International Anti-Corruption Day, 9 December 2026 · Research report · Third edition

From the Investment Fund Crisis to the Investigations of 17 and 25 December: Corruption Investigations and Judicial Independence in Türkiye

Prepared by
Security Studies and Rule of Law Association (SRL Swiss)

The Security Studies and Rule of Law Association (SRL Swiss) is a non-profit, non-political association based in Geneva and constituted under Articles 60–79 of the Swiss Civil Code. It works to protect human rights, strengthen the rule of law and assess the compatibility of security policies with fundamental rights.

November 2026 · A retrospective from 2026 to 2013

Security Studies and Rule of Law Association, 15 rue des Savoises, 1205 Geneva, Switzerland

Website: www.srlswiss.com • Email: info@srlswiss.com

Executive summary

In Türkiye, the course of a corruption investigation can depend on whom the allegations concern. In the cases examined by SRL Swiss, some allegations involving individuals close to the government were closed without being heard in court. Mayors elected from opposition parties, meanwhile, spent months in pre-trial detention. This has two consequences for the public. In some cases, there is no public hearing at which the use of public funds can be examined. In some municipalities, the administration chosen by voters changes hands while criminal proceedings are still pending.[1]

Beginning with the investment fund crisis of September 2026, this report traces how these practices developed. A prosecutor tracing the movement of money through investment funds must be able to investigate decisions taken by the supervisory authorities. In municipal procurement, contracts awarded to the same contractor warrant scrutiny irrespective of which party controls the municipality. Read alongside the allegation raised in 2022 that an undue advantage had been sought in connection with a capital market transaction, these cases raise a common question. Who is in a position to pursue an investigation once the evidence leads to a person with political influence?[2]

The investigations of 17 and 25 December 2013 provide the clearest examples. The principal investigations concerning relatives of government ministers and the award of public contracts ended in decisions not to prosecute. The officers who had conducted the investigations subsequently stood trial themselves. Across the three first-instance judgments examined, 25 distinct defendants received sentences of aggravated life imprisonment. SRL Swiss finds that all 25 remain in prison and are held in cells. In the proceedings arising from the investigation of 25 December, the Court of Cassation upheld the aggravated life sentences imposed on ten defendants in 2023. The respective roles of the prosecutors who took over the investigations, closed them and indicted the original investigators show where the course of the proceedings changed.[3]

In the assessment of SRL Swiss, the 2014 election to the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors, the arrest in 2015 of two judges who had ruled in proceedings concerning release from detention, and the mass dismissals after 2016 eroded security of tenure for judges and prosecutors handling politically sensitive cases. SRL Swiss recommends that the reasons for reassigning an investigation be recorded in writing, that the action taken on each outstanding investigative measure be documented, and that decisions affecting investigators' security of tenure be subject to independent review.[4]

1 European Commission, Türkiye 2026 Report · Venice Commission, mayors · Aziz İhsan Aktaş trial

2 Capital Markets Board of Türkiye · Grand National Assembly, investment fund crisis · Prosecution statement on the Elazığ tenders · Taşkesenlioğlu case

3 Court of Cassation, Third Criminal Chamber, decision no. 2023/2716 · SRL Swiss, UN submission and annexed judgments

4 Venice Commission, 2015 declaration · International Commission of Jurists · Venice Commission, opinion on the state of emergency

Contents and methodology

1. Regulatory oversight in the 2026 investment fund crisis....4
2. Municipal investigations in 2025–2026....8
Political selectivity in municipal investigations....9
The effects of municipal investigations on electoral mandates and changes of party affiliation....10
The public's right to receive information on allegations of corruption....11
3. Allegations of political influence in public procurement and capital markets....13
The Taşkesenlioğlu case in 2022....13
4. Judicial independence and security of tenure....15
The detention of judges Başer and Özçelik in 2015....15
Executive influence in the 2014 election to the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors...16
5. The investigations of 17 and 25 December 2013....17
Orders transmitted to the police and reassignment of the case....17
6. The prosecutors who closed the cases and the investigators who conducted them....19
Defence rights and independent review of objections....20
7. Judgments against investigators and the consequences of imprisonment....22
Length of proceedings and conditions in prison....23
8. Conclusions and recommendations....24
Annex 1. Chronology of decisions concerning the investigations of 17 and 25 December..25
Annex 2. Political influence, public procurement and financial transactions....26
Annex 3. Investigations and trials concerning municipalities....34
Annex 4. Decisions concerning the investigations of 17 and 25 December and proceedings against investigators....48
Annex 5. International monitoring documents and research....54
Annex 6. Judicial statistics and country indicators....57
Annex 7. Proceedings against investigators in the football match-fixing case....60
References....61

Scope and methodology

For the investment fund and public procurement cases, the report compares supervisory records, complaints and judicial decisions. The municipal analysis takes as its starting point a published inventory concerning opposition mayors elected in March 2024. That inventory was supplemented, by province and district, with prosecution statements, indictments, hearing records and reports of judicial decisions. Contracts awarded to the same contractor by different municipalities, and complaints concerning previous administrations, are assessed according to the stage reached in the relevant proceedings.[5]

For each case, the report distinguishes the acceptance of an indictment, remand in custody, release, judgment at first instance and the point at which a judgment became final. Mayors tried in the same proceedings appear in separate rows in Annex 3. For the investigations of 17 and 25 December, SRL Swiss relies on the official correspondence, judgments and hearing minutes examined in its work for the OSCE and the United Nations. Subsequent judicial decisions and developments concerning enforcement of a sentence are presented alongside the case to which they relate.

5 Diken (37) · European Commission (1)

1. Regulatory oversight in the 2026 investment fund crisis

In September 2026, some investors seeking to redeem their fund holdings were unable to recover their money. On 17 September the Capital Markets Board (SPK) placed 131 funds with 455,758 investors into liquidation. The prosecution first had to establish whether anyone who learnt of the liquidation in advance had avoided losses. A second question concerned the decisions taken by the supervisory authorities, which had received warnings months earlier. Transaction records may clarify the first issue. Correspondence between the Ministry and the SPK, together with the minutes of board meetings, may clarify the second.[6]

The link between investor losses and supervisory decisions

One reason the funds could not meet their liquidity needs was that the last quoted price of thinly traded shares was treated as the price at which the fund could sell its entire holding. If investors redeeming early are paid at that higher valuation and the remaining shares are subsequently sold for less, investors who stayed in the fund bear a larger share of the loss. The consequences of delayed supervision can therefore be assessed by examining who was able to redeem, when redemption was possible and whether the fund was still admitting new investors.[7]

One episode illustrates the authorities' capacity to intervene. On 7 July 2025, before the SPK had approved an amendment to its prospectus, Tera Portföy Birinci Serbest Fon began trading on TEFAS, the platform through which investors can buy and sell funds offered by different institutions. The then general manager of Takasbank told Parliament that the bank had relied on the announcement published on the Public Disclosure Platform. New purchases stopped after the SPK issued a notice on 1 August. Supervisory intervention could therefore prevent new investors from entering a fund. For which other funds presenting similar risks was the same measure considered in subsequent months, and on what grounds was it taken or deferred?[8]

Correspondence between the Ministry and the Capital Markets Board

According to the SPK, unusual price movements were discussed on 2 December 2025 by the Financial Stability Committee, chaired by Minister of Treasury and Finance Mehmet Şimşek. On 9 December, the relevant directorate-general of the Ministry asked the SPK what measures it had taken. Şimşek described a letter dated 11 February 2026 as a request to implement the draft measure urgently. The SPK said the same letter called for the regulation to take effect after consultation with the industry. Interim measures were taken in June and July, and the final guidelines were published on 28 August. The difference in emphasis matters. Could the authorities have intervened in specific funds while consultations were under way? Who had authority to decide, and what was the Ministry told about implementation? The original letter, board minutes and records of fund-specific measures could answer those questions.[9]

6 SPK, preparation of amendments to the guidelines · Grand National Assembly, liquidation of funds · Anadolu Agency, investment fund investigation

7 Reuters (6) · TEPAV (7) · Capital Markets Board (SPK) (8) · Capital Markets Board (SPK) (20)

8 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (17) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (19)

9 Capital Markets Board (SPK) (2) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (17) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (18)

Advance information about liquidation and the supervisory authorities

On 19 August 2026, approximately one month before the liquidation, the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office requested information and documents from the SPK. The prosecution thus sought access to the regulator's records before the liquidation decision became public. The records requested, the material supplied by the SPK and any further inquiries prompted by that material may establish the original scope of the investigation.[10]

Testing the allegation against Kaya and her defence

The allegation against Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya concerns a particular transaction in her personal investment account. According to the prosecution's written submission to the judge, her shares in Özata Denizcilik were transferred to Tera Yatırım on 16 September, one day before the liquidation, instead of being sold in an ordinary exchange transaction. The proceeds were credited to her account the same day, without the customary two-business-day settlement period. The prosecution relied on the timing and on her contacts with Tera executives in alleging that she had advance knowledge of the liquidation decision. Kaya said that she had sold more than half of her shares in August. She denied receiving inside information and requested disclosure of her own call records and those of the people with whom she had spoken. Having stepped down as a deputy chair of the AK Party in September, she was remanded in custody on 6 November on suspicion of violating the Capital Markets Law and membership of an organisation established to commit offences. Her husband, İlyas Kaya, was placed under judicial supervision. The published prosecution submission and judicial order concern the investigation stage. The records examined contain neither an indictment accepted by a court nor a conviction on those allegations.[11]

To test the allegation of advance knowledge, investigators should compare the time of the sale instruction with the time at which the liquidation decision was first shared and establish who received it. It also matters which other investors were paid that day by the same method. If the transaction departed from ordinary practice, who authorised it? Do the August and September account statements support Kaya's account? Were the requested call records obtained, and could the defence challenge the adverse inferences drawn from those contacts? These inquiries may clarify Kaya's individual responsibility and reveal how information left the institutions concerned.[12]

Other persons and institutions reached by the investigation

Former SPK chair İbrahim Ömer Gönül was placed under judicial supervision. Former Borsa İstanbul general manager Korkmaz Enes Ergun and former Takasbank general manager Yunus Arıncı were remanded in custody. On 18 November, following a prosecution request concerning former Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency chair Şahap Kavcıoğlu, the Ministry's Inspectorate was instructed to conduct a preliminary examination. Kavcıoğlu denied that his institution was connected to the crisis. Mustafa Yazıcı, son of AK Party Deputy Chair Hayati Yazıcı, was released after giving a second statement, subject to a foreign travel ban and a reporting requirement. These developments document the reach of the investigation beyond

10 Ministry of Justice (26) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (29)

11 Anadolu Agency (245) · Euronews (28) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (29)

12 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (29) · Anadolu Agency (245)

Kaya. The published decisions do not establish what investigative steps, if any, were taken concerning the response of incumbent political office-holders to the risk warnings.[13]

The political reach of the investigation

Could Kaya's detention have eased public pressure to investigate decisions taken by senior officials still in office? SRL Swiss raises this question because the public received detailed accounts of gains made through one account but much less information about decisions taken by authorities warned months earlier. The detention of a former member of the AK Party leadership allows the government to argue that it is holding people in its own ranks to account. If the debate centres on who is in prison, the conduct of the officials exercising supervisory powers receives less attention. Publicly available documents do not establish that detention was sought or ordered for that purpose. The question can be tested by examining how prosecutors act when specific evidence implicates a political office-holder. If such a finding enters the case file but is left unexplored without reasons, this would lend weight to the concern that the investigation had reached a political limit.[14]

The executive's account and the evidence available to prosecutors

At an AK Party parliamentary group meeting on 18 November, President Erdoğan said those responsible were being held to account and reported that 136 of 500 suspects had been remanded in custody. He also announced that the State Supervisory Council had completed its initial examinations. This identifies a specific body of material open to investigation. Did the Council examine decisions made by officials in office before the liquidation? Did it provide the prosecution with its findings and the underlying documents? Could prosecutors obtain the original Ministry and SPK records independently of the Council's assessment and compare the institutions' accounts? The executive's public endorsement of the investigation cannot substitute for answers from the judicial authorities.[15]

A further safeguard is the ability to scrutinise information released to the public. The co-rapporteurs on Türkiye of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe criticised the detention or house arrest of four journalists in connection with their reporting on the fund crisis. A claim in the press can be tested by examining the underlying transaction or correspondence and giving the person concerned an opportunity to respond. Restricting the liberty of journalists may also prevent information that has yet to appear in official records from reaching the public.[16]

Assessment by SRL Swiss

Two sets of records indicate what information was available to prosecutors in the fund crisis. The first consists of investors' sell orders. The second comprises the correspondence showing when regulators learnt of the risk and whose approval they awaited before intervening. For SRL Swiss, the test of investigative independence is whether prosecutors can pursue that correspondence when it points to responsibility on the part of a senior public official. In municipal procurement, the same question can be tested by examining which contracts

13 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (17) · Euronews (28) · AA (30) · Euronews (31) · Bianet (246)

14 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (18) · Ministry of Justice (23) · Ministry of Justice (26) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (29) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (146)

15 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (146) · Capital Markets Board (SPK) (2) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (18) · Ministry of Justice (26)

16 Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) (35) · PACE co-rapporteurs for Türkiye (36)

prosecutors investigate when municipalities controlled by different political parties award work to the same contractor.[17]

17 SPK, amendment to guidelines · Grand National Assembly, investment fund crisis · Prosecution statement on the Elazığ tenders

2. Municipal investigations in 2025–2026

Ekrem İmamoğlu, Mayor of Istanbul, was taken into police custody on 19 March 2025. On 23 March, he was remanded in custody in the corruption investigation and suspended from office. In November 2026, while the main trial continued, the elected mayor remained in prison. Over the same period, courts in cases involving other municipalities ordered releases, acquittals and convictions. Comparing those outcomes requires attention first to the specific transaction alleged and then to who was deprived of liberty in connection with it and for how long. Annex 3 sets out 65 entries concerning 64 municipalities.[18]

Control of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) passed from the AK Party to the Republican People's Party (CHP) in 2019. The available account of complaints about vehicle leasing and allocation during the preceding AK Party administration comes from a case inventory compiled by former municipal councillor Tarık Balyalı. Annex 3 identifies this source and its limits: the inventory does not give access to all the decisions taken by prosecutors. In the main İBB trial concerning the CHP administration, the indictment, hearing records and detention decisions allow the judicial steps to be traced directly.[19]

Before the Istanbul 40th Assize Court, Ekrem İmamoğlu denied the procurement and bribery allegations and said he had been unable to test the testimony of anonymous witnesses. At the hearings on 12–13 November 2026, eight of the 46 defendants in custody were released. İmamoğlu was among the 38 who remained in custody in that case. On 13 November his detention reached 600 days. The court heard two of the four anonymous witnesses and relied on the statements given during the investigation by the other two. The reasons for maintaining detention and for declining to hear a witness again require separate examination.[20]

In procurement and bribery proceedings, detention does not predict the final outcome. In the same trial, the mayors of Adana Metropolitan Municipality and Seyhan were sentenced to imprisonment at first instance for bribery. Karalar had been released before judgment. Tekin remained in custody when judgment was delivered. The mayor of Adıyaman, Tutdere, was acquitted in the same proceedings. In Gaziosmanpaşa, the court sentenced the mayor to imprisonment for bribery but released him under house arrest.[21]

İzmir and Mersin illustrate the distinction between the number of persons and the number of cases. The mayors of Mersin Metropolitan Municipality, Yenişehir and Mezitli were remanded in custody in the same investigation. In İzmir, the order releasing former metropolitan mayor Soyer in the Örnekköy case did not end his detention in the Gaziemir case. In the Ankara concert procurement trial, the court released the last three defendants in custody after finding that the risks of absconding and interference with evidence no longer existed. Continued detention requires reasons specific to each individual and each case.[22]

---

18 Main İBB trial · İBB hearing and release orders · Case inventory concerning mayors

19 Halk TV (92) · Medyascope (93) · AA (38)

20 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40) · Cumhuriyet (94)

21 TRT Haber / AA (45) · Ekonomim / AA (47) · DHA (205)

22 AA (42) · Haberler.com (219) · Diken (134)

Political selectivity in municipal investigations

SRL Swiss has identified political selectivity in the pursuit of municipal corruption allegations, favouring the governing party and disadvantaging the opposition. The disparities in the cases examined arise at two stages. Complaints concerning certain contracts awarded during AK Party administrations reached the prosecution but the allegations did not come before a court. In CHP municipalities, investigations directly concerned elected mayors across numerous provinces and districts, and remand orders affected who governed before the proceedings had concluded.[23]

Tracing contracts awarded to the same contractor

The Aziz İhsan Aktaş case permits a comparison of the municipalities brought within the investigation. Seven mayors elected on CHP tickets stood trial together over contracts awarded to companies linked to Aktaş. The court convicted mayors including Zeydan Karalar and Oya Tekin, and acquitted Abdurrahman Tutdere. Contracts awarded to the same companies by the AK Party administration in Elazığ also came under public scrutiny. According to expert findings reported by Sözcü, a company linked to Aktaş had won seven of the eight tenders reviewed. On 11 November 2025, the then Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor stated that his office had received no communication from Elazığ and was conducting no inquiry concerning that municipality.[24]

Contracts awarded to one contractor by several municipalities do not, in themselves, establish wrongdoing. The question of equal treatment is whether the manner in which specifications were drawn up, the existence of effective competition and the identity of those authorising payments were investigated with equal care in each municipality. For the CHP mayors, those questions were heard at trial and addressed in a reasoned judgment. For Elazığ, the prosecution's public statement contained no substantive assessment of the expert findings.[25]

Changes of administration in the same metropolitan municipality

In Istanbul, according to the inventory compiled by former councillor Tarık Balyalı, 21 of 62 complaints concerning the AK Party period resulted in decisions not to prosecute. In 37 cases, the municipality received no reply and could not ascertain what prosecutors had done with the documents it supplied. In the main İBB case concerning the CHP administration, the court released eight defendants at the November 2026 hearing and continued the detention of 38, including İmamoğlu.[26]

In Ankara, the Chamber of City Planners recorded that its criminal complaint concerning the Ankapark tender during the AK Party administration had been rejected without further action. Concert procurement under the CHP administration led to a trial of 14 defendants, including municipal officials and contractors. The last three defendants held on remand were released when the court found that the risks of absconding and interference with evidence had ceased. In both metropolitan municipalities, the decisions made public do not provide an equally clear account of the evidence on which complaints concerning the governing party's period in office were screened out.[27]

23 European Commission (1) · HRW, ICJ and Türkiye Litigation Support Project (39)

24 TRT Haber / AA (45) · Sözcü (51) · ANKA (52)

25 Ekonomim / AA (47) · Sözcü (51) · ANKA (52)

26 Halk TV (92) · Medyascope (93) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40)

27 Chamber of City Planners (TMMOB) (202) · Diken (134) · Cumhuriyet (135)

The effects of municipal investigations on electoral mandates and changes of party affiliation

The absence of a mayor from office during a trial also determines who governs the municipality. In Istanbul, CHP mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu reached 600 days in custody on 13 November 2026, before judgment in the main İBB case. In Keskin, AK Party mayor Ekmel Cönger remained at liberty during his trial concerning a payment from a contractor into his personal bank account. When the first-instance court sentenced him to five years, two months and fifteen days in prison, it imposed a foreign travel ban. The detention of the AK Party mayor in Yahşihan is a documented instance in which the same custodial measure was applied to a mayor of the governing party.[28]

In Keskin, the allegation could be investigated and a judgment delivered while the defendant remained at liberty. In the İBB trial, the question requiring explanation is which specific risk made such a prolonged absence from elected office necessary and why judicial supervision could not address it. Each case turns on its own evidence. Nevertheless, the reasons courts give for continuing detention should enable the public to assess whether comparable risks are evaluated by the same standard for members of the governing party and the opposition.[29]

The effect of detention on metropolitan administration depends on whether the mayor was still in office and the duration of the absence. In Antalya the court continued Muhittin Böcek's detention on 5 November 2026. In Adana, Zeydan Karalar had been released on 5 February 2026. In İzmir, Tunç Soyer's term as metropolitan mayor had ended before the investigation against him began.[30]

Distribution of investigations by political affiliation

In joint submissions to the European Court of Human Rights, Human Rights Watch and two legal organisations reported that, between March 2025 and August 2026, the number of CHP municipalities subject to judicial proceedings had reached 43 and the number of mayors remanded in custody had reached 31. In the records they reviewed from the 2014 local elections onwards, the organisations identified five instances of AK Party mayors being detained. Four involved terrorism allegations and one involved alleged extortion by a public official. The European Commission likewise recorded in its Türkiye 2026 Report that criminal allegations against municipalities had been directed predominantly at CHP municipalities and that measures to prevent political interference in corruption proceedings had not been taken.[31]

In the assessment of SRL Swiss, a central weakness of the AK Party government's anti-corruption policy is its failure to ensure equally determined investigation of allegations concerning municipalities governed by its own party. This has two concrete consequences. Some serious allegations concerning public expenditure under governing-party administrations never receive a judicial hearing. In opposition municipalities, prolonged detention effectively interrupts the mandate conferred by voters. Taken together, the choice of contracts under investigation and the deprivation of elected officials' liberty before judgment support the finding that political affiliation affects the reach and severity of proceedings in the cases examined.[32]

---

28 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40) · Cumhuriyet (13) · DHA (14) · TRT Haber (11)

29 Venice Commission (3) · HRW, ICJ and Türkiye Litigation Support Project (39) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40)

30 DHA (41) · Dokuz September (43) · Diken (37)

31 HRW, ICJ and Türkiye Litigation Support Project (39) · European Commission (1)

32 European Commission (1) · Venice Commission (3)

Election of an acting mayor in Gaziosmanpaşa

CHP candidate Hakan Bahçetepe won the 2024 local election in Gaziosmanpaşa. Following his detention and suspension, on 11 June 2025 the municipal council elected an acting mayor. In the third round, Eray Karadeniz of the AK Party received 21 votes and Murat Topaloğlu of the CHP 16. Mayoral powers thus passed to a councillor of another party without a fresh popular vote. On the same day, councils in Avcılar and Büyükçekmece elected CHP acting mayors. The elected mayors of all three districts remained out of office. The vote in each council determined which party retained control.[33]

Control in Gaziosmanpaşa changed in June 2025. Judgment at first instance against Bahçetepe came some seventeen months later, on 6 November 2026. The court sentenced him to six years and three months for bribery, acquitted him on the two other counts and released him subject to house arrest. For voters, the interval is decisive. Detention and suspension had already changed who governed before the court ruled on the charges.[34]

Change of party affiliation and allegations of pressure in Aydın

In Aydın, the elected mayor retained office and changed parties. Metropolitan Mayor Özlem Çerçioğlu, elected as the CHP candidate, joined the AK Party on 14 August 2025. She attributed her departure to unresolved difficulties within the CHP. CHP chair Özgür Özel alleged that she had been pressured to switch parties under threat of imprisonment. Çerçioğlu denied the allegation and announced that she had filed a criminal complaint against Özel in January 2026.[35]

Proceedings against Çerçioğlu concerning municipal procurement continued after the change of party. On 11 November 2026, the Aydın 4th Assize Court acquitted her in the case concerning procurements in 2014–2016. That judgment disposed of the charges in those proceedings. The parties' explanations for her change of affiliation remain in conflict.[36]

Assessment of the Council of Europe rapporteurs

In a statement of 27 May 2026, the rapporteurs on Türkiye of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe considered suspensions, detentions, appointments of trustees and changes of party affiliation together when assessing their effect on the outcome of the 2024 local elections. The rapporteurs stated that the disproportionate concentration of judicial action on opposition representatives restricted democratic pluralism.[37]

The public's right to receive information on allegations of corruption

When a municipal tender comes under investigation, voters have a right to know the allegation, the official's response and the outcome of the proceedings. The same right applies when an allegation concerns a minister or a contractor close to the governing party. Article 26 of the Constitution protects freedom to receive and impart information. Article 28 requires the state to take measures to secure freedom of the press and freedom of information.[38]

33 Anadolu Agency / TRT Haber (254)

34 DHA (205) · Anadolu Agency / TRT Haber (254)

35 Euronews, 14 August 2025 (255) · Euronews, 30 January 2026 (256)

36 Euronews, 11 November 2026 (257) · Euronews, 30 January 2026 (256)

37 Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (258)

38 Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, Articles 26 and 28 (247)

The public broadcaster's coverage of the İBB investigation

According to a request for review by Tuncay Keser, a member of the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK), on 20 March 2025 TRT Haber devoted approximately eleven hours and six minutes, under 78 headlines, to the investigation concerning the CHP administration of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Keser sought review on the ground that some language used while suspects were still in police custody presumed guilt. FreeWebTurkey recorded that material blocked following the same investigation included statements by İmamoğlu. Viewers could follow the accusations throughout the day while access to some statements by the person accused was restricted.[39]

Access to reporting on persons close to the governing party

Free Web Turkey documented restrictions on access to 5,881 news reports concerning allegations of corruption or irregularities in 2023. In its classification, 1,133 concerned individuals or entities close to the AK Party and 646 concerned President Erdoğan or his family. For the first seven months of 2025, the organisation recorded the blocking of 446 reports and social media posts concerning AK Party MPs and members. Most involved allegations of corruption or disputes over assets. One example involved a collective restriction on reports about public contracts awarded to companies owned by members of a minister's family.[40]

Reporting on the parliamentary investigation

In the parliamentary investigation into four former ministers after the events of 17 and 25 December, the publication ban covered information and documents obtained by the committee and evidence given by those it heard. The ban limited voters' ability to follow through the press the scrutiny exercised by Parliament on their behalf. In Akdeniz and Others v. Turkey, the European Court of Human Rights held that the ban lacked a sufficient legal basis and violated journalist Banu Güven's freedom of expression.[41]

SRL Swiss considers that these disparities weaken voters' ability to hold those who spend public funds to account. In one investigation, allegations reach a wide audience while access to the defence response may be blocked. In another, the public has difficulty obtaining tender documents or learning what was said in parliamentary testimony. Under these conditions, voters cannot assess allegations concerning governing-party and opposition officials with equal clarity.

39 Keser's application to RTÜK (248) · MLSA / FreeWebTurkey (250)

40 Free Web Turkey, 2023 (249) · MLSA / FreeWebTurkey, 2025 (250)

41 European Court of Human Rights, Akdeniz and Others v. Turkey

3. Allegations of political influence in public procurement and capital markets

The transaction at issue in the Istanbul Airport metro excavation is narrow in scope. If the original contractor was already bound to undertake the excavation, a second contract may have generated an additional payment for the same work. MP Deniz Yavuzyılmaz told a parliamentary committee that he had lodged a criminal complaint alleging an additional payment of EUR 7.95 million. Representatives of the state railway undertaking (TCDD) said that the work fell within the remit of the Directorate-General for Infrastructure Investments. The minutes establish that the question was put and that response given. No decision was located showing whether prosecutors compared the two contracts and what they concluded about the payment.[42]

The complaint concerning the Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli railway involved a different payment mechanism. The contract provided for a 10% advance against a letter of guarantee. The MP alleged that approximately TRY 500.2 million had instead been paid for the advance preparation of materials. The contractor had previously stated that it submitted the most favourable tender. That statement did not address the basis of the subsequently disputed payment. The 10% figure here concerns a contractual advance. Each allegation of a "10% bribe" in other cases requires its own evidence identifying payer and recipient.[43]

The Yunus Emre Institute case illustrates how an allegation can reach trial. Prosecutors traced invoices, approvals and payments to suppliers for goods and services they alleged had never been obtained. A court in Ankara accepted two indictments. In the two infrastructure cases the last publicly traceable step was the MP's statement about filing a complaint. In the Institute case, the payments attributed to particular individuals can be contested at trial.[44]

In 2018, the European Commission found judicial outcomes in high-level corruption cases inadequate. In 2020 it drew attention to cooperation between inspection bodies and prosecutors, and in 2024 to insufficient prosecutorial follow-up of irregularities identified by public audit bodies. When a criminal complaint or audit finding reaches prosecutors, the evidence preserved and the disposition of the case are decisive. In the allegation of an undue advantage raised in the capital markets in 2022, the last publicly traceable step varied according to whom the complaint concerned.[45]

The Taşkesenlioğlu case in 2022

Four years before the investment fund crisis, a dispute arose over how the SPK would deal with a company's application for a capital increase. The two cases raise related questions about who could influence board decisions and which records prosecutors examined to investigate that influence. Each case has its own suspects, allegations and evidence.

42 General Directorate of State Airports Authority (79) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80)

43 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (76) · TRT Haber (78) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80) · Millî Gazete (81) · Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli railway project (82) · Kalyon Holding (83)

44 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (73) · Anadolu Agency (74) · T24 (75) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80)

45 European Commission (182) · European Commission (183) · European Commission (184) · Halk TV (92) · Medyascope (93)

Businesswoman Mine Tozlu Sineren publicly stated that money had been demanded under the guise of consultancy fees in connection with her company's application for a capital increase. An August 2022 criminal complaint alleged a demand for TRY 12 million. Allegations concerning former SPK chair Ali Fuat Taşkesenlioğlu, former AK Party MP Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu and presidential advisers Serkan Taranoğlu and Korkmaz Karaca concerned different acts attributed to different individuals. Ali Fuat Taşkesenlioğlu said that he had declined a request for a meeting from an intermediary acting for Sineren and did not know Taranoğlu. Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu denied the allegation and announced that she had lodged a criminal complaint against Sineren. The amount in the complaint is the sum alleged to have been demanded. No judicial finding that it was paid was located.[46][47]

The publicly reported procedural outcome concerning Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu was a decision by the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office not to prosecute for lack of sufficient evidence. Journalists who examined the decision reported that there were 213 complainants and that Taşkesenlioğlu had not been questioned. The figure counts complainants, not separate bribery transactions. We identified no bribery prosecution, remand order or conviction against Taranoğlu or Karaca arising from this allegation. A decision not to prosecute one person cannot automatically be attributed to others.[48]

The decision concerning Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu establishes the procedural outcome of the complaint against her. It does not resolve the allegations against former SPK chair Ali Fuat Taşkesenlioğlu or the allegation that an intermediary exercised influence. For SRL Swiss, the decisive question is whether the reasons given show that the dates of the application's progress before the Board were compared with those of the alleged contacts.[49]

A ministry purchase in 2021 and bank transfers reported in 2017

In 2021, the Ministry of Trade confirmed that it had purchased disinfectant from a company linked to Minister Ruhsar Pekcan's family. After joining six complaints, prosecutors declined to process them on the ground that Parliament had jurisdiction to investigate allegations concerning the minister's official duties. In the Isle of Man case, which became public in 2017, prosecutors assessed the direction of the bank transfers and decided not to prosecute. In one case the outcome turned on jurisdiction, in the other on the interpretation of the transaction. Annex 2 compares the reasons given.[50]

46 CHP (70) · Euronews Türkçe (71) · Independent Türkçe (98)

47 Statement by Ali Fuat Taşkesenlioğlu, 28 August 2022

48 CHP (70) · Euronews Türkçe (71) · T24 / BirGün (72)

49 Criminal complaint of August 2022 · Parties' publicly reported statements · Report on the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's decision

50 Ministry of Trade statement on the purchase · Prosecution decision in the Pekcan case · Bank records in the Isle of Man investigation

4. Judicial independence and security of tenure

Article 138 of the Constitution protects judicial independence in decision-making. Article 139 protects the security of tenure of judges and prosecutors. A prosecutor decides whether a municipal procurement transaction should feature in an indictment. A judge decides whether an elected mayor should remain in custody. Independent decisions require protection against removal from a case, transfer or dismissal. This is the significance of security of tenure for anti-corruption investigations. If prosecutors believe that following the evidence may cost them their case or their office, that protection has been weakened in practice.[51]

Appointment and disciplinary powers after 2017

The constitutional amendment adopted in April 2017 reduced the membership of the Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSK) from 22 to 13. The President was empowered to select four members and Parliament seven. The Minister of Justice and, at that time, the Ministry's Undersecretary sat ex officio. Judges and prosecutors could no longer elect members from among their peers. Given the Council's powers of appointment, transfer and discipline, the change increased the influence of political institutions over its composition.[52]

Mass dismissals after 15 July 2016

During the state of emergency following the attempted coup, Article 3 of Emergency Decree-Law No. 667 provided the legal basis for the dismissal of members of the judiciary. The government described assessments of links or affiliation with the Gülenist organisation as a measure against its presence within the judiciary. According to figures given in 2024 by Minister of Justice Yılmaz Tunç, 4,006 judges and prosecutors were dismissed. The minister said that 3,888 had brought legal proceedings and that the Council of State had ordered the reinstatement of 387. These figures distinguish the scale of the initial dismissals from the subsequent outcomes of judicial review.[53]

The Venice Commission examined collective dismissal decision no. 2016/428 of 31 August 2016. Its general reasoning set out allegations concerning the organisation but did not identify specific evidence linking each of the thousands of judges and prosecutors listed in the annex to those allegations. A judge who cannot ascertain which conduct led to dismissal will find it difficult to challenge the grounds. In the assessment of SRL Swiss, the uncertainty also affected those who remained in office. They could no longer foresee whether a decision in a sensitive investigation might later be used against their continued tenure.[54]

The detention of judges Başer and Özçelik in 2015

On 24 April 2015, Judge Metin Özçelik of the Istanbul 29th Criminal Court of First Instance granted a defence application for recusal. The next day, Judge Mustafa Başer of the Istanbul 32nd Criminal Court of First Instance ordered the release of detainees including police officers and a media executive. The judicial authorities disputed the courts' jurisdiction. The release orders were not executed. Özçelik was remanded in custody on 30 April and Başer on 1 May.[55]

51 Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, Articles 138–139

52 European Commission, Turkey 2018 Report, judiciary section

53 Ministry of Justice, February 2024 · Venice Commission, CDL-AD(2016)037, §§ 136–140

54 Venice Commission, §§ 137–140, 212

55 European Court of Human Rights, Başer and Özçelik v. Türkiye · Venice Commission, 20 June 2015, annex · SRL Swiss, chronology of judicial measures

In its judgment of 13 September 2022, the European Court of Human Rights found that the authorisation requirement safeguarding judges had not been observed when the two judges were initially detained and that reasonable suspicion of an offence had not been demonstrated. SRL Swiss considers that the detentions also intimidated their colleagues. Judges subsequently deciding applications for release knew that those who had issued the earlier orders had themselves faced criminal proceedings and lost their liberty within days. In June 2015, the Venice Commission likewise drew attention to the impact on independence of action taken against members of the judiciary immediately after rulings in pending cases.[56]

Executive influence in the 2014 election to the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors

Six months before the events culminating in the judges' detention, elections were held for ten full seats on what was then the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK). The vote took place on 12 October 2014. One month earlier, on 9 September, Minister of Justice Bekir Bozdağ had announced a proposed monthly pay increase of 1,155 lira for first-instance judges and prosecutors and for members of the Court of Cassation and the Council of State. This was a general measure announced during the election campaign.[57]

The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) reported that Erdoğan had stated on television that he had established the Platform for Unity in the Judiciary for this election. Reuters reported after the vote that government-backed candidates had won eight of the ten seats. The European Commission noted concerns raised by bar associations and legal professionals about the use of public resources during the campaign. According to the ICJ, the vote gave members close to the Ministry of Justice a majority on the Council. The documents do not establish that the pay increase was offered in exchange for any particular vote. The institutional issue they document is that the executive, which determines conditions of service, could also influence the election of the body responsible for appointments and discipline.[58][59]

An earlier step, taken in February 2014, helps explain the significance of the October election. Amendments to the HSYK Law expanded the Minister of Justice's powers in the Council. By the time the Constitutional Court annulled certain provisions in April, changes had already been made to the Council's administrative staff and the composition of its chambers. According to the Venice Commission, the annulment did not reverse those measures. SRL Swiss regards 2014 as an institutional turning point. The two investigations opened in Istanbul in December 2013 illustrate how such power could influence the outcome of a particular case.[60]

56 European Court of Human Rights, Başer and Özçelik v. Türkiye · Venice Commission, 2015 declaration and annex

57 Supreme Electoral Council results announced on 12 October · Justice Minister's statement of 9 September 2014

58 ICJ, Turkey: The Judicial System in Peril, pp. 12–13 · European Commission, Turkey 2015 Report · Statement of 9 September 2014

59 Reuters, HSYK election results

60 Venice Commission, 2015 declaration · ICJ, composition and powers of the Council

5. The investigations of 17 and 25 December 2013

The investigation of 17 December concerned allegations of bribery and banking transactions involving businessman Rıza Sarraf, the then general manager of Halkbank, Süleyman Aslan, and two ministers' sons, Barış Güler and Salih Kaan Çağlayan. A separate case concerned planning matters. In the investigation of 25 December, prosecutors examined public tenders and communications between businesspeople and public officials. Bilal Erdoğan, son of the then Prime Minister, was among the 96 persons in respect of whom a decision not to prosecute was subsequently issued. The two investigations concerned different matters and were closed by separate decisions.[61]

Financial transactions and trade documents in the 17 December investigation

According to the case summary examined by SRL Swiss for its report to the OSCE, searches authorised by judges yielded cash in several currencies and banknote-counting machines. Ten experts examined 228 items of digital evidence. The material available to the prosecution included payment schedules, messages exchanged by telephone and 41 files of documents relating to transit trade transactions submitted to Halkbank. Establishing that a payment constituted a bribe required evidence of the recipient and the official act in return for which it was made. Bank records, customs documents and the dates of communications offered independent means of testing that connection.[62]

What was known before a tender was advertised

The invitation to tender for the T26 tunnel on the Vezirhan–İnönü line was published on 23 October 2013. The police investigation report alleged that the tender conditions had been discussed on 7 October, sixteen days earlier. Comparing the conditions mentioned in those conversations with the specifications subsequently published could have established whether a particular company had received advance information. For the Palu–Genç–Muş railway works, the police report likewise compared the company named in the conversations with the eventual successful bidder. These were specific allegations under investigation. Winning a tender does not in itself establish collusive bidding.[63]

The report prepared for the OSCE traces the underlying records. The study submitted to the UN Special Rapporteur uses judicial decisions to identify who requested each measure, who authorised it and which measures were discontinued after reassignment. Read together, the two studies identify the allegations that could no longer be tested at a public hearing once the cases were closed.[64]

Orders transmitted to the police and reassignment of the case

In the investigations of 17 December, Istanbul public prosecutor Celal Kara handled the bribery allegations concerning Rıza Sarraf and relatives of ministers. Mehmet Yüzgeç handled planning

61 Decision not to prosecute 53 persons in the 17 December case · Decision not to prosecute 96 persons in the 25 December case · SRL Swiss, OSCE report and case documents · Parties to the 17 December investigation

62 SRL Swiss, OSCE report, pp. 2 and 5, Annex 70

63 SRL Swiss, OSCE report, p. 6, section II.D

64 SRL Swiss, UN submission, pp. 13–18

matters and transactions involving the Housing Development Administration (TOKİ). Zekeriya Öz was the deputy chief public prosecutor responsible for coordinating Kara's office. Kara and Yüzgeç were removed from their cases on 29 January 2014. On 16 October 2014, Ekrem Aydıner decided not to prosecute 53 persons in the 17 December bribery case. A separate decision not to prosecute 60 persons in the TOKİ investigation had been issued on 30 April.[65]

On the morning of 25 December, prosecutor Muammer Akkaş sent the duty judge's search and seizure orders, together with his own instructions to take suspects into police custody, to the Istanbul Police Department. In a written statement the next day, Akkaş said that the measures had not been executed despite his meeting with police branch directors at the courthouse that evening. Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor Turan Çolakkadı maintained that he had not been properly informed and that there had been procedural irregularities. The case was taken away from Akkaş on 26 December. A letter from Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor Oktay Erdoğan, reproduced in the judgment of the Court of Cassation, records the decision not to execute the three outstanding measures.[66]

On 25 July 2014, İrfan Fidan, İsmail Uçar and Fuzuli Aydoğdu issued a decision not to prosecute 96 persons. The decision provided for a separate investigation to continue in respect of two tenders. Page 140 also requested that the conduct of the original investigators be reported, citing statements in the police investigation report. Uçar subsequently drew up the indictment concerning acts carried out in the investigation of 25 December. Fidan drew up the separate indictment concerning the investigation of 17 December.[67]

In the assessment of SRL Swiss, these events mark the first identifiable failure of investigative independence in a corruption case involving persons with political influence. The judicial police belonged to an organisation accountable to administrative authorities, while their investigative duties required them to act on the prosecutor's instructions. On 21 December, in Ordu, then Prime Minister Erdoğan described the investigation as a conspiracy devised abroad. Around the same time, the police were required to notify the administrative authorities, and police personnel were reassigned. In the assessment of SRL Swiss, these measures and public statements created conditions that encouraged police officers to disregard prosecutorial instructions. The case changed hands before the judicially authorised searches were carried out. The documents do not establish that a political authority gave a direct order to a particular officer.[68][69]

65 Official Gazette (173) · Habertürk (191) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172) · Anadolu Agency (85) · Bianet (174)

66 Statements by Akkaş and Çolakkadı, 26 December 2013 · Court of Cassation judgment, pp. 222 and 322 · Venice Commission, annex to the declaration

67 Anadolu Agency (84) · Anadolu Agency (178) · TRT Haber (179) · SRL Swiss (201)

68 European Commission, Turkey 2014 Progress Report · Venice Commission, 2015 · Prosecution statements · Court of Cassation judgment

69 Prime Minister's speech of 21 December 2013

6. The prosecutors who closed the cases and the investigators who conducted them

While the corruption investigations of 17 and 25 December were under way, members of the government publicly alleged that the investigators had acted for political ends. On 29 December 2013, Interior Minister Efkan Ala described the operation of 17 December as “almost a coup against the government”. On 4 January 2014, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan alleged an attempted “judicial coup”. At the time, no investigator had been convicted. In these circumstances, SRL Swiss considers that the reasons for reassigning the cases, transferring the investigators and initiating disciplinary proceedings against them should be open to independent review.[70]

The subsequent careers of the original and successor prosecutors

On 12 May 2015, the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors dismissed prosecutors Celal Kara, Mehmet Yüzgeç, Muammer Akkaş and Zekeriya Öz, and judge Süleyman Karaçöl, from office. Fidan, a signatory to the decision not to prosecute in the 25 December case, became a member of the Constitutional Court in 2021 and its Deputy President on 10 March 2026. Uçar was elected to the Court of Cassation on 17 January 2024. In May 2025, after serving on the Court of Cassation, Aydoğdu was elected to the Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSK). These career paths raise an institutional question: what objective criteria governed removal from a case, disciplinary action and promotion, and how can their application be reviewed?[71]

When the performance of investigative duties gives rise to criminal charges

The closure of an investigation does not preclude examination of the conduct of the officers who gathered the evidence. The difficulty here is identifying the point at which an act requested by a prosecutor and authorised by a judge constituted an individual criminal offence. The Court of Cassation judgment in the 25 December case identifies, by date and number, two orders for the interception of communications, dated 12 January and 21 October 2013. Those orders provide a basis for comparison in the subsequent proceedings. Whom did the judge authorise the investigators to monitor, for how long, how did the officer act on that authority, and which specific act was alleged to be unlawful?[72]

The position of the Turkish authorities and the response of the defence

The Turkish authorities alleged that certain officers had acted to further the aims of the Gülenist organisation and that their investigative acts should be assessed in that light. The domestic courts also considered witness statements in relation to certain defendants. The defence submitted that the detention of suspects and the gathering of evidence had been based on prosecutorial instructions and judicial orders. For each individual, it is necessary to establish

70 SRL Swiss, UN submission, pp. 11–13, Annexes A28.1–A28.4

71 Venice Commission (162) · Constitutional Court (169) · Council of Judges and Prosecutors (170) · Council of Judges and Prosecutors (171) · Constitutional Court (199) · Anadolu Agency (200)

72 SRL Swiss, UN submission, pp. 13–17, Annexes A13 and A32, judgment pp. 638 and 641

which instructions were given, what the officer did and what evidence substantiates the allegation of unlawful conduct.[73]

Security footage from the Haliç Congress Centre and the espionage charge

Security camera footage obtained from the Haliç Congress Centre during the 25 December investigation was subsequently relied on to support espionage charges against individuals who had worked on that investigation. The defence submitted that the centre's cameras had recorded the footage in the ordinary course of operations and that the officers had requested it on the prosecutor's instructions. The handover records and statements identify who requested and who received the recordings. In the assessment of SRL Swiss, the court's judgment of 2 December 2024 did not explain which information in the footage constituted a state secret, how it determined that each defendant knew of that status, or which specific conduct evidenced an intent to engage in espionage.[74]

Changes in the composition of the bench and the direct examination of evidence

A comparison of the hearings of 6 January, 28 June and 5 September 2016 in the proceedings arising from the 25 December investigation shows that only one member of the preceding panel remained. In September, the presiding judge also changed. Determining which records enabled the new panel to assess evidence heard at earlier hearings is important to a review of the basis for the judgment.[75]

Defence rights and independent review of objections

In decisions concerning certain defendants, the courts relied on ByLock data and on messages alleged to have been exchanged using the Spark messaging application. Separate scrutiny is required of the means by which the records were obtained, their attribution to the defendants, their integrity and the ability of the defence to verify them.[76]

In Yüksel Yalçınkaya v. Türkiye, the European Court of Human Rights found that inferring membership of an organisation from use of ByLock without separately examining the individual's intent violated the principle of legality. Deficiencies in the applicant's access to the data and in the examination of his objections also violated the right to a fair trial. Applied to the proceedings arising from 17 and 25 December, this standard requires an individualised account of the connection between each record and the alleged act, and of the opportunity afforded to the defence to challenge the record.[77]

The hearing minutes and interlocutory decisions examined by SRL Swiss show that some defence objections concerning the evidence received no substantive answer. When the defence renewed its requests to inspect digital records, the court referred back to its earlier refusals. In declining to recall a witness, the court did not explain by what other means the defence could challenge the adverse testimony. This limited the ability of the defence to demonstrate possible errors in the digital records and inconsistencies in witness testimony before the trial court.[78]

Which authority examined the defence objection?

The defence lodged a criminal complaint concerning the preparation of certain expert reports. On 7 February 2017, the prosecution decided not to prosecute on the ground that the evidence was insufficient to bring charges. A further decision of 25 May 2018 stated that the objection

73 Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172) · SRL Swiss (201)

74 SRL Swiss, OSCE report, p. 11, section IX, Annexes 23–27

75 SRL Swiss, UN submission, pp. 25–26, Annex A7

76 Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172) · SRL Swiss (201)

77 European Court of Human Rights, Grand Chamber (192) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172)

78 SRL Swiss (201), pp. 22–24 (Annexes A5 and A14).

should be submitted to the trial court. The effectiveness of that review therefore depended on the records to which the court granted the defence access and on its response to the objection.[79]

79 SRL Swiss, UN submission, pp. 26–27, Annexes A15–A17

7. Judgments against investigators and the consequences of imprisonment

Across the three first-instance judgments examined in connection with the investigations of 17 and 25 December, 25 distinct defendants were sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment. SRL Swiss finds that all 25 remain in prison and are held in cells. The table below identifies the ten defendants sentenced on 24 December 2018 in the proceedings arising from the investigation of 25 December whose convictions were upheld by the Court of Cassation on 9 May 2023.[80]

Defendant in the 25 December proceedings	Final sentence (Criminal Code, Article 312 § 1)	Custodial status
Yakub Saygılı	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison
Kazım Aksoy	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison
Yasin Topçu	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison
Mahir Çakallı	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison
Arif İbiş	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison
Mustafa Demirhan	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison
Mehmet Habip Kunt	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison
İbrahim Şener	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison
Mehmet Fatih Yiğit	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison
Mehmet Akif Üner	Aggravated life imprisonment	In prison

Fifteen aggravated life sentences in the 17 December case

On 18 March 2019, the Istanbul 14th Assize Court sentenced 15 defendants to aggravated life imprisonment under Article 312 § 1 of the Turkish Criminal Code. The operative part described the offence as attempting, by force and violence, to overthrow the Government of the Republic of Türkiye or to prevent it, in whole or in part, from performing its duties. Seven of the defendants also appear in the preceding table. The remaining eight were Nazmi Ardıç, İsmail Arpacı, Mehmet Sait Sevinç, Ahmet Kalender, Ahmet Üzümcü, Ayhan Arıkanoğlu, Duran Denizci and Adem Atik. The regional court of appeal upheld the judgments in 2020. On 8 May 2023, the Court of Cassation upheld six convictions for this offence. For other defendants, the grounds for quashing included the fact that the same act had been tried in two separate proceedings.[81]

Nine sentences following remittal in the 25 December case

On 2 December 2024, the Istanbul 13th Assize Court sentenced İsmail Arpacı, Mehmet Sait Sevinç, Ercan Taş, Cihan Kasak, Ufuk Sağdıç, Hüseyin Tokgöz, Şakir Parpar, Raif Bektaş and Hayrettin Can to aggravated life imprisonment under Article 312 § 1 of the Turkish Criminal Code. These nine were distinct from the ten defendants whose sentences in the 25 December case were upheld in 2023. Arpacı and Sevinç also appear in the judgment concerning 17 December. The 2024 judgment is recorded here as a first-instance decision following remittal (case no. 2023/180, decision no. 2024/241, operative part, pp. 630–635).[82]

80 Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172) · Anadolu Agency (198) · SRL Swiss (201)

81 Istanbul 14th Assize Court, case no. 2016/304, decision no. 2019/63, operative part, p. 1401 (OSCE report, Annex 16). · Anadolu Agency (198) · Demirören Haber Ajansı (203) · Anadolu Agency (166) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (204)

82 SRL Swiss (201)

Length of proceedings and conditions in prison

Restrictions on liberty beginning in 2014 were followed by first-instance judgments in 2018 and 2019, decisions in 2023 upholding some convictions and quashing others, and fresh judgments in 2024. An individual could be serving a final sentence on one charge while still conducting a defence on another. Access to legal counsel and facilities for examining the case file in prison were therefore material to the charges still pending.[83]

The effect of overlapping charges on individual defendants

In its judgment of 2 December 2024 following remittal, the Istanbul 13th Assize Court sentenced nine defendants to aggravated life imprisonment, twelve to eighteen years' imprisonment each for espionage, and two to seven years and six months each for membership of an organisation. Two defendants received both an aggravated life sentence and an eighteen-year sentence. The judgment also included acquittals and orders for severance. This distribution underlines the importance of identifying, for each officer who worked on the investigation, the particular act attributed to that officer and the evidence supporting individual responsibility.[84]

Family contact and the confidentiality of consultations with legal counsel

Applications made in 2024 and examined by SRL Swiss in its OSCE report describe confinement in single-occupancy cells, monitoring of consultations with legal counsel and restrictions on telephone contact with spouses. These conditions directly affect family ties and the ability to prepare appeals confidentially with counsel from prison. The applications document the conditions reported by the individuals concerned.[85]

Under Rule 44 of the United Nations Nelson Mandela Rules, the assessment of confinement in a single-occupancy cell turns on the time spent without meaningful human contact. The rule defines solitary confinement as confinement for 22 hours or more a day without such contact, and prolonged solitary confinement as solitary confinement for more than 15 consecutive days. Rule 58 provides for regular family contact and Rule 61 for confidential communication with legal counsel. These standards permit an assessment of how often a person in custody can communicate with family and whether that person can consult privately with counsel about pending proceedings.[86]

The orders transmitted to the police on the morning of 25 December and the final judgments subsequently delivered against officers who worked on that investigation reveal who was ultimately held to account. The principal allegations concerning public tenders were closed without the evidence being heard by a criminal court. The investigators received sentences that would shape the rest of their lives. That is why SRL Swiss continues to draw attention to the investigations of 17 and 25 December. The question for European institutions today is what safeguards would prevent similar interference if a prosecutor sought to gather evidence concerning a person with political influence.[87]

83 SRL Swiss, UN submission, pp. 5–9, Annexes A21, A35 and A36

84 SRL Swiss, UN submission, pp. 6–7, Annex A21, operative part pp. 630–635

85 SRL Swiss, OSCE report, pp. 11–12, Annexes 48–51

86 UN General Assembly, Nelson Mandela Rules, rules 44, 58 and 61

87 Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation · SRL Swiss, first-instance and appellate decisions

8. Conclusions and recommendations

The principal investigations concerning relatives of ministers and public procurement ended in decisions not to prosecute. In the investigation of 25 December 2013, the documentary record identifies a specific consequence of reassignment. The successor prosecutors notified the police that the outstanding measures would no longer be pursued. Officers who had taken part in the investigations subsequently stood trial. Across three first-instance judgments, 25 distinct defendants received sentences of aggravated life imprisonment. SRL Swiss finds that all 25 remain in prison and are held in cells.

The investment fund and municipal cases raise the question of investigative independence in different ways. In the fund investigation, can prosecutors examine how supervisory authorities responded to risk warnings as well as examining investors' transactions? In municipal procurement, what criteria determine which contracts are investigated when municipalities controlled by different parties award work to the same contractor?

SRL Swiss recommends three safeguards for investigations in which the evidence leads to persons with political influence. The reasons for reassigning a case should be recorded in writing. The case file should show what became of each outstanding investigative measure. Decisions affecting investigators' security of tenure should be open to independent review.[88]

PACE Monitoring Committee – Hearing on the reassignment of investigations

The orders that remained outstanding when the prosecutor was replaced on 26 December 2013 identify a decision that the Committee can examine directly. The case record shows what the investigators were instructed to do and when those measures were abandoned. The subsequent proceedings against the officers who collected the evidence make the independence of the review particularly important.

SRL Swiss asks the co-rapporteurs for Türkiye to propose a hearing at the Monitoring Committee's next discussion of the country. The hearing should examine who can review the transfer of a sensitive investigation and the decision to abandon outstanding measures. Evidence on prolonged pre-trial detention in the municipal cases would allow the Committee to examine how courts give individual reasons for measures that prevent elected mayors from exercising their mandates.

88 European Parliament (180) · European Commission (1)

Annex 1. Chronology of decisions concerning the investigations of 17 and 25 December

26 December 2013 and 29 January 2014 · Reassignment of the cases

The letter stating that the prosecutors who succeeded Muammer Akkaş in the 25 December case would not execute the outstanding measures is reproduced twice in the judgment of the Court of Cassation (A1, pp. 222 and 322). In the investigations of 17 December, the reassignment of Celal Kara and Mehmet Yüzgeç was announced on 29 January.[89]

30 April, 25 July and 16 October 2014 · Three decisions not to prosecute

The case concerning TOKİ transactions was closed first. On 25 July, a decision not to prosecute was issued in respect of 96 persons in the main 25 December case (A2, pp. 139–141). On 16 October, Ekrem Aydıner issued a decision not to prosecute 53 persons in the 17 December bribery case. Aydıner drew up an indictment in the separate case concerning Fatih Municipality.[90]

2015–2016 · Dismissals and indictments

On 12 May 2015, four prosecutors and one judge were dismissed from office. Different courts accepted the indictment that İsmail Uçar drew up that year against officers in the 25 December investigation and the indictment that İrfan Fidan drew up in 2016 against officers in the 17 December investigation.[91]

2016–2019 · Defence access to evidence

In 2016, the decision concerning the provision of copies of digital material to the defence was changed. The hearing minutes of 31 January 2019 record both the request to question a witness and the court's refusal (A5 and A14, pp. 102 and 115).[92]

2023–2026 · Final judgments, other appeals and enforcement

In the 25 December case, the aggravated life sentences of ten defendants became final on 9 May 2023. Following remittal in the same case, nine other defendants were sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment on 2 December 2024. Section 7 identifies the defendants who also appear in the 17 December judgment and the stage reached on appeal in respect of each decision.[93]

89 Venice Commission (162) · PACE (56)

90 GRECO (57) · GRECO (188)

91 European Court of Human Rights (16) · Committee of Ministers (193) · Committee of Ministers (194) · Department for the Execution of Judgments (195)

92 Mandate of the UN Special Rapporteur · SRL Swiss, UN submission, pp. 28–32 · SRL Swiss, UN match-fixing submission, pp. 2–3 and 8–12

93 Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172) · Habertürk (191) · SRL Swiss (201)

Annex 2. Political influence, public procurement and financial transactions

The national cases are compared by examining the allegation alongside the subsequent judicial action. Examples concerning public contracts, allegations of political influence and financial transfers are presented together with cases in which regulatory review or criminal proceedings produced an identifiable outcome.

Allegations concerning politically influential persons

We examined separately how far allegations concerning senior political figures and their relatives progressed through the judicial process. The prosecution's reasons for discontinuing the Isle of Man transfer case could be identified. In the Dignita matter, the public record was less clear beyond the registration of the report to the authorities. In the more recent events examined we could verify no indictment or conviction indicating that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan himself had been tried in Türkiye for a corruption offence.[94]

The Isle of Man documents and the decision not to prosecute in Türkiye

In November 2017, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu alleged that some relatives of Erdoğan had transferred funds to Bellway, a company incorporated in the Isle of Man. He displayed banking documents publicly. The allegation came to public attention in 2017, but the disputed transactions dated from 2011–2012. The outcome reached by the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office in February 2018 is known. It decided not to prosecute individuals including Erdoğan's son Ahmet Burak Erdoğan and his brother Mustafa Erdoğan.[95]

The direction of the transfers was material to the decision. According to the account of the bank records, approximately USD 15 million flowed from the company to accounts held by individuals in Türkiye. The prosecution said it had found no evidence supporting the allegation that money had been spirited abroad or criminal proceeds laundered. Cumhuriyet, which examined the decision, criticised the failure to investigate the commercial transaction underlying the funds. The outcome in Türkiye was a decision not to prosecute. We identified no bribery indictment, remand order or conviction in this case.[96]

The Italian investigation concerning Bilal Erdoğan and the Dignita allegations

Following a report by Murat Hakan Uzan, prosecutors in Bologna examined a money-laundering allegation concerning Bilal Erdoğan. In January 2017 a judge granted the prosecution's application to close the case. The Italian decision concerned a matter separate from the 2013 investigation in Türkiye.[97]

A Reuters investigation in June 2023 concerned Swedish company Dignita's plan to enter the Turkish market with an alcohol ignition interlock device. A report made to US and Swedish authorities alleged that payments to circles said to be connected to Bilal Erdoğan were contemplated in exchange for exclusive sales rights. The project was shelved and the contemplated payment was never made. Bilal Erdoğan denied the allegation through his lawyer. Reuters expressly stated that it had found no independent confirmation that the President or

94 Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172) · Bianet (174) · Anadolu Agency (175) · SRL Swiss (201)

95 Venice Commission (162) · Anadolu Agency (178) · TRT Haber (179)

96 SRL Swiss (201)

97 Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172) · SRL Swiss (201) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (204)

his son had known of or participated in the plan. We identified no criminal prosecution, remand order or judgment in Türkiye arising from this matter.[98]

Ministers, advisers and public institutions

Ruhsar Pekcan and the disinfectant purchase

In April 2021, the Ministry of Trade acknowledged buying disinfectant worth TRY 507,880, excluding VAT, from Nanoksia, a company connected to the family of Minister Ruhsar Pekcan. The Ministry said that another bid was for TRY 853,600 and that buying from the manufacturer reduced costs. The procurement itself and the family connection between purchaser and supplier are documented. The higher competing bid does not establish who participated in selecting the supplier or what precautions were taken against a conflict of interest.[99]

The Parliamentary Offences Investigation Bureau of the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office joined six complaints and declined to process them on 6 October 2021. Its reason was that Parliament had jurisdiction to investigate allegations relating to the minister's official duties. The decision did not constitute an acquittal on the evidence. We identified no referral of the former minister to the Constitutional Court sitting as the Supreme Criminal Court, remand order or conviction in relation to this purchase.[100]

When did the use of public resources lead to a trial?

The Yunus Emre Institute and allegations of false invoicing

Invoices for goods and services allegedly never received by the Institute, which is attached to the publicly funded Yunus Emre Foundation, led to criminal proceedings. The Ankara 2nd Criminal Court of First Instance accepted two indictments drawn up by the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office against 23 persons. The prosecution set out the approvals on which the purchases were based, payments to suppliers and the subsequent movement of the money. The charges included breach of trust in the course of employment and laundering the proceeds of crime.[101]

The case concerning former president Şeref Ateş had been severed when the first indictments were drawn up. He was remanded in custody on 18 July 2025. In July 2026 the court ordered his release subject to a foreign travel ban, observing that he had completed one year in detention. Adding Ateş to the 23 persons named in the first two indictments would give a misleading defendant count. As of 18 November 2026, we identified no final conviction against him.[102]

Distinguishing political and criminal responsibility

In the Pekcan case, the purchase and supplier were officially acknowledged. The trail of judicial scrutiny becomes unclear once the question of prosecutorial jurisdiction arises. In the Institute case, payments linked to invoices were brought before a court. In the fund crisis, a former minister was remanded in custody, but the order concerned allegations about market transactions. Taken together, these cases show that senior figures have sometimes been reached, while in other cases there is no public judicial decision examining the substance of a documented procurement. The principal gap in the comparison is the inability to trace which authority, if any, assessed the evidence after proceedings ended on jurisdictional grounds.[103]

98 Anadolu Agency (63) · Cumhuriyet (64) · Reuters (65) · ANSA (66)

99 Anadolu Agency (63) · Cumhuriyet (64)

100 Anadolu Agency (63) · Cumhuriyet (64)

101 ANSA (66)

102 Reuters (65)

103 Vatan (67) · Ministry of Trade / Anadolu Agency (68) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (69)

Alleged demands for a percentage from businesspeople

The 10% allegation raised in Parliament in February 2014

At the 60th sitting of the Grand National Assembly on 12 February 2014, CHP MP for İzmir Alaattin Yüksel alleged that a 10% commission had been demanded from businesspeople awarded Ministry of Transport construction contracts. He named then minister Binali Yıldırım and alleged that money had been collected from contractors to finance the acquisition of Sabah –ATV. The parliamentary record establishes who made the allegation, what was alleged and when. Yıldırım denied the financing allegations referred to in the press as the "pool".[104]

The decision not to prosecute in the 25 December case, reported in the press in September 2014, named Binali Yıldırım and several businesspeople. Prosecutors recorded objections to the interception orders and to the evidential value of the police report. We found no conviction establishing that 10% was paid on each contract, nor a bribery indictment showing that each payment mentioned by Yüksel went to trial. The fact that he made the allegation in Parliament in 2014 does not establish that the alleged transactions took place after 2014.[105]

The 10–12% allegation in the İBB indictment

In the 2025 İBB indictment, prosecutors alleged that agreement was reached in advance with the company that would win a tender, that a share of 10–12% of the contract value was added to the price and that the share was handed over when progress payments fell due. The indictment described alleged relationships involving Aziz İhsan Aktaş and certain municipal subsidiaries. İmamoğlu denied the charges. He remained in custody after the interlocutory decision in November 2026. We identified no final judgment determining this allegation in the main case.[106]

The allegations in the 25 December procurement case and the 10–12% allegation in the İBB indictment share the claim that a benefit was demanded from a contractor as a share of the contract price. The former investigation ended in a decision not to prosecute. In the latter, a court accepted the indictment. Similarity of percentages does not establish equivalence of evidence. The relevant comparison is how contractor statements, bank transactions and tender prices were tested and how the authorities explained their conclusions on the threshold of sufficient suspicion.[107]

Two criminal complaints concerning major infrastructure contracts

We selected two specific transactions to assess the judicial outcomes concerning companies described by the opposition as the "gang of five". Each project involved a different contractor, contract and disputed payment. Winning a tender, a company's ownership structure or the size of a contract does not, in itself, establish payment of a bribe.[108]

In 2024, the European Commission noted insufficient prosecutorial follow-up of the findings of public audit bodies. In the following two projects, we examined whether prosecutors reviewed the documents relied on to justify payment after criminal complaints were recorded in the parliamentary minutes, and which decisions could be verified.[109]

104 Vatan (67) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (69)

105 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (73)

106 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (73) · Anadolu Agency (74) · T24 (75)

107 Euronews (28) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (29) · Vatan (67) · Ministry of Trade / Anadolu Agency (68) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (73) · Anadolu Agency (74) · T24 (75)

108 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (76) · Habertürk (77)

109 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (76) · Anadolu Agency (84)

Istanbul Airport and the Gayrettepe metro excavation

According to the sector report of the State Airports Authority (DHMİ), the original Istanbul Airport consortium comprised Limak, Kolin, Cengiz, Mapa and Kalyon. The contract awarded in 2013 envisaged investment of EUR 10.247 billion. The rent offered to the administration for the 25-year operating period was EUR 22.152 billion, excluding VAT. The subsequent dispute concerned which contractor was responsible for the metro excavation within the airport, rather than the rent.[110]

CHP MP for Zonguldak Deniz Yavuzyılmaz told a parliamentary committee that the excavation had been included in two contracts, resulting in an additional payment of EUR 7.95 million, and that he had filed a criminal complaint. Representatives of TCDD said that the matter fell within the remit of the Directorate-General for Infrastructure Investments. The minutes document both the allegation and the dispute over which authority was responsible. We identified no criminal prosecution, remand order or conviction concerning a contractor or public official in respect of this payment.[111]

Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli railway

Contract no. 2020/390523 was awarded to Kalyon İnşaat by negotiated procedure. The contract signed in September 2020 was worth approximately TRY 9.45 billion. A written parliamentary question in August 2020 identified both the tender registration number and the bid amount. In October 2020, replying to criticism of the tender terms and a tax exemption, the contractor said it had made the most favourable bid. Its statement did not address the progress payment subsequently raised in Parliament.[112]

Yavuzyılmaz said that a criminal complaint had been filed alleging that a payment of TRY 500,174,282 for advance preparation of materials had been made in place of the contractual 10% advance against a letter of guarantee, and that the pricing method had been changed after the bid. The 10% was a legitimate contractual advance. The allegation was that the safeguard attached to it had been bypassed. After the parliamentary record, we could not verify that this payment had led to a criminal indictment, the detention of the persons concerned or a judgment on the merits.[113]

Public loans and transfers to foundations

Ziraat Bankası and the Demirören loan

The loan extended by state-owned Ziraat Bankası to finance the acquisition of Doğan Media Group in 2018 raised questions about the terms of access to financing. According to reporting on a Court of Accounts report submitted to Parliament's State Economic Enterprises Committee, the group owed Ziraat Bankası USD 895.635 million in principal and approximately USD 25.28 million in interest as at 31 December 2022. A USD 90 million instalment was reportedly paid in May 2023 and the debt was restructured. The end-2022 balance establishes neither the balance in 2026 nor a definitive loss to the public.[114]

A parliamentary question asked whether the collateral value of 22 properties covered the debt and what recovery conditions applied to borrowers in comparable circumstances. The initial credit assessment, contemporaneous valuations of the collateral and restructuring terms are

110 AA (38) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40) · TRT Haber (78)

111 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (76) · TRT Haber (78) · Anadolu Agency (84)

112 E. Çeviker Gürakar and T. Bircan (62) · General Directorate of State Airports Authority (79) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80) · Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli railway project (82)

113 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80) · European Commission (184)

114 General Directorate of State Airports Authority (79) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80)

relevant comparison documents for an audit. We could verify no bribery prosecution, remand order or conviction in Türkiye of a bank executive or borrower arising out of the loan allocation examined.[115]

Başkentgaz, Kızılay, Ensar and TURKEN

A document dated 29 December 2017 recorded a USD 8 million donation by Başkentgaz to Kızılay, of which USD 75,000 was to remain with Kızılay and the balance was to be used for joint projects with Ensar. Ensar stated that USD 7,925,000 was transferred under a protocol to TURKEN for a student residence in New York. Tax returns and real estate records also exist for the foundation established in the United States in 2014 by TÜRGEV and Ensar. The documents establish a traceable chain of payments and the stated purpose of the funds.[116]

The effect of the donation on the taxable base, the ultimate use of the funds in the residence project and whether an individual obtained a private benefit are separate questions. Establishing the latter would require showing that resources or a benefit flowed to that person. Public records confirm the donation and the transfers between institutions. We identified no bribery indictment, remand order or final judgment against the parties in Türkiye in connection with those transfers.[117]

İyidere Port and the Pandora Papers

The İyidere tender, additional works and environmental proceedings

In 2020, the construction of İyidere Logistics Port was awarded by negotiated procedure to a joint venture of Cengiz İnşaat and Yapı ve Yapı for approximately TRY 1.37 billion. A parliamentary question requested the rationale for adding coastal protection works for Rize's Millet Bahçesi park to the port contract and for the reported 7.16% increase in works. The procedure and the additional item are documented. We identified no criminal indictment, remand order or conviction showing that the sums were paid to a specific person as a bribe.[118]

There is a judicial decision concerning the İkizdere quarry supplying materials for the project. In January 2026, the Rize Administrative Court reportedly annulled the decision that an environmental impact assessment was not required for the quarry. That judgment concerned environmental assessment. It cannot be used as a criminal conviction for bribery in the port procurement. The distinction identifies the particular act on which judicial review produced an outcome.[119]

Rönesans Holding and the USD 210.7 million transfer

In 2021, reporting on the Pandora Papers identified a USD 210.7 million movement of funds linked to Rönesans Holding. The company stated that its transfers complied with the law. A parliamentary motion of 13 October 2021 sought examination of the 220 names and companies in the documents and comparison with Court of Accounts reports. The motion does not establish that every person named committed an offence.[120]

The company's response, the reporting on the documents and the MPs' request for an inquiry can each be verified. No bribery trial, remand order or conviction in Türkiye could be verified in relation to the transfer examined. Classifying the funds as proceeds of crime requires

115 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80)

116 Millî Gazete (81) · Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli railway project (82) · Kalyon Holding (83) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (97)

117 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80) · Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli railway project (82)

118 Sözcü (138) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (139)

119 Sözcü (138) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (139)

120 Teyit (142) · Teyit (143)

establishing the underlying transaction, the beneficial owner and the connection to public office. Proceedings brought in response to Pelin Ünker's reporting on the Paradise Papers are examined below in relation to the public's ability to follow such allegations.[121]

Trading in influence and allegations concerning a member of the judiciary

Veyis Ateş and Sezgin Baran Korkmaz

Korkmaz alleged that EUR 10 million had been demanded from him through journalist Veyis Ateş in return for resolving his legal difficulties. Ateş denied demanding money. Following examination of an audio recording and witness statements, Ateş was placed under judicial supervision. In January 2024 prosecutors indicted him for trading in influence, seeking a sentence of two to five years. The EUR 10 million was the amount allegedly demanded.[122]

In this case the allegation concerning an intermediary led to criminal proceedings. We found no judgment establishing that a public official whose influence was allegedly to be used received payment, or that Ateş had received a final sentence in this case. His detention or release on other allegations cannot be attributed to these proceedings.[123]

Ayhan Bora Kaplan and former Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor Yüksel Kocaman

After the Kaplan investigation, allegations that a residence and a vehicle had been given to Yüksel Kocaman, a member of the Court of Cassation and former Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor, were raised in Parliament. Parliamentary questions asked whether those asset allegations and the judicial response to earlier reports had been investigated. Kocaman denied the allegations and announced that he would seek legal remedies against those disseminating them. Inclusion in a parliamentary question does not prove the source of ownership.[124]

Organised crime proceedings against Kaplan or others do not determine the allegation that Kocaman obtained a benefit. In the records examined we found no bribery indictment naming Kocaman as a defendant, remand order or judgment on the merits in relation to this allegation. For investigative independence, the question is which competent authority examined the official property, vehicle and payment records and whether it issued a reasoned decision.[125]

Comparison of outcomes in national cases

Allegations concerning the same political circles did not all reach the same stage. The following table identifies the act and person covered by each verified procedural step. "Not identified" means no publicly accessible record was located in respect of the allegation examined.

Person or transaction	Documented procedural stage	Remand and judgment
Erdoğan's relatives · Isle of Man	Decision not to prosecute in Türkiye in 2018. The prosecution assessed the bank records in its decision.	No remand order or conviction identified on this allegation.[126]
Ruhsar Pekcan · Public procurement	In 2021 prosecutors declined to process the complaints on the ground that Parliament had jurisdiction.	No trial before the Constitutional Court sitting as the Supreme Criminal Court, or conviction, identified in connection with this purchase.[127]

121 Teyit (142) · Teyit (143)
122 Sözcü (140) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (141)
123 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (141) · Halk TV (155)
124 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (122) · Diken (123)
125 Bianet (119) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (122) · Diken (123)
126 Bianet (137)

Person or transaction	Documented procedural stage	Remand and judgment
Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu · Capital Markets Board	Prosecutors decided not to prosecute for lack of sufficient evidence.	No indictment, remand order or conviction identified on this allegation.[128]
Two infrastructure payments	Criminal complaints were recorded in parliamentary committee proceedings. No criminal indictment was identified.	No detention or judgment on the merits identified concerning the excavation and advance materials payments.[129]
Şeref Ateş · Yunus Emre Institute	Proceedings were brought concerning purchases and invoices. The former president's case was initially severed.	Remanded in July 2025 and released under judicial supervision in July 2026. No final judgment identified.[130]
F. Betül Sayan Kaya · Capital markets	The November 2026 investigation concerns allegations relating to market transactions and membership of a criminal organisation.	The former minister was remanded on 6 November. No indictment or judgment identified on these allegations.[131]

An example of judicial review: Halkalı–Ispartakule

The Thirteenth Chamber of the Council of State found that the urgency requirement for a negotiated procedure had not been met in the Halkalı–Ispartakule railway tender and annulled the award (case no. 2021/4783, decision no. 2021/5302). Compared with the two criminal complaints, both the outcome and the grounds for review are available here. The judgment concerns the legality of procurement. It cannot be treated as a criminal finding that an individual accepted a bribe.[132]

Comparison of procedural stages in national cases

The comparison traces what happens after a corruption allegation reaches prosecutors. Drawing up an indictment, judicial acceptance of the indictment, remand in custody, release and judgment are distinct stages. The inquiry also covers how reassignment affects outstanding investigative measures, the opportunity for the defence to challenge evidence, individualised reasons for detention and independent review of decisions.

Judicial follow-up of investment funds and public expenditure

The first table shows the stages reached in four cases concerning investment fund transactions and public expenditure. Reporting information to prosecutors is a different procedural outcome from presenting the matter and supporting evidence before a court.

127 Bianet (137)

128 Statement reported in the press (144) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (145) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (156)

129 Statement reported in the press (144) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (145) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (156)

130 Anadolu Agency (63) · Cumhuriyet (64)

131 Vatan (67) · Ministry of Trade / Anadolu Agency (68)

132 CHP (70) · T24 / BirGün (72) · Independent Türkçe (98)

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Investment funds	Alleged advance knowledge of liquidation and warnings given to regulators.	Prosecutors requested records from the SPK on 19 August 2026. Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya was remanded on 6 November. She denied the allegation.	The documented stage is an investigation into investor transactions. Section 1 examines correspondence between the Ministry and the SPK relevant to the responsibility of the supervisory authorities.[133]
Istanbul Airport metro	Allegation of a second payment for the same excavation.	MP Deniz Yavuzyılmaz told Parliament that he had filed a criminal complaint.	The committee minutes record the institution's response. No prosecutorial decision comparing the two contracts or indictment is shown.[134]
Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli railway	Alleged failure to observe the contractual conditions for an advance payment to the contractor.	The parliamentary minutes record the MP's statement about the criminal complaint and the payment in dispute.	The minutes document the complaint. They contain no remand order or criminal judgment relating to the payment.[135]
Yunus Emre Institute	Invoices for goods and services allegedly not received.	Prosecutors matched invoices with approvals and payments and drew up two indictments.	Both indictments were accepted in Ankara. Responsibility for authorising and receiving payments came before the court.[136]

Annex 3 compares municipalities. Section 2 assesses the effects on elected mayors.

133 General Directorate of State Airports Authority (79) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (97)

134 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (73) · Anadolu Agency (74) · T24 (75)

135 Euronews (28) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (29)

136 Thirteenth Chamber of the Council of State (100)

Annex 3. Investigations and trials concerning municipalities

This annex contains 65 entries concerning 64 municipalities. The tables identify the municipality and term of office, the allegation, custody status and the most recent verifiable procedural step. They are followed by more detailed decisions concerning two successive Istanbul administrations, mayors tried together and municipalities governed by parties in government.

Istanbul, Ankara and Elazığ

The tables below set out 65 entries concerning 64 municipalities between 2013 and 2026. Cases concerning successive administrations in Istanbul and Ankara can be read alongside one another. Elazığ is included here because of its connection to the case concerning a common contractor presented next.

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality · AK Party administration	Vehicle leasing, municipal resources and allocations.	Former İBB councillor Tarık Balyalı reported that 62 files were sent to prosecutors.	Balyalı's inventory lists 21 decisions not to prosecute, 37 unanswered complaints, three files taken off the list and one complaint for which no record could be found.[137]
Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality · CHP administration	Alleged interference with tender procedures and bribery involving Ekrem İmamoğlu. He denied the charges.	Remanded on 23 March 2025. On 13 November 2026 his detention in the main case reached 600 days.	The Istanbul 40th Assize Court released eight defendants and maintained the detention of 38, including İmamoğlu. There was no judgment on the merits at that time.[138]
Ankara Metropolitan Municipality · AK Party administration	Ankapark tender. Alleged public loss involving Melih Gökçek and Mustafa Tuna.	The Chamber of City Planners reported that the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office registered its complaint as no. 2018/168390.	According to the Chamber's own activity report, its complaint was rejected without further action. This outcome relates only to that complaint.[139]
Ankara Metropolitan Municipality · CHP administration	Procurement of 32 concerts. The defendants are officials and contractors.	The last three detained defendants in the trial of 14 were released under judicial supervision on 31 March 2026.	The court found that the risks of absconding or interference with evidence had ceased. On 16 October it ordered a further expert examination. No remand order against the mayor in this case.[140]
Elazığ · AK Party administration	Cleaning and vehicle-leasing contracts awarded to companies linked to Aktaş.	Allegations based on published expert findings were raised in Parliament. In November 2025 the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor said his office had received no letter from Elazığ.	The records examined contain no accepted indictment or remand order concerning the mayor in relation to these tenders.[141]

In its Türkiye 2026 Report the European Commission put at 49 the number of mayors suspended or detained after the March 2024 elections. That count includes different charges and

137 Ministry of Justice (26) · Euronews (28) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (29)

138 General Directorate of State Airports Authority (79) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80)

139 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80)

140 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (73) · Anadolu Agency (74) · T24 (75)

141 Halk TV (92) · Medyascope (93)

administrative measures. The entries here concern municipal financial allegations and their outcomes before prosecutors or courts.[142]

Seven mayors in one trial

Seven mayors elected on CHP tickets were tried on the same indictment. The court announced judgment at first instance on 24 August 2026. Its reasons became public in November. Each entry identifies the accusation and disposition specific to that mayor.

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Adana Metropolitan Municipality · Zeydan Karalar	Alleged bribery during his term as mayor of Seyhan.	Remanded in 2025. Released on 5 February 2026.	Six years and three months for bribery at first instance.[143]
Adıyaman · Abdurrahman Tutdere	Bribery charge.	Placed under house arrest in July 2025. The measure was lifted and he returned to office.	Acquitted of bribery.[144]
Beşiktaş · Rıza Akpolat	Multiple allegations, including bribery, bid-rigging and money laundering.	Remanded in January 2025 and remained in custody upon judgment.	November reporting on the reasoned judgment gave an aggregate sentence of 23 years, three months and seven days. Acquitted of membership of a criminal organisation.[145]
Avcılar · Utku Caner Çaykara	Alleged bribery and bid-rigging.	Remanded in June 2025. Released on 6 August 2026.	Six years and eight months for bribery. Acquitted of bid-rigging.[146]
Ceyhan · Kadir Aydar	Alleged bribery.	Remanded in June 2025. Released on 22 April 2026.	Five years and ten months for bribery at first instance.[147]
Seyhan · Oya Tekin	Alleged bribery.	Remanded in June 2025 and remained in custody upon judgment.	Eight years and four months for bribery at first instance.[148]
Esenyurt · Ahmet Özer	Allegations concerning municipal contracts and supervisory duties.	At liberty at the hearing when judgment was delivered in this case. A measure in a different case is excluded.	Acquitted on two counts. Pronouncement of an eight-month, ten-day prison sentence on one count was deferred.[149]

Hearings and judgments in Istanbul districts

Even where similar offences were alleged, the course of detention varied across Istanbul districts. Cases joined to the main İBB trial are identified separately.

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Beylikdüzü · Mehmet Murat Çalık	Procurement and bribery allegations in the main İBB case.	Remanded on 23 March 2025. Requested release at the hearing on 9 November 2026, citing his health.	The defence was heard in the main İBB trial. This entry does not represent a separate indictment or judgment.[150]

142 AA (38) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40)
143 Chamber of City Planners (TMMOB) (202)
144 Diken (134) · Cumhuriyet (135)
145 Sözcü (51) · ANKA (52)
146 European Commission (1)
147 TRT Haber / AA (45) · Ekonomim / AA (47)
148 TRT Haber / AA (45) · Ekonomim / AA (47)
149 TRT Haber / AA (45) · Ekonomim / AA (47)
150 Diken (37) · TRT Haber / AA (45)

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Şişli · Resul Emrah Şahan	Bribery allegation in the İBB indictment. The municipality is listed among the injured parties.	The initial remand in March 2025 concerned a different allegation and is not counted here as remand for bribery.	The bribery allegation appeared in the accepted İBB indictment. No final judgment on that allegation is shown.[151]
Beyoğlu · İnan Güney	Alleged fraud to the detriment of the public purse.	Remanded in August 2025. Released on 8 July 2026.	In April the indictment against Güney and six others was joined to the main İBB case.[152]
Beykoz · Alaattin Köseler	Alleged bid-rigging in municipal contracts.	Remanded in March 2025. Released in September 2025 and remanded again following an objection.	On 9 November 2026 one person in the trial of 40 was released under house arrest. Four, including Köseler, remained in custody.[153]
Büyükçekmece · Hasan Akgün	Alleged bribery and extortion by a public official in planning and licensing transactions.	Remanded in June 2025. On 16 November 2026 a businessperson was released and Akgün remained in custody.	The trial of 31 defendants continues before the Istanbul 27th Assize Court. Adjourned to 14 December.[154]
Gaziosmanpaşa · Hakan Bahçetepe	Charges of bribery, illicit enrichment and money laundering.	Remanded in June 2025. Released on 6 November 2026 subject to house arrest and a foreign travel ban.	The Istanbul 10th Assize Court imposed six years and three months for bribery and acquitted him on the other two counts.[155]
Bayrampaşa · Hasan Mutlu	Charges concerning bribery, embezzlement and municipal procurement.	Remanded on 16 September 2025. In October 2026 he denied the charges and said he was awaiting the first hearing.	On 28 August 2026 the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office indicted Mutlu and 77 others.[156]
Şile · Özgür Kabadayı	Allegations concerning planning transactions, bribery and bid-rigging.	Remanded in July 2025. On 6 November 2026 eleven people, including Kabadayı, remained in custody.	In the trial of 53 defendants the court decided to hear a further witness. The next hearing was set for 23 November.[157]

In Gaziosmanpaşa the court ordered release upon conviction at first instance. In Büyükçekmece detention continued before judgment. Custody and a finding that a charge has been proved fall at different procedural stages in these two cases.

Prosecutorial and judicial decisions in Istanbul districts

In Ataşehir both the mayor and the acting mayor elected to succeed him were detained in the same investigation. In Bakırköy the first indictment concerned nine persons involved in licensing. A report that an operation took place in a municipality does not establish who was accused of what.

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Ataşehir · Onursal Adıgüzel and Murat Güneş	Alleged demands for bribes in return for occupancy permits and planning measures.	Mayor Adıgüzel was remanded on 22 April 2026 and acting mayor Güneş on 5 October.	Measures were ordered against two different persons in the same municipality during the investigation.[158]

151 Diken (37) · Ekonomim / AA (47)
152 Diken (37) · Ekonomim / AA (47)
153 TRT Haber / AA (45) · Halk TV (243)
154 Diken (37) · ANKA (211)
155 Diken (37) · T24 (210)
156 Diken (37) · DHA (212)
157 Diken (37) · DHA (133)
158 Diken (37) · DHA (206)

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Üsküdar · Sinem Dedetaş	Financial allegations including bribery and extortion by a public official.	Released under house arrest on 29 October 2026 after 90 days in custody.	The judge changed the measure restricting liberty. No judgment on the merits.[159]
Silivri · Bora Balcıoğlu	Alleged irregularities in municipal business.	Remanded and suspended from office on 10 June 2026.	The prosecutorial investigation and the mayor's statement are documented. No trial outcome was reported.[160]
Adalar · Ali Ercan Akpolat	Alleged issue of permits for protected areas in return for bribes.	On 23 June 2026, 35 people including the mayor were remanded.	Investigation-stage order. The figure of 35 includes the mayor and the other suspects.[161]
Eyüpsultan · Mithat Bülent Özmen	Charges of bid-rigging and bribery.	On 6 October 2026 the mayor and twelve suspects were remanded.	The judge remanded Özmen and the other suspects on differing allegations.[162]
Bakırköy · Deputy mayors and officials	Alleged demands for money for licensing and alteration approvals.	Thirty-nine people were remanded in the wider investigation, including deputy mayors and other officials.	On 16 November 2026 nine people were indicted for alleged extortion by a public official. The nine-person indictment covers part of the wider investigation.[163]

İzmir and its districts

The cooperative trials and the licensing, staffing and procurement cases in district municipalities are at different stages. In Menemen the judgment has become final. In Bornova the mayor was released subject to judicial supervision at this stage of the investigation.

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
İzmir Metropolitan Municipality · Tunç Soyer	Former mayor. Financial transactions involving the Örnekköy and Gaziemir cooperatives.	Following the Örnekköy hearing that began on 18 November, release under judicial supervision was ordered. The Gaziemir remand remained in effect.	The Örnekköy trial of 19 continues before the İzmir 6th Assize Court. The release order did not result in release from prison.[164]
Menemen · Serdar Aksoy	Former mayor. Alleged simple embezzlement of municipal property.	Remanded during the investigation.	The sentence of two years and six months became final following appellate review, as reported in March 2026.[165]
Bornova · Ömer Eşki	Allegation that a municipal company paid a salary to a person who did not actually work for it.	In April 2026 the mayor and three others were released. Following the prosecutor's request for remand, a foreign travel ban was imposed.	The most recent record is the judicial supervision order.[166]
Bayraklı · Serdar Sandal	Alleged bribery and bid-rigging under the former mayor.	On 10 October 2026 fifteen suspects, including Sandal, were remanded.	Remand order during the prosecutorial investigation.[167]

159 DHA (205)
160 Diken (37) · TRT Haber (208) · Bayrampaşa TV (209)
161 Diken (37) · Medyascope (207)
162 Diken (37) · TRT Haber (213)
163 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (216)
164 Diken (37) · Anadolu Agency (214)
165 Anadolu Agency (215)
166 Anadolu Agency (217)
167 Medyascope (218)

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Seferihisar · İsmail Yetişkin	Bribery investigation.	On 30 June 2026 Yetişkin and eleven others were remanded.	The mayor of Balçova was subject to a different measure in the same case.[168]
Balçova · Onur Yiğit	Alleged payment of a bribe in the Seferihisar case.	House arrest was followed by a reporting obligation and a foreign travel ban.	Reinstated on 24 August 2026. Reinstatement did not determine the allegation.[169]
Buca · Görkem Duman	Investigation into bribery and extortion by a public official.	Remanded on 6 June 2026. On his hundredth day in custody he requested that an indictment be drawn up.	The record is the mayor's statement during the ongoing prosecutorial investigation.[170]
Güzelbahçe · Mustafa Günay	Alleged bribery in planning and licensing.	On 26 May 2026 the mayor and the director of planning were remanded.	Remand orders against two officials in a prosecutorial investigation.[171]
Menderes · İlkay Çiçek	Alleged bribery, extortion by a public official and planning irregularities.	On 7 August 2026 ten people, including the mayor, were remanded.	Judicial order at the investigation stage.[172]
Çeşme · Municipal officials	Alleged bribery and extortion by public officials in planning and municipal transactions.	On 10 October 2026 ten suspects were remanded and two released under judicial supervision.	Proceedings against deputy mayors and municipal employees. This is not recorded as detention of the elected mayor.[173]

In Seferihisar and Balçova two mayors were subject to different measures in the same investigation. In the Örnekköy case, a release order concerning one person does not by itself establish the case under which that person remains in prison.

The Mediterranean region and Çukurova

Mersin Metropolitan Municipality, Yenişehir and Mezitli are part of a single procurement investigation. Silifke is a separate case. In Antalya the documented step is a hearing on detention, and in Manavgat it is a first-instance judgment.

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Antalya Metropolitan Municipality · Muhittin Böcek	Alleged bribery connected with municipal payments.	Remanded on 5 July 2025. At the hearing on 5 November 2026 he had been in custody for 488 days.	The Antalya 6th Assize Court maintained the detention of Böcek and his son in the trial of 50.[174]
Manavgat · Niyazi Nefi Kara	Charges including bribery, embezzlement and extortion by a public official.	Tried in custody and remained detained when judgment was delivered on 15 May 2026.	The Manavgat 3rd Assize Court imposed prison sentences for several offences. First-instance judgment.[175]
Mersin Metropolitan Municipality · Vahap Seçer	Tenders and direct procurement. Joint investigation with Yenişehir and Mezitli.	Remanded on 6 October 2026.	On 15 November MP Gülcan Kış said all three mayors were awaiting indictment.[176]

168 Dokuz September (43) · Haberler.com (219)
169 BirGün (129)
170 T24 (220)
171 Anadolu Agency (221)
172 Anadolu Agency (222)
173 Anadolu Agency (222) · Habertürk (223)
174 Diken (37) · Cumhuriyet (225)
175 TRT Haber (224)
176 Anadolu Agency (226)

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Yenişehir · Abdullah Özyiğit	Joint procurement investigation with Mersin.	Remanded on 6 October 2026.	Measure applied to another elected mayor in the same prosecutorial investigation.[177]
Mezitli · Ahmet Serkan Tuncer	Joint procurement investigation with Mersin.	Remanded on 6 October 2026.	Documented measure within the joint investigation. Other allegations concerning Tuncer are excluded from this comparison.[178]
Silifke · Mustafa Turgut	Separate bribery investigation concerning Silifke Municipality.	Remanded on 22 June 2026.	According to Gülcan Kış's statement on 15 November, Turgut was also awaiting indictment.[179]
Tarsus · Haluk Bozdoğan	Former mayor and head of a municipal subsidiary. Alleged irregular sales to 22 people in an urban regeneration project.	Tried at liberty. Surrendered to prosecutors after judgment and was taken into custody.	On 10 June 2026 the Tarsus 3rd Assize Court imposed 60 years, seven months and fifteen days for aggravated fraud. First-instance judgment.[180]
Çukurova · Emrah Kozay and Soner Çetin	Alleged financial irregularities in municipal transactions.	In October 2026, 34 suspects including the current and former mayors were remanded.	This entry concerns the Çukurova prosecutorial investigation. The Seyhan and Çukurova planning trial is identified separately below.[181]
Yüreğir · Ali Demirçalı	The mayor is named in a trial concerning planning transactions in Seyhan and Çukurova.	Tried at liberty. Suspended from office in April 2026.	The Adana 10th Assize Court imposed five years, three months and ten days for giving a bribe. The allegation did not concern a Yüreğir municipal tender.[182]

Ankara, Bolu, Bursa, Yalova and Düzce

In Bursa, mayors who governed Nilüfer in two different terms are being tried together. The Bolu and Yalova cases illustrate the difference between a first-instance conviction and review on appeal.

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Çankaya · Hüseyin Can Güner	Alleged bribery and bid-rigging.	On 15 July 2026, 24 people including Güner were remanded.	Judicial order in the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's investigation.[183]
Etimesgut · Erdal Beşikçioğlu	Car park leasing, municipal tenders and licensing.	On 3 August 2026, 40 people including the mayor were reportedly remanded.	Investigation by the Ankara West Chief Public Prosecutor's Office. The figure includes suspects other than the mayor.[184]
Bolu · Tanju Özcan	Extortion by a public official through coercion. Alleged procurement of advertising and revenue for a municipal foundation.	Remanded on 2 March 2026. Attended the October judgment hearing in custody.	On 20 October the Bolu 3rd Assize Court imposed seven years, three months and fifteen days at first instance.[185]

177 Anadolu Agency (227)
178 DHA (41)
179 Anadolu Agency (132) · TRT Haber (150)
180 AA (42) · Mersin Portal (229)
181 AA (42) · Mersin Portal (229)
182 AA (42) · Mersin Portal (229)
183 Diken (37) · Mersin Portal (229)
184 DHA (228) · İhlas Haber Ajansı (244)
185 Anadolu Agency (230)

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Bursa Metropolitan Municipality / Nilüfer · Mustafa Bozbey and Turgay Erdem	Planning transactions in Nilüfer during successive mayoral terms.	Bozbey was remanded in April. At the October hearing ten defendants, including Bozbey and Erdem, remained in custody.	Trial of 63 before the Bursa 2nd Assize Court. The same interlocutory ruling released six defendants under judicial supervision.[186]
Yalova · Vefa Salman	Embezzlement in municipal accounts. The allegation against the former mayor concerned supervisory duties.	Remand orders against employees did not concern Salman.	The Bursa Regional Court of Appeal dismissed Salman's appeal against three years, nine months and 25 days. Proceedings against the other former mayor were time-barred.[187]
Akçakoca · Fikret Albayrak	Alleged extortion by a public official through coercion.	Remanded on 23 May 2026. After release, remanded again in July following a prosecution objection.	Successive release and remand orders in one investigation.[188]

Provincial and district municipalities in the Aegean region

In Kuşadası the mayor's detention reached eight months in November. In Marmaris the trial proceeded with all defendants at liberty after the indictment was drawn up and the final three detained defendants were released.

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Uşak · Özkan Yalım	Alleged bribery, extortion by a public official and bid-rigging.	On 30 March 2026 nine people including Yalım were remanded.	Remand order in an investigation by the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office.[189]
Eşme · Yılmaz Tozan	Alleged extortion by a public official through coercion and establishment of a criminal organisation.	Remanded and suspended from office in April 2026.	Remand order of the Eşme Criminal Judgeship of Peace, examination no. 2026/15.[190]
Kuşadası · Ömer Günel	Alleged bribery and extortion by a public official.	Remanded on 16 March 2026. Continued detention was reported on 16 November.	Eight months of investigation-stage detention. An indictment was reportedly awaited.[191]
Merkezefendi · Şeniz Doğan	Alleged bribery, extortion by a public official and bid-rigging.	Remanded on 31 October 2026 by order of the Denizli Criminal Judgeship of Peace.	The order in examination no. 2026/469 was followed by suspension from office.[192]
Milas · Fevzi Topuz	Charges including accepting bribes and forgery of an official document.	Remanded under a judicial order dated 23 October 2026, as reported by the Ministry.	Muğla Chief Public Prosecutor's Office investigation no. 2026/11589.[193]
Marmaris · Deputy Mayor Özgür Han and officials	Alleged receipt of benefits for planning and licensing measures.	Han was released in July and the remaining three municipal employees on 28 September 2026.	An indictment was drawn up. No defendant reportedly remained in custody in this case after those releases.[194]

186 Diken (37) · Anadolu Agency (231)
187 Anadolu Agency (236)
188 TRT Haber (237)
189 Diken (37) · DHA (233)
190 DHA (232)
191 DHA (130) · Bölge (131)
192 Anadolu Agency (238)
193 TRT Haber (234)
194 Anadolu Agency (235)

Proceedings in municipalities governed by parties in government

In Keskin a mayor was convicted, and in Samsun a department head. In the joint Şırnak tender case the decisions concerning three municipal office-holders are listed separately so that it is possible to identify whose conviction was quashed on appeal.

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Keskin · Ekmel Cönger	Transfer of TRY 1,203,000 by a contractor to the AK Party mayor's account. Cönger cited a commercial relationship and guarantee obligation.	Tried at liberty. A foreign travel ban was imposed upon judgment.	On 8 June 2026 the mayor was sentenced to five years, two months and fifteen days. Annex 3 explains the discrepancy between sources on the classification of the offence.[195]
Sorgun · Ahmet Şimşek and Mustafa Erkut Ekinci	Planning changes and donations to the municipality during the terms of the former AK Party mayor and his MHP successor.	Prosecutors severed the bribery allegation into investigation no. 2025/1269. No documented remand of the mayors in that file.	An indictment against 53 persons charged abuse of office. It contained no bribery charge.[196]
Çakırhöyük · Hasan Özdemir	Trial of the former AK Party mayor for embezzlement and forgery of an official document, following a complaint by his MHP successor.	The published hearing report identified no remand order.	On retrial the Adıyaman 1st Assize Court imposed seven years, eight months and fifteen days in total. First-instance judgment reported in November 2021.[197]
Samsun Metropolitan Municipality · Bahattin Karataş	Bribery allegation against the head of financial services following a complaint by AK Party mayor Mustafa Demir.	Karataş was remanded on 22 December 2020 and released upon judgment.	In October 2021 the Samsun 1st Assize Court sentenced Karataş to four years and two months for accepting a bribe.[198]
Uludere · Sait Ürek	Municipal tenders in Şırnak. Officials from Hilal and Şenoba were also tried in this case.	Sources did not state the mayor's custody status.	On 6 January 2022 the Şırnak 1st Assize Court convicted Ürek at first instance.[199]
Hilal · Cevher Benek	The same Şırnak procurement trial.	Sources did not state the mayor's custody status.	According to a hearing account published in 2024, the appellate court quashed the 2022 first-instance conviction because the investigation was incomplete.[200]
Şenoba · Sabri Babat	Former mayor in the same tender trial.	Sources did not state the former mayor's custody status.	According to a document submitted to Parliament, the first-instance court imposed four years, five months and ten days.[201]

195 Diken (37) · YeniSöke (241)
196 TRT Haber (242)
197 Ekonomim (239)
198 Muğla Gazetesi (240)
199 Cumhuriyet (13) · DHA (14) · Demirören Haber Ajansı (101)
200 T24 / Cumhuriyet (90)
201 İHA / Adıyaman haberleri (125)

Case / person concerned	Subject of allegation	Investigative step or restriction on liberty	Indictment, ruling or outcome
Sarıoğlan · Ali Osman Yıldız	Former mayor elected for the MHP who joined and subsequently left the AK Party. Multiple municipal transactions and charges.	Released upon judgment in view of the time spent in custody.	Indictment accepted in 2017. An aggregate sentence of 26 years for multiple offences was imposed in 2020. The total covers several offences and periods.[202]

Two administrations of the same municipality in Istanbul

In 2019 control of İBB passed from the AK Party to the CHP. The source for outcomes concerning the AK Party period is an inventory provided by the municipal side. For the CHP period the sources are the accepted indictment and decisions at trial.[203]

62 cases concerning the AK Party administration

According to an account published in February 2026 by former İBB councillor Tarık Balyalı, İBB submitted 62 files relating to the preceding administration to prosecutors. In Balyalı's detailed inventory the municipality had received no reply on 37 files, decisions not to prosecute had been issued in 21, three had been taken off the list, and for one complaint no record of an investigation could be found. The four categories total 62. The source is the account of a former municipal councillor who examined the files.[204]

Balyalı's review included vehicles leased by the municipality and allocations to certain foundations and associations. The number of files sent to prosecutors does not establish the number of persons facing a particular criminal allegation. In particular, the lack of a reply to the municipality in 37 cases does not establish that the files were closed. The published breakdown identifies neither an accepted indictment nor a remand order for the earlier period.[205]

The criminal trial concerning the CHP administration

At the hearings of 12–13 November 2026, 46 of the 436 defendants were in custody. After eight releases, Ekrem İmamoğlu, who had then spent 600 days in custody, was among the 38 who remained detained.[206]

The main Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality trial

Ekrem İmamoğlu was taken into police custody on 19 March 2025. On 23 March he was remanded in custody in the corruption investigation and suspended as mayor. The prosecution alleged bribery and interference with municipal tenders within the framework of a criminal organisation. Separate cases concerning the mayor and investigations in other municipalities are excluded from the total in this section.[207]

202 DHA (126)
203 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (127) · Sözcü (160)
204 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (127) · Sözcü (160)
205 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (127) · Sözcü (160)
206 Kayseri Olay (128) · Kayseri Olay (147) · Habertürk / AA (148)
207 AA (38) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40) · Halk TV (92) · Medyascope (93)

Date	Development in the main Istanbul municipal trial	What the count covers
9 March 2026	First hearing before the Istanbul 40th Assize Court. Anadolu Agency reported 407 defendants, including complainant-defendants, and 107 in custody.	Defendant count at the opening hearing.[208]
3 November	A joint delegation from Council of Europe and EU institutions observed the hearing. At the end of its visit it stated that it had been denied access to elected representatives in custody.	Delegation's own observation and statement.[209]
12–13 November	On the 109th hearing day, 46 of 436 defendants were in custody. The prosecutor sought continued detention for all 46. The court ordered eight releases.	After the ruling, 38 remained in custody in this case. The figure includes defendants other than mayors.[210]

The prosecution, the defence and the interlocutory ruling

İmamoğlu denied the charges at the November hearing. He said people he had never met were described as leaders of the organisation and that he had been unable to test anonymous witness testimony. Those released included his lawyer Mehmet Pehlivan and Medya AŞ general manager Fatoş Pınar Türker. The hearing was adjourned to 4 January 2027. According to the reasoned interlocutory decision made public on 16 November, two of the four anonymous witnesses whom the court had agreed to hear testified at trial. For the other two, the court decided to rely on their statements during the investigation. The decision bears on the defence's opportunity to question witnesses directly.[211]

Electoral representation and review of detention

On 3 November Human Rights Watch, the International Commission of Jurists and the Turkey Litigation Support Project announced that they had filed third-party submissions in the application to the European Court of Human Rights concerning İmamoğlu's detention. They argued that criminal measures can be used to obstruct political activity. This is the three organisations' legal assessment submitted in Strasbourg. A separate assessment by the Venice Commission concerns the effects on local government and voters when an elected mayor is unable to serve for a prolonged period. For SRL Swiss, the specific question is which individual risk justifies continued detention as the evidence is heard and why judicial supervision has been deemed insufficient.[212]

After PACE's call for release in April 2025, some defendants in the İBB case were released while İmamoğlu remained in detention. The particular grounds for continuing his detention while evidence was being heard in November 2026 are a matter PACE could raise in its monitoring discussions on Türkiye.[213]

Cases outside Istanbul and differing outcomes

Antalya and Mersin

Antalya Metropolitan Mayor Muhittin Böcek was remanded in custody on 5 July 2025 on suspicion of bribery in connection with municipal business. On 5 November 2026, 488 days later, a contractor told the court that money had been demanded from him to collect a sum

208 Halk TV (92) · Medyascope (93)
209 Halk TV (92) · Medyascope (93)
210 Diken (37) · AA (38) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40) · Halk TV (92) · Cumhuriyet (94)
211 Diken (37) · AA (38) · HRW, ICJ and Türkiye Litigation Support Project (39)
212 AA (38)
213 Council of Europe and EU rapporteurs (10)

owed to him. Böcek denied any risk of absconding or interference with evidence and raised his health and length of detention. In the trial of 50 defendants the Antalya 6th Assize Court maintained the detention of the two who remained in custody, Muhittin Böcek and his son Mustafa Gökhan Böcek. There was no judgment on the merits at this hearing.[214]

The operation begun in Mersin on 1 October 2026 covered the metropolitan municipality as well as Yenişehir and Mezitli. On 6 October metropolitan mayor Vahap Seçer, Yenişehir mayor Abdullah Özyiğit and Mezitli mayor Ahmet Serkan Tuncer were remanded in custody in the investigation concerning tenders and direct procurement. There are three elected mayors in one case. Counting each municipality as a separate operation, or everyone taken into police custody as remanded by a judge, would distort the figures.[215]

İzmir

The cooperative cases against former İzmir Metropolitan Mayor Tunç Soyer concern financial transactions in urban regeneration projects. In the Örnekköy trial of 19 defendants before the İzmir 6th Assize Court, prosecutors charged Soyer with aiding embezzlement. At the end of the hearing that began on 18 November 2026, the court ordered the release of Soyer, Heval Savaş Kaya and Yıldırım Kuruoğulları subject to judicial supervision. Soyer and Kaya remained in prison under remand orders in the Gaziemir case.[216]

Convictions and an acquittal among co-defendants

The Aziz İhsan Aktaş case is separate from the main İBB trial. The allegation was that related companies obtained municipal contracts through bribery and interference with tenders. The court heard argument about statements Aktaş had given under the effective repentance provisions. On 24 August the first-instance court sentenced Adana Metropolitan Mayor Zeydan Karalar to six years and three months for bribery. Adıyaman Mayor Abdurrahman Tutdere was acquitted of the same offence. Beşiktaş Mayor Rıza Akpolat received an aggregate sentence of 23 years, three months and seven days for several offences.[217]

Karalar had been released on 5 February 2026. Tutdere's house arrest had been lifted in 2025, allowing him to resume office. The 2,130-page reasoned judgment reported publicly on 18 November was said to examine 63 acts. Remand, release, resumption of office, judgment at first instance and finality are separate procedural events. The sentences here are reported as first-instance judgments.[218]

Documented proceedings in AK Party municipalities

Yahşihan and Keskin

Following the detention of AK Party Mayor Ahmet Sungur of Yahşihan, Kırıkkale, on 22 September 2025, the Ministry of the Interior temporarily suspended him from office. In the first case the Kırıkkale 1st Assize Court sentenced him on 30 April 2026 to six years and eight months for extortion by a public official through coercion. Sungur denied the allegation. In a new investigation in September 2026 involving 35 suspects, including former mayors Sungur and Osman Türkyılmaz of the MHP, 15 people were remanded in custody and two placed under

214 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40)

215 AA (38) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40) · Cumhuriyet (94)

216 Venice Commission (3) · Council of Europe and EU rapporteurs (10) · HRW, ICJ and Türkiye Litigation Support Project (39) · Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40)

217 Deutsche Welle Türkçe (40) · PACE (56) · Cumhuriyet (94)

218 DHA (41)

house arrest. The 15 cannot all be attributed to one political party. The subsequent decision reviewing Sungur's individual detention was unavailable.[219]

In Keskin, AK Party Mayor Ekmel Cönger remained at liberty during trial. Prosecutors alleged that TRY 1,203,000 paid by a contractor into his account was in return for favourable treatment in tendering. Cönger attributed the payment to a commercial relationship and a guarantee obligation. On 8 June 2026 the Kırıkkale 1st Assize Court sentenced Cönger to five years, two months and fifteen days, and the contractor to six years and three months. A foreign travel ban was imposed on Cönger. Reporting from the hearing described the conviction as one for bribery. The Ministry's statement referred to Article 251 § 1 of the Turkish Criminal Code. The discrepancy cannot be resolved without the reasoned judgment.[220]

Ankara and Elazığ

In Ankara, former Metropolitan Mayor Melih Gökçek gave a statement as a suspect on 4 September in an investigation into alleged unrecorded transfers to companies abroad and left the courthouse afterwards. He said he awaited the outcome and had also given statements about previous municipal inquiries. The case documents prosecutorial action concerning a former metropolitan mayor. The subject, individual and term of office differ from the main İBB case. We did not count it as a procurement prosecution brought against the municipality itself.[221]

Elazığ affords a closer comparison. According to reporting by Sözcü based on an expert report, a company linked to Aktaş won seven of the eight cleaning and vehicle-leasing tenders examined. MP Murat Emir alleged that the report had reached prosecutors. On 11 November 2025, then Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor Akın Gürlek said his office had received no letter from Elazığ and had no inquiry into Elazığ at that time. We do not count the contract value of the eight tenders as a loss to the public. Without the original expert report, the prosecution's receipt record and a subsequent reference number, we cannot establish the procedural outcome in Elazığ as at 18 November 2026.[222]

Why the classification of the offence matters in local government

In Sorgun, Yozgat, an indictment against 53 individuals concerned the relationship between planning changes and donations to the municipality. The case included MHP mayor Mustafa Erkut Ekinci and former AK Party mayor Ahmet Şimşek. Taking account of the fact that the donations examined entered the municipal account, the prosecution framed the indictment as abuse of office. The bribery allegation was severed into a separate investigation, no. 2025/1269. In that second file we could verify no bribery indictment, detention of the mayors concerned or final judgment.[223]

Final judgments and detention in local government cases

Menemen and Yalova

Menemen. The İzmir Regional Court of Appeal upheld the sentence of two years and six months imposed on former CHP mayor Serdar Aksoy for simple embezzlement. The judgment reportedly became final in March 2026. This identifies a final judicial outcome in an opposition municipality case, a later stage than acceptance of an indictment or an interlocutory order continuing detention.[224]

219 Diken (37) · AA (42)

220 Dokuz September (43) · Haberler.com (219)

221 TRT Haber / AA (45) · Associated Press (46)

222 Diken (37) · TRT Haber / AA (45) · Ekonomim / AA (47)

223 TRT Haber (11) · Gazete Oksijen (12) · ANKA (48) · Anadolu Agency (49)

224 Cumhuriyet (13) · DHA (14) · Demirören Haber Ajansı (101)

Yalova. An indictment against 34 people was accepted in a case that began with an allegation that accounting employee Reşat Elgin had embezzled municipal funds. The proceedings also covered an earlier administration. Former CHP mayor Vefa Salman was accused of neglecting his supervisory duty. A higher sentence was imposed after retrial in December 2025. In 2026 the Bursa Regional Court of Appeal reportedly dismissed Salman's appeal against a sentence of three years, nine months and 25 days. The prosecution of former mayor Yakup Bilgin Koçal was time-barred. The detention of employees in the case does not establish that either former mayor was imprisoned.[225]

Manavgat and Beykoz

Manavgat. On 15 May 2026 the Manavgat 3rd Assize Court convicted CHP mayor Niyazi Nefi Kara of several offences including repeated receipt of bribes, embezzlement and extortion by a public official. He remained in custody. Anadolu Agency reported an aggregate sentence of 46 years, ten months and fifteen days. TRT Haber reported 45 years, 22 months and thirteen days. The totals differ by two days and are reproduced as reported. We identified no certification that the judgment was final.[226]

Beykoz. At the eighth hearing on 9 November 2026, five of the 40 defendants were in custody. The Anadolu 17th Assize Court released Veli Gümüş subject to house arrest. Four others, including Mayor Alaattin Köseler, remained in custody. Köseler objected that the same evidence was being used to advance a more serious organised crime allegation. The case was adjourned to 25 December. At that stage there was no judgment on the merits.[227]

Differences in official duties and evidence under the same charge

Çakırhöyük, Samsun and Şırnak

Çakırhöyük. Former AK Party mayor Hasan Özdemir was tried following a 2015 complaint by MHP mayor Miktad Çetin. On retrial, the Adıyaman 1st Assize Court imposed an aggregate sentence of seven years, eight months and fifteen days for embezzlement and forgery of an official document. The decision reported in November 2021 was a first-instance judgment.[228]

Samsun. Following a September 2020 complaint by AK Party Metropolitan Mayor Mustafa Demir, head of financial services Bahattin Karataş was remanded in custody on 22 December. In October 2021 the Samsun 1st Assize Court sentenced him to four years and two months for accepting a bribe. Having regard to the time already spent in custody, the court ordered his release.[229]

Şırnak. On 6 January 2022 the Şırnak 1st Assize Court imposed sentences ranging from three years to four years and five months on Uludere Mayor Sait Ürek, Hilal Mayor Cevher Benek and former Şenoba Mayor Sabri Babat in the tender case. A document presented to Parliament gives Babat's sentence as four years, five months and ten days. According to an account of the proceedings published in 2024, the appellate court quashed Benek's conviction because the investigation had been incomplete. We have therefore excluded the individual 2022 sentences from the count of final convictions. The documents examined do not establish the current custody or sentence-enforcement status of all three individuals.[230]

225 European Commission (1) · TRT Haber (50)
226 Sözcü (51) · ANKA (52)
227 T24 / Cumhuriyet (90)
228 BirGün (129) · Haberler / AA (159)
229 DHA (130) · Bölge (131)
230 Anadolu Agency (132) · TRT Haber (150)

Sarıoğlan and Ankara

Sarıoğlan. In 2017 a court accepted an indictment concerning municipal transactions against former mayor Ali Osman Yıldız, elected for the MHP, subsequently an AK Party member and later no longer a member of that party. In the multi-defendant trial in Kayseri, an aggregate sentence of 26 years was imposed in 2020 for several offences. Yıldız was released upon judgment in view of the time already spent in custody. The aggregate sentence cannot be attributed to a single bribery offence or to the term of a single political party.[231]

Ankara concerts. The prosecution alleged a public loss of TRY 154.45 million in 32 concert procurements. In the trial of 14 municipal officials and contractors, the Ankara 34th Assize Court released the final three detained defendants under judicial supervision on 31 March 2026, finding that the risks of absconding and interference with evidence had ceased. On 16 October the court requested a further expert examination and adjourned to 16 December.[232]

Electoral representation in Mardin. Mayor Ahmet Türk was elected for the HDP in 2019 and for the DEM Party in 2024. After both elections he was suspended on terrorism-related allegations and replaced by a trustee. These steps are examined in terms of their effect on local representation.[233]

231 DHA (133)

232 İHA / Adıyaman haberleri (125)

233 DHA (126)

Annex 4. Decisions concerning the investigations of 17 and 25 December and proceedings against investigators

This annex traces decisions in the initial investigations, the roles of the outgoing and incoming prosecutors, the judgments concerning those subsequently tried and the defence objections recorded in the minutes.

How were the investigations of 17 and 25 December closed?

The 17 December case concerned bribery and the use of influence by persons including an executive of a state bank and relatives of serving ministers. The 25 December case concerned public tenders, relationships between businesspeople and officials, and allegations extending to the then Prime Minister's son. The files contained judicial orders, communications records, physical surveillance reports and search records. Turkish authorities alleged that certain officers had acted to further the aims of the Gülenist organisation. Testing these competing accounts requires examination of the legal basis of each measure and the reasoned response to each item of evidence.[234]

Two prosecutorial decisions in Türkiye and the votes in Parliament

A decision not to prosecute was issued in respect of 53 persons, including Rıza Sarraf, Barış Güler and Kaan Çağlayan, in the 17 December bribery investigation. According to the judgment of the Court of Cassation, the decision is dated 16 October 2014 (decision no. 2014/69582). It was reported in the press on 17 October. The decision not to prosecute 96 persons in the 25 December case is dated 25 July 2014 (decision no. 2014/54659). It was reported on 1 September.[235]

In separate votes on 20–21 January 2015, Parliament declined to refer former ministers Zafer Çağlayan, Muammer Güler, Egemen Bağış and Erdoğan Bayraktar to the Constitutional Court sitting as the Supreme Criminal Court. No such trial took place at which the evidence concerning those four individuals was examined publicly. A prosecutorial decision not to prosecute and a parliamentary decision against referral are outcomes reached by different authorities under different procedures.[236]

The European Parliament's call for an independent investigation followed these decisions and votes. SRL Swiss contributes to this inquiry by identifying the signatories, dates and grounds of the decisions not to prosecute and documenting the measures subsequently taken against the prosecutors who had conducted the investigations.[237]

Disputed evidence. In the published grounds for closing the 25 December case, prosecutors stated that they had found no evidence of a hierarchy established for criminal purposes. They also challenged the compliance of interception and physical surveillance orders with jurisdictional and duty-roster rules. In 2021 former minister Erdoğan Bayraktar acknowledged the authenticity of the conversations and technical surveillance records in his own file. His statement alone does not establish a specific bribery offence. Alongside the procedural

234 Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (127) · Sözcü (160)

235 Kayseri Olay (128) · Kayseri Olay (147) · Habertürk / AA (148)

236 Diken (134) · Cumhuriyet (135) · Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (154)

237 European Commission (1) · Human Rights Watch (53) · PACE (56)

objections, it is necessary to examine how the decisions to close the cases assessed the substantive evidence both supporting and undermining the allegations.[238]

Separate US decisions concerning related events

In September 2017 US federal prosecutors brought charges against Zafer Çağlayan in connection with the circumvention of US sanctions against Iran. The indictment also alleged payments of benefits. Hakan Atilla was sentenced in the United States in May 2018 to 32 months' imprisonment for his part in a sanctions-evasion scheme. That judgment was not a bribery conviction against Çağlayan or Erdoğan. In separate proceedings against a corporate entity, the US case brought against Halkbank in 2019 was closed in June 2026 following an agreement with prosecutors. Outcomes in Türkiye and the United States must be distinguished by person, offence and jurisdiction.[239]

Who conducted the investigations and who closed them?

Allocation of responsibilities in the 17 December investigations

Celal Kara conducted the bribery investigation concerning Rıza Sarraf and relatives of ministers. Mehmet Yüzgeç was responsible for the separate file on planning and TOKİ transactions (investigation no. 2012/125043). Zekeriya Öz was the Istanbul deputy chief public prosecutor who coordinated the office in which Kara worked. This distinction matters when assessing responsibility for individual investigative acts.[240]

Ekrem Aydıner issued the decision not to prosecute 53 persons in the bribery case. In the TOKİ case a decision not to prosecute 60 persons was issued on 30 April 2014 (decision no. 2014/31821). Aydıner drew up an indictment against 31 persons in the separate Fatih Municipality case. An HSK decree of 19 June 2022 records his transfer from deputy chief public prosecutor in Ankara to deputy chief public prosecutor in Gaziosmanpaşa.[241]

Reassignment of the 25 December case and subsequent positions of the three signatories

Muammer Akkaş had conducted the 25 December investigation. On 26 December 2013 it was taken from him and assigned to İrfan Fidan, İsmail Uçar, Fuzuli Aydoğdu and İdris Kurt. The Court of Cassation judgment records that Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor Oktay Erdoğan gave written notice that the earlier search, seizure and police custody measures would no longer be executed. Three prosecutors signed the decision not to prosecute of 25 July 2014 (investigation no. 2014/42981, decision no. 2014/54659, pp. 139–141).[242]

İrfan Fidan was one of the three signatories. He became deputy chief public prosecutor of Istanbul in 2015 and chief public prosecutor in 2016. He was elected to the Court of Cassation on 27 November 2020 and selected by the President for the Constitutional Court on 23 January 2021. On 10 March 2026 the plenary Constitutional Court elected him Deputy President.[243]

İsmail Uçar was elected to the Court of Cassation on 17 January 2024 while serving as chief public prosecutor for Istanbul's Anatolian judicial district. After serving as Istanbul deputy chief public prosecutor and Secretary General of the HSK, Fuzuli Aydoğdu became a member of the Court of Cassation in 2020. Parliament elected him to the HSK on 20 May 2025. The HSK's official record lists him as Deputy Chair and Chair of its Second Chamber.[244]

---

238 European Commission (4) · SRL Swiss (15) · Anadolu Agency (84) · Anadolu Agency (85) · SRL Swiss (163)

239 Anadolu Agency (84) · Anadolu Agency (85) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172)

240 Habertürk (86)

241 Anadolu Agency (84) · Anadolu Agency (85) · Habertürk (86) · European Parliament (180)

242 Anadolu Agency (84) · SRL Swiss (163) · Cumhuriyet (168)

243 US Department of Justice (87) · US Department of Justice (88) · Reuters (89)

244 Venice Commission (162) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172) · Official Gazette (173) · Bianet (174)

What happened to the original investigators?

Removal from cases and dismissal from judicial office

According to the annex to the Venice Commission's declaration of June 2015, prosecutors Celal Kara, Mehmet Yüzgeç, Muammer Akkaş and Zekeriya Öz and judge Süleyman Karaçöl were transferred outside the ordinary procedure in early 2014. The HSYK suspended them in December 2014 and dismissed them on 12 May 2015. According to the chair of the HSYK's Second Chamber, the allegations against Kara included seizure and interception measures. Those against Akkaş included breach of investigative confidentiality and making decisions without adequately examining the file. The Venice Commission examined the timing of the transfers and the non-execution of investigators' decisions from the standpoint of judicial independence.[245]

How did the decision not to prosecute affect the original investigators? In their decision of 25 July 2014, the prosecutors cited language in the police investigation report as grounds for alleging that its authors had attempted by force to overthrow the Government of the Republic of Türkiye or to prevent it, wholly or partly, from performing its duties. They directed that the allegation be reported to the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office for investigation. The same decision called for inquiries concerning two tenders to be severed and pursued separately. It thus affected both which corruption allegations would be pursued and the offence for which the original investigators would themselves be investigated. SRL Swiss seeks clarification of the act and evidence attributed to each officer and of the independent authority to which each could appeal a disciplinary decision.[246]

Who indicted the investigators? İsmail Uçar, a signatory to the decision not to prosecute in the 25 December case, later indicted 69 people, including former senior police officers, for acts undertaken during that investigation. The Istanbul 13th Assize Court accepted the indictment on 19 October 2015. Another signatory, İrfan Fidan, prepared the indictment in separate proceedings concerning alleged irregularities in the 17 December investigation. The Istanbul 14th Assize Court accepted that indictment against 67 people in August 2016. This sequence makes it possible to trace through the decisions the acts that the prosecutors who closed the original files attributed to their predecessors.[247]

Detention of the two judges involved in granting release

Metin Özçelik's ruling on recusal on 24 April 2015 was followed by release orders issued by Mustafa Başer on 25 April. The orders were not executed. Özçelik was remanded on 30 April and Başer on 1 May. The applications for release concerned several investigations. The Court of Cassation judgment examined by SRL Swiss directly links six applications for release to the proceedings arising from the investigation of 25 December. Domestic authorities raised jurisdictional and procedural objections. On 13 September 2022 the European Court of Human Rights held that the prior authorisation required for an investigation had not been obtained at the time the judges were initially detained and that reasonable suspicion of an offence did not exist at that time. Its finding of a violation concerns the deprivation of liberty of those two judges.[248]

245 Anadolu Agency (85) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172) · Bianet (174) · Anadolu Agency (175) · Council of Judges and Prosecutors (176)

246 SRL Swiss (15) · Anadolu Agency (84) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172)

247 Anadolu Agency (84) · Constitutional Court (169)

248 Anadolu Agency (84) · Council of Judges and Prosecutors (170) · Council of Judges and Prosecutors (171)

What judgments were delivered against police officers?

Proceedings arising from the investigation of 25 December. Reviewing case no. 2015/366 of the Istanbul 13th Assize Court, the Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation on 9 May 2023 upheld, with corrections, ten convictions under Article 312 § 1 of the Turkish Criminal Code (case no. 2021/4197, decision no. 2023/2716). Those convicted included Yakub Saygılı, Yasin Topçu and Kazım Aksoy. The Chamber considered the steps taken to apprehend suspects and place them in police custody alongside communications records and witness testimony. The defence submitted that those steps were based on prosecutorial instructions and judicial orders. The same judgment quashed decisions concerning other offences or defendants.[249]

Judgment following remittal. On 2 December 2024 the Istanbul 13th Assize Court imposed aggravated life sentences on nine persons under Article 312 § 1 and sentences of eighteen years each on twelve persons on espionage charges (case no. 2023/180, decision no. 2024/241). Ercan Taş and Mehmet Sait Sevinç appeared in both groups. Section 7 identifies each person sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment. For the operative part of the reasoned judgment, see Annex A21, pp. 630–635.[250]

Proceedings arising from the investigation of 17 December. In its judgment of 18 March 2019 (case no. 2016/304, decision no. 2019/63), the Istanbul 14th Assize Court imposed aggravated life sentences under Article 312 § 1 on Yakub Saygılı, Kazım Aksoy, Yasin Topçu, Nazmi Ardıç, İbrahim Şener, Mehmet Akif Üner, Arif İbiş, İsmail Arpacı, Mustafa Demirhan, Mehmet Sait Sevinç, Ahmet Kalender, Ahmet Üzümcü, Ayhan Arıkanoğlu, Duran Denizci and Adem Atik. On 8 May 2023 the Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation upheld six convictions for that offence. Trial in two cases for the same acts was among the grounds for quashing other convictions (case no. 2021/4383, decision no. 2023/2717). On 2 October 2025 the Constitutional Court declared Ayhan Arıkanoğlu's application no. 2023/48133 inadmissible. Complaints concerning the outcome and the principle of legality were manifestly ill-founded. Complaints in the supplementary petition were out of time. In its UN submission of 7 November 2026, SRL Swiss also reported that an application had been made to the European Court of Human Rights.[251][252]

The examination requested by SRL Swiss. The person giving an instruction, the scope within which a judicial order could be executed and any individual conduct of an officer exceeding that scope must be identified separately. Where a court finds an organisational purpose, its response to defence evidence challenging that inference should be discernible. The decision not to prosecute the suspects in the original corruption file does not answer these separate questions.[253]

Defence rights and three decisions on the record

Digital evidence. The Istanbul 13th Assize Court's minutes of 4 April 2016 record that 191 hard drives, 18 DVDs and ten CDs were held as exhibits. On 28 June the court reversed its earlier disclosure order, reasoning that full copies could contain confidential investigation data. On 5 September it recorded having been informed that computer images could not technically be obtained, but allowed copies of video and telephone traffic records. The issue is whether the defence had timely access to the specific data relied on in the judgment (7 November dossier, A5 and A6).[254]

---

249 European Commission (4) · Venice Commission (162) · Anadolu Agency (177)

250 Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, decision of 25 July 2014, p. 140 (UN submission, Annex A2). ·SRL Swiss (15) · Anadolu Agency (84) · Venice Commission (162) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (172)

251 Anadolu Agency (178) · TRT Haber (179)

252 SRL Swiss (15) · European Court of Human Rights (16) · Venice Commission (162)

253 Court of Cassation, Third Criminal Chamber, case no. 2021/4197, decision no. 2023/2716, pp. 702–703 (UN submission, Annex A35). The judgment uses the wording "attempting to overthrow the Government of the Republic of Türkiye or to prevent it from performing its duties". ·SRL Swiss (15) · Anadolu Agency (164)

254 SRL Swiss (201)

Questioning a witness. At the 114th hearing of the Istanbul 14th Assize Court on 31 January 2019, Duran Denizci requested an opportunity to question the anonymous witness Bayrak, explaining that he had not yet examined the statement transferred from another case. The court refused to recall the witness. At the same hearing it allowed each defendant two hours and each defence lawyer 30 minutes for final submissions. Assessing fairness requires examining the weight given to the statement, any earlier opportunity to question the witness and the time actually available to examine new documents (A14, interlocutory decisions 11 and 13).[255]

The decision-maker and the executing officer. The SRL Swiss schedule gives as an example interception order no. 2013/141 of the Istanbul 17th Criminal Court of Peace dated 5 April 2013. The defence asked that the judges who authorised the measures and the prosecutors who sought them be heard. An officer's knowing provision of false information or departure from an order must be assessed differently from execution within its scope. Effective review requires comparison, for the same act, of the original order, surveillance record, defence objection and the court's reasons for finding individual intent (A13, A14 and A35).[256]

A finding of a violation and a request for examination. There is a binding European Court of Human Rights judgment finding a violation in the case of Başer and Özçelik. The assessment of objections concerning digital evidence and witnesses in the police officers' cases is that of SRL Swiss, based on the documents examined. The relevant authorities are asked to review the judgments and minutes and seek the Turkish authorities' response to each specific objection.[257]

Public access to information in corruption investigations

The parliamentary inquiry. In the challenge to the ban ordered by the Ankara 7th Criminal Judgeship of Peace on 25 November 2014, the European Court of Human Rights found a violation in respect of journalist Banu Güven. It did not accept that the other two applicants had victim status. In separate criminal proceedings, journalist Sedef Kabaş was tried over a post concerning the decision not to prosecute in the 17 December case and acquitted at the first hearing on 6 October 2015.[258]

Maltese companies and the Paradise Papers. Pelin Ünker reported on companies owned in Malta by Binali Yıldırım's sons. Her January 2019 prison sentence of thirteen months and fifteen days was quashed on appeal, while the criminal fine was upheld. The decision concerned the allegation against the journalist. We found no determination that setting up the companies was criminal and no bribery conviction against family members on that basis. In respect of separate publications, decision no. 2021/1831 restricted access to 47 reports. Decision no. 2021/2357 then restricted access to a report on the earlier ban and thirteen posts.[259]

Damages claimed against a journalist covering metro contracts. After Çiğdem Toker's 2017 article, Şenbay Madencilik sought TRY 1.5 million in non-pecuniary damages. When the claimant failed to attend a hearing, the court took the case off the list in October 2019. No order requiring the writer to pay that sum was made. Financial exposure during proceedings and damages actually awarded must be distinguished.[260]

Blocked reports. According to Ali Safa Korkut's 2024 study, 1,834 of the 8,762 blocked news items concerned corruption or irregularities. There were 55 decisions concerning this category and 804 reports concerned public officials. The share of approximately 20.9% measures the distribution of news URLs. Since one event can generate several reports, the figures cannot be converted into counts of corruption cases or offences by political party. The appointment of a

255 Anadolu Agency (198) · Demirören Haber Ajansı (203) · Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation (204) · SRL Swiss (201)

256 Constitutional Court, Ayhan Arıkanoğlu, application no. 2023/48133, 2 October 2025 (SRL Swiss documentary annex 78). Information on the application to the European Court of Human Rights is drawn from the SRL Swiss submission to the United Nations.

257 SRL Swiss (15) · SRL Swiss (163) · Anadolu Agency (164)

258 SRL Swiss (15) · SRL Swiss (163)

259 SRL Swiss (15)

260 SRL Swiss (15) · SRL Swiss (163)

trustee to Sözcü TV in November 2026 again brought financial investigations into contact with the press's scrutiny function. No causal connection with a specific report was established.[261]

The word "bribery" did not appear in the Friday sermons from 2014, 2015 and 2016 examined by Yusuf Bahadır Kavas.[262]

Documents examined

Public main report. SRL Swiss, Fair Trial Rights and Judicial Independence in the Proceedings Arising from the Investigations of 17 and 25 December. The Turkish publication page provides separate links to the full report, policy brief and key findings. The corrected main text is dated 26 October 2026.[263]

Judgments and hearing minutes. The study dated 7 November identifies the Court of Cassation records as A1 and A35, digital evidence minutes as A5, the hearing of 31 January 2019 as A14, the judgment of 2 December 2024 as A21 and the separate course of the 17 December case as A36. The application numbers in Başer and Özçelik v. Türkiye, decided by the European Court of Human Rights on 13 September 2022, are 30694/15 and 30803/15.[264]

261 SRL Swiss (15) · European Court of Human Rights (16)

262 European Court of Human Rights (117) · İzmir Bar Association (118)

263 Bianet (119) · İFÖD (121)

264 Bianet (120)

Annex 5. International monitoring documents and research

Monitoring by European institutions and execution of European Court of Human Rights judgments

2013–2017. Following December 2013, the European Commission and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) recorded the reassignment of cases and the transfer of officials. In 2015 the European Parliament called for an independent investigation into the December allegations. In 2016 PACE addressed security of tenure for members of the judiciary and in 2017 reopened its monitoring procedure in respect of Türkiye.[265]

2018–2024. The European Commission assessed the judicial outcomes in high-level corruption cases and prosecutorial follow-up of audit findings. In 2024 the UN Human Rights Committee expressed concern about inadequate investigations of credible corruption allegations against public officials. It also addressed measures taken against members of the judiciary after December 2013.[266]

GRECO recommendation viii, on strengthening the HSK's independence from executive and political influence, was recorded as unimplemented in the 2023 assessment and the public summary of the sixth interim compliance report in 2026. GRECO requested information from Türkiye by 31 March 2027 on outstanding recommendations. This monitoring provides a specific institutional link between the transfers of 2013 and the security of tenure of prosecutors conducting corruption investigations today.[267]

In the execution of Başer and Özçelik v. Türkiye, on 21 September 2023 the Committee of Ministers closed individual supervision of the case. Supervision of general measures concerning safeguards at the initial detention of judges continued under the Alparslan Altan group of cases. Closure of an individual case and monitoring of measures to prevent similar detentions are distinct stages in execution.[268]

Delays in execution concerning Türkiye are also apparent in other cases. On 11 July 2022 the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights held that Türkiye had failed to fulfil its obligation to comply with the Kavala judgment. On 16 September 2026 the Committee of Ministers reiterated its call for the immediate release of Selahattin Demirtaş and Figen Yüksekdağ Şenoğlu in the Selahattin Demirtaş (No. 2) group.[269]

Country indicators also declined over the period. Türkiye's Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index score was 50 before the December 2013 investigations, 40 in both 2017 and 2020, and 31 in 2025. Its percentile rank for the World Bank's Control of Corruption indicator fell from 60.66 in 2013 to 34.91 in 2023. These series measure perceptions of institutions and relative standing among countries.[270]

265 Ali Safa Korkut (124) · Reuters (153)
266 Yusuf Bahadır Kavas (116)
267 SRL Swiss (15) · SRL Swiss (163)
268 SRL Swiss (15) · European Court of Human Rights (16)
269 European Commission (4) · European Parliament (180) · PACE (186) · PACE (187)
270 UN Human Rights Committee (58) · European Commission (182) · European Commission (183) · European Commission (184)

European Union assessments of Türkiye

Call for an investigation into the December 2013 allegations

In its 2014 report on Türkiye, the European Commission recorded the transfer of prosecutors and police following the corruption investigations. On 10 June 2015 the European Parliament made a more specific request. In paragraph 12 of its resolution, it called for a transparent and independent investigation into the December 2013 allegations extending to former members of the government. In paragraph 13 it expressed concern about the implications for judicial independence of reassignments and other measures against judges, prosecutors and police. In its November 2015 report the Commission likewise stated that concerns about the effectiveness of the investigations persisted because of executive interference.[271]

Judicial follow-up on high-level corruption and public procurement

The European Commission's 2018 report on Türkiye found the record of investigations, prosecutions and convictions inadequate, particularly in high-level corruption cases. Its 2020 report called for stronger cooperation between inspection bodies and prosecutors. Its 2024 report noted that prosecutors remained passive in following up irregularities identified by public audit bodies and that frequent exceptions to tender procedures undermined procurement integrity. We examine the same issue in two infrastructure tenders by tracing how prosecutors dealt with the payment identified in the criminal complaint (Annex 2).[272]

Municipal investigations and the rights of elected representatives

On 7 May 2025 the European Parliament condemned the detention and suspension of the mayors of Istanbul, Şişli and Beylikdüzü. On 28 May, replying to a written question on İmamoğlu, the European Commission said that the rights of elected representatives must be protected and that it would continue to raise the matter in discussions with the Turkish authorities.[273]

In its April 2026 report, the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs examined the implications for judicial independence and political pluralism. On 17 June the Parliament in plenary called for concrete progress on the rule of law. In its Türkiye report of 4 November 2026, the European Commission made two distinct observations. Judicial activity in bribery, embezzlement and abuse-of-office cases had increased nationally. Criminal allegations concerning municipalities appeared to be concentrated chiefly in those governed by the CHP. We examine indictments and detention orders in the municipal comparison in light of that observation.[274]

Judicial independence in Council of Europe documents

Security of tenure for investigators

In a statement published on 30 January 2014, the PACE Monitoring Committee expressed concern about developments after 17 December. It called on the Turkish authorities to guarantee judicial independence and impartiality in practice. In the annex to its June 2015 declaration, the Venice Commission named four prosecutors and one judge involved in the investigations. It recorded that the files had been taken away from the prosecutors and that all five had been dismissed on 12 May 2015. The section on 17 and 25 December identifies who worked on each file and the measures taken against them.[275]

Paragraph 33 of PACE Resolution 2121 of 22 June 2016 called for stronger security of tenure for judges and protection from improper influence in the assessment and discipline of judges and prosecutors. On 25 April 2017 the Assembly reopened the monitoring procedure in respect of Türkiye on broader concerns about democracy, human rights and the rule of law. In its interim

271 GRECO (188) · GRECO (57)

272 European Court of Human Rights (16) · Committee of Ministers (193) · Committee of Ministers (194)

273 European Court of Human Rights, Grand Chamber (196) · Committee of Ministers (197)

274 Transparency International (95) · Annual series compiled from Transparency International data (110) · U4 / Transparency International (111) · Transparency International (167)

275 European Commission (4) · European Parliament (180) · European Commission (181)

compliance report of 9 June 2023, the Group of States against Corruption (GRECO) found that recommendation viii on strengthening the independence of the Council of Judges and Prosecutors from the executive and political influence remained unimplemented.[276]

According to the summary of GRECO's sixth interim compliance report, published in September 2026, six of the 22 recommendations concerning parliamentarians, judges and prosecutors had been dealt with satisfactorily, nine had been partly implemented and seven had not been implemented. Recommendation viii, recorded as unimplemented in 2023, remained so in the 2026 summary. GRECO recorded progress in training on judicial ethics.[277]

The Court's finding of a violation and the Assembly's political assessment

In Başer and Özçelik v. Türkiye on 13 September 2022, the European Court of Human Rights held that the initial detention of the two judges violated the right to liberty because the prior authorisation required by law had not been obtained and reasonable suspicion of an offence was lacking at that time. The judgment concerns the detention of those two judges.[278]

In Resolution 2597 of 9 April 2025, PACE stated that the measures against İmamoğlu appeared politically motivated and called for his release. The Venice Commission separately examined the impact of elected mayors' detention on local representation. Communication of İmamoğlu's application to Türkiye by the European Court of Human Rights in 2026 marked the stage at which observations were sought from the government.[279]

UN reports and research findings

The UN Human Rights Committee and the Special Rapporteur

In paragraphs 21–22 of its November 2024 concluding observations on Türkiye's second periodic report, the UN Human Rights Committee expressed concern that credible allegations of corruption involving public officials and prosecutors had not been adequately investigated and prosecuted. It recommended prompt, thorough, independent and impartial investigations. In paragraphs 39–42 it called for prosecutors to perform their functions free from external pressure and for clear criteria in appointment and disciplinary procedures. Paragraph 41 refers specifically to the detention, prosecution and discipline of judges following the major corruption investigation of 2013.[280]

The UN Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers examined in thematic report A/72/140 to the General Assembly in 2017 how organised crime can penetrate justice institutions to secure impunity. Read with Article 36 of the UN Convention against Corruption, the international assessment highlights investigators' security of tenure. In the Turkish cases, this means identifying who ordered a reassignment, the reasons given and the authority before which it could be challenged.[281]

Research on public procurement and investment funds

In their study of approximately 18,000 high-value construction tenders in 2004–2011, Gürakar and Bircan found that politically connected companies were more likely to win under less competitive procedures. In relation to investment funds, TEPAV examined how risk accumulated in thinly traded shares. IOSCO's 2025 recommendations emphasise alignment between redemption terms and the liquidity of portfolio assets.[282]

276 European Commission (182) · European Commission (183) · European Commission (184) · Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (80)

277 European Parliament (189) · European Commission (190)

278 European Commission (1) · European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs (54) · European Parliament (55)

279 PACE Monitoring Committee (185) · Venice Commission (162)

280 PACE (186) · PACE (187) · GRECO (188)

281 GRECO (57)

282 European Court of Human Rights (16)

Annex 6. Judicial statistics and country indicators

Judicial statistics measure investigative and trial activity. International indicators show changes in Türkiye's score and relative position over time. The tables specify the unit used in each series.

Trials and convictions across Türkiye

The national judicial statistics compared in the European Commission's Türkiye 2026 Report provide the clearest nationwide account of which allegations led to prosecution. Taking embezzlement, bribery and abuse of office together, new investigation files rose by 6.6% between 2024 and 2025, and cases resulting in prosecution by 8%. Over the same period defendant records reaching judgment rose by 4.6%, and conviction records by 0.8%.[283]

Defendant records resulting in conviction

Offence	2024	2025
Bribery	495	580
Embezzlement	571	614
Abuse of office	1,725	1,620
Total for the three offences	2,791	2,814

In the Commission's calculation, convictions as a share of defendant records reaching judgment for these three offences fell from 18.2% to 17.5%. The unit in the table is a defendant record. One person may appear in more than one case. Cases opened in one year and cases decided that year need not involve the same people. These figures therefore do not establish the probability that a newly opened bribery case will end in conviction.[284]

Implications for high-level corruption

Bribery convictions increased by 85 in one year. The published breakdown does not identify how many people were ministers, mayors, senior civil servants or contractors, how many convictions became final, or how many days those people spent in custody. Sections 1–3 and Annexes 2–3 therefore address the question concerning senior political figures case by case, tracing transactions, complaints, indictments and reasoned judgments. The UN Human Rights Committee's concerns about inadequate investigation of credible corruption allegations in Türkiye provide one basis for this inquiry.[285]

Türkiye's Corruption Perceptions Index score since 2013

Transparency International combines expert and business assessments of public-sector corruption into a score from 0 to 100. Lower scores indicate that corruption is perceived as more widespread. The table shows Türkiye's annual score and the change from the preceding year.[286]

Year	Index score (0–100)	Annual change (points)
2013	50	—
2014	45	−5

283 PACE (56) · Venice Commission (3) · European Court of Human Rights (61)

284 UN Human Rights Committee (58)

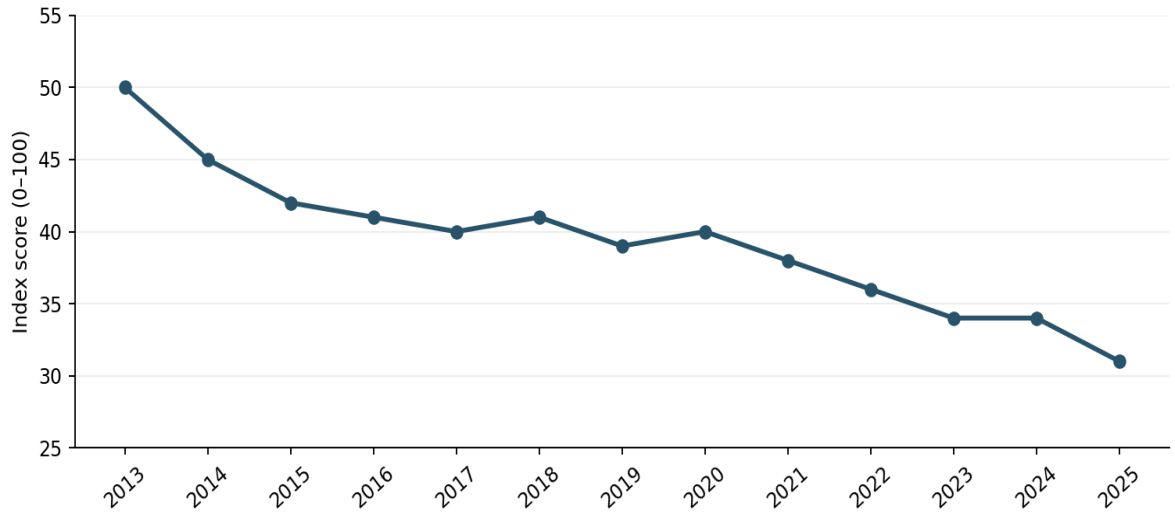
285 United Nations (5) · UN Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers (59)

286 Reuters (6) · TEPAV (7) · IOSCO (60) · E. Çeviker Gürakar and T. Bircan (62)

Year	Index score (0–100)	Annual change (points)
2015	42	−3
2016	41	−1
2017	40	−1
2018	41	+1
2019	39	−2
2020	40	+1
2021	38	−2
2022	36	−2
2023	34	−2
2024	34	0
2025	31	−3

Starting date. Transparency International published its 2013 results on 3 December. That year's score of 50 predates public disclosure of the investigations on 17 and 25 December.[287]

Türkiye's 19-point decline in the index



Annual change. The largest fall occurred from 2013 to 2014, when Türkiye lost five points. The score rose by one point in both 2018 and 2020. From 34 in 2023 and 2024, it fell to 31 in 2025, when Türkiye ranked 124th out of 182 countries.[288]

Trust in the judiciary. In Gündemar's survey of 2,200 people in 60 provinces on 23–26 March 2026, 36% said they trusted the judiciary and 50% said they did not. The result reflects public views in March 2026.[289]

Control of corruption and the rule of law

World Bank. In the table compiled by U4 and Transparency International from the same data release, Türkiye's percentile rank for Control of Corruption was 60.66 in 2013, 42.86 in 2018 and

287 European Commission (1)
288 European Commission (1)
289 European Commission (1) · UN Human Rights Committee (58)

34.91 in 2023. The decline of 25.75 percentile points over ten years indicates a deterioration relative to other countries in controlling the use of public power for private gain. These values do not measure the proportion of individuals paying bribes.[290]

World Justice Project. The Rule of Law Index combines eight factors, including constraints on government powers, absence of corruption, fundamental rights and criminal justice. The overall scores below are expressed on a 100-point scale. The comparison starts in 2015 because of methodological differences between periods. Country coverage varies, so ranks and scores must be read separately.[291]

Year	Overall score (out of 100)	Rank / countries covered
2015	46.5	80 / 102
2019	42.8	108 / 126
2022	41.7	116 / 140
2025	40.8	118 / 143
2026	40.6	117 / 143

Different measures of corruption. On the World Justice Project measure of officials' use of public office for private gain, Türkiye scored 0.45 in 2024 and approximately 0.44 in 2026. On V-Dem's political corruption index, higher values indicate more corruption. The value declined from 0.846 in 2023 to 0.821 in 2024. Results obtained using different methods and over different periods cannot be combined into a single rate of decline.[292]

290 Transparency International (95) · Annual series compiled from Transparency International data (110)

291 Transparency International (167)

292 Transparency International (95) · Transparency International (96) · Annual series compiled from Transparency International data (110)

Annex 7. Proceedings against investigators in the football match-fixing case

Investigation no. 2010/2287 into allegations of match-fixing and incentive payments in football became public on 3 July 2011. Sports club officials and others stood trial in the initial case. Acquittals followed on retrial. In later, separate proceedings, police officers from the original investigation and other defendants were tried on charges including false accusation and forgery of official documents. The issue shared with the investigations of 17 and 25 December is the evidence on which individual criminal responsibility was subsequently attributed to an officer executing an investigative measure.[293]

What the officer knew at the time of the investigation

The first investigation included the prosecutor's instruction of 2 December 2010 to conduct inquiries and orders for investigative measures issued by assize courts. In its OSCE report SRL Swiss verified 38 decisions by 15 judges against the original decisions and signature pages. In its judgment of 17 January 2014 in the original case, the Fifth Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation had also found interception and surveillance measures in the file lawful. In relation to the charge of false accusation, the subsequent acquittal leaves a further question: which particular allegation did each officer knowingly make falsely, in light of what the officer knew at the time?[294]

The bench delivering judgment and the final defence submissions

Between the 18th and 19th hearings before the Istanbul 23rd Assize Court, the presiding judge and one member changed. The three judges who delivered judgment first sat together at the 20th hearing. The minutes record that earlier minutes were read aloud. Comparing the minutes with expert transcripts, SRL Swiss found that some earlier oral submissions had been recorded only by noting that the defence had addressed the court. Allowing a defendant and counsel a combined total of 90 minutes for final submissions also meant that time used by one reduced the time available to the other. These practices make it important to establish which submissions the judges heard personally and how they acquainted themselves with the remainder.[295]

Judgment at first instance was delivered on 4 June 2021 (case no. 2016/62, decision no. 2021/98). The Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation's decision of 21 March 2024 upheld some findings and quashed others. In separate retrial proceedings, fresh judgments were reportedly given on 26 June 2025 concerning 15 defendants. SRL Swiss considers that in both cases the courts should explain, for each officer, the prosecutor's instruction, the limits of the judicial authorisation, the officer's own act and what that officer knew at the time.[296]

293 Gündemar (165)

294 U4 / Transparency International (111)

295 Gündemar (113) · World Justice Project (112)

296 World Justice Project (112) · Gündemar (113) · World Justice Project (114) · TheGlobalEconomy / V-Dem (115)

References

1–13 • Source links and bibliographic details.

1. European Commission • 4 November 2026 Türkiye 2026 Report, particularly the section on the fight against corruption, pp. 30–31.
enlargement.ec.europa.eu/document/download/652406c3-b824-42f0-b3ab-43da43c243d5_en?filename=t%C3%BCrkiye-report-2026.pdf

2. Capital Markets Board (SPK) • 18 September 2026 Preparation of amendments to the Investment Funds Guidelines.
cmb.gov.tr/announcements/statement-on-the-regulatory-process-for-the-amendments-to-the-guideline-on-investment-funds

3. Venice Commission • October 2025 CDL-AD(2025)045, impact of mayors' detention on local democracy.
docs-venice.coe.int/api/Document?pdffile=CDL-AD%282025%29045-e

4. European Commission • 8 October 2014 Turkey 2014 Progress Report, responses to the investigations of December 2013 and reassignment of officials.
www.mfa.gov.tr/data/AB/ilerlemeraporu-2014.pdf

5. United Nations United Nations Convention against Corruption, especially Articles 9, 11, 13 and 36.
unodc.org/documents/brussels/UN_Convention_Against_Corruption.pdf

6. Reuters • 2 October 2026 Miraç Dereli and Canan Sevgili, "How Turkey's investment fund bubble burst".
www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/how-turkeys-investment-fund-bubble-burst-2026-10-02/

7. TEPAV • 20 October 2026 Nihat Ali Özcan, Hatice Varol Dağdelen and Erol Başaran Bural, the fund crisis from an economic security perspective.
tepav.org.tr/tr/yayin/s/2350

8. Capital Markets Board (SPK) • 23 September 2026 Statement on the number of investors in funds subject to liquidation.
www.spk.gov.tr/duyurular/basin-duyurulari/2026/tasfiye-konusu-fonlardaki-yatirimci-sayisina-iliskin-aciklama

9. AA • 13 November 2026 Directorate of Communications statement on the tenth meeting of the Fund Coordination Board.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/iletisim-baskanligi-444-bin-893-yatirimciya-yaklasik-161-milyar-lira-odeme-yapilmistir/4124180

10. Council of Europe and EU rapporteurs • 4 November 2026 Joint statement issued at the end of the visit to Türkiye, 2–4 November.
www.coe.int/en/web/congress/-/joint-statement-on-the-visit-to-t%C3%BCrkiye

11. TRT Haber • September 2025 Detention of Yahşihan Mayor Ahmet Sungur in the first case and his suspension from office.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/yahsihan-belediye-baskani-sungur-gorevden-uzaklastirildi-920699.html

12. Gazete Oksijen • 29 September 2026 Remand orders concerning former AK Party and MHP mayors in the new Yahşihan investigation.
gazeteoksijen.com/turkiye/eski-ak-partili-ve-mhpli-baskanlar-yolsuzluk-sorusturmasinda-tutuklandi-290952

13. Cumhuriyet • 13 June 2026 Trial at liberty of Keskin Mayor Ekmel Cönger and the prosecution's allegation concerning a transfer of funds.
www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/turkiye/chp-li-belediyeler-sorusturmalar-kapsaminda-tutuklanirken-akp-li-belediye-baskani-tutuksuz-yargilandi-hukukta-cifte-standart-2511716

References (continued)

14–26 • Source links and bibliographic details.

14. DHA • June 2026 Court decision announced by the Ministry in the Keskin case and suspension from office.
www.dha.com.tr/yerel-haberler/ankara/keskin-belediye-baskani-ekmel-conger-gorevden-u-2889785

15. SRL Swiss • September and November 2026 Fair Trial Rights and Judicial Independence in the Proceedings Arising from the Investigations of 17 and 25 December. See also the submission to the Special Rapporteur of 7 November, pp. 2–5.
srlswiss.com/tr/fair-trial-rights-and-judicial-independence-in-the-17-and-25-december-proceedings-tr/

16. European Court of Human Rights • 13 September 2022 Başer and Özçelik v. Türkiye, official summary of the judgment.
hudoc.echr.coe.int/app/conversion/pdf/?filename=judgments+of+13.09.2022.pdf&id=003-7429557-10171898&library=echr

17. Deutsche Welle Türkçe • 12 November 2026 Pelin Ünker, the fund crisis and the timing of intervention by the SPK and Takasbank.
amp.dw.com/tr/fon-krizinde-denetim-zinciri-nerede-koptu/a-79831165

18. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • 5–6 November 2026 Minister of Treasury and Finance's response concerning the warning letter to the SPK and the composition of the TRY 401 billion transaction total.
tbmm.gov.tr/Haber/hazine-ve-maliye-bakani-simsek-tbmm-20261106021743

19. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • 14 October 2026 Planning and Budget Committee debate on the proposed liquidation legislation and the oversight process.
tbmm.gov.tr/Haber/Detay?Id=fe7a431c-eb5c-4a6d-b674-01a13ac7fb5c

20. Capital Markets Board (SPK) • 17 September 2026 Board Bulletin 2026/61, list of funds to be liquidated and regulatory measures.
spk.gov.tr/data/6aac56ff8f95db07100fd82d/2026-61.pdf

21. Capital Markets Board (SPK) • 27 October 2026 Liquidation and payment rules under Law No. 7596 and Decision No. 76/1903.
www.spk.gov.tr/duyurular/basin-duyurulari/2026/basin-duyurusu_27102026

22. Central Bank of the Republic of Türkiye • Inflation Report 2026-IV Box 2.2, developments in securities investment funds and liquidity measures.
www.tcmb.gov.tr/wps/wcm/connect/514eef7d-c2bf-4eae-9eb9-3572cb0acd22/kutu_2.2_2026_iv.pdf?CACHEID=ROOTWORKSPACE-514eef7d-c2bf-4eae-9eb9-3572cb0acd22-q7eXfz0&MOD=AJPERES

23. Ministry of Justice • 17 November 2026 Minister Gürlek's update on the investment fund investigations.
adalet.gov.tr/adalet-bakani-akin-gurlek-fon-sorusturmalarindaki-son-durumu-acikladi

24. Ekonomim • 17 November 2026 Data on suspects, judicial supervision, remand and voluntary repayments.
www.ekonomim.com/gundem/bakan-gurlek-fon-sorusturmalarinda-75-kisiden-404-milyar-lira-tahsil-edildi-haberi-931846

25. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • October 2026 Motion for a parliamentary inquiry into the actual value of the funds, investor losses and market oversight.
cdn.tbmm.gov.tr/KKBSPublicFile/D28/Y5/T10/WebOnergeMetni/d99733ec-9674-4a8c-aca1-b73560cc35c0.pdf

26. Ministry of Justice • 8 October 2026 Press statement on the Chief Public Prosecutor's request for information of 19 August.
www.adalet.gov.tr/basin-aciklamasi-08102026

References (continued)

27–39 • Source links and bibliographic details.

27. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • November 2026 Plenary record giving the position in the fund investigation as at 9 November.
tbmm.gov.tr/Tutanaklar/TutanakGoster/5489

28. Euronews • 6 November 2026 Measures concerning Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya, İlyas Kaya and İbrahim Ömer Gönül.
tr.euronews.com/2026/11/06/fatma-betul-sayan-kaya-tutuklandi-esi-ve-eski-spk-baskani-adli-kontrolle-serbest

29. Deutsche Welle Türkçe • 9 November 2026 Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya's submissions to the judge.
amp.dw.com/tr/tutuklanan-fatma-bet%C3%BCl-sayan-kaya-hakimlik-ifadesinde-ne-dedi/a-79896305

30. AA • 18 November 2026 Request for authorisation concerning Şahap Kavcıoğlu and preliminary examination by the Ministry of Treasury and Finance.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/fon-sorusturmasinda-sahap-kavcioglu-hakkinda-izin-talebi/4128831

31. Euronews • 18 November 2026 Former banking regulator chair's statement and request for authorisation to investigate.
tr.euronews.com/2026/11/18/fon-krizi-istifa-eden-bddk-baskani-sahap-kavcioglu-icin-sorusturma-izni-istendi

32. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • 17 November 2026 Minister's reply to the Planning and Budget Committee on fund transactions by POLSAN and related entities.
tbmm.gov.tr/Haber/icisleri-bakani-ciftci-tbmm-plan-ve-20261117235243

33. MSCI • 15 October 2026 MSCI Implements a Freeze on the MSCI Turkey Indexes.
ir.msci.com/news-releases/news-release-details/msci-implements-freeze-msci-turkey-indexes

34. Financial Times • 4 November 2026 From Ponzi to Fonzi: the $20bn fraud scandal rocking Turkey.
www.ft.com/content/bd3a7cd8-f82b-45da-ba5c-eccb408fa5fc

35. Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) • 12 October 2026 Measures imposed on four journalists following their reporting on investment funds.
cpj.org/2026/10/turkey-4-more-journalists-arrested-for-spreading-disinformation-as-media-crackdown-intensifies/

36. PACE co-rapporteurs for Türkiye • 15 October 2026 Statement concerning press freedom and journalists reporting on investment funds.
pace.coe.int/en/news/10470/-une-journee-vraiment-sombre-pour-la-liberte-de-la-presse-en-turkiye-selon-les-rapporteurs-de-suivi-de-l-apce

37. Diken • 31 October 2026 How many mayors have been detained or removed from office since March 2024? Inventory limited to opposition municipalities.
www.diken.com.tr/mart-2024ten-beri-kac-belediye-baskani-tutuklandi-kaci-gorevden-alindi/

38. AA • 9 March 2026 Report on the first hearing in the main İBB trial.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/imamoglu-cikar-amacli-suc-orgutu-davasinin-ilk-durusmasi-tamamlandi/3855782

39. HRW, ICJ and Türkiye Litigation Support Project • 3 November 2026 Third-party submissions to the European Court of Human Rights in İmamoğlu's application.
www.hrw.org/news/2026/11/03/third-party-intervention-in-the-case-of-ekrem-imamoglu

References (continued)

40–52 • Source links and bibliographic details.

40. Deutsche Welle Türkçe • 13 November 2026 Eight releases in the İBB trial and objections raised at the hearing.
amp.dw.com/tr/i%CC%87bb-davas%C4%B1-mehmet-pehlivan-dahil-8-ki%C5%9Fi-tahliye-edildi/a-79936716

41. DHA • 5 November 2026 Continued detention of Muhittin and Mustafa Gökhan Böcek in the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality case.
www.dha.com.tr/yerel-haberler/antalya/muhittin-bocek-ve-oglunun-tutukluluguna-devam-k-2975912

42. AA • 6 October 2026 Remand of the mayors of Mersin, Yenişehir and Mezitli.
u.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/mersindeki-yolsuzluk-sorusturmasinda-vahap-secer-ve-2-belediye-baskani-tutuklandi/4079166

43. Dokuz September • 16 November 2026 Scope of the İzmir cooperative cases and Tunç Soyer's status in the separate proceedings.
dokuzeylul.com/tunc-soyerin-durusma-gunleri-belli-oldu-iki-ayri-davada-hakim-karsisina-cikacak

44. Egeli Gazete • 18 November 2026 Opening hearing in the Örnekköy trial.
www.egeligazete.com/haber/soyer-aslanoglu-ve-kaya-nin-yargilandigi-ornekkoy-davasinda-ilk-durusma-basladi/233724

45. TRT Haber / AA • 24 August 2026 First-instance judgments in the Aziz İhsan Aktaş case.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/aziz-ihsan-aktas-suc-orgutu-davasinda-karar-954797.html

46. Associated Press • 24 August 2026 Allegations, statements under effective repentance provisions and defence positions in the Aktaş trial.
apnews.com/article/7efdcec50605aee7a47235c8013f97bb

47. Ekonomim / AA • 18 November 2026 Hearing report on the reasoned judgment in the Aktaş case.
www.ekonomim.com/gundem/aziz-ihsan-aktas-davasinda-gerekceli-karar-aciklandi-haberi-931973

48. ANKA • 30 April 2026 First-instance conviction of Ahmet Sungur in the Yahşihan case.
ankahaber.net/haber/detay/gorevden_uzaklastirilan_yahsihan_belediye_baskani_sungur_6_yil_8_ay_hapis_cezasina_carptirildi_308496

49. Anadolu Agency • 29 September 2026 Judicial orders concerning 35 suspects in the Yahşihan case.
www.anadoluajansi.gov.tr/tr/gundem/yahsihan-belediyesine-yonelik-yolsuzluk-operasyonunda-15-supheli-tutuklandi/4072114

50. TRT Haber • 4 September 2026 Former Ankara Metropolitan Mayor Melih Gökçek's statement as a suspect.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/eski-ankara-buyuksehir-belediye-baskani-gokcek-ifade-verdi-955915.html

51. Sözcü • 2026 Evren Demirdaş's report on the examination of municipal tenders in Elazığ.
www.sozcu.com.tr/aziz-ihsan-aktas-a-ihale-veren-belediye-baskani-akp-mkyk-uyesi-cikti-p282870

52. ANKA • 11 November 2025 MP Murat Emir's allegation concerning Elazığ tenders and the response of the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor.
ankahaber.net/haber/detay/istanbul_cumhuriyet_bassavcisi_akin_gurlek_isparta_ve_kutahya_icin_degerlendirmeler_suruyor_ama_elazig_ile_ilgili_bir_calisma_yok_272898

References (continued)

53–65 • Source links and bibliographic details.

53. Human Rights Watch • 7 November 2024 Suspension of HDP and DEM Party mayors. Comparison of measures taken in 2019 and 2024.
www.hrw.org/tr/news/2024/11/07/turkiye-government-removes-elected-opposition-mayors

54. European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs • 21 April 2026 A10-0106/2026, report on Türkiye. Rapporteur: Nacho Sánchez Amor. Legislative Observatory summary.
oeil.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/en/document-summary?id=1898401

55. European Parliament • 17 June 2026 2025/2256(INI), resolution on the Commission's 2025 report on Türkiye. Legislative Observatory summary.
oeil.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/en/document-summary?id=1905934

56. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe • 9 April 2025 Resolution 2597 (2025), the detention of the Mayor of Istanbul, democracy and human rights.
pace.coe.int/en/files/34285/html

57. GRECO • September 2026 Fourth evaluation round, public summary of the sixth interim compliance report on Türkiye. GrecoRC4(2026)12, §§ 105–109.
rm.coe.int/fourth-evaluation-round-corruption-prevention-in-respect-of-members-of/48802e0d91

58. UN Human Rights Committee • November 2024 Concluding observations on the second periodic report of Türkiye, CCPR/C/TUR/CO/2, §§ 21–22 and 39–42.
digitallibrary.un.org/record/4067638/files/CCPR_C_TUR_CO_2-EN.pdf

59. UN Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers • 25 July 2017 Diego García-Sayán's report to the General Assembly on organised crime and justice institutions, A/72/140, especially §§ 39–41.
documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n17/216/38/pdf/n1721638.pdf

60. IOSCO • May 2025 Revised Recommendations for Liquidity Risk Management for Collective Investment Schemes, FR/10/2025.
www.iosco.org/library/pubdocs/pdf/IOSCOPD798.pdf

61. European Court of Human Rights • 23 March 2026 İmamoğlu v. Türkiye, application no. 37204/25. Communication to the government and questions to the parties.
hudoc.echr.coe.int/?i=001-249870

62. E. Çeviker Gürakar and T. Bircan • October 2016 Political Connections and Public Procurement in Turkey: Evidence from Construction Work Contracts. Economic Research Forum, Working Paper 1053.
erf.org.eg/app/uploads/2016/10/1053.pdf

63. Anadolu Agency • February 2018 Reasons given by the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office for its decision not to prosecute in the Isle of Man case.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/kilicdaroglunun-man-adasi-iddiasina-takipsizlik/1059413

64. Cumhuriyet • February 2018 Isle of Man case. Direction of bank transfers recorded in the decision and criticism concerning the origin of the funds.
www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/savcilik-man-belgeleri-gercek-923348

65. Reuters • 26 June 2023 The Dignita allegations reported to US and Swedish authorities, the company's plan and the parties' responses. Investigation published by WHBL.
whbl.com/2023/06/26/special-report-us-swedish-prosecutors-study-graft-complaint-naming-son-of-turkeys-erdogan/

References (continued)

66–78 • Source links and bibliographic details.

66. ANSA • 24 January 2017 Bologna court decision closing the money-laundering investigation concerning Bilal Erdoğan.
www.ansa.it/emiliaromagna/notizie/2017/01/24/archiviata-inchiesta-su-bilal-erdogan_650db320-631c-4b2a-b564-ff78bc552e48.html

67. Vatan • October 2021 Joinder of six complaints concerning Pekcan and the grounds for the prosecution decision of 6 October.
www.gazetevatan.com/gundem/savcilik-eski-bakan-icin-tbmmyi-isaret-etti-2006714

68. Ministry of Trade / Anadolu Agency • 2021 Price paid for disinfectant purchased from Nanoksia and the competing offer cited by the Ministry.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/ekonomi/ticaret-bakanligi-dezenfektan-alimi-iddialarina-iliskin-aciklama-yapti/2214684

69. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye Planning and Budget Committee minutes. Question on disinfectant procurement during Pekcan's tenure.
www.tbmm.gov.tr/milletvekili/UyeKomisyonKonusmaTutanakDetay?tutanakId=55446

70. CHP • 29 August 2022 Criminal complaint concerning SPK transactions and an alleged demand for an undue advantage. Account of the reporting party.
media.chp.org.tr/yayinlar/files/2022/8/29/ee06d95e-1bf3-44fd-8b5f-e4a00f166eee.pdf?tick=1661767248782

71. Euronews Türkçe • August 2022 Mine Tozlu Sineren's account of the capital increase procedure and the proposed consultancy payment.
tr.euronews.com/2022/08/27/sedat-pekerin-rusvet-agi-iddialarinda-adi-gecen-mine-tozlu-sineren-konustu

72. T24 / BirGün Criminal complaints concerning Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu, the 213 complainants and the Ankara prosecution's reasons for discontinuance.
t24.com.tr/gundem/yuzlerce-suc-duyurusu-sonucsuz-kaldi-eski-akp-li-vekil-zehra-taskesenlioglu-nun-ifadesi-alinmadan-dosya-kapatildi%2C1214371

73. Deutsche Welle Türkçe • 2025 Court acceptance of two indictments against 23 people in the Yunus Emre Institute case.
amp.dw.com/tr/yunus-emre-enstit%C3%BCs%C3%BCnde-yolsuzluk-7%C5%9Fer-y%C4%B1l-hapis-istemi/a-73301049

74. Anadolu Agency • 18 July 2025 Remand of former Yunus Emre Institute president Şeref Ateş.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/eski-yunus-emre-enstitusu-baskani-ates-tutuklandi/3635026

75. T24 • July 2026 Release order concerning Şeref Ateş and foreign travel ban.
t24.com.tr/gundem/yunus-emre-vakfi-davasinda-tutuklanan-eski-baskan-seref-ates-tahliye-edildi%2C1336520

76. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • 12 February 2014 Plenary sitting, 24th term, fourth legislative year, 60th sitting. Alaattin Yüksel's allegation concerning construction tenders and a 10% commission.
cdn.tbmm.gov.tr/TbmmWeb/Tutanak20230120/24/4/60/a16dfba9-f829-43e0-9d68-18cb1b8780d0.pdf

77. Habertürk • 2014 Binali Yıldırım's response to the allegations about financing the acquisition of Sabah–ATV.
www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/917202-binali-yildirimdan-o-iddialara-yanit

78. TRT Haber • November 2025 İBB indictment, Aziz İhsan Aktaş, tenders by municipal subsidiaries and alleged payments calculated as a share of the contract price.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/aziz-ihsan-aktas-ve-ekrem-imamoglu-arasindaki-rusvetle-ihale-sistemi-iddiasi-925775.html

References (continued)

79–91 • Source links and bibliographic details.

79. General Directorate of State Airports Authority • 2021 Air transport sector report. Original Istanbul Airport consortium, investment and rent.
www.dhmi.gov.tr/Lists/HavaYoluSektorRaporlari/Attachments/15/2021-Havayolu-Sektor-Raporu.pdf

80. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsleri Komisyonu Deniz Yavuzyılmaz's statement concerning his criminal complaints about the Istanbul Airport metro excavation and the Bandırma–Bursa railway payment.
www.tbmm.gov.tr/milletvekili/UyeKomisyonKonusmaTutanakDetay?tutanakId=52861

81. Millî Gazete • 2020 Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli railway tender: procedure, invitations and bids.
www.milligazete.com.tr/kamuoyundan-saklaniyordu-besli-olusuma-ozel-davetle-dev-ihale

82. Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli railway project Institutional project description, scope of works, contract and tender information.
bbyoyht.com/kurumsal?lang=en

83. Kalyon Holding • 13 October 2020 Company statement on the Bandırma–Bursa railway tender and tax exemption.
kalyonholding.com/documents/duyuru-13-10.2020.pdf

84. Anadolu Agency • September 2014 Contents of the decision not to prosecute 96 people in the 25 December investigation.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/25-aralik-sorusturmasinda-96-kisi-hakkinda-takipsizlik/126300

85. Anadolu Agency • October 2014 Decision not to prosecute 53 persons in the 17 December investigation.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/17-aralik-sorusturmasinda-53-kisiye-takipsizlik/109986

86. Habertürk • January 2015 Separate parliamentary votes on referral of four former ministers to the Constitutional Court sitting as the Supreme Criminal Court.
www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1032613-4-eski-bakan-icin-karar-verildi

87. US Department of Justice • 6 September 2017 US Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York. Indictment concerning Zafer Çağlayan and others.
www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/former-turkish-minister-economy-former-general-manager-turkish-government-owned-bank

88. US Department of Justice • 16 May 2018 Southern District of New York. Mehmet Hakan Atilla's sentence of 32 months and the scope of the charges.
www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/turkish-banker-mehmet-hakan-atilla-sentenced-32-months-conspiring-violate-us-sanctions

89. Reuters • 17 June 2026 Judicial termination of US proceedings against Halkbank as a corporate entity following an agreement.
www.reuters.com/legal/government/judge-weigh-us-deal-end-halkbank-prosecution-2026-06-17/

90. T24 / Cumhuriyet • 2026 Indictment against 53 persons concerning planning decisions in Sorgun and severance of bribery allegations.
t24.com.tr/gundem/cumhur-ittifaki-belediyesine-137-sayfalik-iddianame-53-kisiye-gorevi-kotuye-kullanma-suclamasi-yoneltildi%2C1347842

91. İz Gazete • 18 November 2026 First hearing in the Örnekköy cooperative case, parties and related proceedings.
www.izgazete.net/ornekkoy-davasi-goruluyor-mahkeme-gunu

References (continued)

92–104 • Source links and bibliographic details.

92. Halk TV • 2026 Interview with Tarık Balyalı. Four-category breakdown of the 62 files concerning the previous İBB administration submitted to prosecutors.
halktv.com.tr/turkiye/tarik-balyali-tarihe-not-dustu-hesap-sorulmali-dedi-ibbde-akp-donemi-yolsuzluklarini-yazdi-1011573h

93. Medyascope • 17 February 2026 Former İBB councillor Tarık Balyalı's account of complaints to prosecutors and audit files concerning the earlier administration.
medyascope.tv/2026/02/17/ibbde-akp-donemindeki-dosyalar-nasil-kapatildi/

94. Cumhuriyet • 16 November 2026 Reasoned interlocutory decisions in the İBB trial and use of investigation statements of anonymous witnesses not heard at trial.
www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/siyaset/ibb-davasinda-63-ara-karar-dinlenemeyen-gizli-taniklarin-sorusturma-ifadeleriyle-yetinilecek-2556548

95. Transparency International Türkiye country profile and the 2025 Corruption Perceptions Index.
www.transparency.org/en/countries/t%C3%BCrkiye

96. Transparency International • 2013 Corruption Perceptions Index, 2013 country results.
www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2013/index

97. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • 26 August 2020 Written parliamentary question on the Bandırma–Bursa–Yenişehir–Osmaneli project. Tender registration number, bid amount and questions to the Minister of Transport.
cdn.tbmm.gov.tr/KKBSPublicFile/D27/Y3/T7/WebOnergeMetni/1d893162-c7ef-42b3-85f5-53bad55ed8c2.pdf

98. Independent Türkçe • 30 August 2022 Statements by Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu and Mine Tozlu Sineren and the criminal complaint.
www.indyturk.com/node/547331/haber/zehra-ta%C5%9Fkesenlio%C4%9Flu-ve-mine-tozlu-sinerenden-kar%C5%9F%C4%B1l%C4%B1kl%C4%B1-a%C3%A7%C4%B1klamalar

99. Cumhuriyet • October 2026 Acceptance of the indictment against 19 persons in the Örnekköy case and date of the first hearing.
www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/turkiye/izmir-de-ornekkoy-sorusturmasi-tunc-soyer-ve-18-isim-hakkindaki-iddianame-kabul-edildi-2540427

100. Thirteenth Chamber of the Council of State • E. 2021/4783, K. 2021/5302 Published decision on use of the negotiated procedure in the Halkalı–Ispartakule railway tender.
www.adalet.gen.tr/danistay-13-daire-esas-no-2021-4783-karar-no-2021-5302.html

101. Demirören Haber Ajansı • 8 June 2026 Judgment hearing in Keskin. Decisions concerning the contractor and the mayor.
www.dha.com.tr/politika/keskin-belediye-baskani-congere-rusvet-davasinda-5-yil-hapis-cezasi-2887494

102. Capital Markets Board (SPK) • 15 November 2026 Redemption of units in extraordinary liquidation and selling pressure.
spk.gov.tr/duyurular/basin-duyurulari/2026/olaganustu-tasfiyede-halka-acik-ortakliklarin-geri-aldigi-paylara-iliskin-basin-duyurusu

103. DW Türkçe • November 2026 Investigation of fund redemptions, investor gains, allegations and responses.
amp.dw.com/tr/fon-soru%C5%9Fturmas%C4%B1nda-gizli-liste-krizden-%C3%B6nce-sistemden-%C3%A7%C4%B1kan-141-ki%C5%9Fi-kim/a-79614367

104. Medyascope Account of statements given.
medyascope.tv/2026/11/18/yeni-safakin-sahap-kavcioglu-iddialari-sonrasi-kavcioglu-hakkinda-sorusturma-izni-istendi/

References (continued)

105–117 • Source links and bibliographic details.

105. Euronews Presidential meeting.
tr.euronews.com/2026/09/29/erdogan-fon-krizi-toplantisina-katildi-belediye-baskanlarina-rozet-takti

106. Euronews Ministers' responses.
tr.euronews.com/2026/10/08/bakanlardan-fon-skandali-iddialarina-iliskin-aciklama-hodri-meydan

107. Medyascope Trustee appointment order.
medyascope.tv/2026/11/17/fon-sorusturmasi-hayati-yazicinin-oglu-mustafa-yazicinin-sirketine-kayyim-atandi/

108. BBC Türkçe Hayati Yazıcı's response.
www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/ckx2z2dndqjeo

109. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye Yılmaz's statement to the plenary.
tbmm.gov.tr/Haber/Detay?Id=713aa4e0-45c2-426d-a5e5-01a116b1a085

110. Annual series compiled from Transparency International data Türkiye's Corruption Perceptions Index scores, 2013–2025.
statisticsoftheworld.com/series/TI.L.CORRUPTION.INDEX.A/turkey

111. U4 / Transparency International • 2025 Corruption risks in Türkiye. Comparison of World Bank governance indicators, Table 1.
knowledgehub.transparency.org/assets/uploads/helpdesk/T%C3%BCrkiye_Corruption-risks-and-anti-corruption-measures-for-post-earthquake-recovery_final.pdf

112. World Justice Project Türkiye 2026.
worldjusticeproject.org/rule-of-law-index/country/2026/T%C3%BCrkiye/

113. Gündemar • World Justice Project 2026 verileri Numerical breakdown by factor for Türkiye.
www.gundemar.com/endeksler/hukukun-ustunlugu-endeksi

114. World Justice Project 2024 report.
worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJPIndex2024.pdf

115. TheGlobalEconomy / V-Dem Political corruption index for Türkiye, observations for 2023 and 2024.
www.theglobaleconomy.com/Turkey/political_corruption_index/

116. Yusuf Bahadır Kavas • 2023 Treatment of economic issues in Friday sermons. ODÜ Journal of Social Sciences Research, particularly p. 2349.
dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/2617172

117. European Court of Human Rights • 4 May 2021 Akdeniz and Others v. Turkey, judgment summary. Publication ban on a parliamentary inquiry.
hudoc.echr.coe.int/app/conversion/pdf/?filename=Judgment+Akdeniz+and+Others+v.+Turkey+-+ban+on+disseminating+information+on+a+parliamentary+inquiry+into+allegations+of+corruption.pdf&id=003-7012746-9456292&library=ECHR

References (continued)

118–130 • Source links and bibliographic details.

118. İzmir Bar Association Trial observation in the case of Sedef Kabaş.
www.izmirbarosu.org.tr/Upload/files/haberler/Sedef%20Kaba%C5%9F%20G%C3%B6zlem%20Sonu%C3%A7%20Raporu.pdf

119. Bianet Appellate ruling concerning Ünker.
bianet.org/haber/istinaf-mahkemesi-pelin-unker-in-hapis-cezasini-bozdu-para-cezasini-onadi-208208

120. Bianet Toker and Şenbay litigation.
bianet.org/haber/gazeteci-toker-e-acilan-1-5-milyon-tl-lik-dava-dustu-214572

121. İFÖD EngelliWeb 2021, decisions nos. 2021/1831 and 2021/2357.
ifade.org.tr/reports/EngelliWeb_2021_Eng.pdf

122. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye Motion for a parliamentary inquiry, 13 October 2021.
cdn.tbmm.gov.tr/KKBSPublicFile/D27/Y5/T10/WebOnergeMetni/815eaf91-a229-453d-86f7-035491b80dac.pdf

123. Diken Response of Rönesans Holding.
www.diken.com.tr/pandora-belgelerinde-ismi-gecen-ronesans-holding-iddialari-reddeti/

124. Ali Safa Korkut • Veriler Ne Diyor? 2024 Internet Censorship Report. Restrictions on reporting about corruption and irregularities.
static.bianet.org/2025/12/veriler-ne-diyor-2024-internet-sansuru-raporu.pdf

125. İHA / Adıyaman haberleri • 28 November 2021 Retrial and judgment concerning former Çakırhöyük Mayor Hasan Özdemir.
www.adiyamanlilar.net/eski-belediye-baskani-7-yil-8-ay-hapis-cezasina-carptirildi

126. DHA • 20 October 2021 Conviction and release of Bahattin Karataş, former head of financial services of Samsun Metropolitan Municipality.
www.dha.com.tr/gundem/belediye-daire-baskanina-rusvetten-4-yil-2-ay-hapis-cezasi-1855199

127. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • 2022 Parliamentary question reporting the decision of the Şırnak 1st Assize Court of 6 January.
cdn.tbmm.gov.tr/KKBSPublicFile/D27/Y5/T7/WebOnergeMetni/9bbfac37-9fd6-4152-93e7-5f3e67487678.pdf

128. Kayseri Olay • 2024 Ali Osman Yıldız's political offices and earlier proceedings.
www.kayseriolay.com/amp/flas-kayseri-de-o-adayin-adayligi-secim-kurulundan-dondu/121324/

129. BirGün • March 2026 Appellate outcome in the simple embezzlement case against former Menemen Mayor Aksoy.
www.birgun.net/haber/eski-menemen-belediye-baskani-aksoy-a-verilen-hapis-cezasi-kesinlesti-701893

130. DHA • 22 December 2025 Retrial and first-instance judgment in the Yalova embezzlement case.
www.dha.com.tr/yerel-haberler/yalova/yalova-belediyesindeki-zimmet-davasinda-yeni-2782433

References (continued)

131–143 • Source links and bibliographic details.

131. Bölge • July 2026 Outcomes of the Yalova case before the Bursa Regional Court of Appeal.
www.bolge.com.tr/siyaset/istinaf-karari-cezalarin-buyuk-bolumu-onandi-280352

132. Anadolu Agency • 15 May 2026 Manavgat 3rd Assize Court, judgment concerning Niyazi Nefi Kara and co-defendants.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/manavgat-belediyesine-yonelik-rusvet-davasinda-karar-aciklandi/3938902

133. DHA • 9 November 2026 Eighth hearing and detention order in the Beykoz case.
www.dha.com.tr/gundem/beykoz-belediyesine-yonelik-yolsuzluk-davasinda-durusma-25-aralika-ertelendi-2977929

134. Diken • 31 March 2026 Release of the remaining three detained defendants in the Ankara metropolitan concert case and the court's reasons.
www.diken.com.tr/abb-konser-davasi-tutuklu-saniklar-icin-tahliye-karari/

135. Cumhuriyet • 16 October 2026 Order for a new expert report in the Ankara concert trial.
www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/turkiye/abb-konser-davasinda-dikkat-ceken-gelisme-mahkemeden-yeni-rapor-karari-2547371

136. BBC Türkçe • October 2026 Ertan Aydın's previous posts and remand in the investment fund investigation.
bbc.com.im/turkce/articles/c574pjl4l40no

137. Bianet • 2024 Indictment for trading in influence against Veyis Ateş, judicial supervision and statements.
bianet.org/haber/sbk-den-10-milyon-euro-istedigi-iddia-edilmisti-veyis-atese-nufuz-ticareti-davasi-291720

138. Sözcü • 2023 Court of Accounts report on Ziraat Bankası, Demirören Group's outstanding debt and recommendation for follow-up.
www.sozcu.com.tr/demiroren-in-ziraat-e-borcu-sayistay-raporuna-girdi-p11995

139. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye Motion for inquiry into Demirören's loan from Ziraat Bankası and the properties provided as security.
cdn.tbmm.gov.tr/KKBSPublicFile/D27/Y5/T10/WebOnergeMetni/8a511e17-a50e-4f5c-a676-3f7867b4a687.pdf

140. Sözcü • 2020 İyidere Logistics Port tender: joint venture, procedure and price.
www.sozcu.com.tr/1-3-milyarlik-dev-ihale-yabanciya-gitmedi-wp6038027

141. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye Parliamentary question on the increase in works and inclusion of coastal protection in the İyidere Port contract.
cdn.tbmm.gov.tr/KKBSPublicFile/D27/Y5/T7/WebOnergeMetni/ae39bd50-cbb2-4cf4-8bb1-ebd5efc069e3.pdf

142. Teyit • 2022 TURKEN's incorporation, land and tax records, and Ensar's statement on the transfer.
teyit.org/dosya/iki-ulke-tek-hikaye-turken-vakfi

143. Teyit • 2020 Document recording Başkentgaz's conditional donation to Kızılay and the parties' statements.
teyit.org/analiz/kizilayin-baskent-gazin-yaptigi-bagisla-ensar-vakfiyla-proje-yuruttugu-iddiasi

References (continued)

144–155 • Source links and bibliographic details.

144. Statement reported in the press • 2023 Yüksel Kocaman’s response to allegations concerning Ayhan Bora Kaplan.
www.rudaw.net/turkish/categories/turkey/755514

145. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • 2023 Allegations in the Kaplan investigation and written parliamentary question concerning Kocaman.
cdn.tbmm.gov.tr/KKBSPublicFile/D28/Y2/T7/WebOnergeMetni/cc5c67b4-fe09-4bbb-b381-2feb11b149d2.pdf

146. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye • 18 November 2026 Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s statement on fund liquidation, investigation and repayments.
tbmm.gov.tr/Haber/ak-parti-tbmm-grup-toplantisi-20261118141124

147. Kayseri Olay • 2017 Acceptance of the indictment concerning the mayor of Sarıoğlan.
www.kayseriolay.com/sarioglan-belediye-baskani-yildiz-in-iddianamesi-kabul-edildi/16145

148. Habertürk / AA • 2020 Aggregate sentence of 26 years and release upon judgment in the Sarıoğlan case.
www.haberturk.com/kayseri-de-eski-sarioglan-belediye-baskanlarina-hapis-cezasi-2723396

149. Anadolu Agency • 25 October 2026 Objection to judicial supervision and subsequent remand of Ertan Aydın.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/sermaye-piyasasi-islemleri-sorusturmasinda-ertan-aydin-tutuklandi/4100489

150. TRT Haber • 15 May 2026 Judgment hearing and continued detention in the Manavgat case.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/manavgat-belediyesine-yonelik-rusvet-davasinda-karar-945218.html

151. T24 • 18 November 2026 Taha Çakmak’s statement on the return of bonds and his meeting with Erişah Arıcan.
t24.com.tr/ekonomi/fon-sorusturmasinda-ust-duzey-isimlerden-kritik-ifadeler-sahap-kavcioglu-6-milyar-lirayi-fona-aktarmamizi-istedi-denetim-oncesi-altinlar-gostermelik-yerine-konuldu%2C1359598

152. DW Türkçe • 18 November 2026 UK and Turkish company registry entries for Ünsal Ban and other partners.
amp.dw.com/tr/%C3%BCnsal-ban%C4%B1n-tera-ba%C4%9Flant%C4%B1lar%C4%B1-kay%C4%B1tlar-ne-g%C3%B6steriyor/a-79972280

153. Reuters • 17 November 2026 Trustee order concerning Sözcü TV and the earlier measure concerning Halk TV.
www.reuters.com/business/media-telecom/turkey-appoints-trustee-pro-opposition-tv-channel-sozcu-outlet-says-2026-11-17/

154. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Scope of the concert investigation and the municipality’s legal assessment.
www.ankara.bel.tr/duyurular/konser-sorusturmasina-iliskin-hukuki-surecin-ek-bilgilendirme-notlari-1302

155. Halk TV • 14 January 2026 Annulment of the environmental assessment decision for the İkizdere quarry supplying the port.
halktv.com.tr/turkiye/cengizin-tahrip-ettigi-ikizderede-adalet-5-yil-sonra-geldi-1000599h

References (continued)

156–167 • Source links and bibliographic details.

156. Grand National Assembly of Türkiye Parliamentary question on whether allegations concerning Court of Cassation judge Yüksel Kocaman had been examined.
cdn.tbmm.gov.tr/KKBSPublicFile/D28/Y3/T7/WebOnergeMetni/4f2c4078-2a86-4f73-9132-355cd06e82e7.pdf

157. News report • 18 November 2026 Mustafa Yazıcı's statement in the fund investigation.
www.bursasaati.com.tr/fon-sorusturmasinda-yeni-gelisme-mustafa-yazicinin-ifade-islemi-basladi

158. Son Haberler • 18 November 2026 Second summons for Mustafa Yazıcı to give a statement and the most recent verified procedural step.
www.sonhaberler.com/hayati-yazicinin-oglu-mustafa-yazici-fon-sorusturmasinda-ifade-veriyor-haber-913823

159. Haberler / AA • 27 March 2026 Appellate review and finality of the judgment in the Menemen case.
www.haberler.com/guncel/eski-menemen-belediye-baskani-serdar-aksoy-a-zimmet-sucundan-ceza-19692875-haberi/

160. Sözcü • February 2024 Appellate decision quashing Cevher Benek's conviction on grounds of incomplete investigation.
www.sozcu.com.tr/rusvet-ve-ihaleye-fesat-tan-ceza-almisti-4-kez-aday-gosterildi-p29227

161. TRT Haber • 18 November 2026 President's statement that 371,021 investors recovered their net investment or principal through ordinary and extraordinary liquidation.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-ak-parti-milletin-belirledigi-istikametten-hic-ayrilmadi-963665.html

162. Venice Commission of the Council of Europe • June 2015 Declaration on interference with judicial independence in Türkiye. Annex on reassignments and dismissal decisions, p. 3.
venice.coe.int/files/turkish%20declaration%20june%202015.pdf

163. SRL Swiss • 26 October 2026 Fair Trial Rights and Judicial Independence in the Proceedings Arising from the Investigations of 17 and 25 December. Public report with reviewed references.
srlswiss.com/wp-content/uploads/SRL_17_25_Aralik_Raporu_TR_Source_Review_2026-10-26.pdf

164. Anadolu Agency • July 2023 Court of Cassation's reasons for upholding and quashing decisions in the 25 December proceedings.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/yargitaydan-25-aralik-darbeye-tesebbus-davasinda-kismen-onama-ve-bozma-karari/2951036

165. Gündemar • March 2026 Trust in institutions in Türkiye. Survey of 2,200 people in 60 provinces.
www.gundemar.com/arastirmalarimiz/turkiyede-kurumlara-guven-mart-2026

166. Anadolu Agency • July 2023 Decisions upheld and quashed in the 17 December proceedings. Objection to a second trial for the same act.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/yargitaydan-17-aralik-kumpas-davasinda-kismi-onama-karari/2946434

167. Transparency International • 3 December 2013 Corruption Perceptions Index 2013. Publication date and methodology.
www.transparency.org/en/publications/cpi-2013

References (continued)

168–179 • Source links and bibliographic details.

168. Cumhuriyet • August 2021 Erdoğan Bayraktar's statement on technical surveillance records and recordings of his conversations.
www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/eski-bakan-erdogan-bayraktar-dosyamdaki-her-sey-dogru-dedi-uc-bakanla-ayni-tutulmasina-sitem-etti-1864866

169. Constitutional Court İrfan Fidan's official biography. Prosecutorial posts, membership of the Court of Cassation and Constitutional Court, and election as Deputy President on 10 March 2026.
www.anayasa.gov.tr/tr/baskanvekilleri-ve-uyeler/baskanvekilleri/irfan-fidan

170. Council of Judges and Prosecutors • 17 January 2024 Judges elected to the Court of Cassation. İsmail Uçar, Istanbul Anatolian Chief Public Prosecutor, third on the list.
www.hsk.gov.tr/yargitay-uyeligi-secimine-iliskin-duyuru_2001

171. Council of Judges and Prosecutors Official biography of Fuzuli Aydoğdu and his duties on the Council.
www.hsk.gov.tr/fuzuli-aydogdu

172. Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation • 9 May 2023 Case no. 2021/4197, decision no. 2023/2716. Dates and numbers of decisions not to prosecute and reassignment on 26 December 2013. Open-access copy of the judgment.
aycanceylan.av.tr/yargitay-kararlari/3-ceza-dairesi-2021-4197-2023-2716

173. Official Gazette • 6 May 2017 Numbers of investigations conducted by Kara and Yüzgeç and the coordinating role of Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor Öz.
www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2017/05/20170506.pdf

174. Bianet • 2 May 2014 Decision not to prosecute 60 people in the TOKİ file of the 17 December investigation.
bianet.org/haber/17-aralik-in-toki-ayagina-takipsizlik-155398

175. Anadolu Agency • 2014 Indictment drawn up by Ekrem Aydıner in the Fatih Municipality case.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/istanbul-merkezli-sorusturmada-iddianame-hazir/174878

176. Council of Judges and Prosecutors • 19 June 2022 First Chamber decree no. 904 concerning the ordinary judiciary, entry 1. Appointment of Ekrem Aydıner.
www.hsk.gov.tr/Eklentiler/23062022140119062022-904-adli-sirali-yenipdf.pdf

177. Anadolu Agency • 3 March 2015 Statement by the chair of the HSYK's Second Chamber on allegations concerning Celal Kara and Muammer Akkaş.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/17-25-aralik-sorusturmasini-yuruten-2-savci-ve-bir-hakime-yargilama-izni/70171

178. Anadolu Agency • 19 October 2015 Istanbul 13th Assize Court's acceptance of İsmail Uçar's indictment concerning acts in the 25 December investigation.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/fetullah-gulen-icin-yoklugunda-tutuklama-ve-kirmizi-bulten-cikarilmasi-karari/447958

179. TRT Haber • 14 August 2016 Istanbul 14th Assize Court's acceptance of İrfan Fidan's indictment concerning acts in the 17 December investigation.
www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/17-aralik-kumpas-iddianamesi-kabul-edildi-266168.html

References (continued)

180–190 • Source links and bibliographic details.

180. European Parliament • 10 June 2015 2014/2953(RSP), §§ 12–13. Call for an independent and transparent investigation into the December 2013 allegations.
eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=oj%3AJOC_2016_407_R_0008

181. European Commission • 10 November 2015 Turkey 2015 Report, SWD(2015) 216. Fight against corruption and the December 2013 investigations.
www.ab.gov.tr/files/ilerleme%202015/2015_progress_report_en.pdf

182. European Commission • 2018 Türkiye report. Investigations, prosecutions and convictions concerning allegations of high-level corruption.
enlargement.ec.europa.eu/document/download/446c8261-6297-4300-86c1-bd3fc143731e_en?filename=20180417-turkey-report.pdf

183. European Commission • 2020 Türkiye report, anti-corruption section. Judicial outcomes and cooperation between inspection bodies and prosecutors.
enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-10/turkey_report_2020.pdf

184. European Commission • 2024 Türkiye report, Chapter 23, fight against corruption. Prosecutorial follow-up of audit findings and exceptions in public procurement.
enlargement.ec.europa.eu/document/download/8010c4db-6ef8-4c85-aa06-814408921c89_en?filename=T%C3%BCrkiye+Report+2024.pdf

185. PACE Monitoring Committee • 30 January 2014 Statement on developments following 17 December 2013. Call to uphold judicial independence and impartiality.
pace.coe.int/en/news/4867/appel-aux-autorites-turques-a-garantir-l-independance-et-l-impartialite-de-la-justice

186. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe • 22 June 2016 Resolution 2121 (2016), §§ 32–34. Security of tenure, disciplinary measures and executive influence over the Council.
pace.coe.int/en/files/22957/html

187. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe • 25 April 2017 Resolution 2156 (2017), § 38. Reopening of the monitoring procedure in respect of Türkiye.
pace.coe.int/en/files/23665/html

188. GRECO • 9 June 2023 Türkiye, fourth evaluation round, fourth interim compliance report, §§ 13–16. Recommendation viii on the independence of the HSK.
rm.coe.int/grecorc4-2023-12-final-eng-4th-interim-compliance-report-turkiye-conf-/1680ada6ef

189. European Parliament • 7 May 2025 P10_TA(2025)0092. Measures concerning the mayors of Istanbul, Şişli and Beylikdüzü.
eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ%3AC_202600577

190. European Commission • 28 May 2025 Reply by Marta Kos on behalf of the Commission to European Parliament written question E-001163/2025.
www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-10-2025-001163-ASW_EN.pdf

References (continued)

191–204 • Judicial decisions, monitoring records and case documents.

191. Habertürk • 29 January 2014 Reassignment of Celal Kara and Mehmet Yüzgeç in the 17 December investigation.
www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/916794-17-aralik-sorusturmasinda-flas-gelisme

192. European Court of Human Rights, Grand Chamber • 26 September 2023 Yüksel Yalçınkaya v. Türkiye, no. 15669/20. ByLock evidence, legality of offences and penalties, and the right to a fair trial. Turkish text of the judgment.
hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-229312

193. Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe • 21 September 2023 CM/ResDH(2023)266. Resolution closing execution supervision of six cases, including Başer and Özçelik.
hudoc.exec.coe.int/eng?i=001-228514

194. Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe • 9–11 June 2026 Alparslan Altan and Akgün groups. 1563rd meeting, H46-42. General measures concerning initial remand and detention.
hudoc.exec.coe.int/eng?i=004-59081

195. Council of Europe, Department for the Execution of Judgments of the European Court of Human Rights Participation by civil society and national human rights institutions in the execution process. Rule 9.2 communications.
www.coe.int/en/web/execution/nhri-ngo

196. European Court of Human Rights, Grand Chamber • 11 July 2022 Kavala v. Türkiye, no. 28749/18. Judgment under Article 46 § 4 of the Convention concerning compliance with the judgment.
hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-218516

197. Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe • 16 September 2026 Selahattin Demirtaş (No. 2) group. 1569th meeting, decision H46-42.
hudoc.exec.coe.int/eng?i=CM/Del/Dec(2026)1569/H46-42E

198. Anadolu Agency • 18 March 2019 Istanbul 14th Assize Court's first-instance judgment in the 17 December proceedings and names of the fifteen defendants sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/17-aralik-kumpas-davasinda-15-saniga-agirlastirilmis-muebbet-hapis/1421484

199. Constitutional Court • 2025 Decision no. 2025/159. Review of the decision concerning parliamentary election of members of the Council of Judges and Prosecutors.
normkararlarbilgibankasi.anayasa.gov.tr/Dosyalar/Kararlar/KararPDF/2025-159-nrm.pdf

200. Anadolu Agency • January 2024 Members of the judiciary elected to the Court of Cassation and publication of the decision in the Official Gazette.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/yargitay-uyeliklerine-secme-karari-resmi-gazetede/3111979

201. SRL Swiss • 7 November 2026 Judicial independence and defence safeguards in the proceedings concerning 17 and 25 December. Report submitted to the Special Rapporteur, pp. 11–32 and document index. Submission date: 10 November 2026.
srlswiss.com/tr/bm-ozel-raportorune-basvuru-17-25-aralik-yargilamalarinda-yargi-bagimsizligi/

202. Chamber of City Planners (TMMOB) Ankara branch activity report. Criminal complaint concerning the Ankapark tender, Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, no. 2018/168390.
www.spo.org.tr/resimler/ekler/ce719c0a2d19d5a_ek.pdf

203. Demirören Haber Ajansı • 11 June 2020 Individual first-instance decisions and appellate review in the 17 December proceedings. Istanbul 14th Assize Court and Istanbul Regional Court of Appeal.
www.dha.com.tr/gundem/17-aralik-kumpas-davasinin-karari-onandi-1776105

204. Third Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation • 8 May 2023 17 December proceedings, case no. 2021/4383, decision no. 2023/2717. Outcomes on appeal by offence and defendant. Anonymised judgment.
aycanceylan.av.tr/yargitay-kararlari/3-ceza-dairesi-2021-4383-2023-2717

References (continued)

205–214 • Documents concerning municipal investigations and trials.

205. DHA 6 November 2026. Gaziosmanpaşa: first-instance conviction for bribery, acquittal on two further counts and house arrest.
www.dha.com.tr/politika/hakan-bahcetepe-hakkinda-ev-hapsiyle-tahliye-karari-2976646

206. DHA 16 November 2026. Review of detention and examination of witnesses in the Büyükçekmece case.
www.dha.com.tr/gundem/buyukcekmece-belediyesine-yonelik-yolsuzluk-davasinda-1-saniga-tahliye-karari-2983078

207. Medyascope 6 November 2026. Interlocutory decision and next hearing in the Şile case.
medyascope.tv/2026/11/06/sile-belediyesi-davasi-11-kisinin-tutukluluklarina-devam-karari/

208. TRT Haber 28 August 2026. Indictment of the mayor of Bayrampaşa and 77 other persons.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/bayrampasa-belediyesi-iddianamesi-tamamlandi-955236.html

209. Bayrampaşa TV 19 October 2026. Bayrampaşa Mayor Hasan Mutlu's statement concerning detention and the date of the hearing.
www.bayrampasa.tv/hasan-mutludan-bayrampasa-mesaji-halkin-iradesi-takvim-yapraklariyla-silinmez/

210. T24 Furkan Karabay's examination of the allegation of bribery against Resul Emrah Şahan in the İBB indictment.
t24.com.tr/gundem/furkan-karabay-ibb-iddianamesinde-resul-emrah-sahan-a-yoneltilen-rusvet-suclamasi-celiskili-ifadelere-dayandirildi%2C1281049

211. ANKA 9 November 2026. Mehmet Murat Çalık's health and application for release in the İBB proceedings.
ankahaber.net/haber/ibb-davasinda-106-gun-tutuklu-belediye-baskani-mehmet-murat-calik-kimseden-merhamet-beklemiyorum-sadece-yasam-hakkimin-korunmasini-istiyorum-777a4c89

212. DHA 6 April 2026. Joinder of the case against İnan Güney to the main İBB trial.
www.dha.com.tr/yerel-haberler/istanbul/beyoglu-belediye-baskani-inan-guneyin-iddianam-2850347

213. TRT Haber 5 October 2026. Remand order concerning acting mayor of Ataşehir Murat Güneş.
www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/atasehir-belediyesine-yonelik-yolsuzluk-operasyonu-5-tutuklama-959195.html

214. Anadolu Agency 16 June 2026. Statements by Bora Balcıoğlu and the deputy mayor in the Silivri investigation.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/silivri-belediye-baskani-balcioglunun-usulsuzluk-sorusturmasindaki-ifadesine-ulasildi/3968892

References (continued)

215–224 • Documents concerning municipal investigations and trials.

215. Anadolu Agency 23 June 2026. Remand and judicial supervision in the investigation concerning licences in Adalar.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/adalar-belediyesinde-rusvet-karsiligi-ruhsat-iddialarina-iliskin-gozaltina-alinan-35-supheli-tutuklandi/3975121

216. Deutsche Welle Türkçe 29 October 2026. Release of Üsküdar Mayor Sinem Dedetaş under house arrest.
amp.dw.com/tr/sinem-dedeta%C5%9F-ev-hapsi-%C5%9Fart%C4%B1yla-tahliye-edildi/a-79795251

217. Anadolu Agency 6 October 2026. Remand order concerning Eyüpsultan Mayor Mithat Bülent Özmen.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/eyupsultan-belediye-baskani-ozmenin-de-aralarinda-bulundugu-13-supheli-tutuklandi/4079122

218. Medyascope 16 November 2026. Nine-person indictment for extortion by a public official in the Bakırköy investigation.
medyascope.tv/2026/11/16/bakirkoy-belediyesine-irtikap-iddianamesi-isyerindeki-aykiriliklari-gider-ve-aykiri-durumlar-var-ifadeleriyle-suclama/

219. Haberler.com 19 November 2026. Release of Tunç Soyer under judicial supervision in Örnekköy after the hearing begun the previous day, and continuing detention in Gaziemir.
www.haberler.com/yerel/izmir-ornekkoy-davasinda-tunc-soyer-ve-2-sanik-20440996-haberi/

220. T24 Prosecution objection and judicial supervision order in the Bornova municipal salary investigation.
t24.com.tr/gundem/savcilik-itiraz-etti-mahkeme-reddetti-bornova-belediye-baskani-omer-eski-ve-diger-3-isme-yurt-disi-cikis-yasagi%2C1313573?_t=1778046932517

221. Anadolu Agency 10 October 2026. Procurement and bribery investigation in Bayraklı. Fifteen remanded, including the former mayor.
h.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/izmirde-bayrakli-belediyesine-yonelik-rusvet-ve-ihale-sorusturmasinda-15-supheli-tutuklandi/4084114

222. Anadolu Agency 30 June 2026. Different measures applied to İsmail Yetişkin and Onur Yiğit in the Seferihisar investigation.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/seferihisar-belediyesi-sorusturmasinda-belediye-baskani-yetiskin-ve-11-supheli-tutuklandi/3981827

223. Habertürk 24 August 2026. Reinstatement of the mayor of Balçova following the judicial supervision order.
www.haberturk.com/gundem/son-dakika-haberler-izmir-haberleri-balcova-belediye-baskani-onur-yigit-gorevine-iade-edildi-3907695

224. TRT Haber 26 May 2026. Remand orders concerning the mayor of Güzelbahçe and the director of planning.
www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/guzelbahce-belediyesine-rusvet-sorusturmasi-belediye-baskani-gunay-tutuklandi-946333.html

References (continued)

225–237 • Documents concerning municipal investigations and trials.

225. Cumhuriyet Statement by Buca Mayor Görkem Duman on the indictment on his hundredth day in custody.
www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/turkiye/tutuklu-buca-belediye-baskani-gorkem-duman-dan-100-gun-aciklamasi-2535804

226. Anadolu Agency 7 August 2026. Ten people remanded in the Menderes investigation, including the mayor.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/menderes-belediyesine-yonelik-sorusturmada-baskan-cicek-ve-9-supheli-tutuklandi/4020763

227. Anadolu Agency 10 October 2026. Remand and judicial supervision in the Çeşme investigation concerning municipal officials.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/izmirde-cesme-belediyesine-yonelik-sorusturmada-10-supheli-tutuklandi/4084203

228. DHA 10 June 2026. First-instance judgment concerning the project undertaken by a municipal subsidiary in Tarsus.
www.dha.com.tr/yerel-haberler/mersin/tarsus/eski-belediye-baskanina-nitelikli-dolandiricili-2888976

229. Mersin Portal November 2026. MP Gülcan Kış's statement that the mayors of Mersin, Yenişehir, Mezitli and Silifke were awaiting indictment.
www.mersinportal.com/mersinde-belediye-baskanlarinin-tutuklulugu-gundemde

230. Anadolu Agency October 2026. Remand of 34 suspects, including the incumbent and former mayors in Çukurova.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/cukurova-belediyesine-yonelik-operasyonda-gozaltina-alinan-49-supheliden-34u-tutuklandi/4097918

231. Anadolu Agency First-instance judgment concerning the mayor of Yüreğir in the case involving planning measures in Seyhan and Çukurova.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/seyhan-ve-cukurova-belediyelerindeki-usulsuzluk-iddiasina-iliskin-41-sanikli-davada-karar/3890485

232. DHA October 2026. Bursa 2nd Assize Court interlocutory ruling concerning defendants including Mustafa Bozbey and Turgay Erdem.
www.dha.com.tr/yerel-haberler/bursa/mustafa-bozbeyin-yargilandigi-davada-6-tahliye-2958130

233. DHA 20 October 2026. First-instance judgment in the public-official extortion trial of Bolu Mayor Tanju Özcan and co-defendants.
www.dha.com.tr/yerel-haberler/bolu/merkez/tanju-ozcan-yargilandigi-bolu-belediyesi-davas-2966564

234. TRT Haber 30 March 2026. Remand order in the Uşak municipal investigation.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/usak-belediye-baskani-ozkan-yalim-tutuklandi-939689.html

235. Anadolu Agency April 2026. Eşme Criminal Judgeship of Peace decision no. 2026/15 and temporary suspension from office.
aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/esme-belediye-baskani-yilmaz-tozan-gorevinden-uzaklastirildi/3914622

236. Anadolu Agency 15 July 2026. Remand and judicial supervision orders concerning Çankaya Municipality.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/-cankaya-belediye-baskani-gunerin-de-aralarinda-bulundugu-24-supheli-tutuklandi/3998424

237. TRT Haber 3 August 2026. Decision concerning Erdal Beşikçioğlu and other suspects in the Etimesgut investigation.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/erdal-besikcioglu-tutuklandi-952898.html

References (continued)

238–253 • Municipal and investment fund cases, the right to information, match-fixing reports and standards for the treatment of prisoners.

238. Anadolu Agency 18 July 2026. Renewed remand after an objection to release in the Akçakoca case.
f.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/gorevden-uzaklastirilan-akcakoca-belediye-baskani-albayrak-tahliyesine-yapilan-itiraz-sonrasi-tutuklandi/4001928

239. Ekonomim October 2026. Date of the remand order concerning the mayor of Milas and prosecution file number.
www.ekonomim.com/gundem/milas-belediye-baskani-fevzi-topuz-gorevden-uzaklastirildi-haberi-927144

240. Muğla Gazetesi Releases at the end of September 2026 in the Marmaris municipal planning and licensing case.
www.muglagazetesi.com.tr/marmaris-haberleri/marmariste-rusvet-operasyonunda-yeni-gelisme-221164h

241. YeniSöke 16 November 2026. Review of the detention of Kuşadası Mayor Ömer Günel.
yenisokegazetesi.com/haber/29169770/kusadasi-belediyesi-sorusturmasi-omer-gunele-7nci-kez-tahliye-yok-tutuklulugu-devam-edecek

242. TRT Haber Judicial order of 31 October 2026 concerning the mayor of Merkezefendi.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/merkezefendi-belediye-baskani-dogan-gorevden-uzaklastirildi-962067.html

243. Halk TV 24 August 2026. Hearing account of the individual operative provisions concerning mayors in the Aziz İhsan Aktaş trial.
halktv.com.tr/turkiye/aziz-ihsan-aktas-davasinda-karar-verildi-iste-durusmada-dakika-dakika-yasananlar-1050649h

244. İhlas Haber Ajansı 10 June 2026. Former Tarsus Mayor Haluk Bozdoğan’s surrender to prosecutors and detention after judgment.
ihavideo.com.tr/Video/Detay/1979671-eski-tarsus-belediye-baskani-haluk-bozdogan-tutuklandi-

245. Anadolu Agency 5–6 November 2026. Transaction date, share transfer and settlement period in the prosecution’s submission concerning Kaya.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/eski-bakan-fatma-betul-sayan-kaya-fon-sorusturmasi-kapsaminda-tutuklandi/4113433

246. Bianet 19 November 2026. Foreign travel ban and weekly reporting obligation imposed on Mustafa Yazıcı.
bianet.org/haber/fon-sorusturmasi-hayati-yazici-nin-oglu-adli-kontrol-ile-serbest-325556

247. Constitutional Court Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, Articles 26 and 28. Freedom to receive and impart information and freedom of the press.
www.anayasa.gov.tr/tr/mevzuat/anayasa/

248. ANKA / BirGün 22 March 2025. RTÜK member Tuncay Keser’s request for review of TRT Haber’s coverage of İBB on 20 March.
www.birgun.net/haber/rtuk-uyesinden-trt-haber-icin-inceleme-cagrisi-609268

249. MLSA / Free Web Turkey 2023 Internet Censorship Report. Subjects and persons concerned in blocked reports on corruption and irregularities. English edition, PDF pp. 33–34.
www.mlsaturkey.com/images/RAPORLAR/FreeWebTurkey%202023%20Report%20English.pdf

250. MLSA / FreeWebTurkey December 2025. 2024–2025 Internet Censorship Report, pp. 12–13. Reports and posts blocked in the first seven months of 2025.
www.mlsaturkey.com/images/RAPORLAR/2025%20FREEWEBTURKEY%20INTERNET%20SANSURU%20RAPORU%20-%20V3.pdf

251. SRL Swiss OSCE match-fixing report. Judges issuing the orders and the judicial police, Annex 18. Final three hearings, Annexes 14–16 and 22.
srlswiss.com/wp-content/uploads/SRL_AGIT_Sike_Raporu_TR.pdf

252. SRL Swiss 16 November 2026. The Match-Fixing Investigation and Prosecution of Public Officials. Report submitted to the UN Special Rapporteur, pp. 2–12.
srlswiss.com/tr/bm-ozel-raportorune-basvuru-sike-yargilamalarinda-yargi-bagimsizligi/

253. United Nations General Assembly 17 December 2015. United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules), A/RES/70/175, annex, rules 44, 58 and 61.
digitallibrary.un.org/record/816764

References (continued)

254–258 • Election of acting mayors, changes of party affiliation and local democracy.

254. Anadolu Agency / TRT Haber 11 June 2025. Election of acting mayors in three Istanbul districts. Council vote in Gaziosmanpaşa and acting mayors elected in Avcılar and Büyükçekmece.
www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/istanbulda-3-ilcede-baskanvekili-secildi-910097.html

255. Euronews Türkçe 14 August 2025. Özlem Çerçioğlu's resignation from the CHP, her move to the AK Party and her explanation for leaving.
tr.euronews.com/2025/08/14/ozlem-cercioglu-chp-parti-uyeliginden-istifa-ettigini-acikladi

256. Euronews Türkçe 30 January 2026. Özgür Özel's allegation of pressure, Özlem Çerçioğlu's response and criminal complaint.
tr.euronews.com/2026/01/30/ak-partiye-gecen-ozlem-cercioglu-chp-lideri-ozgur-ozel-hakkinda-suc-duyurusunda-bulundu

257. Euronews Türkçe 11 November 2026. Aydın 4th Assize Court's acquittal of Özlem Çerçioğlu in proceedings concerning municipal tenders.
tr.euronews.com/2026/11/11/aydinda-yolsuzluk-davasi-ozlem-cercioglu-beraat-etti

258. Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe 27 May 2026. Joint statement by Türkiye rapporteurs Marc Cools and Bryony Rudkin on opposition rights and the electoral mandate.
www.coe.int/en/web/congress/-/t%C3%BCrkiye-council-of-europe-congress-calls-to-uphold-opposition-rights-and-respect-the-will-of-voters

References (continued)

259–271 • Institutional changes and December 2013 documents.

259. Anadolu Agency 12 October 2014. HSYK members elected by the ordinary and administrative judiciary according to provisional Supreme Electoral Council results.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/hsyk-secim-sonuclari-aciklandi/111683

260. International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) June 2016. Turkey: The Judicial System in Peril, pp. 12–13. Ministry of Justice influence on the HSYK and the Platform for Unity in the Judiciary.
www.icj.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Turkey-Judicial-System-in-Peril-Publications-Reports-Fact-findings-mission-reports-2016-ENG.pdf

261. Anadolu Agency 9 September 2014. Justice Minister Bekir Bozdağ's announcement of a TRY 1,155 salary increase for judges and prosecutors.
www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/hakim-ve-savci-maaslarina-zam/123799

262. Ministry of Justice of Türkiye Sesleniş, February 2024. Minister Yılmaz Tunç's statement on post-2016 judicial dismissals and cases brought before the Council of State.
cte.adalet.gov.tr/Resimler/Dergi/13032024135837seslenis_263.pdf

263. Venice Commission of the Council of Europe December 2016. CDL-AD(2016)037, especially §§ 136–140 and 212. Emergency decree-laws, collective dismissals and individualised reasoning.
venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD%282016%29037-e

264. European Commission 10 November 2015. Turkey 2015 Report, SWD(2015) 216 final. October 2014 HSYK election and concerns about government support for candidates.
eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A52015SC0216

265. Euronews Türkçe 26 December 2013. Statements issued that day by prosecutor Muammer Akkaş and Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor Turan Çolakkadı.
tr.euronews.com/2013/12/26/ikinci-dalga-tartismasi-

266. Reuters 13 October 2014. Seats won by government-backed candidates in the HSYK election. Agency dispatch published in Business Recorder.
www.brecorder.com/news/199491/government-backed-candidates-win-in-turkish-judicial-vote

267. Habertürk 17 October 2014. Names of persons investigated on 17 December and the decision not to prosecute in the principal bribery case.
www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1000659-17-aralik-sorusturmasinda-takipsizlik-karari

268. European Commission 17 April 2018. Turkey 2018 Report, SWD(2018) 153 final. Selection of HSK members following the 2017 constitutional amendments.
ab.gov.tr/siteimages/kapbtablolar/20180417-turkey-report.pdf

269. Anadolu Agency 21 December 2013. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's description of the investigation in his speech in Ordu.
aa.com.tr/tr/politika/ortada-cok-acik-bir-ihanet-var/196017

270. Constitutional Court Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, Articles 138 and 139. Judicial independence and security of tenure of judges and prosecutors.
www.anayasa.gov.tr/media/8148/temel_metinler.pdf

271. Euronews Türkçe 28 August 2022. Former SPK chair Ali Fuat Taşkesenlioğlu's statement concerning Sineren and Taranoğlu.
tr.euronews.com/2022/08/28/sedat-pekerin-rusvet-iddiasiyla-gundeme-gelen-eski-spk-baskani-taskesenlioglundan-aciklama