

#TCK217/ABeRepealed



2025-2026

PRESS FREEDOM REPORT

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PRESS FREEDOM REPORT 2025-2026



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Cover illustration: Aslı Alpar

INTRODUCTION

THE NAME OF ARBITRARY ACTION: TCK 217/A

There is nothing left to say in the name of press and freedom of expression in Turkey. Since the AKP came to power, it has been systematically attacking journalism in an attempt to destroy it.

From forced changes in media ownership structures to discrediting, detentions, arrests and trials, there is no method the government has not tried over the past 20 years. Of course, it would be unfair to say that this is merely a matter of hostility towards the news or journalists. We are living through a period in which anyone who defends the truth, principles and democracy, and who does not endorse government policies, has been declared an enemy.

These hostile policies also lie behind the attacks on independent justice, democracy, education, health and the environment. The ‘Censorship Law’, which came into force in 2022, also aims to silence the voices of all sections of society and to eliminate freedom of expression.

What we refer to as the “Censorship Law”, Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code (“Publicly Disseminating Misleading Information”), has become a tool of oppression against all sectors of society that raise objections, particularly journalists. In addition to journalists, thousands of investigations have been launched and arrests made against trade unionists working to protect workers’ rights, environmental activists resisting to protect their villages and nature, young people standing up for their votes and the elected local government, pensioners saying they cannot make ends meet, employer representatives, lawyers and bar association executives.

No one living in Turkey today can claim that the judiciary is independent. We are living through an era where the state and the ruling power have infiltrated the judiciary, and where it is not independence but power that is being discussed. As in the murder of a young university student in Tunceli, we are witnessing how an alliance is formed—from the governor to the hospital director, from the police to the judiciary—to cover up a murder.

Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code has become a highly convenient provision for those in power. Arrests are being made not on the basis of the crime itself, but based on who has lodged the complaint. Yet, for a charge of ‘Publicly Disseminating Misleading Information to the Public’ to be valid, the following criteria must be met:

- The sole intention must be to create anxiety, fear or panic amongst the public,
- The information must relate to the country’s internal or external security, public order or public health, and must be found to be false,
- The information must be disseminated publicly,
- It must be capable of disrupting public peace.

Our colleague İsmail Ari, who is currently in custody on the allegation of committing this offence, is cited as having published news reports containing claims of a ‘630 million TL embezzlement’ regarding the Yunus Emre Foundation, as well as posts concerning the appointment of judges and prosecutors through an interview system.

It needs to be explained how the news reports he published, backed by documents, disrupted public order and public health, and how they created fear and panic among the public.

This is precisely what we mean when we say that arrests are being made on the basis of arbitrary decisions. Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code, which undermines press and freedom of expression, must be immediately repealed; those currently detained on these grounds must be released, and the investigations must be closed.

As you will see in detail in our Press Freedom Report covering the 2025–2026 period, these violations of press freedom affect not only journalists but all sections of society in this country. We have no choice but to fight for a future where the press is free, democratic principles are upheld, and the law operates in accordance with the principle of impartiality.

Gökhan Durmuş
General Secretary of the Turkish Journalists’ Union

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Mr R. Erinç Sağkan, President of the Turkish Bar Association (TBB), for his valuable contribution to our report through his article; to the illustrators Aslı Alpar, Sefer Selvi and Sönmez Karakurt, whose drawings have enriched the pages of our report; to our imprisoned colleagues Merdan Yanardağ and İsmail Arı, who have conveyed to us through their letters what it means for journalists to be detained; the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), with whom we collaborate in the field of press freedom, the Media and Law Studies Association (MLSA), the P24 Independent Journalism Platform, the International Press Institute (IPI), Reporters Without Borders (RSF) Turkish, and the Freedom of Expression Association (İFÖD),

We would like to thank all the valued legal professionals who have taken on the defence of our colleagues during investigations and prosecutions, shared information and documents, and stood with us in our legal struggle.

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ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
AFP	Agence France-Presse (French News Agency)
AKP	Justice and Development Party
AYM	Constitutional Court
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BİK	Press Advertising Agency
BİSAM	United Metal Workers' Union Research Center
CHP	Republican People's Party
DFG	Dicle Firat Journalists' Association
DW	Deutsche Welle (German Broadcasting Corporation)
IFÖD	Freedom of Expression Association
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
RTÜK	Radio and Television Supreme Council
TBMM	Grand National Assembly of Turkey
TCK	Turkish Penal Code
CBA	Collective Bargaining Agreement
TGS	Turkish Journalists' Union
TMK	Anti-Terrorism Law
TÜİK	Turkish Statistical Institute

INTRODUCTION

The report covers data from 1 April 2025 to 1 April 2026. The primary sources of the data used are: applications, complaints, notifications and requests for support received directly by TGS; data obtained from open sources; and notes from interviews and observations made during the union's visits to cities, prisons and workplaces. The legal unit's monitoring of court cases and detentions, lawsuits filed against regulatory actions, and freedom of information requests submitted to official bodies also serve as key sources for the report.

This study was prepared with the aim of identifying and documenting interventions against the press in all their dimensions over a one-year period. Under the heading **'Journalists in Prison and Under House Arrest, Detentions and Releases'**, it includes a list of journalists in prison, the distribution of charges levelled against journalists in indictments, the status of journalist detentions over the past year, and releases.

The **'Investigations'** section contains data on detentions and investigations targeting journalists. Under the heading **'Trials'**, data on legal proceedings conducted against journalists over the past year is provided. We have also included summaries of individual application decisions and normative review decisions published by the Constitutional Court.

Under the **'Attacks and Impunity'** heading, we present numerical data on physical and verbal attacks against journalists and media organisations. We then provide an update on journalist murders and the current status of legal cases concerning attacks on journalists.

In the section titled **'Interventions Against Media Organisations'**, we have attempted to present an annual overview of interventions by the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) and the Press Council (BİK). Under the heading **'Interventions Against the Internet'**, we have addressed decisions regarding access restrictions and content removal targeting online media.

Full details of all this data can be found in the tables included in the appendix to our report.

Under the heading **'Legislative Changes'**, we provided information on legal amendments of direct relevance to journalists and media organisations.

In this year's report, we wished to address one section in particular. A provision of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) that has been used against journalists since its entry into

force in 2022, and which journalists know by heart: TCK Article 217/A: “Publicly Disseminating Misleading Information”. In this section of our report, you will find an up-to-date assessment of the disinformation regulations. Here, you can read an article by Av. R. Erinç Sağkan, President of the TBB , alongside a letter from our colleague İsmail Arı, who is currently detained in prison.

Letters sent to the union by our colleagues in detention are reaching you again this year via the report. You can read the lines penned by them, scattered throughout the report’s pages under the heading **‘A Letter from Prison’**.

Unlike our other reports this year, our report features the work of three esteemed cartoonists: Aslı Alpar, Sönmez Karakurt and Sefer Selvi. We are delighted to share the artists’ commentary on press freedom with you, our readers.

This year, the **‘A Look at the Sector’** section sheds light on the economic and social conditions of workers in the media sector—and journalists in particular—within the context of collective rights. In this section, you will find data on the current number of registered workers in the sector and within media organisations, figures on the high unemployment rate among journalism graduates, the current number of authorised workplaces, and a breakdown of employers’ aversion to trade unions.

In the final section of the report, we share the findings of the **‘Poverty Survey: Economic and Social Status Questionnaire’**, which reveals the economic and social status of media workers.

METHODOLOGY

This year's report also covers data from 1 April 2025 to 1 April 2026. The primary source of the data used consists of applications, complaints, requests for information and support received directly by our union. Furthermore, data obtained from open sources, along with observation notes gathered during the union's visits to cities, prisons and workplaces, also constitute primary data sources. The legal department's monitoring of court cases and detentions, lawsuits filed against regulatory actions, and information requests submitted to official institutions also serve as fundamental sources for the report. During the preparatory phase, data from official bodies—particularly the Ministry of Labour and Social Security—and labour and professional organisations were utilised to provide an up-to-date overview of industrial relations within the sector. Furthermore, the TGS's activities during the relevant period, its press releases and news reports on the subject are among the elements that enrich the report in terms of sources. Traditional and social media were monitored on a daily basis, and news items and posts were analysed. Furthermore, the websites of official institutions containing updates on legislation and judicial precedents, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) and the Official Gazette were monitored daily during this process, and the relevant data was included in the report. However, as in previous years, certain difficulties were encountered during the preparation of this year's report.

In particular, the lack of official and precise figures regarding informal employment in the media sector is the most significant shortcoming. The fact that official institutions provide data only on formal employment has, once again this year, made it relatively difficult to conduct a general assessment of the sector. The verification of information accessed during the literature review, difficulties in accessing information on certain journalists subjected to rights violations and case files, and the attitude of official institutions that infringes upon the right to information have partially limited the data set included in the report. Taking all these limitations into account, ***it should be noted that the report in your hands has been prepared in accordance with the up-to-date information we were able to obtain.*** Despite the number of cases, issues and violations not reflected in the report due to such obstacles, it is considered that the data presented within the scope of the report has identified problems and de-

mands at a minimum level. Solutions to the identified problems have been developed by following this methodology.

The data source for the survey entitled “Poverty Survey: Economic and Social Status” is the TGS membership list for the March 2026 period. The members on this list were first divided into two groups: those working in authorised workplaces and those working in unauthorised workplaces. From both lists, members working in workplaces not engaged in journalistic activities (e.g. printing houses, publishing houses, packaging, etc.) and members without an email address were excluded. Although the majority of the questions were the same, two separate surveys were prepared for authorised and unauthorised workplaces. The surveys were sent by email to a total of 1,042 members. The survey, which remained open for approximately two weeks, was completed by 53 (71 per cent) members working in workplaces covered by a collective agreement and authorised to conduct journalistic activities, and 136 (14.9 per cent) members working in workplaces not covered by a collective agreement and unauthorised to conduct journalistic activities. All participants in both surveys are the union’s journalist members. Looking at the gender distribution in the surveys, 60.4 per cent of participants from authorised workplaces were women and 39.6 per cent were men. In the survey of unauthorised workplaces, these figures were 40.4 per cent and 59.6 per cent respectively.



Photo: Kadir Incesu
May 1, 2026

I. PHOTOS OF THOSE IN PRISON AND UNDER HOUSE ARREST JOURNALISTS, ARRESTS, AND RELEASES

In this section, you will find data regarding the charges against journalists in prison as of the report's publication date. This is followed by data on journalists arrested and released over the past year. Finally, there will be a discussion of 'judicial supervision' measures, which have become increasingly common in recent years.

A. Journalists in Pris

The list of journalists identified by the TGS, following an examination of court files, as having been deprived of their liberty due to their professional activities can be seen in Table 1. According to the latest information available to us based on this list, **as of 1 April 2026;**

■ 14 journalists are currently deprived of their liberty in various prisons across Turkey due to their journalistic activities.

■ Eight of the journalists in prison are on remand, and six have been convicted.

■ Three of the journalists in prison are women and eleven are men.

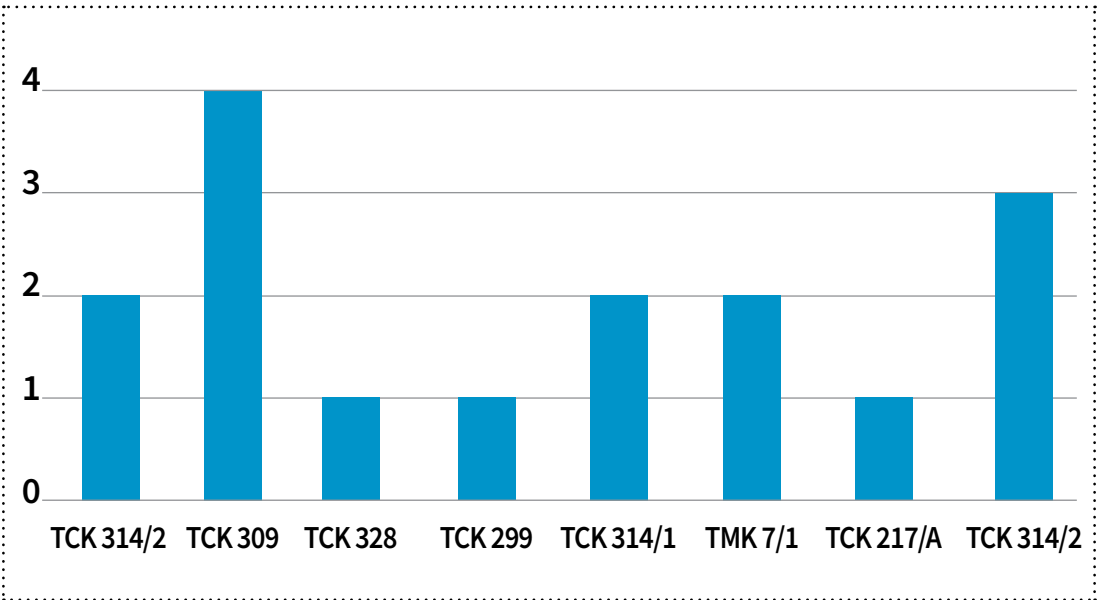
Table 1: List of journalists in prison as of 1 April 2026

	NAME	ORGANISATION	POSITION
1	Ali Barış Kurt	Freelance Journalist	Reporter
2	Ali Ünal	Zaman Newspaper	Writer
3	Alican Uludağ	DW Turkish	Reporter
4	Elif Bayburt	ETHA	Reporter
5	Erdal Süsem	Eylül Arts and Literature Magazine	Editor
6	Erol Zavar	Odak Magazine	Owner and Editor-in-Chief
7	Hatice Duman	Atılım Newspaper	Owner and Editor-in-Chief
8	İsmail Arı	BirGün Newspaper	Reporter
9	Mehmet Baransu	Taraf Newspaper	Writer
10	Merdan Yanardağ	TELE 1	Editor-in-Chief
11	Mustafa Gök	Bread and Justice Magazine	Ankara Representative
12	Nadiye Gürbüz	ETHA	Journalist
13	Pınar Gayıp	ETHA	Reporter
14	Sami Tunca	Struggle Union Magazine	Editor-in-Chief

B. Charges Against Journalists in Prison

The breakdown of charges levelled against detained and convicted journalists in indictments is presented in Table 2. A single indictment may contain multiple charges against a journalist. Accordingly, of the 14 journalists in prison, two face charges under Article 314/2 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) for “Membership of an Armed Organisation”, four face charges under Article 309 “Violation of the Constitution”, one under Article 299 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) “Insulting the President”, two under Article 314/1 of the TCK “Establishing and Leading an Armed Terrorist Organisation”, one under Article 7/2 of the Anti-Terrorism Law (TMK) “Propaganda for a Terrorist Organisation”, one under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) “Publicly Disseminating Misleading Information”, three under Article 314/2 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) “Membership of an Armed Organisation”, and one under Article 328 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) “Political or Military Espionage”.

Table 2: Numerical Distribution of Charges in Indictments Against Journalists in Prison



C. Journalists Arrested

Between 1 April 2025 and 1 April 2026, 19 journalists were imprisoned. The journalists detained over the past year are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Journalists detained between 1 April 2025 and 1 April 2026

	NAME	ORGANISATION	POSITION	DATE OF ARREST
1	Ali Yavuz	LeMan	Head of Institution	02/07/2025
2	Alican Uludağ	DW Turkish	Reporter	20 February 2026
3	Aslan Özdemir	LeMan	Editor-in-Chief	12 July 2025
4	Cebrail Okçu	LeMan	Graphic Designer	2 July 2025
5	Dicle Baştürk	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	16 June 2025
6	Doğan Pehlevan	LeMan	cartoonist	2 July 2025
7	Elif Bayburt	ETHA	Reporter	3 February 2026
8	Enver Aysever	Freelance Journalist	Writer	11 December 2025
9	Eylem Emel Yılmaz	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	16 June 2025
10	Fatih Altaylı	Freelance Journalist	Programmer/Writer	22 June 2025
11	Furkan Karabay	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	15 May 2025
12	İsmail Arı	BirGün Newspaper	Reporter	22 March 2026
13	Merdan Yanardağ	TELE1	Head of News	27 October 2025
14	Metin Yoksu	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	26 June 2025
15	Nadiye Gürbüz	ETHA	Journalist	3 February 2026
16	Nedim Oruç	Welat Agency	Reporter	17 January 2026
17	Pınar Gayıp	ETHA	Journalist	3 February 2026
18	Yavuz Akengin	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	16 June 2025
19	Zafer Aknar	LeMan	Editor-in-Chief	2 July 2025

D. Journalists Released

According to the data we have received over the past year;

■ 25 journalists have been released from prison.

■ Twelve of the detained journalists were released at their first court hearing, whilst eight were released following decisions made at detention review hearings. Two of the convicted journalists were released upon completion of their sentences. Data regarding the released journalists is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Journalists released between 1 April 2025 and 1 April 2026

	AD-SOYADI	KURUMU	POZİSYONU	TAHLİYE TARİHİ
1	Necla Demir Arvas	Current Production	Reporter	14 April 2025
2	Velat Ekin	Current Production	Owner	16 April 2025
3	Kenan Karavil	Radio World	Head of Broadcasting	25 April 2025
4	Joakim Medin	ETC	Reporter	30 April 2025
5	Öznur Değer	JinNews	Reporter	22 May 2025
6	Vedat Örüç	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	29 May 2025
7	Yıldız Tar	KAOS GL	Editor-in-Chief	30 May 2025
8	Elif Akgül	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	2 June 2025
9	Rahime Karvar	Current Production	Reporter	12 June 2025
10	Reyhan Hacıoğlu	Current Production	Reporter	13 June 2025
11	Dicle Baştürk	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	16 July 2025
12	Eylem Emel Yılmaz	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	16 July 2025
13	Yavuz Akengin	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	16 July 2025
14	Metin Yoksus	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	25 July 2025
15	Ali Yavuz	LeMan	Head of Department	26 September 2025
16	Aslan Özdemir	LeMan	Editorial Manager	26 September 2025
17	Cebrail Okçu	LeMan	Graphic Designer	26 September 2025
18	Zafer Aknar	LeMan	Editor-in-Chief	26 September 2025
19	Ercüment Akdeniz	İlke TV	Programme Producer	23 October 2025
20	Doğan Pehlevan	LeMan	Cartoonist	14 November 2025
21	Furkan Karabay	Freelance Journalist	Reporter	2 December 2025
22	Gültekin Avcı	Today Newspaper	Writer/Journalist	
23	Enver Aysever	Freelance Journalist	Programmer/Writer	12 March 2026
24	Fatih Altaylı	Freelance Journalist	Programmer/Writer	29 December 2025
25	Nedim Oruç	Welat Agency	Reporter	24 April 2026

E. Residence Restriction Order

In recent years, journalists have been subjected not only to arrests but also to various judicial control measures. Travel bans and the requirement to sign in once a week or on certain days are the most commonly applied measures. The ‘no-leaving-the-home’ (house arrest) measure, however, has recently begun to be imposed on journalists with increasing frequency.

Last year, four journalists were subject to a judicial control measure in the form of a ban on leaving the residence.

Table 5: Journalists subject to a judicial control measure in the form of a ban on leaving their residence between 1 April 2025 and 1 April 2026

	NAME	ORGANI- SATION	POSITION	DATE OF DECISION	DATE OF LIFTING
1	Ender İmrek	Evrensel	Columnist	21 February 2025	28 June 2025
2	İsmail Saymaz	Halk TV	Writer/Presenter	20 March 2025	16 June 2025
3	Oğuz Bakır	Freelance	Journalist	20 July 2025	October 2026
4	Furkan Karabay	MediaScope	Journalist	23 January 2026	26 March 2026



LETTER FROM PRISON:

We Will Continue to Defend True Journalism – Merdan Yanardağ ¹

Turkey is being dragged towards an Islamist-fascist dictatorship by those in power. To this end, every form of democratic and progressive opposition is being crushed, the republican resistance of society is being broken, and the people's struggle for equality and freedom is being suppressed.

Journalists and publishers who defend the public's right to news and access to accurate information—and whose work tangibly demonstrates the realisation of this right—are being targeted for imprisonment in an attempt to neutralise them.

They want to silence independent and opposition media. The reason is clear: they cannot achieve their aims in an environment where the free press is active. That is why they seized Tele1 and sought to silence my voice and that of my colleagues. Because Tele1 achieved great success through its high-quality broadcasting and distinguished journalism. For the first time, a media organisation representing the opposition, the socialists and the left has reached a wide audience. With the support of its viewers and the solidarity of its friends, it has overcome financial blockades. Moreover, for the first time, a media organisation with these qualities has attained the strength to compete with the regime's major media outlets. This is precisely why Tele1 became a target. Subsequently, our colleague Alican Uludağ was arrested on trumped-up charges. Finally, our colleague İsmail Anı was imprisoned on the basis of lies and slander. They are exposing their own weakness.

This situation points to a fear. They are very afraid; this is the fear of those who commit crimes against the people and history, and who trample on democracy and justice. Not only does it bear no resemblance to any other fear, but it will also fail to halt their defeat. Because, in order to sustain a regime whose historical and political lifespan has run its course and been exhausted, they are first and foremost attempting to eliminate press and freedom of expression. The regime, whose social base is disintegrating, seeks to prevent the truth from being seen and to avert the collapse of its virtual hegemony, which is based on perception management. Despite having largely destroyed the Republic, it cannot establish its own regime; it lacks the power, the vision, and the knowledge to do so. Despite 23 years in power, the regime has failed to complete the establishment of its own system. It has largely destroyed the Republic and secularism, yet it has failed to establish its own order.

They have now also lost the ability to generate ideological consent or political approval from society. To maintain their power, they have no other means at their disposal apart from the state's instruments of violence—such as the judiciary, the police and the gendarmerie—. Indeed, even the exploitation of religion and nationalist incitement no longer work as they once did. This is why they are intensifying their repression and attacks; this is why we are in Silivri.

Because the vast majority of the people, journalists, intellectuals, the youth and workers are resisting. Given this situation, the reactionary fascist regime is becoming more aggressive. An unlawful, immoral and excessive campaign of annihilation is being waged against the left and republicans.

We have overcome the crisis of hope in Turkey, we have strengthened our courage and shown society the path to enlightenment. We have been the voice of the struggle for secularism, of the oppressed and of labour. We have defended the progressive legacy of the Republic and of humanity. We will continue to defend an independent and free press, the people's right to access information and true news, and genuine journalism. We will defeat reactionary forces and fascism. We will win. I send my love to you all; stay strong.

Merdan Yanardağ

1 For correspondence: Recipient: Merdan Yanardağ Address: Marmara Closed Prison, Semizkulmar District, Marmara Prison Complex

II. INVESTIGATIONS

Journalists face a new investigation every day. Indeed, many are unaware of how many investigations have been opened against them. Some do not share their situation with the public because they do not wish to be in the spotlight due to the investigations against them. Although the national agenda changes every day, one thing remains constant for journalists: they are forced to defend their professional activities and their news reports in the courts!

According to data received between April 2025 and April 2026 from², at least,

■ **53** journalists were subject to investigations.

■ **67** journalists were detained. **Three** journalists were detained more than once. Of those detained, **19** were remanded in custody; 15 were released. Various **judicial control measures** were imposed on **two** journalists, including **house arrest**, and on **26** journalists, including weekly or more frequent reporting requirements and a ban on leaving the country.

This year, too, the investigation phase has effectively turned into a form of pre-emptive punishment for journalists. Eylem Emel Yılmaz, Dicle Baştürk and Semra Pelek, who were detained in Istanbul following investigations launched against them, were transported by road to Artvin. Eylem Emel Yılmaz and Dicle Baştürk were arrested and sent to Artvin Prison. When we, the TGS Legal Unit, visited Artvin Prison, it emerged that the journalists had been transferred to prisons in neighbouring provinces.

² You can access the details of the investigation data in the Annex.

III. TRIALS

Trials involving journalists continued this year as well. The trials examined under this heading have been compiled based on cases currently ongoing at the first-instance level in criminal and civil courts, those returned to first-instance courts following a retrial decision, and those reported in the press or brought to the attention of the TGS through applications received. Trial processes at the Court of Appeal and Supreme Court stages have been excluded from these figures. We are aware that a far greater number of cases are ongoing at the local level, which have not been reported in the press and of which press professional organisations have not been informed. Journalists' professional activities continue to be the subject of criminal and civil proceedings with increasing frequency.³

A. Criminal Proceedings

- Over 300 journalists were tried in 224 separate criminal cases.
- Proceedings are ongoing in 89 cases, whilst verdicts have been handed down in 73.
- A total of 53 years, 4 months and 16 days of imprisonment were handed down.
- Acquittal rulings were handed down for 54 journalists in 39 separate criminal cases.

B. Civil Proceedings

According to the latest information available to us during this period, at least;⁴

- 21 compensation claims with a total value of at least 5,985.00 TL were heard.
- In these cases, 15 journalists and four organisations were tried.
- In the cases heard, four cases with a total value of 1,200.00 TL were partially upheld. In these cases, a total of 102,500.00 TL in damages was awarded.
- A decision of lack of jurisdiction was issued in a case with a value of 250,000.00 TL, whilst a case with a value of 15,000.00 TL was dismissed.
- Proceedings are ongoing in 15 cases.

³ You can access the details of the trial data in the Annex.

⁴ You can access the data via the Annex Table.

C. Constitutional Court Decisions

i. Constitutional Court Ruling on the Annulment of the Legal Basis for the Press Advertising Authority's Penalties for Cutting Off Advertisements and Promotions⁵

As noted in our previous reports, the Constitutional Court (AYM) found that Article 49 of the Law on the Establishment of the Press Advertising Authority, entitled 'Penalties', posed a structural problem; it ruled that the article required amendment and that applications submitted following the ruling should be deferred for a period of one year⁶.

In a case heard by the Bakırköy 9th Civil Court of First Instance following an appeal against a decision by the Press Advertising Authority to suspend official announcements and advertisements for a period of five days, the court concluded that the contested provision was contrary to the Constitution. Consequently, it ruled that Article 49 of the Law No. 195 of 2 January 1961 on the Establishment of the Press Advertising Authority, on the grounds that it contravenes Articles 13, 26, 28 and 29 of the Constitution. In its examination of the objection, the Constitutional Court, referring to its previous decisions, emphasised in its ruling that the mere formal existence of a legal provision restricting freedom of expression and the press is insufficient; rather, legal rules must be specific, accessible and foreseeable in nature so as not to permit arbitrariness. ruled that Paragraph 1(a) and the third sentence of Paragraph 2 of the provision in question were unconstitutional and issued a decision to annul them. The annulled sections are as follows:

- Article 49, Paragraph 1(a) of Law No. 195 on the Establishment of the Press Advertising Authority: "Advertisements and promotional material to be provided by the Authority to that newspaper, magazine or online news site shall be suspended by the Authority's General Directorate for a period not exceeding two months, based on a final decision of the Board of Directors. Furthermore, they shall not be entitled to the benefits provided for under this Act in the same manner."

⁵ AYM, E.2023/168, K.2025/132, 17/6/2025

⁶ TGS, 2024-2025 Basın Özgürlüğü Raporu, <https://tgs.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/TGS-RAPOR-2025-NORMAL-1.pdf>, Erişim tarihi: 30 Mart 2026.

- Article 49, Paragraph 2, Sentence 3 of Law No. 195 on the Establishment of the Press Advertising Authority: “The decisions to be issued as a result of this proceedings shall be final.”

The Constitutional Court issued its annulment decision by a majority vote. **In its reasoning regarding the annulment of Article 49, Paragraph 1(a),** it reiterated—referring to its previous decisions—that the provision in question constitutes a structural problem as it fails to meet the constitutional safeguards of freedom of expression and the press. It determined that granting the institution the authority to determine the actions and procedures warranting sanctions, through a general reference to the Law, without establishing a framework regarding which actions and procedures of newspapers, magazines and websites would be subject to sanctions, for what periods and to what extent, was contrary to the principle of legality within the context of Article 13 of the Constitution.

In its reasoning regarding the annulment of the third sentence of the second paragraph of Article 49, referring to its previous decisions; it stated that provisions likely to have significant effects on the exercise of freedom of expression and freedom of the press cannot be exempt from judicial review; that the individual benefit to be gained through the review of provisions restricting these freedoms cannot be sacrificed for the sake of the right to a trial within a reasonable time and the principle of procedural economy; and that the regulation, in its current form, imposes a disproportionate restriction.

ii. Constitutional Court: A fair balance must be struck between freedom of expression and the press and the claimant's right to the protection of honour and reputation⁷

The applicant, Ahmet Şık, posted the following on a social media platform: “A week ago, the sewer press gave the signal for the operation.” Following this, Turkuvaz Habberleşme ve Yayıncılık A.Ş. (the claimant), the owner of the Sabah newspaper, brought a claim for non-pecuniary damages of 50,000 TL against the applicant. The applicant argued that the post should be assessed within the scope of freedom of expression, that it constituted criticism, and that the claimant had failed to prove the damage it alleged. The court of first instance ruled to dismiss the case. Following an appeal against the first-instance court's decision, the Regional Court of Appeal overturned the decision on the grounds that the post in question exceeded the limits of the right to freedom of expression and criticism, constituted an infringement of personal rights, and did not contribute to a public debate. It partially upheld the claim and ordered the payment of 20,000 TL in non-pecuniary damages. In its decision, the Constitutional Court, referring to its previous rulings, emphasised the importance of striking a fair balance between one party's freedom of expression and press freedom and the other party's right to the protection of honour and reputation. It listed the criteria that judicial authorities must apply when making such a balancing exercise: . In its decision, the AYM noted that information from an investigation file subject to a confidentiality order had been used in a news report published by the applicant media outlet. It emphasised that, in the specific case, the applicant's social media post could not be regarded as an unfounded and arbitrary attack, and that the applicant's social media post, which constituted a value judgement, was supported by concrete facts and therefore could not be deemed disproportionate. When the Regional Court of Appeal ruled to accept the case, it was noted that merely listing theoretical principles without addressing their application to the specific facts of the case, and accepting that the plaintiff's personality rights had been infringed without discussing the parties' positions within society, carried the risk of harming the environment for information and criticism in a democratic society. It was further assessed that restricting criticism directed at a media organisation, as in the present case, on the basis of an abstract justification carries the risk of having a chilling effect on freedom of expression and the press. For this reason, the Constitutional Court ruled that the applicant's freedom of expression and press freedom had been violated, ordered a retrial, and awarded the applicant 34,000.00 TL in non-pecuniary damages.

⁷ AHMET ŞIK APPLICATIONU (2), <https://kararlarbilgibankasi.anayasa.gov.tr/BB/2022/55481>, Accessed on 30 March 2026

iii. Constitutional Court: Judicial authorities cannot determine how the journalism profession should be practised or the techniques used by journalists to report news⁸

The applicant published news articles on his own online news site regarding the plaintiffs İ.T. and E.T. on 28 June 2020 titled “Breaking news: FETÖ informant becomes director in Rize”, on 29 June 2020 titled “Breaking news: Tried for FETÖ, yet rewarded!”, and on 6 July 2020, “Flash News: Ban on report concerning the wife of the AKP mayor”. Consequently, the plaintiffs filed a claim for non-pecuniary damages against the applicant at the Rize 3rd Civil Court of First Instance, on the grounds that their honour and reputation had been damaged by the published reports. On 26 October 2021, the court of first instance issued a judgment ordering the defendant to pay 2,000 TL in non-pecuniary damages to the claimant İ. and 4,000 TL to the other claimant E.T. The defendant’s appeal was also definitively dismissed by the Regional Court of Appeal. In its decision, the Constitutional Court emphasised that it is inevitable in a democratic society for journalists to monitor politicians’ words and behaviour, and to seek to inform or even influence public opinion by forming views about them. It further noted that penalising information and criticism regarding politicians and public figures—however offensive—would have a deterrent effect. The Constitutional Court ruled that the applicant’s freedom of expression and press freedom had been violated, ordered a retrial, and awarded the applicant 34,000.00 TL in compensation for non-pecuniary damage.

⁸ GENÇAĞA KARAFAZLI APPLICATION, <https://kararlarbilgibankasi.anayasa.gov.tr/BB/2022/103844>, Date accessed: 30 March 2026.

iv. Constitutional Court: In matters of public interest, journalists' statements containing value judgements must be interpreted broadly.⁹

The applicant, Adnan Keskin, wrote an article entitled “The State’s Long-Serving Bureaucrat” in the Taraf newspaper on 19 July 2009. The claimant, who was the subject of the article, alleged that Keskin had insulted him and claimed 20,000 TL in compensation for non-pecuniary damage. The court of first instance partially upheld the claim and ordered the payment of 2,000 TL in non-pecuniary damages. Upon appeal, the Fourth Civil Chamber of the Court of Cassation quashed the decision of the court of first instance, stating that the criminal proceedings concerning the offence of insulting a public official through the press should be treated as a pending issue. In compliance with the quashing decision, the court of first instance awaited the finalisation of the acquittal decision issued in the criminal case that had been made a pending issue, and, in line with its previous decision, ordered the recovery of 2,000 TL in non-pecuniary damages from the applicant, together with interest. Following a further appeal, the 4th Civil Chamber of the Court of Cassation emphasised that the news article should be assessed within the scope of freedom of expression and underlined that there had been no infringement of the claimant’s personal rights. As a result of the first-instance court’s refusal to comply with the quashing decision, the parties appealed the decision. The General Assembly of the Court of Cassation, having examined the decision to uphold the ruling, found the decision to uphold—which accepted that the news article constituted an infringement of the claimant’s personality rights—to be in accordance with the law, and decided to refer the case back to the 4th Civil Chamber for the assessment of the claimant’s appeals regarding the amount of compensation. Consequently, the 4th Civil Chamber rejected the objections regarding the amount of compensation and upheld the decision of the court of first instance concerning the applicant. In its decision, the Constitutional Court, referring to its previous rulings, emphasised that the allegations in the article in question related to a matter of public interest in any democratic country and contributed to a debate of high public benefit, thereby stressing that it should benefit extensively from the protection of press freedom. The decision highlighted the necessity of a broad interpretation of the concept of value judgements; it stated that expecting the same degree of certainty required to establish that an allegation of a crime is based on sound grounds to also apply to journalists’ value-laden statements—such as “ ”—in matters of public interest would be incompatible with the purpose of press freedom. The Constitutional Court ruled that the applicant’s freedom of expression and press freedom had been violated, ordered a retrial, and awarded the applicant 34,000.00 TL in compensation for non-pecuniary damage.

⁹ ADNAN KESKİN APPLICATION (2), <https://kararlarbilgibankasi.anayasa.gov.tr/BB/2022/4660>, Date accessed: 29 March 2026.

v. Constitutional Court: A detention order cannot be issued without strong evidence of a crime having been committed¹⁰

The applicant, Merdan Yanardağ, was detained as part of an investigation initiated ex officio by the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office following remarks he made on a discussion programme broadcast on a national television channel on 20 June 2023, and was arrested on charges of "propagandising for a terrorist organisation"; A public prosecution was initiated against him seeking his conviction for the offences of "propagandising for a terrorist organisation" and "praising a crime and a criminal". The Istanbul 30th High Criminal Court decided to accept the indictment, and the prosecution phase commenced. A decision was made to continue the applicant's detention; an appeal against this decision was rejected by the Istanbul 31st High Criminal Court. At the first hearing, the applicant was sentenced to 2 years and 6 months' imprisonment for the offence of "propagandising for a terrorist organisation", and a decision was made to release him. In its decision, the Constitutional Court noted that, for the detention measure to be applied, there must first be strong indications that a crime has been committed. It concluded that, when considering the context of the statements in question and the applicant's defence, there were no such strong indications in this specific case, and that the applicant's right to liberty and security under Article 19, The AYM ruled by a majority that the applicant's right to liberty and security had been violated and awarded 166,500 TL in non-pecuniary damages.

¹⁰ MERDAN YANARDAĞ APPLICATION, <https://kararlarbilgibankasi.anayasa.gov.tr/BB/2023/91838>, Date accessed: 30 March 2026.

vi. Constitutional Court: A final court ruling establishing that an organisation is a terrorist organisation does not constitute one of the elements of the offence of membership of a terrorist organisation.¹¹

The applicant, Murat Aksoy, was arrested on 3 September 2016 pursuant to a decision of the Istanbul 1st Magistrates' Court on the charge of "knowingly and willingly aiding an organisation". On 31 March 2017, the Istanbul 25th High Criminal Court ordered the applicant's release. A few hours after the release decision, the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office initiated a new investigation, and in this new investigation, an arrest and detention warrant was issued against the applicant. The Istanbul 2nd Criminal Court of First Instance ordered the applicant's detention on 14 April 2017. On 8 March 2018, the 25th Heavy Penal Court of Istanbul ruled that the applicant should be sentenced to 1 year and 13 months' imprisonment for the offence of "knowingly and willingly aiding the organisation, despite not being part of its hierarchical structure", in relation to FETÖ/PDY.

In its decision, the Constitutional Court, referring to its previous rulings, noted that the lower court's decision was highly disorganised, lacking sufficient context and background; furthermore, it failed to provide even superficial information regarding the general line adopted by the applicant in his journalistic career or to conduct any examination thereof, and it remained unclear on what criteria the applicant's it is not possible to conclude from the content of the applicant's articles and social media posts, listed one after another, that the applicant acted with the intent to knowingly and willingly assist the FETÖ/PDY terrorist organisation. The Constitutional Court ruled by a majority to order a retrial and the payment of 55,000.00 TL in compensation for non-pecuniary damage to the applicant.

¹¹ MURAT AKSOY APPLICATION (2), <https://kararlarbilgibankasi.anayasa.gov.tr/BB/2018/35195>, Accessed on: 29 March 2026.

vii. Constitutional Court: Penalties based on Article 49 of the Press and Information Board Law violate freedom of expression and press freedom¹²

Başvurucu, ulusal çapta yayın yapan Sözcü Gazetesinin yayın hakları sahibidir. Gazetenin 24/2/2022 tarihli nüshasında ve internet sitesinde “Ukrayna” başlıklı bir köşe yazısı yayımlanmıştır. BİK tarafından inceleme başlatılmış ve BİK Yönetim Kurulunca başvurunun yayımcısı olduğu gazete hakkında internet sitesinin resmî ilan ve reklamlarının yanı sıra internet sitesi için ek göstergesinin beş gün süreyle kesilmesine karar verilmiştir. Başvurucu, BİK kararına itiraz etmiştir. İstanbul 25. Asliye Hukuk Mahkemesi 6/7/2022 tarihli kararla davanın reddine kesin olarak karar vermiştir.

Başvurucu; yazarın köşe yazısında günlük dil kullandığını, sakıncalı bulunan kelimenin küçüklerin ve gençlerin gelişimini olumsuz yönde etkileyecek kadar ağır olmadığını, yazının daha dikkat çekici olması açısından kaba bir üslup kullanıldığını, güncel bir olayın kamuoyuyla paylaşımında kullanılan dilin eleştirel nitelikte olabileceğini, yazının bütünündeki üstün kamu yararının dikkate alınması gerektiğini belirtmiştir. AYM kararında diğer kararlarına atıfla, Yeni Gün Haber Ajansı Basın ve Yayıncılık A.Ş. ve diğerleri ile 17/6/2025 tarihli ve E.2023/168, K.2025/132 sayılı kararlarında yer alan ilkelerden ve ulaşılan sonuçtan ayrılmayı gerektirir bir durum bulunmadığını tespit ederek, 195 sayılı Kanun’un 49. maddesine dayanarak verilen resmî ilan ve reklamların kesilmesi cezasının kanunilik ölçütünü karşılamadığı gerekçesiyle ifade ve basın özgürlüklerinin ihlal edildiğine karar vermiş, yeniden yargılama yapılmak üzere dosyanın ilk derece mahkemesine gönderilmesine ve başvuru lehine 34 bin TL manevi tazminata hükmetmiştir.

¹² ESTETİK YAYINCILIK A.Ş. APPLICATION (3), <https://kararlarbilgibankasi.anayasa.gov.tr/BB/2022/77225>, Date accessed: 25 March 2026.

IV. ATTACKS AND IMPUNITY

During the 2025–2026 period, journalists also faced serious threats to their personal safety. In particular, journalists covering cases involving criminal organisations were threatened by members of these organisations.

İsmail Arı was threatened via text messages sent to his mobile phone in May 2025 over a report on “bribery in the judiciary” concerning Gökhan Göz, who is known to be linked to the Şahinler gang.¹³ Murat Ağirel, meanwhile, revealed that for the past two years he had been receiving threatening messages systematically targeting his family and children.¹⁴

Journalist Özlem Gürses reported that she had been targeted due to footage from her news announcement on Sözcü TV being taken out of context and circulated, that her phone number had been shared across various platforms, and that she had received threatening messages.¹⁵

Meanwhile, our colleagues were subjected to intervention by law enforcement whilst covering social events. According to data we have received¹⁶, over the past year at least,

- 34 journalists have been subjected to physical attacks.
- 22 journalists were subjected to verbal abuse and threats.
- Physical attacks were carried out against two media organisations.

¹³ BirGün, “Threatening messages sent to BirGün reporter İsmail Arı!”, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/bir-gun-muhabiri-ismail-ari-ya-tehdit-mesajlari-639733>, Accessed on: 1 August 2025.

¹⁴ Bianet, “Murat Ağirel and his family threatened: ‘I’m asking for help not as a journalist, but as a father’”, <https://bianet.org/haber/murat-agirel-ve-ailesi-tehdit-edildi-bir-gazeteci-olarak-degil-bir-baba-olarak-yardim-istiyor-315144>, Accessed on: 2 February 2026.

¹⁵ T24, “Journalist Özlem Gürses: I am being threatened with death, I’ve received threats of rape against my 80-year-old mother, I’ve requested protection!” https://t24.com.tr/gundem/gazeteci-ozlem-gurses-olumle-tehdit-ediliyorum-80-yasindaki-anneme-tecavuz-tehdidi-aldim-koruma-talep-ettim,1304187?_t=1776792371701

¹⁶ You can access the data on physical and verbal attacks in the Supplementary Table.

A. The Hrant Dink Assassination Trials

The struggle to shed light on the assassination of Hrant Dink, Editor-in-Chief of Agos Newspaper, who was murdered on 19 January 2007, continues. The Dink murder case is proceeding on three fronts.

In the main case, following the Supreme Court's ruling, the Dink family's lawyers filed an application with the Constitutional Court on 24 July 2023, stating that "no effective investigation or prosecution was conducted regarding the defendants acquitted or whose cases were dismissed, thereby violating Hrant Dink's right to life". The Constitutional Court has not yet issued a ruling.

In the ongoing case file concerning the defendants whose cases were quashed by the Court of Cassation in the main case involving public officials, a decision was issued on 7 February 2025. Following an appeal against this decision, it was decided to refer the case file back to the Court of Cassation.

In the case brought against the individuals for whom the Istanbul 14th High Criminal Court had ordered a criminal complaint to be filed, the court panel dismissed the case against a total of seven defendants, including Samast, Hayal and Tuncel, on the grounds of the statute of limitations during the seventh hearing held on 10 January 2025. The appeal lodged against this decision by the Dink family's legal representatives was rejected by the 2nd Criminal Chamber of the Istanbul Regional Court of Appeal on 4 November 2025 on the grounds that "there is no right or authority to appeal the judgment regarding the nature of the offence". The Dink family's lawyers announced that they would lodge an appeal against this decision with the Supreme Court.¹⁷

As for the appeals lodged against the decision not to prosecute issued by the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office on 19 October 2015, the legal battle continues. An individual application was submitted to the European Court of Human Rights on 2 March 2020. No decision has yet been made regarding this application.

Meanwhile, two separate case files concerning the fugitive defendants remain open.

¹⁷ Agos, "The quest for justice in the Hrant Dink murder case continues", <https://www.agos.com.tr/tr/haber/hrant-dink-cinayeti-davasinda-adalet-arayisi-suruyor-39176>, Accessed on: 16 January 2026.

B. The Uğur Mumcu Assassination Case

At the hearing of the case held on 22 September 2025, Mehmet Ağar, the Minister of the Interior at the time, was heard as a witness.¹⁸ Mehmet Ağar was asked about the remark he made to Güldal Mumcu: “If I pull out the brick, the wall will collapse.” Ağar denied the allegation that he had used these words, stating, “They came to visit. It seemed as though something I hadn’t said had been attributed to me there. What I actually said was, ‘I wish we could catch this murderer, even if only by a thread; if we do, I hope it will be revealed that the murders of Muammer Aksoy, Bahriye Üçok and are also linked to this.’ That is what I said.” When asked whether he was afraid of pulling out the brick, Ağar replied: “Why should I be afraid? I’ll pull down a wall if I have to, and I’ll pull out a brick if I have to. As someone who has faced death and been involved in these struggles and duties, who should I be afraid of or shy away from? Moreover, the apprehension of murderers is a matter of honour for every police officer, and it is a result that will be viewed extremely positively by all senior officials, wherever they may be in the state. Our difficulty at that time was the intense struggle we were waging against the separatist terrorist organisation. We had been assigned to that post to ensure that this struggle was conducted effectively. Thank God, we emerged from there with our heads held high.” The court panel decided to issue a formal request to the General Directorate of Security, the General Command of the Gendarmerie, the National Intelligence Organisation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the consulates and embassies affiliated with the ministry to investigate the location where the defendant Oğuz Demir and his family were situated. At the hearing held on 9 February 2026, the claimant’s lawyer requested an investigation into the status of the vehicle with the registration number “06 APJ 03” registered in the name of the defendant Oğuz Demir, stating that there were suspicions that the defendant and his relatives had fled to Australia, and requested that letters be sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the General Directorate of Security and the National Intelligence Organisation (MIT) requesting that information and documents regarding the matter be forwarded to the court. Following the lawyer’s statement, the public prosecutor, when asked for his opinion, requested that a decision be made to await the arrest of the defendant Oğuz Demir, against whom an arrest warrant had been issued. Announcing its interim ruling, the court ordered that the General Directorate of Security be asked whether the vehicle with the registration number “06 APJ 03”, reportedly belonging to the defendant, was listed in police records. The court ordered that a formal request be sent to the National Intelligence Organisation (MIT) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to ascertain the defendant’s and his family’s place of residence, and ruled that the arrest of the defendant Oğuz Demir, for whom an arrest warrant had been issued, should be awaited. The next hearing is scheduled for 14 July 2026.

¹⁸ Oksijen, “Uğur Mumcu trial postponed to 14 July”, <https://gazeteoksijen.com/turkiye/ugur-mumcu-davasi-14-temmuza-ertelendi-265080>, Accessed on: 9 February 2026.

C. Release in the case of the armed attack on Evrensel Newspaper¹⁹

On the night of 13 August 2026, an armed attack was carried out on the Evrensel Newspaper's Izmir Office. Ten shots were fired at the door and signboard. Following the attack, police teams who arrived at the building's entrance to conduct an investigation inside and around the premises did not notify the newspaper's Izmir Representative Office. The perpetrator of the attack, İsa Can B., and İbrahim Halil Y., who brought the perpetrator to the office entrance, were taken into custody. İsa Can B. was remanded in custody. Evrensel Newspaper's lawyers filed a criminal complaint demanding the identification of the instigators to shed light on the attack; however, in February, the prosecution decided there were no grounds for prosecution. At the second hearing on 1 December 2025, the sole detained defendant, İsa Can B., was released on the grounds that there was 'no longer any suspicion of evidence tampering', leaving no detained defendants in the case. The investigation and prosecution process were handled in a manner that failed to shed light on the attack in all its aspects. At the time the decision to release the detained defendant was made on the grounds that there was no longer any suspicion of evidence tampering, the weapon and mobile phone used in the attack had still not been found. Despite the existence of contradictions between HTS/base station records and the defendants' statements, the armed attack on a media organisation remains unresolved, due both to the decision not to prosecute regarding the criminal complaint and the release of the sole detained defendant. The criminal trial of the two defendants will continue with a hearing scheduled for 25 May 2026 at the İzmir 42nd Criminal Court of First Instance.

D. Attempted lynching of LeMan Magazine²⁰

Following the launch of an investigation into a cartoon published in the magazine's 26 June 2025 issue on the grounds that it contained "insults to religious values", and after the case was shared on certain news websites with inflammatory headlines targeting LeMan Magazine, a group gathered outside the magazine's offices in Beyoğlu, Istanbul, and carried out a stone-and stick-wielding attack. Not only did law enforcement fail to intervene against the groups that surrounded the building housing the magazine's offices, made "calls for a massacre" and attempted to set the offices on fire, but there is also no information regarding any investigation having been launched against the attackers. The Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office ordered the seizure of the issue in which the cartoon was published and imposed a ban on access to the organisation's social media accounts. The cartoonist and staff of LeMan Magazine were arrested and detained in violation of the prohibition on ill-treatment. Criminal proceedings were initiated against them under Article 216 of the Turkish Penal Code. All detainees have been released, but the criminal trials are ongoing.

¹⁹ Evrensel, "Reaction to the release regarding the armed attack on our newspaper: 'This decision is a blow to press freedom'", <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/586469/gazetemize-duzenlenen-silahli-saldiriya-iliskin-tahliye-ye-tepki-bu-karar-basin-ozgurlugune-darbedir>, Accessed on 1 December 2025.

²⁰ BBC, "Arrests over Prophet Muhammad cartoon in Leman magazine; protesters chant 'Long live Sharia'", <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/cew00dvz5qeo>, Date accessed: 10 March 2026.

E. Journalists were subjected to physical assault this year whilst covering news events, despite identifying themselves as journalists²¹

On 22 January 2026, three journalists covering the protests in the Suruç district of Şanlıurfa were injured. During the intervention by law enforcement, a tear gas canister struck Ahmet Ün, a reporter for ANKA, who was working for the newspaper ‘İHA’ reporter Bekir Şeyhanlı was injured after being struck by an armoured vehicle. Journalist Metin Yoksus was struck on the head by a tear gas canister. Fractures and cracks were detected in the journalist’s ribs.

F. Police violence against Fatoş Erdoğan: “Stop, I’m a journalist”

Freelance journalist Fatoş Erdoğan was assaulted by law enforcement officers on 8 September 2025 whilst covering the news outside the CHP Istanbul Provincial Headquarters. She sustained serious bruising after being struck by plastic bullets. Tear gas was sprayed directly into her face and mouth from a very close range. Fatoş Erdoğan filed a criminal complaint against the police with the support of the TGS Legal Unit. However, it was the journalist Erdoğan who faced an investigation, had an indictment drawn up, and had criminal proceedings brought against her. An investigation was opened against the journalist, who filmed the police intervention and shared it on her X account, on charges of “inciting the public to hatred and hostility”. The criminal trial is ongoing.

G. Arrest warrants have been issued for the two individuals who attacked the journalists covering the news.²³

Haber Global reporter Azra Sözcü and cameraman Alperen Ulukuş, who were covering the explosion at a business premises in Güngören, Istanbul, were assaulted and threatened by T.A. (39), the brother of the business owner, and E.Ö.G. (29), who was with him. The attackers were taken into custody, and a detention order was issued against them on charges of ‘intentional assault and insult’.

²¹ DFG, “Statement from MKG and DFG: Violations against the press have increased”, <https://www.diclefirtgazeteciler.org/haberler/mkg-ve-dfgden-aciklama-basina-yonelik-ihlaller-artti>, Accessed on: 20 March 2026.

²² Oksijen, “Police intervention against the CHP: Investigation into journalist Fatoş Erdoğan for ‘incitement to hatred and hostility’”, <https://gazeteoksijen.com/yasam/chpye-polis-mudahalesini-cekmisti-gazeteci-fatos-erdogana-kin-ve-dusmanliga-tahrik-sorusturmasi-251656>, Accessed: 1 October 2025.

²³ BirGün, “Two people who attacked a Haber Global reporter and cameraman have been arrested”, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/haber-global-muhabiri-ve-kameramanina-saldiran-2-kisi-tutuklandi-626874>, Date accessed: 30 May 2025.

V. INTERFERENCE TARGETING MEDIA ORGANISATIONS

A. RTÜK Interventions

This year, RTÜK has again imposed substantial administrative fines, broadcasting suspensions and programme suspension penalties on media organisations due to news and critical programme content.

In our review of **the 21 decisions** published by RTÜK over the past year;

- **one instance of** a breach of the principle **set out in Article 8(1)(c) of Law No. 6112, which** states that “it must not contravene the principles of the rule of law, justice and impartiality”,

- **six times** for violating the principle set out in **Article 8(1)(ç) of Law No. 6112**, which states that “broadcasts must not violate the principle of respect for human dignity and the privacy of private life, nor may they contain statements that are defamatory, derogatory or slanderous towards individuals or organisations beyond the bounds of criticism”,

- **three times** for violating **subparagraph (f) of the first paragraph of Article 8 of Law No. 6112**, which states: “It must not be contrary to the national and spiritual values of society, general morality, or the principle of the protection of the family,”

- **six times for violating Article 8(1)(i) of Law No. 6112, which states:** “It must be based on the principles of impartiality, truth and accuracy and must not hinder the free formation of opinion in society; six times for violating the principle that “news stories that can be investigated within the framework of press ethics may not be published without investigation and without being certain of their accuracy...”

- **once for violating subparagraph (m) of the first paragraph of Article 8 of Law No. 6112**, which states: “It must ensure that the Turkish language is used correctly, beautifully and clearly without distorting its characteristics and rules; the use of vulgar, coarse or slang language is not permitted”;

- **once for violating Article 9, paragraph 3 of Law No. 6112**, which states: “Permission shall not be granted for secret commercial communication”,

A total of 21 **administrative fines**, ranging from 1% to 5%, were imposed, **amounting to a total of 15,154,715.00 TL**.

²⁴ You can access the data on RTÜK Supreme Council Decisions via the Supplementary Table.

Table 6: Distribution of fines imposed by RTÜK between April 2025 and April 2026 by organisation

ORGANISATION NAME	NUMBER OF DECISIONS	ADMINISTRATIVE FINES	BROADCASTING SUSPENSION
TELE 1	7	1,368,801.00 TL	
Halk TV	7	2,228,790.00 TL	For a period of 10 days
SZC	4	2,804,057.00 TL	5 programme broadcasts
Meltem TV	1	195,543.00 TL	
Edessa TV	1	195,543.00 TL	
Sun RTV	1	195,543.00 TL	

The RTÜK Supreme Council imposed 21 separate administrative fines on various broadcasters. Tele 1 was fined seven times, Halk TV seven times, and SZC TV four times. Halk TV was also given a 10-day broadcasting suspension, whilst SZC TV was ordered to suspend programme broadcasts on five occasions.

Merdan Yanardağ, the general director of Tele 1, was charged with espionage; Yanardağ was arrested. A receiver was appointed to Tele 1.

Broadcasting bans and confidentiality orders were also issued regarding certain developments closely followed by the public last year. A broadcasting ban and confidentiality order were issued in connection with the investigation into the deaths of Fatma Nur Çelik and her eight-year-old daughter, whose bodies were found on the Zeytinburnu coast on 2 March 2026; a broadcasting ban was also imposed by the Istanbul Anatolia 3rd Criminal Court of Peace in the case concerning the murder of teacher Fatma Nur Çelik by a student at a school in Istanbul’s Çekmeköy district.

B. Interventions by the Press Advertising Authority

In its 2022 pilot individual application ruling, the Constitutional Court ruled that arbitrary penalties for the suspension of advertisements and promotions imposed by the Press Advertising Authority violated freedom of expression and press freedom. The High Court had ruled that Article 49, titled ‘Penalties’, of Law No. 195 on the Establishment of the Press Advertising Authority—which served as the basis for the penalties—posed a structural problem and required revision, and that the examination of

applications submitted after the decision should be postponed for one year²⁵. However, despite more than three years having passed since the decision was published, no such amendment has been made. In a ruling issued last year, the Constitutional Court reiterated its finding that Article 49 posed a structural problem and ruled that it violated press freedom.

Meanwhile, Evrensel newspaper's battle to secure official government notices continues. Evrensel, whose right to publish official notices and advertisements was suspended in September 2019, had this right completely revoked in 2022. The Istanbul 2nd Administrative Court dismissed the newspaper's appeal against the BİK's revocation decision. The appeal process is ongoing.

VI. INTERVENTIONS TARGETING ONLINE MEDIA

According to the data we have been able to access, at least²⁶

- seven websites
- 41 instances of news content being blocked on a URL-by-URL basis, eight instances of news content being deleted
- and 21 instances of access to journalists' X accounts being blocked.

VII. LEGISLATIVE CHANGES

A. CANCELLATION RULING IN THE PRESS ETHICS PRINCIPLES CASE²⁷

Council of State 10th Chamber: Sanctions Regarding Press Freedom, the Framework of Which Is Not Defined in Law, Cannot Be Regulated by a Press Advertising Agency General Assembly Decision

We, as the Turkish Journalists' Association (TGS) and the Journalists' Society, had taken the Press Advertising Agency General Assembly Decision, published in the Official Gazette on 6 July 2022, which regulated the Press Ethics Principles, to court and sought its annulment. In the case where we argued that press freedom was being restricted by the Press Advertising Authority in disregard of the principle of legality, the 10th Chamber of the Council of State, in its decision dated 4 December 2025, Case No. 2022/5473 E., 2025/5791 K., ruled in favour of our case, subject to appeal.

²⁵ TGS, 2024–2025 Press Freedom Report, <https://tgs.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/TGS-RAPOR-2025-NORMAL-1.pdf>, accessed 30 March 2026.

²⁶ Details of interventions targeting the online press can be found in the Appendix Table.

²⁷ Decision of the 10th Chamber of the Council of State of the Republic of Turkey, dated 4 December 2025, Case No. 2022/5473, Decision No. 2025/5791

The Council of State Investigating Judge emphasised that, due to the Constitutional Court's annulment decision, the General Assembly's decision had become devoid of legal basis, and expressed the view that the provisions in question should be annulled. The Council of State Prosecutor, emphasising that the task of "determining the principles of press ethics" was not included among the duties assigned to the General Assembly under Article 49 of Law No. 195, recalled the Constitutional Court's decision dated 17 June 2025, Case No. 2023/168, Decision No. 2025/132, regarding the annulment of Article 49, and expressed the view that a decision should be made to annul the provisions at issue in the case.

Indeed, in its ruling, the 10th Chamber of the Council of State, referring to the Constitutional Court's pilot decision, highlighted that Article 49 of Law No. 195 had been annulled following the determination that it was contrary to Articles 13, 26 and 28 of the Constitution. Following the publication of the relevant decision in the Official Gazette, the BİK Board of Directors stated that the general assembly decision in question, the legal basis for which had been annulled, had not been annulled itself, but that its implementation had been suspended by a decision of the board of directors. It was ruled that the general assembly decision, for which annulment was sought, lacked a legal basis; furthermore, as it was legally impossible to regulate a penalty regarding press freedom—the framework for which is not defined by law—through a general assembly decision, a finding of unlawfulness was made and the decision was annulled.

The annulment decision issued by the 10th Chamber of the Council of State is a significant ruling in terms of emphasising and defending the constitutional guarantee of press freedom; however, it also once again clearly highlighted the role played by the Press Advertising Authority in unlawful and arbitrary practices, as well as in violations of freedom of expression and press freedom.

According to the ruling, the annulled provisions are as follows:

- The phrases "newspapers publishing official announcements on their own news websites and social media accounts" appearing in Articles 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 17, 19 and 28,
- The provision in Article 6(2) stating that "news may not be obtained or published through unlawful means",
- The provision in Paragraph 3 of Article 6 stating that "publications that incite or encourage crime, glorify crime or criminals, incite the public to hatred and hostility, or render the fight against crime ineffective may not be made",
- the provision in Article 6(4) stating that "publications that encourage violence or terrorism; or that undermine the fight against narcotic or psychotropic substances and all forms of organised crime may not be made",

■ the provision in Article 6, Paragraph 5, stating that “information and visual material regarding terrorist organisations, their members and incidents may not be presented in a manner that portrays these organisations as legitimate”,

■ the phrase “or contrary to public morality” in Paragraph 1 of Article 7 and the phrase “publications contrary to public morality shall not be made” in Paragraph 2 of Article 16,

■ The provision in Article 16(3) stating that “no publication may be made that is aimed at undermining the family structure, which is the foundation of society, or that is contrary to the protection of the family”,

■ the phrase “publications aimed at undermining the common national and spiritual values of Turkish society may not be made” in Paragraph 4 of Article 16.

B. THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO LAW NO. 5651 HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN

The 11th Judicial Package Draft, which envisages amendments to Law No. 5651 on the Regulation of Publications Made in the Internet Environment and the Combat Against Crimes Committed Through Such Publications, was submitted to the General Assembly of the Turkish Grand National Assembly by the Justice Commission of the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

The draft contained a proposal to amend Article 2, Article 8(4), (9) and (11), and Article 9 of Law No. 5651 on the Regulation of Publications Made on the Internet and the Fight Against Crimes Committed Through Such Publications.

In 2023, the Constitutional Court (AYM) had annulled Article 9 of Law No. 5651 through a decision on normative review. This draft proposal, which effectively disregarded the Constitutional Court’s annulment decision and its reasoning, essentially sought to facilitate the issuance of access blocking orders, thereby exacerbating violations of press and freedom of expression. It also proposed measures that would pave the way for the throttling of bandwidth for websites operated by foreign social media providers with over 10 million daily users in Turkey. In line with the motions adopted by the General Assembly of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, these proposed amendments were withdrawn.²⁸

²⁸ Turkish Grand National Assembly, “11th Judicial Package Approved by the Turkish Grand National Assembly Plenary”, <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Haber/Detay?Id=9ae547f9-a88e-4abf-b06d-019b51876a00>, Accessed on 1 March 2026.



Under Article 217/A, added to the Turkish Penal Code by Article 29 of Law No. 7418 dated 13 October 2022, the offence of “publicly disseminating misleading information” was established. From the moment this provision was submitted to the Turkish Grand National Assembly under the title “Draft Law on Amendments to the Press Law and Certain Other Laws”, it was criticised by numerous institutions and individuals, particularly press professional organisations. Warnings were issued that the regulation contained vague wording, undermined the principle of predictability, and would have a chilling effect on freedom of expression. Press professional organisations made great efforts to have this draft bill withdrawn. As the Turkish Journalists’ Union, we issued a statement during this period emphasising that the bill amounted to a “Censorship Law” and called for its withdrawal. International press organisations also expressed their views that the bill constituted an interference with press and freedom of expression. In its opinion on the regulation (), the Venice Commission warned that the text could have a “deterrent effect” on freedom of expression.²⁹

Although the spokespersons of the ruling party, which proposed the amendment, stated at the time that it did not target journalists, journalists have since been justified in labelling this provision the “Censorship Law”.

²⁹ Council of Europe, Venice Commission [https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-PI\(2022\)032-e#:text=I.,Introduction,the%20interlocutors%20for%20their%20availability](https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-PI(2022)032-e#:text=I.,Introduction,the%20interlocutors%20for%20their%20availability). Access date: 1 April 2026

B. The Deterrent Effect on Journalistic Activities

Investigations conducted under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code have created an environment of intense pressure on journalists and made the exercise of their professional activities more difficult. Reporting on developments of public interest, writing opinion pieces or making critical comments has come to be assessed alongside the risk of investigation, detention or arrest.

The scope and duration of the judicial control measures applied during this process are also noteworthy. Measures such as house arrest, the obligation to sign in at police stations at regular intervals, and a ban on leaving the country not only impose restrictions on the right to liberty and security of the person; they also directly restrict journalists' ability to follow news stories, conduct fieldwork and engage in professional communication activities.

Of the 67 detentions of journalists over the past year, 20 were based on charges under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code. In 20 of these cases, only three journalists were released after giving their statements. While two journalists were remanded in custody, 15 were subject to various judicial control measures.



Illustration: Sönmez Karakurt



A LETTER FROM PRISON

They arrested me for four true news reports, claiming they contained ‘misleading information for the public’. İsmail Arı³¹

To the Turkish Journalists’ Union;

Press and freedom of expression in Turkey are under severe attack. Journalists are being arrested on fabricated charges. They want to stop journalists from reporting the news.

The aim is to intimidate not only every journalist sent to prison but also their colleagues on the outside. This is also the reason why I was detained in the Turhal district of Tokat, where I had gone for an Eid visit!

Gendarmes and police turned up at the doors of all our relatives in Tokat, instilling fear in ordinary people and conducting a raid as if they were targeting a drug lord. Why? To detain the journalist İsmail Arı! So what was my crime? Practising journalism in this country!

In fact, for the past year, they have been investigating me in an attempt to arrest me. They obtained my HTS records and my MASAK report. Despite being a secondary school student during the Gezi protests, they linked me to Gezi and even launched an investigation against me on the charge of ‘attempting to overthrow the government’. However, they found nothing. Because I did nothing other than journalism!

While practising my profession, I tried to be the voice of those who couldn’t speak out. I stood by the earthquake victims and those subjected to abuse and sexual assault. I exposed the thefts within public institutions. While I was doing all this, they even threatened my family—my aunt and my grandmother, let alone my own family. Even when I was arrested, there was a protection order in place for me. The state’s police had been assigned to protect me. Yet they arrested me, claiming that the four news stories I had defended across all fields—which were true—constituted “misleading information for the public”. Those who arrested me committed a crime.

But I will continue to practise journalism under any circumstances!

³¹ Postal Address: Sincan No. 2 L-Type Closed Prison – Cell A10, Adalet Mah. Adalet Sk. Sincan Campus Yenikent – Sincan / ANKARA

C. Local Journalism and Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code

It has been observed that investigation files are being opened under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) against journalists operating at the local level, following complaints from individuals regarding news reports on shortcomings in the provision of public services, the functioning of judicial processes, issues in the education and health sectors, and matters relating to local administration and the local agenda. This situation indicates that the regulation can be used as a tool to restrict journalistic activities that fulfil the function of public oversight.

Ercan Tari, a member of the Giresun Journalists' Association, who reported on footage of staff collecting medical waste in an unhygienic area at Giresun University Training and Research Hospital—which he had shared via the Ministry of Health's hotline—was detained on charges under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code. He was released after a decision was made to apply judicial control measures.³²

Sebahattin Yum, an Iğdır correspondent for the İhlas News Agency (İHA), was detained following a complaint by Iğdır Governor Ercan Turan over a report he published titled “An umbrella for the governor, none for the veterans” after the 19 September Veterans' Day ceremony. Yum, who faced charges under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code, was released after giving a statement.³³

D. Investigation and Prosecution Processes Have Become Pre-emptive Punishment

It has been observed that the processes conducted under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code have turned into a de facto punishment mechanism for journalists, not only in terms of the final trial outcomes but also when considering the investigation and prosecution stages themselves. Being subjected to detention procedures in different provinces, being transferred from one's place of residence to other cities, and the imposition of detention measures; the enforcement of decisions blocking access to journalists' social media accounts and news reports; and the imposition of multiple judicial control measures—such as weekly reporting requirements and bans on leaving the country—thereby restricting journalists' freedoms, stand out as aggravating factors in this process.

BirGün newspaper reporter İsmail Arı was detained in the Turhal district of Tokat whilst visiting family during the holiday and subsequently arrested after being brought to Ankara, whilst DW Türkçe reporter Alican Uludağ was detained at his home in Ankara and then arrested after being transported by road to Istanbul.

Furthermore, the prevalence of acquittal rulings in first-instance courts and the overturning of convictions by higher courts indicate significant issues in the applica-

tion of this criminal offence. This situation reinforces the finding that, even if acquitted following trial, journalists are effectively punished due to the prolonged investigation and prosecution processes, as well as the protective measures imposed. According to the data available to us, there are no finalised criminal convictions against journalists charged under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code.

The numerical data is as follows: Based on the data available to us since the regulation came into force in October 2022,³⁴ at least;

- 113 investigations have been launched against a total of 88 journalists

- 29 journalists were detained and six were arrested. One journalist was subject to a judicial control measure restricting them from leaving their residence.

- While 49 investigations were closed without prosecution, 29 were referred to the prosecution stage following the drafting of indictments. In 15 of the cases brought to court, acquittal rulings were issued by the courts of first instance; in 12, proceedings continued. In one case, a conviction handed down by a court of first instance was overturned following an appeal review, and an acquittal was ordered. In another case, a court of first instance imposed a 10-month suspended prison sentence (HAGB). There is no finalised criminal conviction under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code.

- Between April 2025 and April 2026, 19 journalists were tried on charges under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) in 16 separate criminal cases.³⁵ In 16 separate criminal cases, 19 journalists were tried. In five of these cases, seven journalists were acquitted, whilst criminal proceedings continued against 12 journalists.

- Of the 67 detentions over the past year, 20 were based on charges under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code. Of these 20 detentions, only three journalists were released after giving their statements. While detention orders were issued for two journalists, one journalist was subject to a residence restriction order, and 14 journalists were subject to various judicial control measures, including a requirement to sign in and a ban on leaving the country.

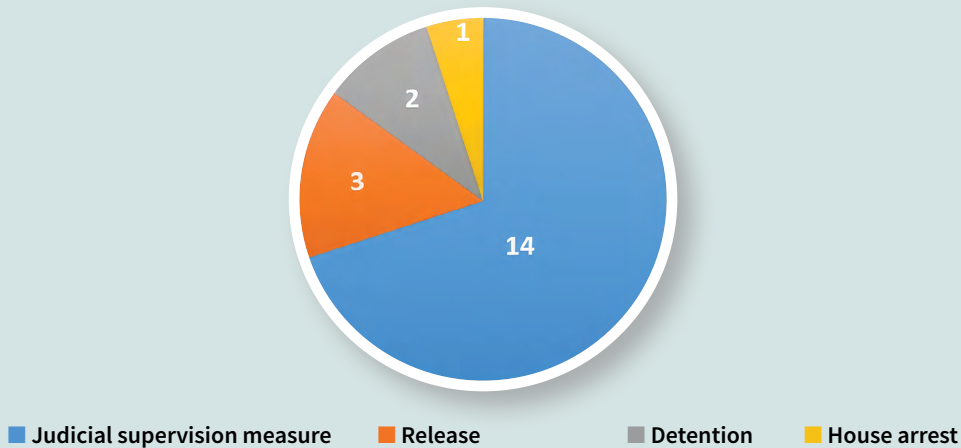
³² Giresun28Haber, "Journalist's post deemed 'disinformation offence'", <https://www.giresun28haber.com/gazetecinin-paylasimi-dezenformasyon-sucu-oldu/>, Accessed on: 23 June 2025.

³³ Oksijen, "Reason: 'Umbrellas for the governor, none for veterans' report: IHA reporter Sebahattin Yum arrested!", <https://gazeteoksijen.com/yasam/gerekce-valiye-semsiye-var-gazilere-yok-haberi-ih-muhabiri-sebahattin-yum-gozaltina-alindi-254143>, Accessed on: 15 October 2025.

³⁴ You can access the data via the Supplementary Table.

³⁵ You can access the data via the Appendix Table.

Results of Detentions Occurring in the Last Year



TBB PRESIDENT AV. R. ERİNÇ SAĞKAN WROTE:

The Obstacle to the Public's Right to Information: Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code

Although Article 28 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey bears the heading “freedom of the press”, Article 22 regulates “freedom of communication”, Article 25 “freedom of thought and belief”, and Article 26 “freedom to express and disseminate thoughts”. Furthermore, following the regulation of freedom of the press in Article 28, Article 29 addresses the “right to publish periodical and non-periodical publications”, Article 30 covers the “protection of press media”, and Article 31 deals with the “right to utilise non-press mass communication media held by public legal entities”. In summary, press freedom has been safeguarded in virtually every respect within a broad framework ranging from freedom of thought and expression to the protection of press outlets. This protective regime constitutes one side of the coin.

On the other side of the coin, however, are journalists facing investigations and prosecutions, those who have been arrested or even convicted, media organisations facing sanctions of varying degrees due to the news or programmes they have published, and journalists whose applications for press cards have been blocked.

According to official statements, there are no detained journalists in Turkey, as those currently detained have, according to the same official accounts, been arrested or punished not for ‘journalistic activities’ but for other reasons. There is no doubt that journalists, like members of any profession, may have committed various offences and been tried. However, the fact that journalists or media organisations known for their critical

views are systematically subjected to sanctions should not be confused with individual cases of “guilt”.

In Turkey, there are certain criminal provisions that have long been used as obstacles to freedom of expression, particularly against journalists. Among the most prominent are Articles 216, 220, 299 and 301 of the Turkish Penal Code, and Article 7/2 of the Anti-Terrorism Law. These provisions have been the subject of numerous court rulings, as well as case law from the Constitutional Court and the European Court of Human Rights. However, it is worth highlighting a provision concerning a relatively new criminal offence introduced into our legal system on 18 October 2022. The offence of ‘publicly disseminating misleading information’, which entered our legal system as Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code and has quickly become one of the primary tools of pressure on the press...

Whilst the provision was still at the draft stage, we, as the Union of Turkish Bar Associations, expressed our views, stating: “We can already foresee that this regulation will create an obstacle to rights and freedoms. We are aware that, in its current form, the proposal presented to the public under the guise of combating disinformation could be used as a new tool to restrict the right to freedom of expression”; “We had reminded that, to ensure Turkey does not become a country where all forms of critical thought are suppressed and associated with bans, there is a need for legal regulations that protect rather than restrict the spheres of rights and freedoms.” Unfortunately, this provision has been used exactly as we had foreseen.

The terms used in the regulation, such as “concern” and “information contrary to the truth”, which lack legal predictability, have posed a serious threat to press and freedom of expression, exactly as we had foreseen. Such phrases, and others like them, contravene rights and freedoms when assessed against the criteria of “legitimate aim” and “necessity in a democratic society” under Article 10(2) of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Although the explanatory memorandum to the law states that “the offence is a concrete danger offence, with the requirement that the act be ‘capable of disturbing public order’ being emphasised”, it has been observed that this is not the case in practice; the criterion of being capable of disturbing public order has either been completely disregarded or it has been assumed that this criterion is met through abstract expressions. Consequently, contrary to what is stated in the explanatory memorandum, it must not be forgotten that this provision, from the perspective of criminal law theory, constitutes a type of abstract danger offence—referred to as ‘potential danger’ or ‘suitability’ offences—rather than a concrete danger offence.

It was clear from the outset that implementing a criminal provision directly interfering

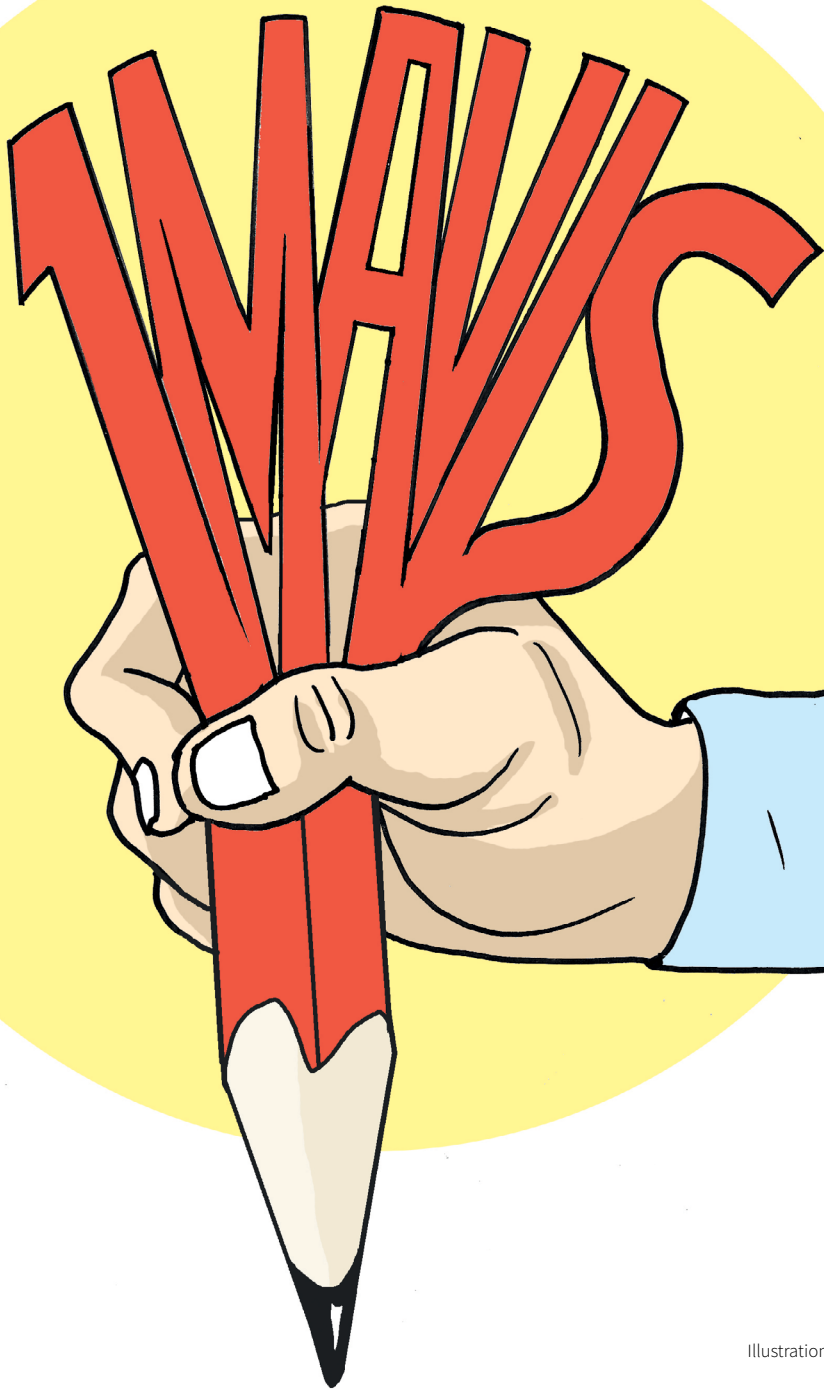
with freedom of expression in the form of an abstract danger offence would create a serious problem in terms of the protection of freedom of expression.

At the time the law was being drafted, the European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) had also issued an urgent opinion. This opinion was translated into Turkish by the Union of Turkish Bar Associations at the time and made available to readers and evaluators from all sectors. The opinion stated: “The Venice Commission is of the view that, should the said Bill become law, the interference it would cause with freedom of expression in Turkey would be neither ‘necessary in a democratic society’ nor proportionate to the legitimate aims of preventing disorder and safeguarding national security, public health and the rights of others”; indeed, this proved to be the case.

The provision criminalising the public dissemination of misleading information does not target journalists alone. Whilst journalists constitute the group at greatest risk, politicians, human rights defenders, professionals from all walks of life, experts, individuals sharing content on social media, and citizens are all under threat from this provision. Indeed, the practice of the recent past demonstrates this. Citizens from all walks of life, primarily journalists but also including lawyers, have become suspects and defendants under this regulation due to their statements, explanations and posts.

Similarly, the regulation criminalising the public dissemination of misleading information constitutes a serious obstacle not only to freedom of expression and press freedom—an inseparable part of the former—but also to the public’s right to access information, which is a fundamental element of a democratic social order. For restricting the public’s access to accurate, timely and pluralistic information undermines individuals’ ability to form sound opinions, renders public scrutiny ineffective and harms the transparency of democratic processes. Whilst journalists, fearing the threat posed by Regulation 217/A, develop a form of self-censorship, citizens are also deprived of the opportunity to participate in public debate. In other words, the regulation criminalising the public dissemination of misleading information actually narrows the public sphere.

Although the Constitutional Court has not ruled that the regulation is unconstitutional, this regulation—which contravenes general principles of law and imposes disproportionate restrictions on rights and freedoms—and/or its current application must be abandoned immediately.



IX. AN OVERVIEW OF THE SECTOR

According to statistics from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security for January 2026, there are 90,293 registered employees in the “Press, publishing and journalism” sector in which TGS operates³⁶. This figure includes not only journalists but also those working in sectors such as printing, packaging, and publishing.

A. Number of Employees in Press Organisations

You can view the number of registered employees in businesses operating within our sector that carry out journalistic activities, as well as the changes in this figure between 2020 and 2026, in Table 8³⁷.

Table 8: Number of Registered Employees in Businesses Engaged in Journalism (2020–2026)

	NUMBER OF REGISTERED EMPLOYEES						
CATEGORY	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026
Publication of newspapers	9.748	10.105	10.148	11.934	12.145	12.216	12.256
Television production and broadcasting	7.139	8.038	8.354	9.341	9.666	10.049	9.406
News agencies	3.920	4.097	4.378	4.969	5.281	5.269	4.639
Radio broadcasting	945	1. 184	1.027	997	951	983	939
Total	21.752	23.424	23.907	27.241	28.043	28.517	27.240

³⁶ The Ministry of Labour and Social Security shares with the public the number of registered workers in the country, the number of unionised workers within this figure, and the unionisation rate through statistics published in January and July each year.

For further information: <https://www.csgb.gov.tr/istatistikler/calisma-hayati-istatistikleri/sendikal-istatistikler/is-ci-sayilari-ve-sendikalarin-uye-sayilari-hakkinda-tebligler/>, accessed on 20 March 2026.

³⁷ At the beginning of each month, the Ministry publishes the “List of Sectors and Workplaces”, which is only accessible to trade union headquarters managers. Access is restricted to the public. The table is based on the “Industry Workplace List” published by the Ministry for the periods April 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, as well as March 2025 and April 2026.

As can be seen from Table 8, the number of registered employees in businesses engaged in journalism shows a decline in 2026, contrary to the upward trend observed between 2020 and 2025. This year, too, the highest employment is in ‘newspaper publishing’, in other words, in printed newspapers, whilst the lowest employment is in the ‘radio broadcasting’ category.

B. Journalism Graduates Face High Unemployment

TÜİK published the results of the Household Labour Force Survey on 25 March 2026³⁸. According to this, the unemployment rate among those aged 15 and over fell by 0.4 percentage points compared to the previous year, reaching 8.3% in 2025. In the survey’s table on “labour force status by most recent field of study”, the unemployment rate for “journalism and information” graduates fell by 4 percentage points compared to the previous year, dropping to 9.5% in 2025. On the other hand, the 13.5% unemployment rate was higher than both the general unemployment rate of 8.3% and the 8.4% unemployment rate for “college or university” graduates. Whilst the decline in the relatively high unemployment rates previously observed among journalism graduates is encouraging, it is clear that they still remain above the average.

C. Employers’ Aversion to Trade Unions Persists

According to the latest statistics released by the Ministry, the number and rates of unionisation in the sector are shown in the table below.

Table 9: Unionisation Numbers and Rates in the Sector

Period	TGS	Basın-İş	DİSK Press- Work	Media Union	Leader Media- Sen	Press Pol-Sen
January 2026	1,743 / 1.93 %	2,418 / 2.67 %	917 / 1.01%	7,317 / 8.1%	2 / 0.002 %	8 / 0.008 %

As can be seen from Table 9, there are four trade unions this year that have passed the 1% sectoral threshold and are eligible to sign collective agreements. Among these four, the trade union with the highest number of workplaces where it is authorised/organised in the media sector is, once again this year, the Turkish Journalists’ Union (TGS). The total unionisation rate in the sector (13.71%) remained below the national average unionisation rate (14.45%) this year as well.

In light of this general overview of the sector, the organisations where the TGS holds authority as of April 2026 and the start dates of the collective agreements are as follows:

³⁸ Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK), Labour Force Statistics 2025, <https://veriportali.tuik.gov.tr/tr/press/57996>, Accessed on: 29 March 2026.

Table 10: Establishments Where TGS Holds Authority

Number	Organisation	First Collective Agreement Start Date
1	Universal	July 2014
2	Dokuz Eylül	September 2017
3	Reuters	April 2019
4	Refinitiv	April 2019
5	Iz Gazette	March 2021
6	AFP	March 2021
7	BBC	August 2021
8	AP	October 2021
9	Media Inc	March 2022
10	Yenigün	July 2023
11	Medyascope	January 2025
12	Discovery	July 2025
13	Eskişehir News Agency (EHA)	January 2026

In addition to the table above, there are two media companies where TGS holds a majority stake, but the process has been taken to court due to objections from employers regarding jurisdiction.

Table 11: Workplaces at the Judicial Stage

Number	Organisation	Start of Proceedings
1	Hürriyet	November 2019
2	Halk TV	June 2021

X. POVERTY SURVEY: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LEVEL SURVEY

We conducted a survey this year as well to measure the perception of poverty among those working in the media sector and to gather information on economic and social consumption behaviours. You can find the striking results of the survey below.

Senior Members Top the List

In line with the results of last year’s survey, senior members again stood out numerically in this year’s surveys conducted in both authorised and unauthorised workplaces.

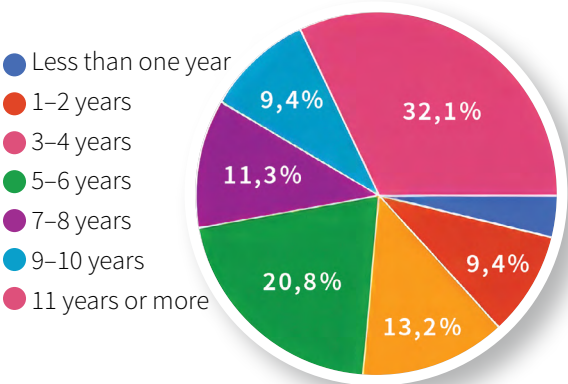
1- Survey Results for Authorised Workplaces:

32.1% of participants stated they had worked for “11 years or more” at a company in their sector. The “5–6 years” response came in second at 20.8%. The proportion of those stating a “3–4 years” tenure was 13.2%, whilst those stating “7–8 years” stood at 11.3%. Two options, “1–2 years” and “9–10 years”, shared the same proportion at 9.4%. In last place were those stating “less than one year”, at 3.8%. In other words, the total proportion of employees working for five years or more at a business in the “Press, Publishing and Journalism” sector was 73.6%.

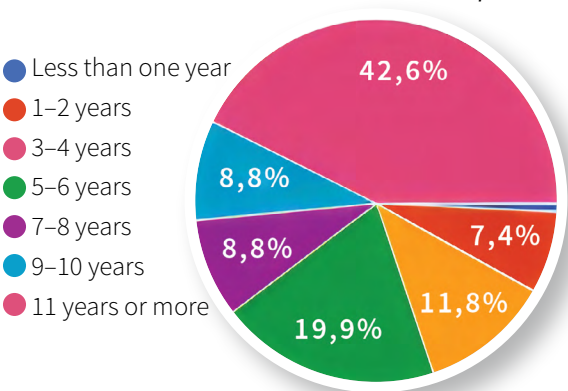
2- Results of the Survey of Unlicensed Workplaces:

Almost half of the participants, 42.6%, stated that they had worked in a business within the sector for “11 years or more”. The distribution of the other options was as follows: 19.9% for “5–6 years”, 11.8% for “3–4 years”, 8.8% each for “7–8 years” and “9–10 years”, 7.4% for “1–2 years”, and 0.7% for “less than one year”.

How many years have you been working at a company in the “Press, Publishing, and Journalism” sector? 53 Responses



How many years have you been working at a company in the “Press, Publishing, and Journalism” sector? 136 Replies



Workplaces Operating at International and National Levels Stood Out

Contrary to last year's results, members working at media companies operating at both international and national levels stood out in terms of survey participation. Of the 13 workplaces with which TGS has currently signed a collective agreement, 11 are businesses engaged in journalism. Five of these are media companies operating at an international level, two at a national level, and four at a city/regional level.

1- Results of the Survey of Authorised Workplaces:

In terms of the distribution of participants, the response 'media company operating at an international level' came first with 49.1%. This was followed by 'media company operating at a city/regional level' with 28.3% and 'media company operating at a national level' with 22.6%.

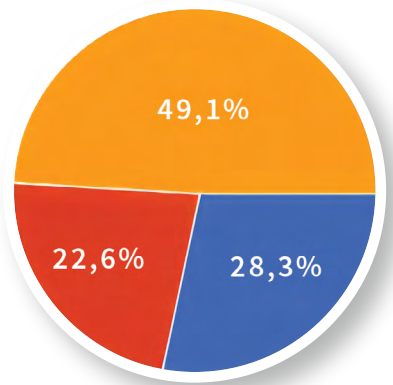
2- Results of the Survey of Unauthorised Workplaces:

In first place, with 52.2%, was "a media company operating at the national level". In second place, with 36%, were those who stated "a media company operating at the city/regional level", whilst in last place, with 11.8%, was the response "a media company operating at the international level".

Which of the following statements is true regarding your current workplace?

53 Responses

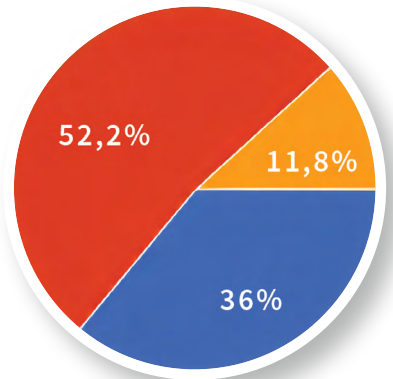
- Media company operating at the city/regional level
- Media company operating at the national level
- Media company operating at the international level



Which of the following is true about your current workplace?

136 Responses

- Media company operating at the city/regional level
- Media company operating at the national level
- Media company operating at the international level



University Graduates in the Majority

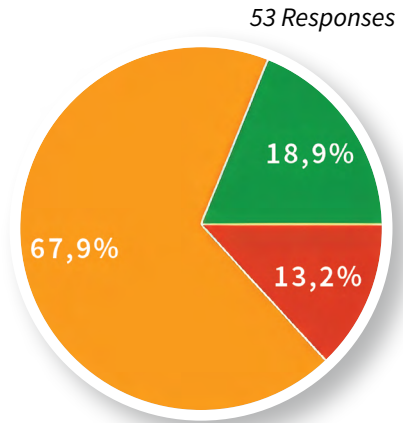
This year's results are similar to last year's. University graduates constituted the majority in both authorized and unauthorized workplace surveys.

1- Survey Results for Authorised Workplaces:

Among participants, 67.9% stated they were "university" graduates. In second place, at 18.9%, were "master's degree" graduates, whilst "secondary school" graduates came last at 13.2%. Although "lower secondary school" and "doctorate" were listed as options, neither was selected by any respondents.

What is your education level?

- Middle School
- High School
- College
- Master's Degree
- Doctorate

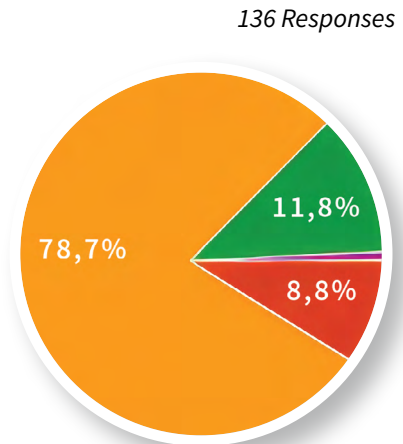


2- Results of the Survey of Unauthorised Workplaces:

78.7% of participants answered "university" to this question. Those stating "master's degree" came second at 11.8%, followed by "secondary school" at 8.8%. In last place were those with "doctoral" level education at 0.7%.

What is your education level?

- Middle School
- High School
- College
- Master's Degree
- Doctorate



Collective Agreements Protect Against Hunger and Poverty

At the time the survey was conducted, the net minimum wage was 28,075.50 TL³⁹. According to BİSAM's calculations for the March 2026 period, the hunger line for a family of four was 32,553 TL, whilst the poverty line stood at 106,942 TL⁴⁰. According to Türk-İş's calculations for the same period, the hunger line is 32,793 TL and the poverty line is 106,817 TL.⁴¹

Taking the poverty line calculations into account, in the survey of authorised workplaces, the proportion of those with a monthly net income around the poverty line was 18.9%. This figure rose to 26.5% in the survey of unauthorised workplaces.

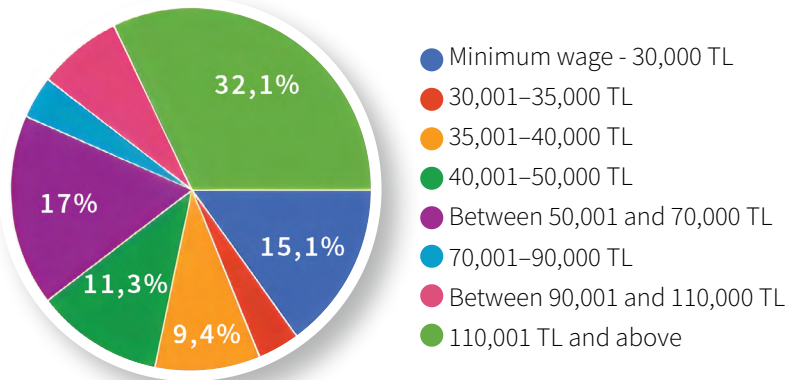
We also examined the data taking the poverty line into account. In this case, 32.1% of respondents from authorised workplaces clearly had a monthly net income above the poverty line, whilst only 0.7% of respondents from unauthorised workplaces stated that they clearly had a monthly net income above the poverty line.

1- Results of the Survey of Authorised Workplaces:

In first place, with 32.1%, is the '110,001 TL and above' option. In second place, with 17%, are those with a monthly net income of '50,001–70,000 TL'. The distribution of the other options is as follows: 'Minimum wage – 30,000 TL', 11.3% for "40,001 – 50,000 TL", 9.4% for "35,001 – 40,000 TL" and 7.5% for "90,001 – 110,000 TL". The bottom two positions were shared by two responses: 3.8% for "between 30,001 and 35,000 TL" and "between 70,001 and 90,000 TL".

What is your monthly net income (including benefits such as transportation, meals, bonuses, etc.)?

53 Responses



³⁹ Ministry of Labour and Social Security, Minimum Wage, <https://www.csgeb.gov.tr/poco-pages/asgari-ucret/>, Accessed on: 30 March 2026.

⁴⁰ BİSAM, Poverty and Hunger Threshold March 2026 Periodic Report, <https://birlesikmetal.org/aclik-ve-yoksulluk-siniri-mart-2026-donem-raporu/>, Accessed on: 30 March 2026.

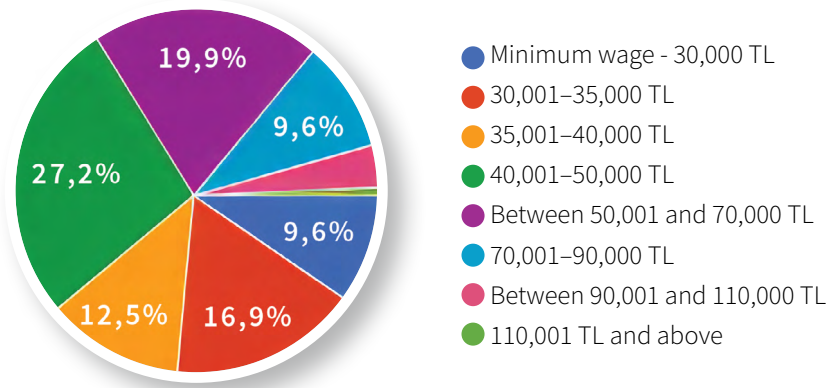
⁴¹ TÜRK-İŞ, March 2026 Poverty and Hunger Threshold, <https://www.turkis.org.tr/turk-is-mart-2026-aclik-ve-yoksulluk-siniri/>, Accessed on: 30 March 2026.

2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

In this question, the distribution of options is relatively balanced. In first place, with 27.2%, were those with a monthly net income of “between 40,001 and 50,000 TL”. The distribution of the other options is as follows: 19.9% for “between 50,001 and 70,000 TL”, 16.9% for “between 30,001 and 35,000 TL”, 12.5% for “between 35,001 and 40,000 TL”, 9.6% each for “minimum wage to 30,000 TL” and “70,001–90,000 TL”, and 3.7% for “90,001–110,000 TL”. Finally, the response “110,001 TL and above” accounted for 0.7%.

What is your monthly net income (including benefits such as transportation, meals, bonuses, etc.)?

136 Responses



Pay rise rates at a low ebb in non-unionised workplaces

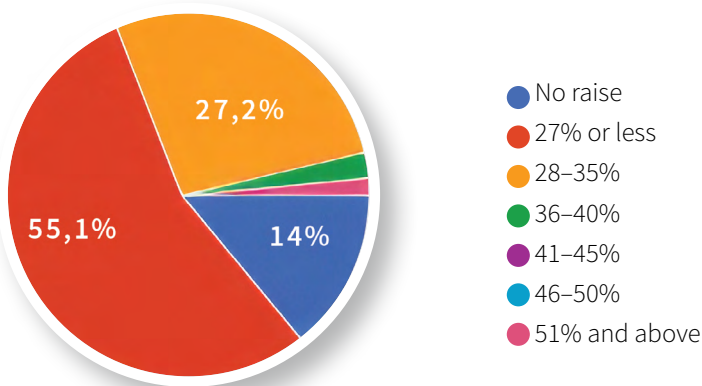
This year, we added another question to our survey specifically directed at members in non-unionised workplaces. We know how much pay rise members in unionised workplaces have received and how much they will receive during the collective bargaining process from the collective agreements. In fact, we share all agreements with the public on the “collective agreements” page of our union’s website, and for those interested, we provide the link: . However, we are also curious about the situation in non-unionised/unauthorised workplaces, which make up the majority of the sector. From the responses to the question, it appears that the pay rise rate in non-unionised workplaces, at best, follows the minimum wage increase (27%). Meanwhile, 14% of participants emphasised that they received no pay rise at all.

2- Results of the Non-Unionised Workplaces Survey:

The majority of participants, 55.1%, stated that they received a pay rise of ‘27% or less’. In second place, 27.2% said they received a pay rise of ‘between 28% and 35%’. The proportion of those stating that no New Year’s pay rise was granted was 14%. The final two options in the ranking were “between 36% and 40%” at 2.2% and “51% and above” at 1.5%. Although the options “between 41% and 45%” and “between 46% and 50%” were included, they were not selected.

How much was the New Year (2026) raise?

136 Responses



⁴² TGS, Collective Labour Agreements, <https://tgs.org.tr/konu/toplu-is-sozlesmeleri/>, Accessed on: 12 March 2026.

Authorised Workplaces Lead the Way in the 'Equal Pay for Equal Work' Policy

In both surveys, participants' top preference was that their workplaces had an "equal pay for equal work" policy. The fact that this figure was higher at 64.2% in the survey of authorised workplaces is a significant factor.

1- Results of the Survey of Authorised Workplaces:

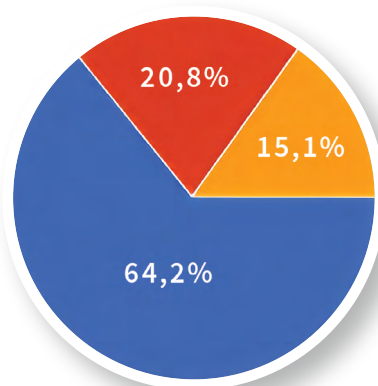
The majority of participants, 64.2%, answered "yes" to this question, whilst the proportion of those answering "no" stood at 20.8%. The proportion of those selecting the third option, "not sure", stood at 15.1%.

"Equal pay for equal work means paying the same wage to employees performing the same job at the same workplace, REGARDLESS OF GENDER."

Based on this definition, do you think your workplace has an "equal pay for equal work" policy?

53 Responses

- Yes
- No
- I'm not sure



2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

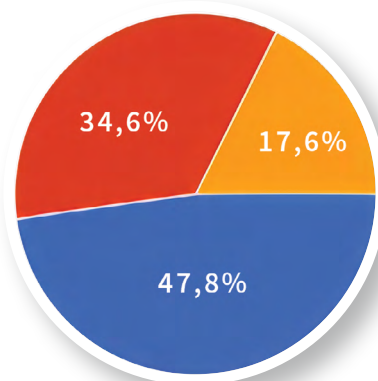
Nearly half of the participants, 47.8%, stated that their workplace has an "equal pay for equal work" policy, while 34.6% said "no." Those who responded "I'm not sure" accounted for 17.6%.

"Equal pay for equal work; employees performing the same job at the same workplace should receive the same is paid."

Based on this definition, do you think your workplace has an "equal pay for equal work" policy?

136 Responses

- Yes
- No
- I'm not sure



Wages, Primary Source of Income

In both surveys, it is evident that wages are the primary source of income for our members. This result was the same as last year's survey outcome.

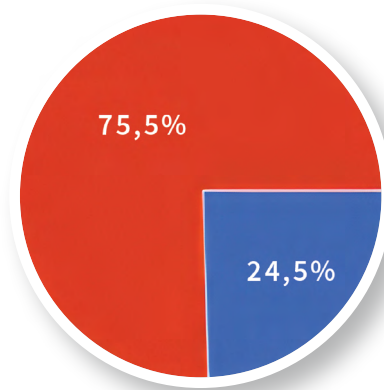
1- Authorized Workplaces Survey Result:

More than three-quarters of participants (75.5%) answered "no" to this question, while the percentage of those who answered "yes" remained at 24.5%.

Do you have any additional income besides your salary?

53 Responses

- Yes
- No



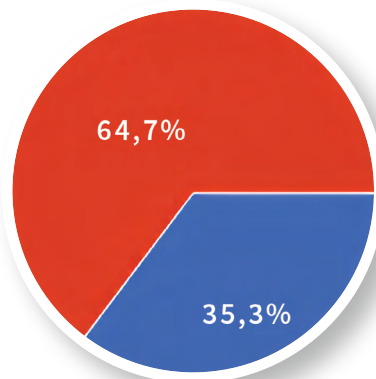
2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

While 64.7% of participants stated they have no additional income besides their salary, 35.3% indicated they do have additional income.

Do you have any additional income besides your salary?

136 Responses

- Yes
- No



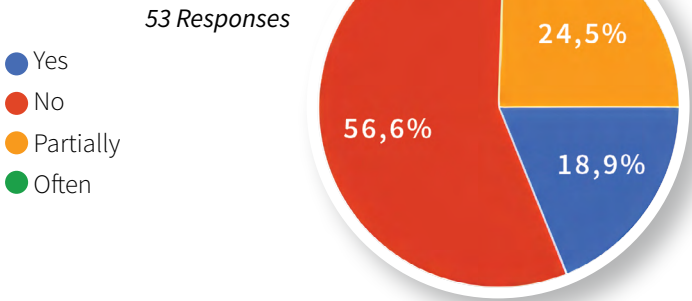
Some Members Need Financial Support from Their Families to Make Ends Meet

In both surveys, the majority stated that they do not receive financial support from their families to make ends meet. However, in both surveys, the combined total of “yes” and “partially” responses indicated that a significant number of our members do receive financial support from their families to make ends meet.

1- Results of the Authorized Workplaces Survey:

The majority of participants, 56.6%, answered “no,” indicating they do not receive financial support from their families to make ends meet. The percentage of those who answered “yes” was 18.9%, while 24.5% answered “partially.”

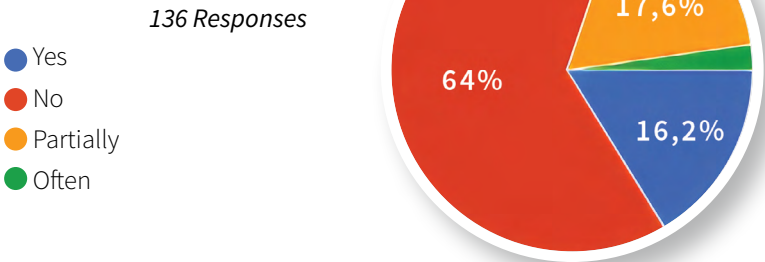
Do you receive financial support from your family to make ends meet, in addition to your salary?



2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

The “no” option leads with 64%. The percentage of those who answered “yes” is 16.2%. The percentage of those who receive some financial support from their families is 17.6%. Those who answered “frequently” account for 2.2%.

Do you receive financial support from your family to make ends meet, in addition to your salary?



Most Do Not Have a Side Job, But Are Willing to Take One If the Opportunity Arises

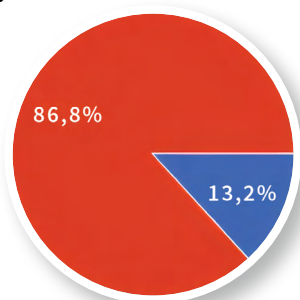
According to survey data, those who do side jobs are numerically more prevalent in unauthorized workplaces. Furthermore, when considered alongside the following question, the majority of participants in both authorized and unauthorized workplaces are ready to take on side jobs if the opportunity arises. This result was similar to last year's responses.

1- Survey Results for Authorized Workplaces:

The percentage of those who said they do not do side jobs was 86.8%, while the percentage of those who said "yes" remained at 13.2%.

Do you do side jobs? 53 Responses

● Yes
● No

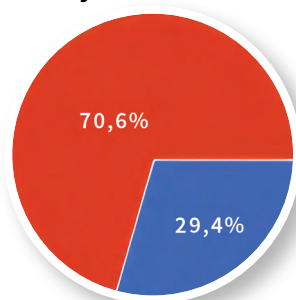


2- Survey Results for Unlicensed Workplaces:

70.6% of participants stated they do not engage in side jobs, while 29.4% indicated they do.

Do you have a side job? 136 Responses

● Yes
● No



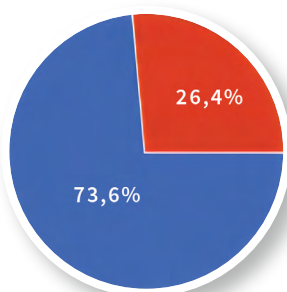
1- Results of the Authorized Workplaces Survey:

While 73.6% of participants said they would take on a side job if given the opportunity, 26.4% said "no."

If you had the opportunity, would you take on a side job to make ends meet?

53 Responses

● Yes
● No



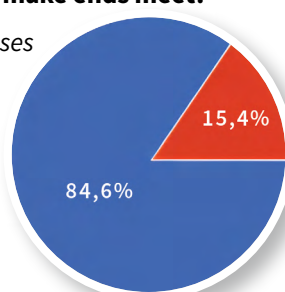
2- Survey Results for Unauthorized Workplaces:

A significant proportion, 84.6%, of participants said they would take on a side job if given the opportunity, while only 15.4% answered "no" to this question.

If you had the opportunity, would you take on a side job to make ends meet?

136 Responses

● Yes
● No



Wage Expectations Are Rising Along With the Contract

our survey of authorized workplaces regarding the wage level necessary to meet basic needs, the most common response was “100,001 TL and above” at 32.1%. In the survey of non-authorized workplaces, however, the option “70,001–90,000 TL” was the top choice at 29.4%. We can say that when responding to this question, participants took into account the economic capacity of the workplaces where they are employed. Last year as well, the most preferred salary range in the survey of authorized workplaces (“100,001 TL and above”) was higher than the most preferred range in the survey of unauthorized workplaces (“50,001– 60,000 TL”). This may indicate that the agreements not only improve economic and social rights but also raise income expectations.

1- Results of the Authorized Workplaces Survey:

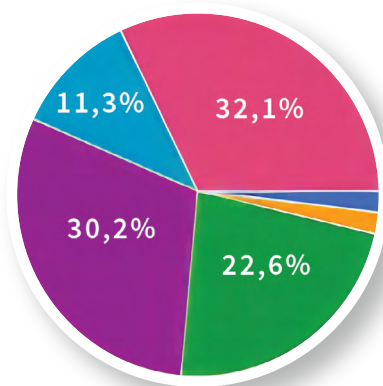
Among the responses, “100,001 TL and above” ranked first at 32.1%. This was followed by those who selected “70,001–90,000 TL” at 30.2%. In third place was “50,001–70,000 TL,” while “90,001–100,000 TL” followed with 11.3%. The bottom two spots were shared by two options: “30,000 TL and under” and “40,001–50,000 TL,” both at 1.9%. The option “30,001–40,000 TL” was not selected.

“Food, shelter, and transportation are basic human needs”

Based on the definition above, how much net income in TL do you need to earn monthly to meet your current basic needs?

53 Responses

- 30,000 TL or less
- 30,001–40,000 TL
- 40,001–50,000 TL
- 50,001–70,000 TL
- 70,001–90,000 TL
- 90,001–100,000 TL
- 110,001 TL and above



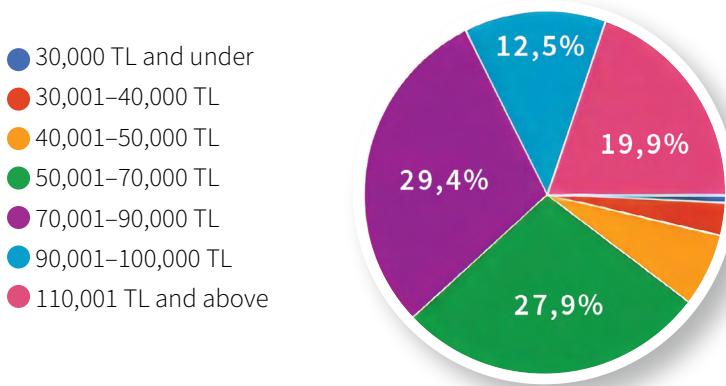
2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

Those who selected “70,001–90,000 TL” came in first place with 29.4%. Right behind them were The “50,001–70,000 TL” option accounted for 27.9%. The distribution of the other options was as follows: “100,001 TL and above” at 19.9%, “90,001–100,000 TL” at 12.5%, for “40,001–50,000 TL,” 2.9% for “30,001–40,000 TL,” and finally 0.7% for “30,000 TL and under.”

“Food, shelter, and transportation are basic human needs”

Based on the above definition, how much net income in TL do you need to earn monthly to meet your current basic needs?

136 Responses



The Largest Share of Spending Goes to Housing/Rent

This year, “housing/rent” and “food” again took the top two spots, while “transportation” fell further down the list compared to last year. In particular, in the survey of informal workplaces, nearly half of the participants placed “housing/rent” at the top of their list. This is no coincidence; rather, it reflects the rise in housing and rent prices in recent years. Between 2015 and 2025, housing prices increased by an average of 48.8% in OECD countries, while in Turkey, this increase reached 1,462%⁴³. We can clearly see that the massive rise in housing prices has also translated into rent increases in our country. By 2025, rents in the EU increased by 3.1%, while in Turkey the increase was 77.6%. In Montenegro, the country closest to Turkey, the increase remained at 18.5%⁴⁴. This unprecedented rise in housing and rent costs is putting journalists—who are struggling to survive on wages near the poverty line and even the hunger threshold—under significant strain.

⁴³ OECD, Housing prices, <https://www.oecd.org/en/data/indicators/housing-prices.html>, Accessed on April 12, 2026.

⁴⁴ Euronews, Europe rent surge: Which countries saw the biggest increases in 2025?, www.euronews.com/business/2026/04/15/europe-rent-surge-which-countries-saw-the-biggest-increases-in-2025, Accessed April 15, 2026.

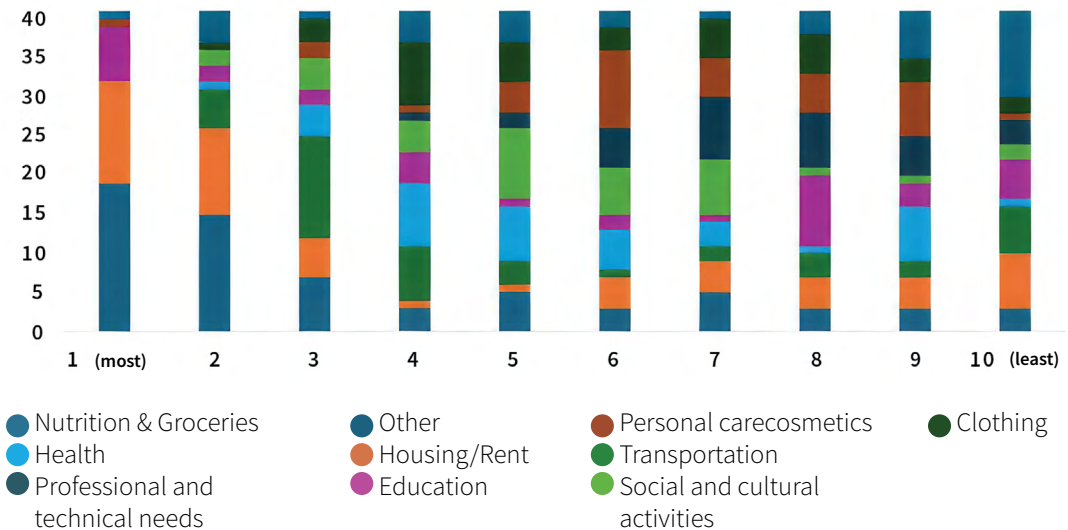
1- Survey Results from Authorized Workplaces:

When we ranked participants' monthly expenditure categories from highest (1) to lowest (10), the most frequently selected option was "housing/rent" at 39.6%. The most preferred options in the second and subsequent ranks were as follows: "food/groceries" at 28.3% in second place, "health" at 28.3% in third place, "other" at 20.7% in fourth, "health" and "socialcultural activities" tied for fifth place at 13.2%, "other" at 15% in sixth place, "clothing" at 13.2% in seventh place, "professional technical needs" and "transportation" tied for eighth place at 13.2%, "personal care-cosmetics" at 13.2% in ninth place, and "professional technical needs" and "education," both at 18.9%, in tenth place were the most preferred options.

How would you rank your monthly expense categories from largest to smallest?

Note: Please rank them from 1 (most) to 10 (least).

53 Responses



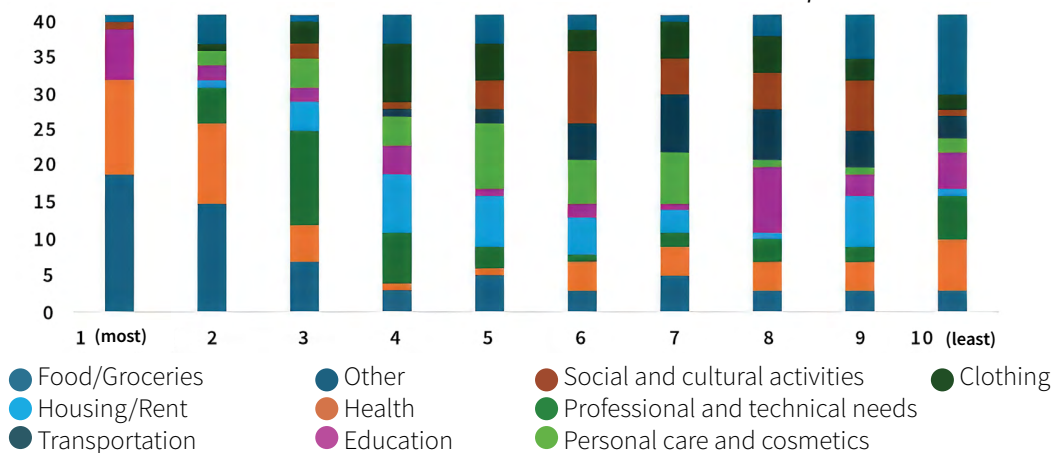
2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

The most frequently selected option, at 46.3%, was “housing/rent.” The next most frequently selected options were as follows: “food/nutrition” at 22.8% in second place, “social and cultural activities” at 15.4% in third place, “social and cultural activities” again at 16.9% in fourth place, “health” at 18.3% in fifth place, “personal care and cosmetics” at 11%- metics” in sixth place, “personal care-cosmetics” again at 9.5% in seventh place, “health” at 14.7% in eighth place, “education” and “other” tied at 8.1% in ninth place, and “housing/rent” at 21.3% in tenth place.

How would you rank your monthly expenses from highest to lowest?

Note: Please rank them from 1 (most) to 10 (least).

53 Responses



Concerns About Unemployment Are Quite High

In both surveys, a significant proportion of participants reported feeling anxious about losing their jobs. The increase in the proportion of those answering “yes” in the authorised workplaces survey compared to last year is particularly noteworthy.

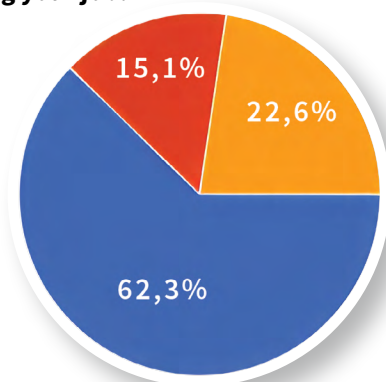
1- Results of the Authorised Workplaces Survey:

The majority of participants, 62.3%, stated that they were concerned about losing their jobs, whilst the proportion of those answering “no” to this question stood at 15.1%. The proportion of those answering “not sure” was 22.6%.

Do you worry about losing your job?

53 Responses

- Yes
- No
- Not sure



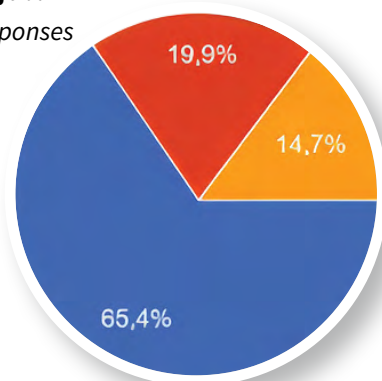
2- Results of the Unlicensed Workplaces Survey:

65.4% of participants answered “yes” to this question, while 19.9% answered “no.” Those who answered “I’m not sure” accounted for 14.7%.

Do you worry about losing your job?

136 Responses

- Yes
- No
- Not sure



Few Can Pay Off Their Entire Credit Card Debt

In both surveys, the percentage of respondents who said “I pay off the entire balance” did not even reach 40%. On the other hand, compared to the previous year, the percentage of respondents who said “I pay off the entire balance” and “I pay the minimum amount” increased in both surveys.

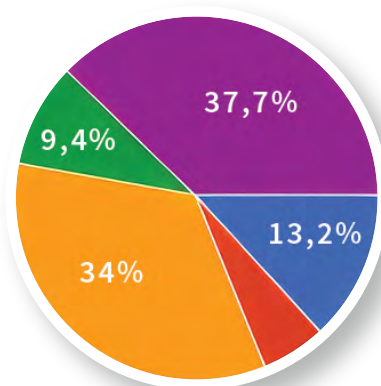
1- Results of the Authorized Business Survey:

The percentage of those who said “I pay the full balance” each month ranked first at 37.7%, followed by those who said “I pay the minimum amount” at 34%. 13.2% of participants stated “I do not use a credit card,” while those who said “I pay more than the minimum amount” accounted for 9.4%. In last place were participants who said “I pay less than the minimum amount,” at 5.7%.

How much of your credit card debt do you pay off each month?

53 Responses

- I don't use a credit card
- I pay less than the minimum amount
- I pay the minimum amount
- I pay more than the minimum amount
- I pay off the entire balance



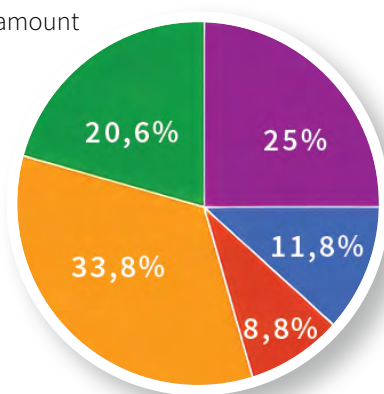
2- Unauthorized Merchants Survey Results:

Those who said “I pay the entire balance” remained at 25%, while the top spot “I pay the minimum amount” at 33.8%. 20% of participants said they “pay more than the minimum,” 8.8% answered “I pay less than the minimum amount.” Only 11.8% said “I don’t use a credit card.”

How much of your credit card debt do you pay off each month?

136 Responses

- I don’t use a credit card
- I pay less than the minimum amount
- I pay the minimum amount
- I pay more than the minimum amount
- I pay off the entire balance



The Majority Feels Poor

Although the proportion of participants who did not feel poor in the survey of authorized workplaces was twice that in the survey of unauthorized workplaces, the majority of participants in both surveys (the sum of those who chose “yes,” “sometimes,” and “often”) stated that there were periods when they felt poor. The survey results show a high degree of similarity to last year’s findings.

1- Survey of Authorized Workplaces Results:

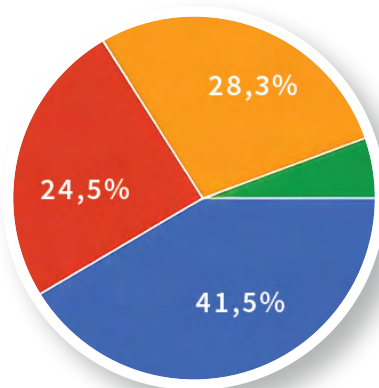
41.5% of participants “yes,” indicating that they had periods when they felt poor. The percentage of those who answered “no” remained at 24.5%. The percentage of participants who stated they felt poor “sometimes” was 28.3%. Finally, those who answered “frequently” at 5.7%.

“Poverty is the condition of not having an income sufficient to cover all or a significant portion of monthly basic needs”

In light of the above definition, the period(s) during which you felt poor?

53 Responses

- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Often



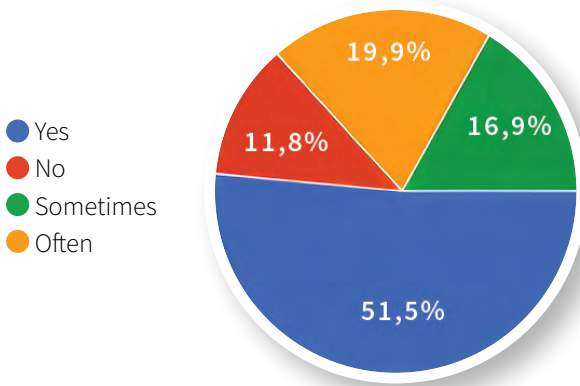
2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

More than half of the participants, 51.5%, answered “yes” to this question. The percentage of those who answered “no” remained at 11.8%. The percentage of those who said they had periods when they “often” felt poor was 16.9%, while those who said “sometimes” accounted for 19.9%.

“Poverty is the condition of not having an income sufficient to cover all or a significant portion of monthly basic needs”

In light of the above definition, the period(s) during which you felt poor?

136 Responses



No Budget for Social and Cultural Activities

In the survey of authorized workplaces, the percentage of those allocating an average monthly budget of “5,001 TL or more” for social and cultural development was 26.4%, while this percentage remained at 8.8%. It was observed that the gap between the two surveys widened in favor of members at authorized workplaces compared to last year. On the other hand, we can safely say that none of the participants allocated a sufficient budget for social and cultural development. These results, which are similar to those of last year, indicate that journalists are facing economic difficulties in nurturing the intellectual side of their profession.

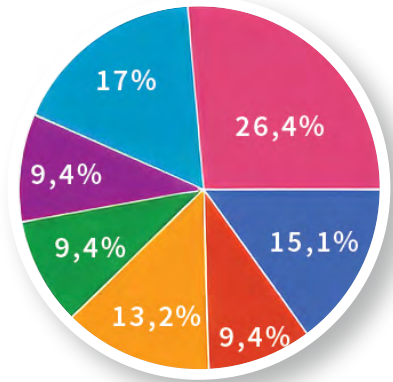
1- Survey Results for Authorized Workplaces:

In first place, with 26.4%, were those allocating an average monthly budget of “5,001 TL and above.” The distribution of the other options was as follows: “2,501–5,000 TL” at 17%, “less than 500 TL” at 15.1%, and “1,001–1,500 TL” at 13.2% were among the top choices. Three options—“between 500 and 1,000 TL,” “between 1,501 and 2,000 TL,” and “between 2,001 and 2,500 TL”—each accounted for 9.4%.

On average, how much of your monthly budget do you allocate for social and cultural activities (such as concerts, theater, cinema, exhibitions, book clubs, gym memberships, platform subscriptions, etc.)?

53 Responses

- Less than 500 TL
- Between 500–1,000 TL
- Between 1,001 and 1,500 TL
- Between 1,501 and 2,000 TL
- Between 2,001 and 2,500 TL
- Between 2,501 and 5,000 TL
- 5,001 TL and above



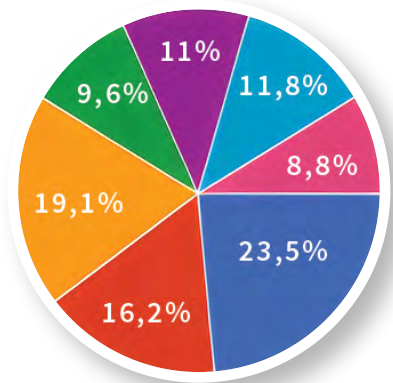
2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

While only 8.8% of participants reported allocating an average monthly budget of “5,001 TL and above,” the top response was “less than 500 TL” at 23.5%. The distribution of other options was as follows: 19.1% for “1,001–1,500 TL,” 16.2% for “500–1,000 TL,” 11.8% for “2,501–5,000 TL,” 11% for “2,001–2,500 TL,” and 9.6% for “1,501–2,000 TL.”

On average, how much of your monthly budget do you allocate for your social and cultural development (for concerts, theater, cinema, exhibitions, book clubs, gym memberships, platform memberships, etc.)?

136 Responses

- Less than 500 TL
- Between 500–1,000 TL
- Between 1,001–1,500 TL
- 1,501–2,000 TL
- Between 2,001 and 2,500 TL
- Between 2,501 and 5,000 TL
- 5.01 TL and above



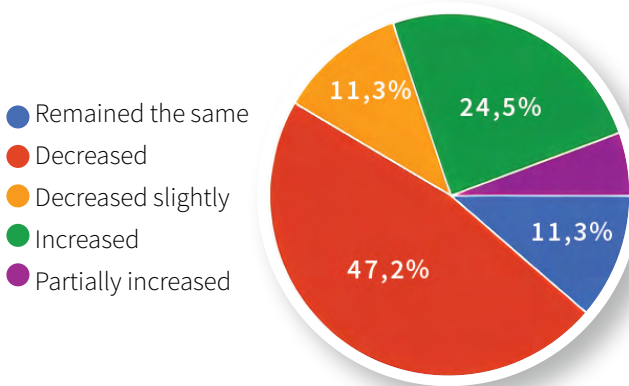
In both surveys, we see that participants allocated less of their budget to social and cultural activities compared to last year. These data will be included in our 2025 report for authorized workplaces. While it stood at 36.6% for authorized workplaces, it was 53% for unauthorized ones. In other words, 71 economic hardship is putting pressure on the budget journalists allocate to social and cultural activities.

1- Survey Results for Authorized Workplaces:

Nearly half of the participants, 47.2%, answered “decreased” to this question. The percentage of those who said the amount spent on social and cultural activities “increased” compared to the previous year remained at 24.5%. The two options—“decreased slightly” and “remained the same”—shared the same percentage at 11.3%. At the bottom of the list, 5.7% of respondents said it “increased slightly.”

Has the amount of your social and cultural spending changed compared to the previous year?

53 Responses

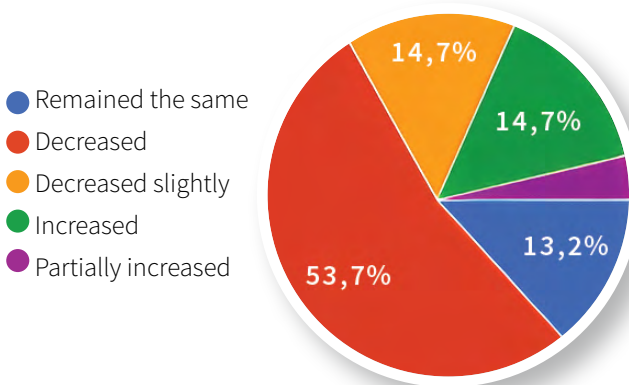


2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

While the majority of participants (53.7%) answered “decreased” to this question, the percentage of those who said “increased” remained at 14.7%. The distribution of other options was as follows: 14.7% chose “decreased slightly,” 13.2% chose “remained the same,” and 3.7% chose “increased slightly.”

Has the amount of your social and cultural spending changed compared to the previous year?

136 Responses



The Poor Economy Is Affecting Collective Bargaining Agreements and Economic Rights

We asked our members at workplaces with collective bargaining agreements about the impact of the country's economic situation on the agreements in effect. We asked our members at workplaces without collective bargaining agreements about the impact of the country's financial situation on current economic and social rights. In both surveys, the "yes" response accounted for a significant proportion. These data showed similarities to last year's results. On the other hand, they also revealed that the current collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) in place at workplaces have been able to mitigate the country's poor economic trajectory to a certain extent.

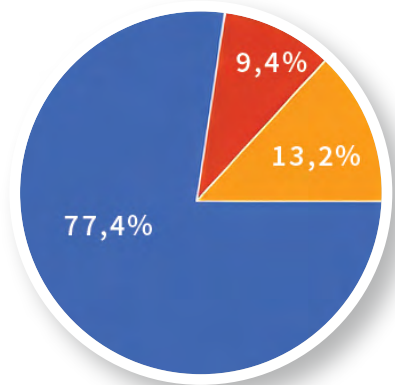
1- Results of the Authorized Workplace Survey:

Approximately two-thirds of participants, 77.4%, answered "yes" to this question. Those who answered "partially" came in second at 13.2%, while those who answered "no" came in last at 9.4%.

Do you believe that the country's financial situation is putting pressure on the collective bargaining agreement in effect at your workplace?

53 Responses

● Yes
● No
● Partially



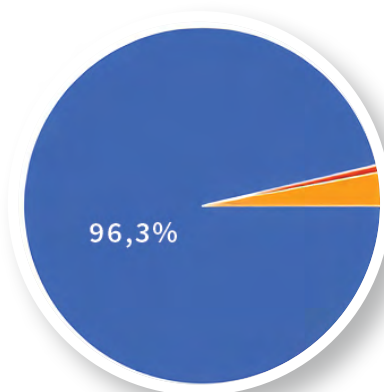
2- Results of the Survey on Unregistered Workplaces:

An overwhelming majority of participants, 96.3%, answered "yes" to this question. While 2.9% believed that the country's financial situation exerts "some" pressure on economic and social rights, only 0.7% answered "no."

Do you believe that the country's financial situation is putting pressure on the collective bargaining agreement in effect at your workplace?

136 Responses

● Yes
● No
● Partially



Inflation Is Rising, Incomes Are Shrinking

The responses to this question in both surveys are similar to last year's results. Nearly all participants believe their incomes have shrunk compared to the previous year due to inflation.

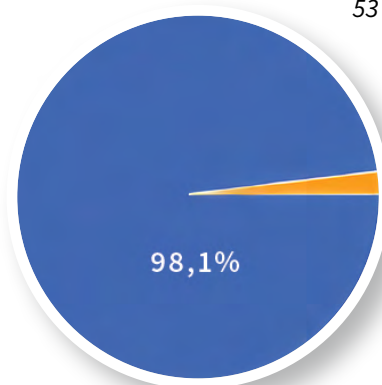
1- Results of the Authorized Workplaces Survey:

The overwhelming majority of participants focused on a single option. Those stating that their income had eroded compared to the previous year due to inflation in the country ranked first at 98.1%, while the percentage of those answering "partially" remained at 1.9%. The "no" response was not selected among the options.

Do you think your income has eroded compared to the previous year due to inflation in the country?

53 Responses

- Yes
- No
- Partially



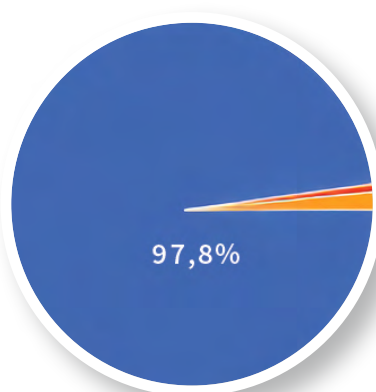
2- Results of the Informal Workplaces Survey:

Nearly all participants (97.8%) answered "yes," stating that their income had eroded compared to the previous year due to inflation in the country. The percentage of those who answered "no" remained at 0.7%, while those who answered "partially" accounted for 1.5%.

Do you think your income has eroded compared to the previous year due to inflation in the country?

136 Responses

- Yes
- No
- Partially



Most Have No Investment Plans

In both surveys, more than 80% of participants did not see themselves investing in the options over the next year. This result shows the extent of the disconnect among journalist generations in the context of economic and social rights.

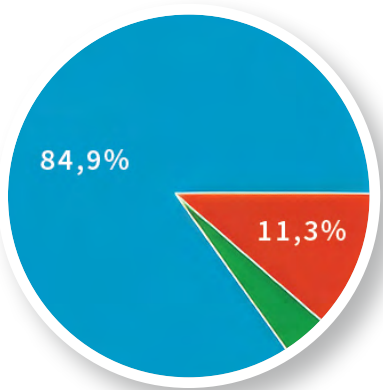
1- Survey Results from Authorized Workplaces:

A significant portion of participants, 84.9%, selected “none of the above,” indicating they did not see themselves as likely to pursue any of the listed options within the next year. The option “buying a used car,” which ranked second, accounted for 11.3%. In last place, with 3.8%, were those who selected “buying a used home.” The options “buying a new car,” “buying a new home,” and “buying land” were not selected.

Which of the following do you see yourself doing most likely in the coming year?

53 Responses

- Buying a new car
- Buying a used car
- Buying a new home
- Buying a used home
- Buying land
- None



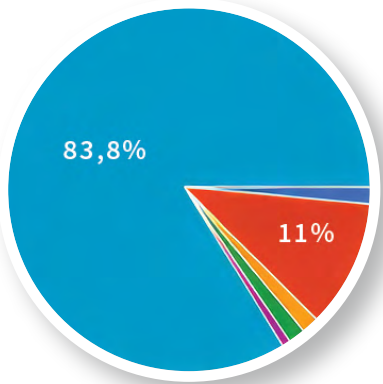
2- Results of the Survey on Unlicensed Workplaces:

A significant portion of participants, 83.8%, selected “none of the above,” indicating they did not see themselves aligning with any of the listed options in the coming year. The percentage of those who chose “buying a used car,” which ranked second, remained at 11%. The distribution of the other options was as follows: The options “buying a new car,” “buying a new home,” and “buying a used home” each accounted for 1.5%. The final option, “buying land,” accounted for 0.7%.

Which of the following do you do you see as most likely for yourself?

136 Responses

- Buying a new car
- Buying a used car
- Buying a new home
- Buying a used home
- Buying land
- None



Most Likely Option: Domestic Vacation

In both surveys, participants ranked “taking a domestic vacation” as their top priority. It would not be wrong to say that journalists’ economic circumstances were a determining factor in this option taking the top spot.

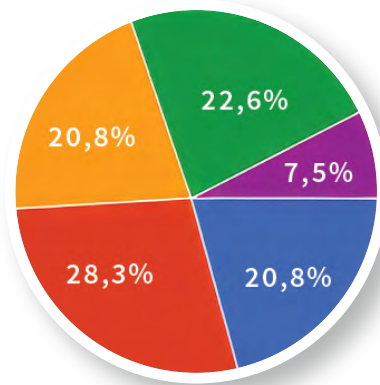
1- Results of the Authorized Workplaces Survey:

Participants’ annual leave plans showed a balanced distribution. The top choice, at 28.3%, was “taking a domestic vacation,” followed closely by “spending time in my city/at home” at 22.6%. The two options “visiting family/relatives/hometown” and “taking a vacation abroad” tied for third place at 20.8%. The “none of the above” option came in last at 7.5%.

Which of the following do you plan to do during your annual leave this year?

53 Responses

- Going on vacation abroad
- Taking a domestic vacation
- Visiting family/relatives/hometown
- Staying in my city/at home
- None

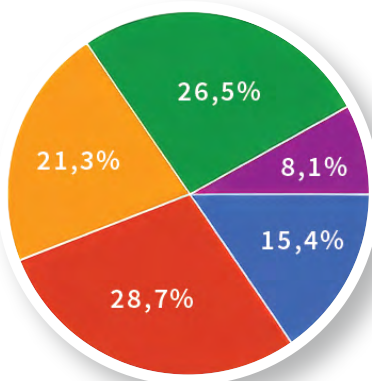


2- Results of the Unlicensed Workplaces Survey:

In first place, with 28.7%, was the preference for “taking a domestic vacation,” followed closely by “spending time in my city/at home” came in at 26.5%. “Visiting family/relatives/hometown” ranked third at 21.3%. While 15.4% of participants planned to “go on a vacation abroad,” the “none of the above” option came in last at 8.1%.

Which of the following do you plan to do during your annual leave this year?

136 Responses



- Going on vacation abroad
- Taking a domestic vacation
- Visiting family/relatives/hometown
- Staying in my city/at home
- None

The Highest Participation Is in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir

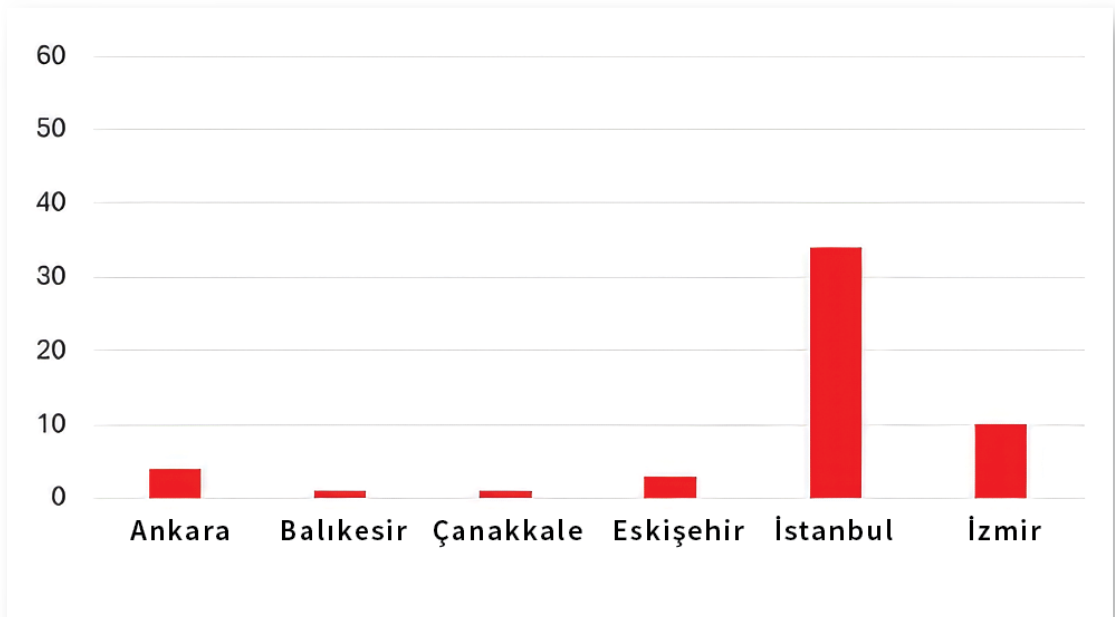
In both surveys, Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir stood out as the three major cities. These results were similar to the distribution of responses from last year.

1- Survey Results from Authorized Workplaces:

The responses showed that participants were distributed across six cities. “Istanbul” came in first with 64.1%. The distribution of the other options was as follows: “Izmir” with 18.9%, “Ankara” with 7.5%, “Eskişehir” at 5.6%, and “Balıkesir” and “Çanakkale” each at 1.8%.

Which city do you live in?

53 Responses

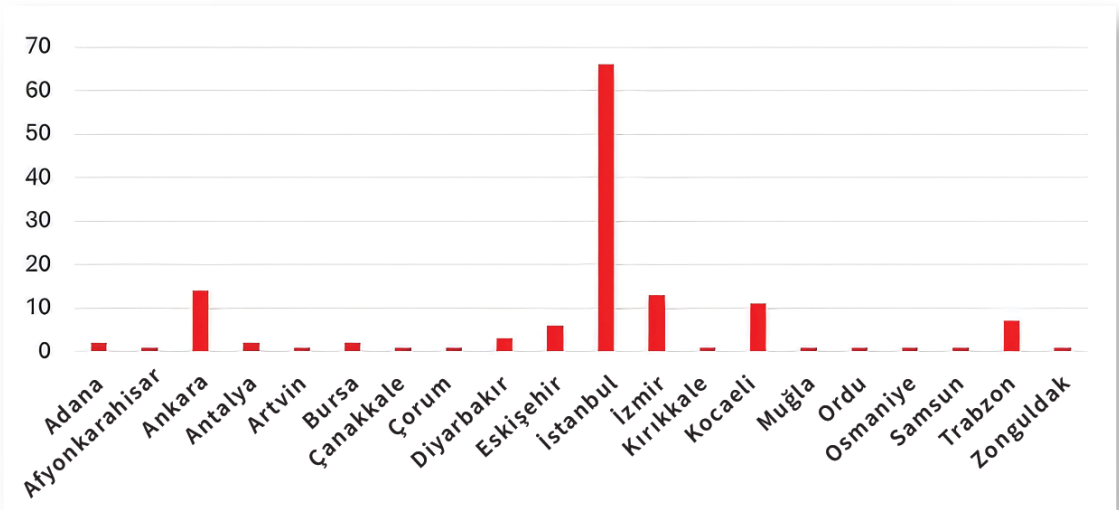


2- Results of the Unlicensed Workplaces Survey:

In the survey, which included participants from a total of twenty provinces, Istanbul came in first with 48.5%. The participation rates of the other provinces were as follows: 10.3% for Ankara, 9.5% for Izmir, 8% for Kocaeli, 5.1% for Trabzon, 4.4% for Eskisehir, 2.2% for Diyarbakir, 1.5% each from Adana, Antalya, and Bursa, and 0.7% each from Afyonkarahisar, Artvin, Çanakkale, Çorum, Kırıkkale, Muğla, Ordu, Osmaniye, Samsun, and Zonguldak.

Which city do you live in?

136 Responses



Most Live in Rental Housing

As seen in the results of both surveys, the majority live in rented housing. This result is similar to the findings of last year's survey.

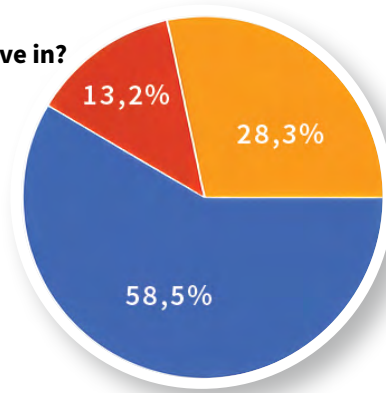
1- Survey Results from Authorized Workplaces:

The majority of participants, 58.5%, stated that the home they live in is "rented." The percentage of those who said "my family owns it" was 28.3%, while those who said "I own the home" accounted for 13.2%.

What is the ownership status of the home you live in?

53 Responses

- Rented
- I own the home
- My family's



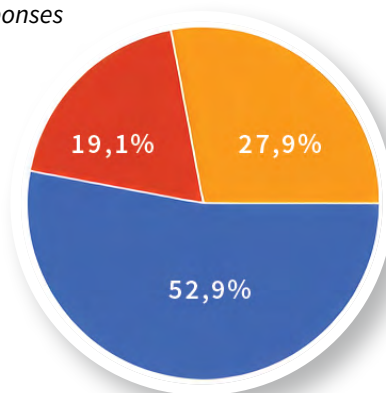
2- Survey Results on Unauthorized Workplaces:

While 52.9% of participants stated that the home they live in is "rented," the percentage of those who said "my family's" remained at 27.9%. In last place, with 19.1%, were those who said "I own the home."

What is the ownership status of the home you live in?

136 Responses

- Rented
- I own the home
- My family's



There is more than one income earner in the household

In the survey of both authorized and unauthorized workplaces, we see that the majority of households have another source of regular income. This result is similar to last year's distribution.

1- Survey Results for Authorized Workplaces:

58.5% of participants answered "yes" to this question, while 41.5% answered "no."

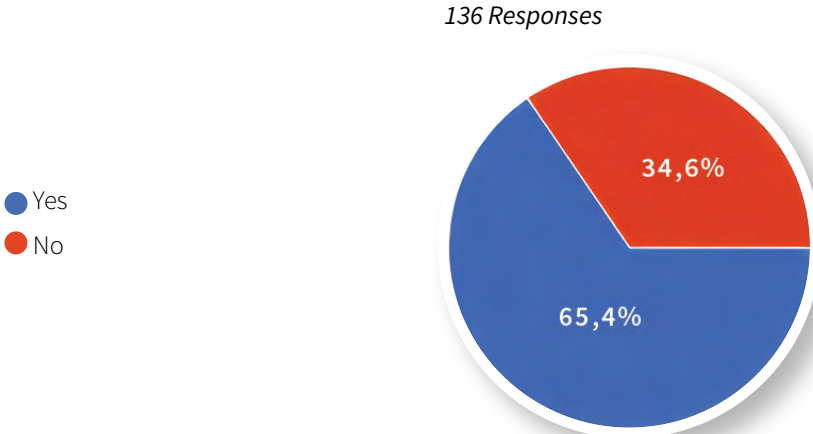
Is there another source of regular income in the household where you live?



2- Yetkisiz İşyerleri Anketi Sonucu:

Katılımcıların %65,4'ü bu soruya "evet" derken, "hayır" diyenlerin oranı %34,6'da kaldı.

Is there anyone else in your household with a regular income?



Commitment to the Profession Is Weakening

The results of both surveys serve as a warning regarding the future of the journalism profession. As was the case with last year’s survey results, the majority of respondents in the survey of unauthorized workplaces stated that, given the opportunity, they would be willing to leave journalism for a better salary.

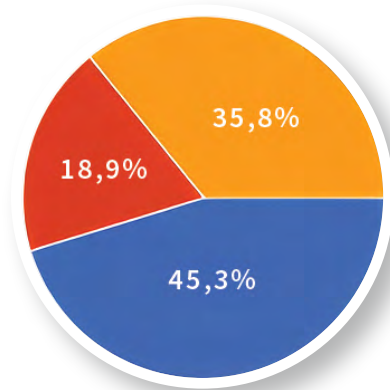
1- Results of the Survey of Authorized Workplaces:

This is one of the most anticipated questions. While 45.3% of participants answered “yes” to the question of whether they would leave journalism for a better salary if given the opportunity, only 18.9% said “no.” The percentage of those who answered “I’m not sure” was 35.8%.

If you had the opportunity, would you quit journalism for a better salary?

53 Responses

- Yes
- No
- I’m not sure



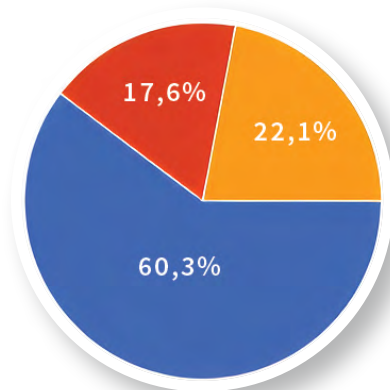
2- Results of the Unlicensed Workplaces Survey:

60.3% of participants said “yes” to leaving journalism for a better salary if given the opportunity, while only 17.6% answered “no.” The percentage of those who responded “not sure” stood at 22.1%.

If you had the opportunity, would you quit journalism for a better salary?

136 Responses

- Yes
- No
- I’m not sure



Pessimism About the Industry Is Growing

In both surveys, a significant proportion of participants responded that they were “pessimistic” about the future of the media sector. Last year, these figures stood at 68.3% in the survey of authorized workplaces and 76.2% in the survey of unauthorized workplaces, while this year the figures rose in both surveys.

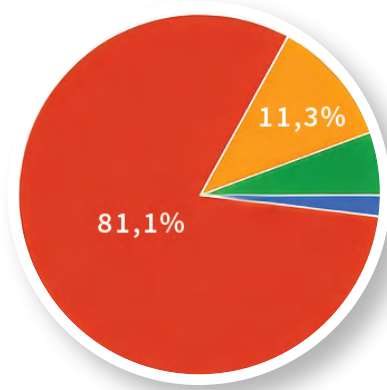
1- Results of the Survey of Authorized Workplaces:

A significant portion of participants, 81.1%, responded “pessimistic” regarding the future of the media sector, while only 1.9% said they were “optimistic.” Those who said “I’m not sure” came in second at 11.3%. Those who said “I have no opinion” came in third at 5.7%.

How do you view the future of the media sector?

53 Responses

- I am optimistic
- Pessimistic
- I’m not sure
- I have no opinion



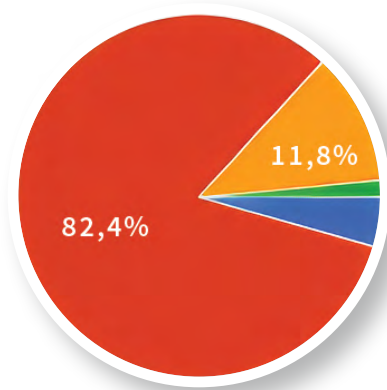
2- Yetkisiz İşyerleri Anketi Sonucu:

Katılımcıların %82,4'ü medya sektörünün geleceği konusunda “kötümserim” derken, “iyimserim” diyenlerin oranı %4,4'de kaldı. Soruya “emin değilim” Responsesı verenler %11,8 olurken, %1,5'i ise “fikrim yok” dedi.

How do you view the future of the media sector?

136 Responses

- I am optimistic
- Pessimistic
- I’m not sure
- I have no opinion



Despite Reservations, Members Want a Collective Bargaining Agreement

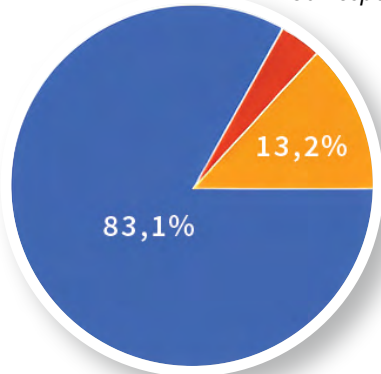
We asked the next three questions only to participants at workplaces without collective bargaining agreements. Our goal was to learn about our members' desires, expectations, and any concerns regarding a collective bargaining agreement at these workplaces.

When we evaluated the responses to these three questions together:

1. 83.1% of participants answered "yes" to the question, believing that having a collective bargaining agreement at a workplace would improve economic and social rights there. Those who answered "I'm not sure" accounted for 13.2%, while those who said "no" made up 3.7%. The percentage of those who answered "yes" was nearly the same as in last year's survey results.
2. The percentage of those wanting a collective bargaining agreement at their current workplace was 85.3%, while those who said "no" remained at 1.5%. Those who answered "I'm not sure" accounted for 13.2%. The response to this question last year was also at a similar rate.
3. 69.1% of participants believe that having a collective bargaining agreement at their current workplace would lead to improvements in wages and benefits. The percentage of those who answered "no" remained at 5.9%, while 25% said "I'm not sure." Compared to last year, there was a slight decrease in the "yes" responses to this question.

1- Do you think having a collective bargaining agreement at a workplace improves the economic and social rights of employees there?

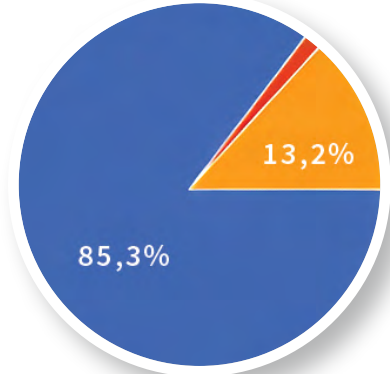
136 Responses



● Yes
● No
● I'm not sure

2- Would you like there to be a collective bargaining agreement at your current workplace?

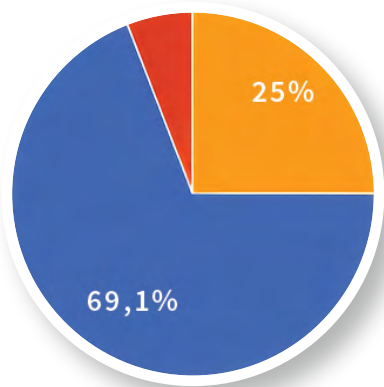
136 Responses



● Yes
● No
● I'm not sure

3- If there were a collective bargaining agreement at your current workplace, could improvements be made to your wages and benefits?

136 Responses



- Yes
- No
- I'm not sure

Open-ended responses in the survey

Participant 1*:

"I work for an organization that pays above-average wages. I don't have children, so I don't have expenses like rent and education, and since another salary comes into the household, I live comfortably."

*A response to an open-ended question in a survey of unionized workplaces.

Participant 2*:

"The question 'Which of the following do you see as most applicable to yourself in the coming year?' could have included the option 'Pay off my credit card debt' :)"

*A response to an open-ended question in the survey of non-unionized workplaces.

Participant 3*:

"...Some of our coworkers are occasionally pushed to the breaking point due to the intense pressure, psychological wear and tear, and extreme stress they face, and they even find themselves in a situation where they feel compelled to scream because of this heavy emotional burden. Additionally, the lack of sufficient desks and chairs for the number of employees, the absence of a fixed workspace for each employee, and management's approach of 'Whoever arrives early sits wherever they find a spot' lead to daily disputes among employees over seating arrangements; this situation gradually disrupts workplace harmony, leading to serious tension, unrest, and the development of negative emotions among some of our colleagues.

Additionally, management is adopting a repressive, threatening, and intimidating attitude toward employees; statements are being made suggesting that those who are dissatisfied can resign..."

*An open-ended response from a survey of non-unionized workplaces.

Participant 4*:

"Alternative media outlets are not truly alternative within the current system. The political establishment should also consider this and demand change within the organizations they are affiliated with to bring about this transformation."

*An open-ended response from the survey on non-unionized workplaces.

Participant 5*:

"I've been working here for 20 years. There's a huge pay gap between me and the people I trained."

*An open-ended response from the survey on non-unionized workplaces.

Participant 6*:

“Getting paid fairly in the media sector is getting harder by the day. Even though our wages were raised this year by a rate far exceeding inflation, they’re still not at a satisfactory level due to the low wages from previous periods. As workers, 85 we remain completely powerless. We work with people who have no choice but to accept whatever the boss or upper management deigns to give. The fact that the vast majority of our colleagues, who report on labor exploitation every day, fail to give union activities the attention they deserve is a complete contradiction. I am grateful for your efforts and dedication.”

*An open-ended response from a survey on non-unionized workplaces.

Participant 7*:

“Unions must urgently develop more active solutions to protect the economic rights of media workers. The central government exerts significant pressure on local media owners. Owners feel compelled to produce pro-government content. Employees are under psychological pressure because of this. It is essential to allocate a percentage of official advertising revenue to workers to ensure objective reporting. The most important step would be to establish and enforce a wage policy without leaving it up to the owners.”

*An open-ended response from a survey of non-unionized workplaces.

Participant 8*:

“I have primarily worked in opposition media. While reporting on workers’ rights, we were the ones who faced the most injustice. That’s why I have no trust in any institution or organization.”

*An open-ended response from the survey on non-unionized workplaces.

Participant 9*:

“I work in the local press; conditions are terrible—we barely manage to get the minimum wage.”

*An open-ended response from the survey on non-unionized workplaces.

Participant 10*:

“Local media has become a field where people work for low pay. And for this reason, I’ve witnessed many people leaving the profession. Journalism is the only profession where experience doesn’t pay off. Of course, I’m thinking of this within the context of local media. I’m sure experience is rewarded in the mainstream media. Or let’s say I ‘hope’ it is. The only reason I continue in my profession is that I love it.”

*An open-ended response from the survey on non-unionized workplaces.

General Evaluation of Survey Data

If we were to evaluate the survey results discussed in detail above in bullet points...

1. While the percentage of those with a monthly net income above the poverty line was 32.1% in the unionized workplaces survey, this figure stands at just 0.7% in the nonunionized workplaces survey.
2. We observe that the wage increase rate in non-unionized workplaces at best matches the minimum wage increase (27%), while 14% of participants in these workplaces received no raise at all.
3. When comparing the responses from both surveys, it is clear that authorized workplaces lead the way in the “equal pay for equal work” policy.
4. The results of both surveys reveal that wages are the primary source of income for our members.
5. According to the results, the rate of taking on additional work is significantly higher among members at non-authorized workplaces. Additionally, a significant proportion of participants in both surveys are ready to take on additional work if the opportunity arises.
6. Collective bargaining agreements not only improve economic and social rights but also raise income expectations.
7. This year, “housing/rent” and “food/groceries” again took the top two spots in spending categories, while “transportation” ranked lower compared to last year. Notably, in the survey of unlicensed workplaces, nearly half of the participants placed “housing/rent” as their top priority.
8. In both surveys, a significant portion of participants reported feeling anxious about losing their jobs.
9. In both surveys, the percentage of respondents who say they “pay off the entire balance” on their credit cards does not even reach 40%. In the survey of authorized workplaces, this rate stands at 37.7%, while in the survey of unauthorized workplaces, it remains at 25%.
10. In the survey of both authorized and unauthorized workplaces, the majority of participants (the combined total of those who selected “yes,” “sometimes,” and “often”) stated that there were times when they felt poor.
11. In the survey of unionized workplaces, 26.4% of respondents allocated an average monthly budget of “5,001 TL or more” for social and cultural activities, while this figure stood at 8.8% in the survey of non-unionized workplaces. Additionally, in both surveys, we observe that participants allocated less budget to social and cultural activities compared to the previous year.
12. It is clear from the responses that the country’s financial situation exerts pressure on collective bargaining agreements in unionized workplaces and on economic and social rights in non-unionized workplaces.

13. In both surveys, nearly all participants believe their incomes have eroded compared to the previous year due to inflation.
14. According to the responses, the majority has no investment plans. In both surveys, do not see themselves as likely to make any of the investment options listed within the next year.
15. In both the unionized and non-unionized workplace surveys, the majority of participants live in rented housing.
16. In both the authorized and unauthorized workplace surveys, we see that the majority of households have another source of regular income.
17. In the survey of licensed workplaces, 45.3% of participants, and in the survey of unlicensed workplaces, 60.3% state that they are ready to leave journalism in exchange for a better salary.
18. In both surveys, a significant proportion of participants expressed a “pessimistic” outlook regarding the future of the media sector.
19. Despite these reservations, a significant number of participants working at non-unionized workplaces want a collective bargaining agreement at their workplace.

CONCLUSION

During the period covered by this report, the pens, cameras, and microphones that exposed these violations were subjected to interference. We must note that the data included in our report represents only the tip of the iceberg. In our country, where interventions against press freedom have taken on a systematic nature, it is unfortunately very difficult to identify violations in all their dimensions and with precise numerical data. However, even when looking at the available data, it is clear that injustice creates a heavy pressure and a deterrent effect on journalistic activities.

Journalists detained in Istanbul can be taken to Artvin, thousands of kilometers away, and arrested there. Journalists can be kept under surveillance by being required to sign in at the police station nearest their residence due to their news reports or critical commentary. Their freedoms can be restricted through months-long bans on leaving the country. Our colleagues who, in fulfillment of their professional responsibilities, investigate and report the truth are increasingly facing charges of “publicly disseminating misleading information.” Yet when journalism is suppressed, the public’s right to information is suppressed—or even outright denied.

While authorities scrutinize journalists’ reports line by line and committees monitor their every word, they turn a blind eye to the threats directed at journalists who are attacked because of their reporting. The failure to effectively investigate threats

against journalists and acts of violence directed at media organizations, coupled with the persistence of impunity, is another significant factor deepening the pressure on press freedom. The inability to ensure effective judicial oversight against these interventions continues to undermine both the physical safety and professional independence of journalists.

The report also specifically addresses Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK), whose structure—lacking predictability and open to broad interpretation—continues to directly endanger journalists’ activities of reporting, criticism, and commentary. This situation yields severe consequences not only for journalists but also for the public’s right to information. The Constitutional Court’s rulings on freedom of expression and the press—which emphasize the need to protect journalistic activities, the necessity of broadly interpreting freedom of expression in debates of public interest, and the fact that detention measures should only be applied under exceptional circumstances—effectively demonstrate that current practices disregard constitutional safeguards.

The data presented in this year’s report suggests that conditions enabling journalists to work freely can also serve as a safeguard for the public’s right to access the truth. Therefore, resolving structural issues is not merely a professional demand but also a necessity for a democratic rule of law.

The data we shared in the report’s section on the industry show that unemployment and anti-union sentiment remain challenges that journalists have yet to overcome. As seen in the survey results, journalists are struggling to survive on an income at the poverty line. A significant portion of their income, eroded by inflation, goes toward housing and rent. Journalists, who are losing hope in the sector day by day, believe—despite their reservations—that a potential collective bargaining agreement (CBA) at their workplaces could bring improvements to their economic and social rights. Through this report, we have endeavored to share a multifaceted snapshot of our profession over the past year. The data at our disposal indicates that, despite the listed challenges, the persistence of journalism in our country is rooted in a strong yet vulnerable foundation that requires nurturing.

