legitimizing the use of force, but in general has paved the way for states to mobilize, or take over special powers, to deal with existential threats. Traditionally, by saying "security", a state representative declared a state of emergency, thus claiming the right to use any means necessary to impede threats coming. In other words, security is self-sustaining when threats come to threaten the existence of objects and by using all means to stop them (Buzan, Waever, & de Wilde, 1998).

Terrorism has become a serious threat to the state's security in the world after the outbreak of the WTC's 9/11 tragedy in America and made the whole world turn its attention to the issue of terrorism that always threatens public security. Since then, the term of terrorism has spread throughout the world and has become an important study in international relations to date.

The issue of terrorism often threatens Turkish security with thousands of wounded and casualties. Terrorist attacks in Turkey have been happening for a long time even before Erdogan's leadership, but terrorist attacks in Turkey increased rapidly when Erdogan came become the president. Throughout the year, 2016 has recorded up to eight times the terrorist attacks that have occurred in Turkey (National Geographic Indonesia, 2016). With its many terrorist attacks in Turkey, Erdogan's capability as a leader of the country is questioned in the face of terrorist attacks in Turkey. Indirectly acts of terrorist attacks in Turkey make people restless and hesitant about Erdogan's leadership and potentially reduce Erdogan's electability as the number one man in Turkey. Erdogan stated that Turkey is being

hit by the largest wave of terrorist attacks in history. It appears that the emergence of Turkey's condition in the case of terrorist attacks on Erdogan's term of office. Erdogan made the statement after a suicide bombing that killed three Turkish military personnel on the Syrian Turkish border. In response to the attack, Erdogan vowed to exterminate ISIS and the Kurdish militant suspected of being responsible for the attack. Both militant groups are a group of highly suspected terrorists when a terrorist attack struck Turkey (Maulana, 2016). The Kurdish and ISIS militant groups are highly suspect because of the many terrorist attacks they have committed and they claim to be their own attacks. With such a response, Erdogan deeply censures to the acts of terrorism and is trying to do everything possible to counter terrorism in Turkey.

B. Research Question

After the explanation of the background above. Then, it can be sum up the research question as follow;

What are the Turkish government's strategies in Counterterrorism policy during Erdogan's Administration?

C. Theoretical Framework

For answering the research question on what are the Turkish government's strategies in Counterterrorism policy during Erdogan's Administration, the author will use the concept of Terrorism and Counterterrorism.

1. Terrorism Concept

Before it goes too deep, we have to know the term of what exactly terrorism is and where the direction of the material goes to. Everybody knows about terrorism, while some people know a terrorist is a person or a group which uses a head mask,

bring a weapon and a bomb and attack people than bombing themselves and creates such a panic situation or even some people know terrorism is a part of religion, religion creates terrorist. Well, it is exactly they only do not know deeply about religion and terrorist. Thus, here will deeply elaborate on what exactly terrorism and terrorist is.

Terrorism is a very popular word in the 21st century, especially in international relations. After a series of attacks that destroyed the World Trade Center (WTC) building in New York terrorism became a global issue that surfaced to this day. Since that day world was changed and terrorism became a big trouble that everybody aware of it, and since that day international relations also changed, many countries that changed their agenda and foreign policy to protect themselves from the terrorism such as the United States. Communities, governments, even the mass media often use the term terrorism to describe events related to bombing actions that take place in different places.

But terror means not all about bombing action, it has a broader meaning. the term 'terror' was first used in 1795 as a policy to protect the fragile government of the French Republic from counter-revolutionaries. Then the word of terror became more popular in the mid-nineteenth century until World War I. And in World War II, terrorism became part of its anti-colonial struggle (Spencer, Questioning the Concept of 'New Terrorism', 2006). In terms of language, the term terrorism is actually closely related to the roots of terror and terrorists. semantically lexical terror means chaos; acts of arbitrariness to cause chaos in society; cruel and threatening acts (Partanto & Al-Barry, 1994). while the terrorist is a perpetrator of acts of terror, which can be either plural or singular. Thus, terrorism can be interpreted as an ideology that likes to intimidate, acts of violence and various brutality to civil society, based on background and certain motive (Hoeve, 1984).

The concept of terrorism is known as one of the most disputed terms in the social sciences. The problem of defining the term 'terrorism' is well known and has been examined extensively. One of the fundamental problems affecting research and analysis on terrorism issues - according to Richard Betts, director of the Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University - is the absence of a definite consensus in defining terrorism. Many definitions have been released by many scholars, institutions, and states which describe the word of terrorism in international politics (Best & Nocella, 2004). In this case, theorists and scientists in international relations still cannot find a definitive definition of terrorism. As Noam Chomsky says:

“It is important to bear in mind that the term “terrorism” is Commonly used as a term of abuse, not an accurate description. It is close to historical universal that our terrorism against them is right and just (whoever we happen to be), while their terrorism against us is an outrage. As long as 29 that practice is adopted, discussion of terrorism is not serious. It is no more than a form of propaganda and apologetics.”

According to Noam Chomsky's statement above, terrorism is usually used as an abused term. It can be said that it cannot describe what terrorism is. This is related to history that is universally close to our life, where terrorism is actually aimed to show a sense of justice and who is the right, but for others like the US, terrorism is considered a resistance by taking barbaric acts. As long as the act can be understood properly, then the discussion on terrorism is not too serious. It is nothing more than a form of propaganda and self-defense. Even despite the definition that is widely recognized some authors such as Walter Laqueur believe that “a comprehensive definition of terrorism does not exist nor will it be found in the foreseeable future”. Jeffrey Simon highlights that there are at least 212 different definitions of terrorism in use throughout the world,

with 90 of them used by governments and other institutions (Spencer, Questioning the concept of 'New Terrorism', 2006).

As the time goes on the effort of United Nation to define the meaning of terrorism, the meaning has been released by Office of the United Nation High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). According to OHCHR Terrorism is commonly understood to refer to acts of violence that target civilians in the pursuit of political or ideological aims. In legal terms, although the international community has yet to adopt a comprehensive definition of terrorism, existing declarations, resolutions and universal “sectoral” treaties relating to specific aspects of it define certain acts and core elements. In 1994, the General Assembly’s Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, set out in its resolution 49/60, stated that terrorism includes “criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes” and that such acts “are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them.” (OHCHR).

Based on the definition which means all of the action that intended to provoke a terror circumstance in the public area by a group of persons or particular persons for political and ideological purposes is called as terrorism. Therefore, acts of terror can be done by anyone, anytime, anywhere. as long as the parties or groups intimidate with violence and threats that implicate the appearance of fear on the other party, precisely civil society, then long as it also, the party or group has committed acts of terror and can be called terrorism. Where ISIS already showed us as the best example of the definition how they attack the innocent people in public area for political purposes and make a violation to anyone to reach their goals. In other way the author tries to open the mind about the word of terrorism where the word of “a group of persons” stated in the

definition above means it can refer to any groups of persons, means that a little group, legal or illegal group, organization, institution, or even state is also a group of persons. So, any group of persons that doing a violation or provoke a state of terror in general public it called as terrorism. Such as what Israel did to Palestinian people like the violation to innocent people and make a state of terror to Palestinian people it can be called as terrorism based on the definition from OHCHR and also what Myanmar did to Rohingya people is also can be called as terrorism based on the definition.

Another definition often use in terrorism definition is came from Alex P Schmid which concluded that:

“Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by a clandestine individual group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby – in contrast to assassination – the direct targets of violence are not in main targets. The immediate human targets of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat- and violence- based communication processes between terrorists (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion or propaganda is primarily sought.” (Schmid & Jongman, 1988).

According to the definition by Alex P Schmid, terrorism is a repeated violent action which will always continuously do such a terror to get what they want. The actor can be anyone whether individual or group even state can be categorized as the actor of it. The terrorist group does their action for a strange reason, criminal or politics, where it also

different with assassination. Which is assassination having a valid target which can be planned who is the target before the action, and usually the reason is more detail. If terrorism the targets of violence are generally chosen randomly or selectively (representative or symbolic targets).

Abu Muhammad AF in Webster's New School and Office Dictionary, A Fawcett Crest Book (Pribadi & Rayyan, 2009), divides terrorism with two definitions. First, terrorism as a noun, while the second. Terrorism as a verb. terrorism as a noun is extreme fear; or terrible fear, or it could be interpreted as one who excites extreme fear. In a different sense, it can be interpreted as the ability to cause such fear, to intimidate or coerce by terror or by threats of terror. in a more systematic sense, terrorism can also be interpreted as a systematic use of violence such as murder committed by a group of people to maintain, enforce or administer power, or promote political and other policies. while terrorism as a verb is the use of violence, intimidation and the like to get something desired or the goal of a system of government ruled by terror.

Based on Abu Muhammad AF's definition, it can be concluded that acts of terrorism can only be categorized as a crime if he caused an atmosphere of terror, which in this case can be divided into two. First is Physical terror; where the creation of fear and anxiety by the use of devices in direct contact with the human body; where it inflicts deep pain on the victim's physical, in the hope that the victim experiences a psychological effect. the second is Mental terror; where the creation of fear by means of tools that are not in direct contact with the human body, but with the psychological pressure; thereby creating tremendous inner pressure, until the target becomes desperate, insane or may do suicide, due to unable to bear fear (Pribadi & Rayyan, 2009),

The physical terror and mental terror are the dangerous things to be experienced as the victim. Those have a huge bad

impact toward the victims. Physical terror is the impact of terror that can be seen directly and clearly, such as the number of victims or death, the destroyed homes, building, infrastructure, etc. Another one is a mental terror, this is the most dangerous thing to be experienced by the victim according to the author. The mental terror might be different with the physical terror, which is physical terror can be felt in a short-term, while the mental terror has a longer effect from the physical terror. Such as an innocent child that was attacked by the terror attack and lose his or her parents, besides they lose their parents, they definitely feel a huge shock, depression and even a big traumatic on a terror attack. Those impact become worst when they don't do such a therapy and will have a bad effect and broke their soul and mind in the future.

Another definition is coming from Turkey's president Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Erdogan claimed the terrorism definition after the incident of arresting the three academics on terrorist propaganda charges after publicly reading out a declaration which reiterated a call to end a security operation at a predominantly Kurdish area in the south-east of Turkey, and after a suicide bomb attack in Ankara the capital city of the state killed at least 34 people and wounded 125 others with a car bomb. Erdogan claimed the definition of a terrorist should be changed to include their "Supporters" – such as MPs, civil activists, and journalists. He added, "It is not only the person who pulls the trigger, but those who made that possible who should also be defined as terrorists, regardless of their title, this could be a journalist, an MP, or a citizen activist." (Eleftheriou-Smith, 2016).

According to Erdogan's definition means that everyone can be defined as a terrorist as long as he or she doing a terror action or support the terrorist in a group or individual. The supporters mean the one who made those (terror actions) possible to happen or the one who support or defend the terrorists, and for the supporter of terrorism, it does not see their

title or their job it could be everyone such as the governing body, the mass media party, the judges, or civil activists.

Based on all of those definitions above, the author can conclude into one sentence of terrorism definition become complete and deeply categorized. Terrorism is an ideology that refers to acts of violence, intimidation, various brutality, provoke a state of terror, and or support those kinds of actions which is done by a person, a group or a state include anyone regardless the job, title, or position. The human targets of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators to get something they want in term of political and ideological purposes.

In order to create a terror and gain the goals of a certain group of terrorism, terrorism has many kinds or models of terror acts to do. It is called as tactics by the terrorists to smooth their action. There are at least 8 ways or model of terrorism that always done by almost all of the terrorism in the world (Paulus, 2001):

a. Bombing

This tactic is probably the most terrorist tactic ever perpetrated by today's terrorists. because the tactics of bombing in strategic public places can be seen as an effective way to create an atmosphere of terror in a society. in turkey, for example, acts of terrorism that use tactics bomb explosion, many occurred since 2015 ago. even cases of terrorist attacks that often occur in 2016 using the same tactics which is bombing attack. noted 21 bombing attack occurred in Turkey such a big amount of terrorist attack in Turkey (Schweitzer, Mendelboim, & Rosner, 2017). That was showing us the intense of using bombing tactic of a terrorist attack in Turkey was very high.

b. Assassination

The tactics of terror that were many done by terrorists is the tactics of terror of assassination. Assassination is the oldest form of terrorist action and still in use today. the target of this killing is often predicted, terrorism will claim responsibility for the murder committed. the targets of the killings are usually government officials, businessmen, politicians, and security apparatus. in the last 10 years recorded 246 cases of murder by terrorists around the world. however, these recent acts of murder terror are more often carried out without claims of responsibility (Paulus, 2001).

c. Piracy

Popular piracy was waged by terrorist groups during the period 1960-1970. Piracy against vehicles carrying groceries is a tactic used by the Tupamaros group in Uruguay to get the impression of Robin hood and destroy the propaganda of the government. But the more popular type of piracy today is commercial aircraft hijacking

d. Ambush.

Beside the piracy, terrorism has another way to gain their goals which is the ambush. This action is an effective enough to be done, where the pre-prepared ambush is rarely failed. This also applies to operations carried out by terrorist groups. This action is usually carefully planned, carried out preliminary and rehearsal exercises and executed appropriately. In this form of operation time and terrain side with the terrorist group.

e. Kidnapping.

The terrorist action also often uses the kidnapping way to gain the goals of terror. Not all kinds of kidnapping are intended to kill. In the case of the Abu Sayyaf's guerrilla group in the Philippines, the ambush is more aimed at kidnapping the personnel. Kidnappings will usually be followed by ransom demands in the form of money or other political demands.

f. Hostage.

The difference between kidnapping and hostage-taking in the world of terrorism is very close. Both forms of this operation often have the same meaning. The kidnapers usually hold their victims in hidden places and the demands are material and money, while hostages face to face with the authorities by holding hostages in public places. The demands of a hostage are usually more than mere material. Usually, political demands are more often thrown by terrorists in this case of hostages.

g. Robbery.

This operation is usually done by the terrorist to get much money. As the terrorism operation need much money. Due to the operations of a terrorist group is very expensive. To fund their activities terrorists, they will rob banks with armored cars carrying large amounts of money. Bank robberies can also be used as a test for new personnel training programs.

h. Threat / Intimidation.

While other tactics that are also a lot done by the terrorists is to do the various threats. It is an attempt, work, activity, and action to intimidate or threaten by using violence against a person or a group, in an area considered opponent, so

that the target is forced to comply with the threatening intent for a particular purpose and purpose (Paulus, 2001)

Well, those are the form of terrorism from the definition until the kinds of acts of terrorism. While in the religion there is no teaching about those actions above. Religion will definitely prohibit and do not justify those action to do and all religion I think will do the same. Because the religion is the teaching of peace and love, then terrorism is opposite with the religious teaching. But there is the teaching about the war in religion but it is different with terrorism. If there is someone or some groups they named their selves in the name of a certain religion, then it's all about the mindset probably they wrong in articulating the meaning of the teaching or they probably wrong in action, or even there is someone behind the actor who has more interest. There must be something wrong with it.

2. Counterterrorism

After 9/11, accident in the USA the terrorism issue became a complicated security issue in the world. All over the world are focused on the issue of terrorism on how to protect themselves from terrorism issue. This accident made a new stage of the world where the threat of global terrorism become the real threat to the national security of a state. Every state is looking for the strategy to overcome the terrorism issue; one of the strategies is Counterterrorism.

According to US government on Counterterrorism (CT) concept is activities and operations are taken to neutralize terrorists, their organizations, and networks in order to render them incapable of using violence to instill fear and coerce governments or societies to achieve their goals. The purpose of this Counterterrorism is to disrupt, isolate, and dismantle terrorist organizations and networks to render them incapable of striking the homeland.

The things that form the basis of counterterrorism include principles, activities, and operations, as well as forms of activity and operations. The principles of joint operations are formed around the traditional nine principles of war that include objective, offensive, mass, the economy of force, maneuver, unity of command, security, surprise, and simplicity. In the doctrine of cooperation, there are three additional principles based on the operations that have taken place in recent decades: control, perseverance, and legitimacy. The principles of cooperation mentioned above apply in every activity and operation in counterterrorism, but the most preferred element in every Counterterrorism operation is objectives and legitimacy (Joint Publication staff, 2014).

There are three major types used for Counterterrorism activities, including:

1. The activity of providing advice and assistance is an attempt by the military to enhance other national capabilities in providing security for its people, government, service providers (bureaucracy), preventing terrorists from using national borders as shelters, and promoting long-term regional stability. These include: national assistance, Foreign Humanitarian Assistance (FHA), and Security Force Assistance (SFA)
2. CT activities abroad, these include: attacking, defending, and stabilizing; Counterinsurgency (COIN); Peace Operation (PO); Counterdrug Operation; Noncombatant Evacuation Operation (NEO); Countering Weapon of Mass Destruction (Countering WMD); Military Information Support Operation (MISO).
3. Defense Support of Civil Authorities (DSCA), the DSCA is the support provided by the US armed forces, DOD civilians, DOD contract employees, DOD asset components, and National Guard troops. DSCA

includes support for the preparation, prevention, protection, response, and healing of domestic events such as terrorist attacks, natural disasters both natural and human-caused disasters, and special events occurring within the country.

In counterterrorism strategy, there are five different approaches (Crelinsten, 2014) as follows:

- a. Coercive counterterrorism, the approach of dealing with terrorism depends on the state by using hard power. The state provides limits on the use of force (hard power). The restrictions are in the form of legitimacy given by the state according to the rule of law, be it national or international law. This is done so that the use of violence by state agencies does not commit a crime that violates the domestic criminal law and international law.
- b. Proactive counterterrorism aims to prevent the occurrence of terrorism before it happens. Proactive counterterrorism is done through the integration of internal and external security, domestic police mandates, security intelligence services, border and customs officers who all united in solving the problem of tracking the movement of people, goods, and money. This approach uses the intrusive technique involving wiretapping, surveillance, eavesdropping and other means of spycraft, agents do more to stop the terrorist threat before it happens and thwarting terrorist plots before they develop too far. These approaches led to the emergence a hybrid model of coercive counterterrorism which combines of coercive counterterrorism that is a model of criminal justice and war model. In proactive counterterrorism has an increasing focus that has a significant impact on various institutions and policies.
- c. Persuasive counterterrorism, an approach that involves understanding and all matters relating to ideas that

underlie the use of terrorism in social and political life. Related things include ideology, politics, social, cultural and religious aspects. Persuasive counterterrorism uses communication both orally and in writing through the policies of the elite and the media as an alternative step in dealing with terrorist threats.

- d. Defensive counterterrorism, assuming that the inevitability of terrorism threats is terrorist attack and preparation in facing such threats by influencing the variables that determine the nature of the attack and its target identity. There are two basic approaches: preventing an attack and mitigating attack. Preventive action aims to minimize the risk of a terrorist attack at a particular place and time. The second approach is to reduce the impact of successful terrorist attacks.
- e. Long-term counterterrorism, this approach refers to unpromising initiatives to quick fixes, but rather refers to long-term processes. These include "root causes" and structural factors that can create a climate suitable for the promotion and use of terrorism.

Among those five approaches on Counterterrorism strategy, Turkey tends to use Coercive Counterterrorism and Proactive Counterterrorism. Coercive counterterrorism mostly using the hard power of a state to stop terrorism issue, where Turkey under Erdogan leadership they use hard power to stop the terrorism. After the terror attack happens in Istanbul, the most likely reaction from the Erdogan government will be further repression, suppression of the media, suspension of civil liberties and extrajudicial crimes of their own (Independent, 2016). We can see when Erdogan tends to repression, suppression of the media, suspension of civil liberties and extrajudicial crimes of their own, it illustrates that Erdogan wants to use hard power than soft power to overcome the terrorist attack that happened on Istanbul, and it shows us how strong and brave the Erdogan power to fight the terrorism issue.

Proactive counterterrorism is also one of Turkey strategy to overcome the terrorism issue. This strategy creates collaborations with internal and external to the state to gain more power on overcoming the terrorism issue. It was proven by Turkey foreign policy and law on countering terrorism issues, such as making anti-terror law on preventing the terrorist action by the use of law on announcement and publication, public information, terrorism finance, and other laws as stated on the law of fight against terrorism of Turkey Act Nr. 3713 amended 2010; article 6, 7, 8, and 19. Then, Turkey also established cooperation with other states and international organization Such as the member state in the international forum, such as Indonesia, Saudi, and OIC as the international organization. Indonesia is one of the states that was made cooperation with Turkey on combating the terrorism issue. Recently, Indonesian president Joko Widodo visited Turkey as a state agenda. On that meeting, Indonesia and Turkey established security cooperation especially on combating terrorism issue. Erdogan said that Indonesia is advance on combating terrorism issue, another way Turkey also has a good experience on overcoming terrorism issue and that is why Turkey-Indonesia wants to establish cooperation on the terrorism issue. Besides Indonesia, Turkey also made cooperation with Saudi on countering terrorism issue in both countries. Where commonly knows ISIS exists and make some troubles in both states in Saudi and Turkey. Another thing, even Turkey actively promote the cooperation in the G-20 forums and invite all state members together to fight on the terrorism issue.

D. Hypothesis

The Turkish government's strategies in Counterterrorism policy during Erdogan's administration are:

1. Coercive Counterterrorism, which is hard power to react toward terrorism issues such as repression, suppression of the media, suspension of civil liberties and extrajudicial crimes of their own.
2. Proactive Counterterrorism, which is doing a preventive action by means of blacklisting and other identification or information-sharing methods, international cooperation, the Turkish government program to Counter Extremism, tightening of anti-terror law, and other Erdogan's policies.

E. Research Method

This thesis that examines Security Governance of terrorism in Turkey during the Erdogan era is a qualitative research. Cassel and Symon stated on the book of Seminar Hubungan Internasional by Surwandono, Ph.D. that qualitative method is research methods that attempt to accurately describe and interpret the meaning of the phenomena occurring in a social context, by prioritizing the process of understanding objects naturally to ensure the accuracy of objectification (Surwandono, 2016). This method is also a procedure to explain the problems that occur and used based on the description of the circumstances of the subject that is evidenced and supported by empirical data available. Evidence and supporting data is also eliminated by the author on which more valid on the source of the data.

This paper is a library research or literature study using secondary data such as books, journals, articles, newspapers, magazines, and other media that support the research. The use of various domains/internet sites as a source of data is also used

to support this paper. Books that the author used are also being eliminated on which more relate toward the topic, such as the book of Security A New Framework For Analysis by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde which contains all materials about terrorism and security analysis. For book sources, the author looks for the books in Pasca Sarjana's library, which provided thesis and international relations book, which relate to this topic. Beside books author also looks for the thesis, which related to the topic and learns from the thesis as the guide to be good as the thesis writer. The author also looks for the journal in which also relate to the topic, the journal that the author used is an online journal. Another source such as internet site is also one of the sources that become a supporting source for the topic. It has been eliminated which site that the author will use. The author is carefully choosing the sources and avoiding site sources on which not trusted and editable for everyone.

In an effort to build objectivity in this thesis research, data collection is done by studying documents and data. First, document studies on various papers on Turkish republic countries. From studies on Turkish republics in general, such as the country's geographical position, the Turkish government system, and Turkish social life. In Turkish geographical data collection, in addition to referring to reliable papers such as the Turkish government website, the authors also directly refer to the latest international maps in order to maintain the objectification of the data. Then, in the Turkish government system research, the authors searched the data directly to the Turkish government website and the Turkish Consulate General's website. In addition, the authors also look for data outside the website for the accuracy of objectification of the intended data, such as the phenomenon of referendum Turkey in the changes of the Turkish government system has not been updated on the website of the Turkish government, therefore the authors refer to the latest news and most accurate website such as BBC news, Al- Jazeera, etc.

Second, document studies of Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The study of the Turkish president itself is necessary because the scope of this study is only during the presidency of the president of Erdogan. The study of Erdogan's life from birth, the environment from childhood to adulthood, and Erdogan's political activity from the very beginning was active as a politician to this day. Backgrounds such as birth, family environment to the social environment during adulthood are important to learn because it all affects the attitude and character of Erdogan's current leadership.

Third, document studies on international security issues and national security. In writing about international security and national security, the author refers to the source of the book according to the author in line with the objectification of the study. Such as a book of Security, A New Framework For Analysis by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde is one of the authors' authors for data source writing.

Fourth, the study on the issue of international terrorism, terrorism in Turkey and the concept of Counterterrorism. The author began to discuss the issue of international terrorism after the discussion of international security issues in order to maintain good writing systematics. In the case studies of international terrorism and terrorism in Turkey, the authors refer to online data sources, such as BBC news, National Geographic, and online journals. After that, the author discusses the study of the concept of Counterterrorism, which according to the authors can answer the formulation of this research problem. In the study of the concept of Counterterrorism, the author refers to many sources such as the concept of Ronald Crelinsten with his paper Perspective on Counterterrorism: From Stovepipe to a Comprehensive Approach, as well as a US government resource in Counterterrorism in Joint Publication 2014, as well as online journals other authors make supporting data to the source data.

F. Scope of Research

The range of research in this paper serves to limit the material of research on this undergraduate thesis. Thus, the research and the talks in writing are not expanding which can affect to the results of writing become less focused, ambiguous, and less value-added. This range of research also help the author to stick on the track and focus on the topic and will not confuse the reader.

This paper on the title of The Turkey's Security Governance on Terrorism during Erdogan Administration (2014-2017) has a range of research to limit the talks and material of research. The range of this paper is during Erdogan leadership which is from 2014 up to 2017. Although this paper has a range of research, it does not rule out the possibility to discuss the past for strengthening the explanation and the result. The reason for choosing the range of research during Erdogan era is because the massive of terrorism issue in Turkey appear and getting heat when Erdogan becomes the president of Turkey. Although the terrorism issue in Turkey is getting heat when Erdogan became the president, the issue of terrorism itself already exists since a long time ago in Turkey. Also, Turkey massively focuses on eradicating terrorism when Erdogan becomes the president. Thus, the range of research of this paper will be during Erdogan leadership.

G. Writing System

To answer and explain more detail on the research question, this undergraduate thesis is divided into 5 chapters, 1 chapter as an Introduction as a head of this undergraduate thesis, 3 chapters as the content of this undergraduate thesis, and 1 chapter as a conclusion. This is done so that the issue can be discussed regularly and systematically. Therefore, the systematic writing of this paper is as follows:

Chapter I, Introduction. This chapter is the head of this undergraduate thesis which will lead the whole discussion. This chapter contains background, research question; which is the main idea of the research by the form of question, theoretical framework: which is the connection between the research question and the hypothesis, hypothesis; is a provisional answer over the research question of this undergraduate thesis, scope of research, research methods, and Writing System.

Chapter II, Turkey and Erdogan Administration. This chapter has three sub-chapters. First, Turkey's Political and Security History which will describe the Turkish political turmoil and Security issue in Turkey. Second, the Political Transition in Turkey which will describe the political transition and the change of the ideology in Turkey which also has a significant effect to the topic. The last, Security Politics of Turkey in Erdogan Administration which will be more focus on the security politics in Erdogan administration and will describe about it.

Chapter III, International Terrorism and its network in Turkey. This chapter has three sub-chapter. Where the first is the History of Terrorism; which will explain and describe about the history of terrorism in Turkey to get more understanding of the terrorism issue in Turkey, second is about Group of Terrorism in Turkey which will be divided into three groups which are Political terrorism, Separatist Terrorism, and International Terrorism. Then the last sub-chapter is Terrorism Problem in Turkey during Erdogan Administration; which will describe the terrorism problem during Erdogan administration by showing the data of terrorism issue in Turkey.

Chapter IV, Turkey's Strategies on Overcoming the Terrorism Issue. This chapter has two sub-chapters, first is Coercive Counterterrorism and the second is Proactive Counterterrorism. Which form each sub-chapter will be provided the legal basis of anti-terror law of Turkey which related to the concept of the

two counterterrorism, and also will be provided the implementation of the two concepts. Then in this chapter, the hypothesis of this undergraduate thesis will be proved here with the deep analysis and data.

Chapter V, Conclusion. This is the end of this undergraduate thesis which has three sub-chapters. Main Agreement; is the main idea of the research's summary, Strength and Weakness; is about to analyze on the research about the strengths and the weaknesses, and Insights; which is about something we get from this undergraduate thesis and it will be more better in giving the better understanding.