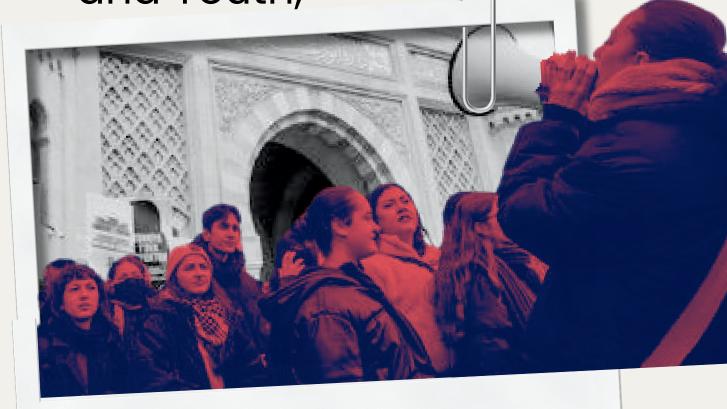






# **Monitoring Report** on Rights Violations Against Students

and Youth,



# and the Student **Movement in** Türkiye,

From March 19 to Today





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# 1. Introduction

This report focuses on the human rights violations experienced by university students during the protests that erupted across Türkiye following the launch of investigations into 105 individuals, including Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu, on March 19, 2025. This period marked a turning point. Young people took to the streets to support a political figure and to defend fundamental democratic principles. These principles include the rule of law, freedom of expression, and the right to assembly.

The study examines the contradiction between the interventions, arbitrary detentions, travel restrictions, physical violence, and outright torture encountered during the protests and the fundamental rights and freedoms enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, focusing specifically on a wide range of human rights violations directly or indirectly experienced by university students. Due to limited opportunities for direct field observation, the report's content is based on open-source data, consisting of news reports published in national and local media, statements by bar associations and various human rights organizations, and announcements from official institutions between March 19 and September 1, 2025.

Media censorship and self-censorship hinder the full exposure of these violations. This report compiles publicly reported events and provides a thematic assessment. Its research centers on events in major cities—Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, and Eskişehir—key hubs of student protests, as well as at universities notable for their student and youth activism. The report contends that the repression of youth demands during these protests constitutes both a violation of individual rights and a deliberate political effort to restrict youth presence in the public sphere.



On the Active Participation of University Students in the March 19 and Subsequent Process:
A Youth Who Doesn't Remember the

**Time Before** 

the AKP

The March 19 process, the focus of this report, was more than a political protest. It reflected the built-up frustrations of a new generation of young people shaped by today's political climate in Türkiye. Without a shared memory of previous eras, these young people stood out for their determination during the protests. Despite the economic hardships they faced, the decline in living standards, and the sense of a futurelessness, these young people's will to protest demonstrates their status as one of the most dynamic segments of society. Their continued protests, traveling for kilometers despite intense police surveillance and all obstacles in city centers, demonstrate the extent of this resistance.

To understand this youth's decision not to remain passive, it is necessary to examine their experiences in depth. Neoliberal economic policies have shrunk young people's hopes for advancement. Benefits their families once had, like property and retirement, are now out of reach. Diplomas and hard work no longer pay off. Even as students, they have to in work precarious jobs, battle the housing crisis, and fight for basic rights. This generation has accumulated a profound anger against the system they live in.

Growing inequalities in access to university education and healthcare, rising youth unemployment rates, and widespread debates about incompetence make youth participation in protests more than just a coincidence. Yet these youth face not only economic concerns but also additional challenges, such as restrictions on their freedom of expression and suppression in public spaces. Violations of individual rights, such as detentions for social media posts or disciplinary punishments for peacefully reading a declaration, are seen as efforts to create a "passive" and "silent" youth. In contrast, the March 19 demonstrations proved that these efforts had failed. Young people showed that they were fighting in the streets not only for a particular politician but also for their existence and their stolen future. Thus, the mass participation on March 19 should be regarded as an inevitable construction of the collective memory of the last 10-15 years.1

<sup>1.</sup> For those interested in exploring the topic, here are other reports containing analyses on youth during and after the March 19: Arayüz Kampanyası - "Türkiye'de Gençlerin Eylemselliği: 19 Mart Eylemleri Araştırma Raporu". See: <a href="https://arayuzkampanyasi.org.tr/turkiyede-genclerin-eylemselligi-19-mart-eylemleri/#">https://arayuzkampanyasi.org.tr/turkiyede-genclerin-eylemselligi-19-mart-eylemleri/#</a> Go-For - "Hangi Genç, 19 Mart Özelinde Türkiye'de Gençliğin Son 10 Yılına Bakış ve Gençlere Yönelik Hak İhlallerine Dair İzleme Raporu". See: https://go-for.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Hangi-genc.pdf

# 2.1. How It All Began: The Barricade That Collapsed at Istanbul University

On the morning of March 19, 2025, a chain of events unfolded that ignited a political and social movement in Türkiye. It began with an unexpected development for university students. The young people had called for a demonstration at Istanbul University the day before. They were protesting the decision to revoke Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Ekrem imamoğlu's diploma. The next morning, they woke up to find arrest warrants issued for İmamoğlu and 104 other people. development transformed the demonstration from a simple protest against the decision into a direct struggle for rights and justice. For a youth whose future dreams had been stolen by years of economic and social crises, the devaluation of even their hard-earned diplomas was the final straw.

Students gathered in front of University's Beyazıt Campus were blocked from advancing to the main gate by a heavy police barricade. This barricade was not only a physical obstacle, but also a psychological one. It was also a concrete symbol of the government's intent to silence the youth. However, the students' determination proved sufficient to overcome this obstacle. They charged at the barricade, chanting "Open, open, open the barricade!" With a determination that surprised the police, they broke through the barricade.2 This moment was not only the beginning of a resistance, but also the expression of the anger that had been building up over the years. It revealed the collective consciousness in the face of an illegal obstacle.

The first barricade, demolished at Istanbul University, carried significant symbolic meaning. This action disrupted the sense of pacification that had accumulated up to that point. It inspired other young people and social groups across the country. Those who had previously hesitated to take to the streets felt empowered by the courage displayed by university students and began to gather in city squares. Thus, March 19 became more than a reaction to a detention order. It became a day that permanently transformed the form and spirit of the protests; marked the entry of youth into history as active agents.



2. Ü<u>niversiteli.org</u> - "İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde Direniş Dersi: Erdoğan'ın Kurduğu Barikat Yıkıldı" See: https://universiteli.org/istanbul-universitesinde-direnis-dersi-erdoganin-kurdurdugu-barikat-yikildi/

# 2.2.On the Mass Leadership of University Students:"We Came to Protest,Not to A Rally"

The process that began on March 19, 2025, demonstrated the involvement of university youth in the protest arena not only as a crowd but also as political and activist agents. This situation revealed a fundamental distinction between the traditional rallies of opposition parties and the dynamic resistance of the youth. Initially organized by the Republican People's Party (CHP) in Saraçhane and expected to be more of a mass demonstration, the youth's cry, "We came to protest, not to a rally!" recapitulated the political spirit of that moment and the period that followed. This slogan clearly demonstrated that the movement's aim went beyond defending a political figure and was an expression of belief in the rule of law and social justice.

These youth-led practices demonstrated the potential of transforming even the habits of traditional politics. This young generation, unencumbered by bureaucracy and unwieldy procedures, was capable of spontaneous organization and understood the dynamics of the street, playing a decisive role in shaping the course of the protests. In Saraçhane, they stood on the front lines alongside political leaders, offering not only symbolic support but also assuming the actual leadership of the protests. In this context, it is striking that during the speech of Özgür Özel, CHP Chairperson, in Saraçhane, young people frequently interrupted him with slogans such as "Özgür, take us to Taksim!", "Özgür, come, get tear gas!", "We came to protest, not to a rally!", and "Özgür, speak freely, march to Taksim!" This demonstrates that young people's political demands are not solely focused on the ballot box but also include concrete and radical expectations of action.

This resolute stance of the youth has broken the habits of traditional politics and even influenced the rhetoric of leaders. In the face of this pressure and expectation, Özgür Özel, who had previously been hesitant to embrace the idea of a "call for streets," declared, "We will not sit at home while you keep our elected officials in detention cells!" and received widespread applause from the masses, reflects the power of the youth movement that has permeated the political leadership. This courage instilled by youth organizations has led leaders to question their approach, often criticized as "ballot box fetishism," and has drove them to adopt a more action-oriented discourse.

It must be reiterated that the motivation for the protests is not simply a reaction to the detention of a political leader, but rather a reflection of long-standing economic hardships, pressures on freedom of expression, and a sense of hopelessness for the future. This resolution sparked a wave of resistance that spread throughout Türkiye. The fact that thousands of Ankara residents gathered in solidarity with young people, despite the police intervention at Middle East Technical University (METU) on the night of March 19, demonstrates that this movement has a broader social base than the calls of political parties. This supports the fact, as discussed in previous sections, that the protests are not limited to the İmamoğlu's detention but rather represent an expression of the youth's accumulated anger. The young people's direct call for Özgür Özel highlights that an approach detached from the bureaucracy, rituals, and conventions of politics has not only transformed their actions but also the speeches of the leaders themselves. Thus, the March 19 process clearly demonstrated that youth is not a passive mass, but, on the contrary, an actor who directs social opposition, produces new forms of resistance, and transforms the language of politics.3



The resistance that began at Istanbul University on March 19, 2025, not only spilled over into the city's main squares but also created a dynamic cycle of interaction between campuses and city squares. In this process, university students represented the most dynamic force of political activism, both on and off campus, transcending traditional politics. Despite curfews and police barricades, young people used campuses as organizing hubs, bringing the protests to city centers. The momentum and mass solidarity in city squares returned to campuses, ensuring the continuity of the movement.

This two-way movement can be interpreted as a reflection of young people's practical critiques of current politics. Sometimes the movement's ideological and theoretical foundation was strengthened through forums, open lectures, and press declerations held on campus, while at other times the energy generated by these forums translated directly into street protests. This demonstrates that youth protests can be organized without encountering bureaucratic obstacles or hierarchical structures within political parties. At numerous universities, from METU to Ege University, from Boğaziçi University to Akdeniz University, students have continued their protests, reacting quickly to every new development.

One of the most significant characteristics of this process is the dynamism of the movement that began on campuses, accumulated in city squares, and then back on campuses, creating a wave of resistance at the national level. After March 19, young people rose up unabated with every new violation of human rights, injecting fresh dynamism into the university movement. This unpredictable and unconventional stance of the youth enabled them to express legal and social demands directly on the streets, transcending the "it will all end at the ballot box" approach of traditional politics. This resolute stance was also demonstrated by their determination to join the call to rally in Taksim Square on a historic and symbolic day, such as May 1st. This underscores young people's continuous comprehensive approach to the struggle for rights and freedom, not confining themselves to isolated events.⁴

Therefore, the post-March 19 period has proven that university youth are actors who transcend the boundaries of traditional politics, producing their own practices and establishing an interactive struggle line both on campus and city squares. This is not only a report of a specific period's activism, but also an analysis of the transformative role of youth in social opposition in Türkiye.

<sup>4.</sup> Drive file containing instant reports published by X accounts regarding the May 1, 2025 actions of the Istanbul Branch of the Progressive Lawyers Association. See: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1-EPUeV-GHYqwg4WEB\_X2bFZ4ZDUe6Urr?usp=sharing

# A Comprehensive Summary of the Process: From March 19 to Today

The process, which began with the detention of Ekrem İmamoğlu, the Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, on March 19, 2025, ignited protests across Türkiye and quickly shaped the country's political agenda. In this study, to better understand the course of the protests and the extent of human rights violations, we considered it appropriate to divide the process into two main phases. This distinction more clearly reveals the observed changes in the dynamics of the protests and the government's responses.

The first phase encompasses the first ten days, from March 19 to March 29. This phase was characterized by house raids that began every morning, and by escalating levels of torture in public squares every evening. These first ten days were a period of the most intense protests, the most rapid development of activist practices, and the full force of the government's repressive mechanisms.

The second phase encompassed the six-month period that continued until September 1st and followed a different pace than the first ten days. During this period, mayors and university students became "constant targets," and the repression continued in a more systematic and legally disguised manner. A detailed examination of these two distinct phases is essential to present a comprehensive picture of the events that followed March 19.<sup>5</sup>

5. This report focuses on contexts where university students are the main agents. For a chronology of the 2025 protests across Türkiye: Wikipedia - "2025 Türkiye Protestoları Zaman Çizelgesi" See: https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/2025\_Türkiye\_protestoları\_zaman\_çizelgesi



# 3.1. The First 10 Days in Saraçhane: Operation in the Morning, "In the Act" in the Evening

The process that began on the morning of March 19, with the detention orders issued by the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office for Ekrem İmamoğlu and 104 others, witnessed a unique cycle of resistance and oppression in Türkiye over the following ten days. This period marks the transformation of the house raids carried out in the morning hours and the protests held in the city squares every evening, which were considered an effort by the political power to suppress social opposition, into a practice of "in the act". In this context, the term "in the act" does not merely refer to being caught in the act, but to the fact that an act that does not in itself constitute a crime is disguised as a "crime" by law situation enforcement. This clarifies distinction between morning house raids and the arbitrary arrests carried out in public squares in the evening.

This ten-day period transformed Saraçhane Square into a symbol of resistance. Initially solely a reaction to İmamoğlu's detention, these gatherings, amidst escalating police violence and arbitrary detentions, evolved into platforms for expressing broader demands for justice and freedom, spreading nationwide. This process led to the detention of approximately 2,000 individuals and the arrest of hundreds more. Violations such as physical violence, handcuffing, tear gas, and water cannons during detention, as well as inadequate conditions in detention facilities, have been documented. Allegations of strip searches, particularly of detained female students, reveal the seriousness of these human rights violations.

The protests were conducted simultaneously with operations targeting municipalities and their affiliates in Istanbul, as well as pressure on universities and the streets. Despite a ban on meetings and demonstrations declared by the Istanbul Governor's Office on March 24, thousands continued to gather in Saraçhane. On the same day, access to social media platforms was restricted, and internet bandwidth was throttled. This demonstrated the brutality of the government's repressive apparatus, as well as the unwavering will of the mass resistance against this oppression.

The activism displayed by young people during this period served as proof that they took to the streets to defend their own existence and future. Calls for boycotts and marches, which originated at major universities such as Istanbul's Boğaziçi University and METU, quickly spread to other cities like İzmir, Ankara, Bursa, and Eskişehir, adding a new dimension to the activism. This period is included in our report as a critical phase, one in which oppression reached its highest levels, but also witnessed the most dynamic moments of social resistance.

## 3.1.1.

# Numeric Data on the First 10 Days in Saraçhane



While Saraçhane was the center of the protests during the period from March 19 to 29, focusing on numerical data is crucial to reveal the extent of the oppression and resistance. The data compiled by human rights organizations during this period reveal the intensity of the government's increasing repression and the level of resistance in the streets despite it.

According to the Human Rights Association's (İHD) information note<sup>6</sup> covering the period from March 19 to 26, 2025, at least 1,879 people, including children, were detained during home raids and demonstrations across the country. Of these, 260 were arrested and 468 were released under judicial control measures. The İHD report presents the following table for the cities where the incidents were most intense:

- At least 622 people, including 20 children, were detained in Istanbul.
- At least 262 people were detained in Ankara.<sup>7</sup>

According to statements by Interior Minister Ali Yerlikaya, 1,418 people were detained nationwide between March 19 and 25. This official data, consistent with observations by human rights organizations on the ground, provides a significant indicator of the widespread nature of the operations.<sup>8</sup>

Complementary to that, the data of the Istanbul Branch of the Progressive Lawyers Association (ÇHD), specific to the province of Istanbul, reveals the dynamics of this period at the center of the resistance day by day:9

<sup>6.</sup> Human Rights Association (İHD) - "19-26 Mart 2025 Tarihleri Arasında Yaşanan Hak İhlalleri Bilgi Notu" See: https://www.ihd.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/ihd-19-26-Mart-2025-Bilgi-Notu.pdf

<sup>7.</sup> For detailed data on Ankara: Ankara Bar Association -1 March 9 - March 29, 2025 "Toplumsal Olay Takip Raporu" for the protests held in Ankara province. See: <a href="https://www.ankarabarosu.org.tr/upload/diger/totr.pdf">https://www.ankarabarosu.org.tr/upload/diger/totr.pdf</a>

<sup>8.</sup> Euro News - "İçişleri Bakanı Ali Yerlikaya: 19 Mart'tan İtibaren Protestolarda 1.418 kişi Gözaltına Alındı" See: https://tr.euronews.com/2025/03/25/icisleri-bakani-ali-yerlikaya-19-marttan-itibaren-protestolarda-1418-kisi-gozaltına-alindi

<sup>9.</sup> The Drive file, which contains the detention reports published daily by the Progressive Lawyers Association on X between March 19-29, 2025 See: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1xHySrSGRLCnYkDTUMZvRSerWX7orxrDc?usp=sharing

- Wednesday, March 19: Young people who had decided to protest at Istanbul University broke through the barricades and marched towards Saraçhane after receiving news of the detentions in the morning.
- Saturday, March 22: In the morning, house raids resulted in the arrest of three out of 66 people, and 8 were placed under house arrest. In the evening protest in Saraçhane, 143 people were detained, 108 of them were arrested, and 23 were placed under house arrest.
- Sunday, March 23: Four people were detained in the morning and subsequently released under judicial control. In the evening, 69 people were detained in a protest in the Saraçhane district.
- Monday, March 24: Of the 66 people detained in morning house raids, 66 were referred to the courthouse, six were arrested, and six were placed under house arrest. In the evening, 52 people were detained in a demonstration held in Sarachane.
- Tuesday, March 25: Of the 54 people detained in morning house raids on charges of "insulting the President," five were arrested and one was placed under house arrest. In demonstrations held in various areas in the evening, 43 people were detained, 6 were arrested, and one was placed under house arrest.
- Wednesday, March 26: In the morning, house raids resulted in the arrest of 55 of 106 people, and 51 were released on probation. In the evening protests, seven people were detained, and two were arrested.
- Thursday, March 27: Four people were detained in the morning and 27 in the evening during a protest in the Şişli/Cevahir Shopping Mall area. A total of seven were arrested, and seven were placed under house arrest.
- Friday, March 28: Twenty people were detained in a morning house raid; five were arrested, and 15 were placed under house arrest.

According to the ÇHD's seven-day records dated March 29, 2025, 794 people were detained in Istanbul, including 279 who were arrested and 91 who were placed under house arrest. In short, at least two out of every three detainees were arrested.

These data show that the protests are not just public demonstrations, but also that the political power is carrying out a systematic operation targeting social opposition by using legal and security apparatuses. Despite this heavy repression, young people's refusal to leaving the streets and their continued resistance form the basis for the human rights violations that will be examined in the following sections of this report.

## 3.1.2. Students-Youth in Numeric Data

One of the most striking demographic groups in the mass detentions and arrests following March 19 is undoubtedly university students. To understand the dynamics of the events and the target audience of the oppressive regime, it is necessary to examine the data collected by human rights organizations from this perspective. Findings confirming that youth were the primary actors in the protests demonstrate that legal processes during this period directly targeted young people.

The youth's activism during this process went beyond mere quantitative data; it also demonstrated a qualitative resilience. This determination was embodied in symbolic actions that emerged across different times and places:

- Galata Bridge Protest: On March 24, students from numerous universities in Istanbul marched from Beşiktaş to the Galata Bridge<sup>10</sup> in Beyoğlu. At the end of the march, some students initiated a sit-in protest, closing the bridge to traffic. This passive resistance was met with harsh police action. Despite police intervention, the students continued their protest, demonstrating that they were not content with simply tearing down barricades but also developing diverse and creative forms of protest.
- Şişli Municipality March<sup>11</sup>: Tens of thousands of students gathered in Maçka Park on March 25th and marched towards the Şişli Municipality, where a trustee had been appointed. This protest demonstrated the young people's direct reaction not only to the detentions but also to the usurpation of their democratic right to vote and be elected. Slogans chanted during the march, such as "Down with fascism," "Dictator Erdoğan," "Government resign," "Police sell bagels, live with honor," and "There is no liberation alone, either all or none of us," reflected the movement's deeply political demands. The students stated that they supported no political party and were protesting for freedom and justice, demonstrating a stance independent of political parties.

- "In Front of the Cevahir" Protest<sup>12</sup>: Upon the call of the Istanbul Universities Coordination, young people gathered in front of the Şişli Cevahir Shopping Mall on March 27th and took their protest to the intersection of commercial and public spaces. Police surrounded the area before the protest even began and, after resorting to harsh measures against the young people for allegedly covering their faces, detained numerous people. Testimonies from participating students also revealed the ill-treatment during their detention.
- Resistance at METU: Students at Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara participated in protests on campus, including forums and marches, starting on March 19. This continuous protest, which lasted approximately a week, expressed the anger and demands accumulated over the years (housing crisis, university autonomy, freedom of expression, etc.). These protests should be considered a reflection of METU's long-standing political experience. This process demonstrates that students, as political agents, can determine the content and form of their actions.

According to a statement by Interior Minister Ali Yerlikaya dated March 25, 1,418 people have been detained since March 19. These figures are generally consistent with data shared by civil society organizations such as the Human Rights Association and the Progressive Lawyers Association. However, the most critical factor behind these numbers is that a large portion of those arrested during the process were university students.<sup>13</sup>

According to our report's monitoring efforts and analysis of data from various sources, 301 of those arrested nationwide during the 10-day period fell within the 18-30 age group, and more than 80% of these individuals were university students. This demonstrates, with concrete numerical data, that the government's strategy against the protest movement is not limited to suppressing protests, but also targets the dynamism and organizational potential of young people. The fact that accusations are framed using harsh terms like "corruption" and "terrorism" demonstrates that the law is being used as a tool to criminalize political opposition.

In this context, the detentions and arrests not only constituted a violation of constitutional rights, but also were part of a political operation aimed at suppressing the public presence and demands of youth, the largest group participating in the protests, based on the data. This demonstrates that "students-youth" are the most vulnerable yet most resolute segment in this process.

#### 3.2.

# On the Next Six Months: Mayors and the University Students as the Constants Targets

The period that began after March 19 reveals that the pressure on local governments continued to escalate, targeting not only politicians but also university students, the primary actors in the street protests. This section will analyze the chronology of these operations and actions, examining the government's strategy in response to the protest regime.

#### Operations on Municipialities and Intervention in Politics

In the post-March 19 period, operations and arrests targeting municipalities continued unabated. The chronology of these operations, spanning the several months leading up to March 19 and the subsequent arrests of mayors, is as follows<sup>15</sup>:

- October 30, 2024 : Esenyurt Mayor Ahmet Özer was arrested.
- November 20, 2024: Tunceli Mayor Cevdet Konak was sentenced to prison and suspended from office.
- November 20, 2024: Ovacık Mayor Mustafa Sarıgül was sentenced to prison and suspended from office.
- January 17, 2025 : Beşiktaş Mayor Rıza Akpolat was arrested.
- March 3, 2025 : Beykoz Mayor Alaattin Köseler was arrested
- March 23, 2025 : Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu was arrested.
- March 23, 2025 : Beylikdüzü Mayor Mehmet Murat Çalık was arrested
- March 23, 2025 : Şişli Mayor Resul Emrah Şahan was arrested.
- June 5, 2025 : Ceyhan Mayor Kadir Aydar was arrested.
- June 5, 2025 : Seyhan Mayor Oya Tekin was arrested.
- June 5, 2025: Avcılar Mayor Utku Caner Çaykara was arrested.
- June 5, 2025 : Büyükçekmece Mayor Hasan Akgün was arrested.
- June 5, 2025 : Gaziosmanpaşa Mayor Hakan Bahçetepe was arrested.
- July 5, 2025 : Antalya Mayor Muhittin Böcek was arrested.
- July 8, 2025 : Adana Mayor Zeydan Karalar was arrested.
- July 8, 2025: Manavgat Mayor Niyazi Nefi Kara was arrested.
- September 11, 2025: Bayrampaşa Mayor Hasan Mutlu was arrested.

These operations and the sensational table summarized above show that 15 mayors have been arrested in less than a year, and this situation shows that the process that seems to have started with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu has turned into a systematic oppression regime targeting local governments.<sup>16</sup>

# A New Dynamic In Student Protests

# On Students Being a Constant Target

While these operations targeting mayors persisted, student movements sparked by the March 19 process continued with various actions. Students responded not only to municipal operations but also to social issues, developing distinct forms of activism.

One of the most striking events of this period occurred as May 1, Labour Day approached. Students decided to take to Taksim Square, which had been banned for meetings for years and had become a symbol of May Day. This decision, beyond a mere call for union action, was a consequence of the mass anger and politicisation that began during the March 19 process. The fact that such a widespread decision to marching to the Taksim Square has not been reached in years points to a new fracture in social opposition created by this process.

Following the DİSK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) decision to celebrate May Day in Kadıköy, university students gathered in front of the DİSK headquarters on April 25, chanting the slogan, "Students are in Taksim, where is DİSK?"<sup>17</sup> and calling on the union to join them in Taksim. This action demonstrates that students have transformed into active, dynamic, and unique political actors, transcending their own concerns and even intervening in union politics. That proves that student concerns are merged by a shared anger created by futurelessness and social problems.

In parallel with municipal operations, students have become a constant target during this process. Certain events have exemplified this situation:

- May 14th Boğaziçi University Protest<sup>18</sup>: Students at Boğaziçi University protested the Islamic Studies Club's (BİSAK) invitation of cleric Nureddin Yıldız to campus for an event on May 13th. The primary reason for the protest was Yıldız's controversial statements regarding child marriage and child abuse. Following the protest, 97 students were detained, six of whom were arrested on charges of "resisting a public officer to prevent them from fulfilling their duty." This incident demonstrated the continuing policies of punishment and arrest against students.
- July 1st, 100th Day Rally<sup>19</sup>: On the 100th day of Ekrem İmamoğlu's detention, 42 people were detained at a rally held in Saraçhane. The fact that 13 of those arrested were university students and that these individuals had been released last month in separate cases demonstrates that students are a group that bears the brunt of political activity and is being punished for it.

During this period, students faced not only arrests and detentions but also disciplinary measures, scholarship cuts, house arrests, and other forms of oppression imposed by university administrations. In this context, the phrase "constant target" refers to the systematic repression aimed at suppressing the youth's potential for protest, which became one of the most prominent characteristics of this period.

<sup>18.</sup> BBC News Türkçe - "Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'ndeki Nureddin Yıldız Protestosunda Neler Yaşandı?" See: https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/c20n5zp775po

19. BBC News Türkçe - "Ekrem İmamoğlu'nun tutukluluğunun 100. Gününde Binlerce Kişi Saraçhane'de Toplandı, Gözaltılar Var" See https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/crk66j0jl7xo

# 4. Detailed Monitoring, Observation and Assessments on Rights Violations

While Türkiye's recent history unfortunately points to a past in which a democratic social state was not fully established, the events following March 19, 2025, represent a special and critical phase of this process. The chronological flow and numerical data presented in the previous sections of the report, over a period of 5.5 months, revealed the political intensity of this period and the extent of the oppressive regime. In this section, we will go beyond the events and numbers and examine these rights violations within a legal and thematic framework, providing clearer examples and in-depth analysis.

This review aims to reveal how the current political climate has systematically eroded constitutional rights and freedoms, how the media has been subjected to a censorship regime, and how student youth, in particular, have been tried to intimidate through "special" methods of oppression.

# 4.1. Our "Fundamental Constitutional Rights" Violated

The March 19 process is one of the most prominent examples of a period in which the law was politicised and fundamental rights were systematically violated. What occurred during this period stopped being the problem of a single political figure or a specific segment of society, transforming into a regime of oppression targeting all aspects of society. This situation strikingly demonstrated the gap between the theoretical existence of the concepts of "rights" and "law" in Türkiye and their practical absence, for individuals of all ages. Legal terms and constitutional articles have become a mandatory part of the political agenda for everyone, young and old alike.

In this section, we will examine how the fundamental rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye of the social segments involved in these protests, especially the activists, the vast majority of whom were university students were violated, under three main headings: Right to Hold Meetings and Demonstration Marches, Freedom of Association and Expression, and the Prohibition of Torture.

#### 4.1.1.

# Right to Meetings and Demonstration Marches

Article 34 of the Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye guarantees the right to assembly and demonstration, stating, "Everyone has the right to hold unarmed and peaceful meetings and demonstration marches without prior permission." This right can only be restricted by law, for reasons specified in the Constitution, such as national security, public order, the prevention of crime, and the protection of public health and morality.

However, in Türkiye, this constitutional guarantee has been frequently violated, particularly in the period following March 19, through bans imposed governorates and law enforcement interventions. The restrictions on the time and place of demonstrations by governors' and district governors' offices, even before the demonstrations begin, obstruct the exercise of this right from the beginning. In practice, this means that the right granted in the Constitution under the phrase "without prior permission" is effectively subject to "permission." However, according to the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), even if a demonstration is subject to a permit or notification requirement, these obligations should not amount to a disguised ban. The absolute application of the 48-hour notice requirement in Article 10 of Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations, particularly in situations requiring immediate response to social and political developments, undermines the very essence of the right and renders protest meaningless.

During the protests from March 19 to September 1st, law enforcement frequently disregarded the provisions of Law No. 2911 in their interventions. Although the law specifies that protesters be given warnings and time to disperse before the intervention, law enforcement did not follow these procedures in many cases, and employed direct and violent interventions. The use of tear gas and similar chemicals, in particular, was disproportionate and arbitrary which caused respiratory and eye problems, and even heart attacks, in protesters. Such interventions violate only the right to assembly demonstration, but also the prohibition of torture.

The detention and arrest processes following the law enforcement intervention constituted a similar example of lawlessness. Dozens of protestors were unlawfully detained and faced the exceptional and severe measure of arrest during the investigation. Criminal Courts of Peace issued arrest warrants based on almost superficial grounds, without individualizing concrete circumstances such as flight risk or the suppression of evidence. These decisions, contrary to the clear provisions of Articles 100 and 101 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the jurisprudence of the Court of Cassation, the Constitutional Court, and the European Court of Rights, served Human as а guillotine, undermining trust in the law.

The events that occurred at the Çağlayan Courthouse on March 25, 2025, strikingly illustrate this situation. Initially, the prosecutor's office listed 60 individuals with requests for judicial control, however the requests were abruptly changed to a request for arrest.<sup>20</sup> This incident served as a concrete example of the judiciary acting under political orders.



This unlawfulness, implemented during the investigation, continued in the Criminal Courts of First Instance. In dozens of cases where a decision of non-prosecution should have been issued or the indictment should have been declined, lower courts issued criminal verdicts. That demonstrates that legal grounds can only be considered in higher courts and that the judicial system operates under political pressure from top to bottom.

According to the Istanbul Bar Association's preliminary report dated April 22, 2025, covering the events and judicial proceedings between March 19 and 29, 2025, twelve separate criminal cases were filed against 784 detainees on charges of violating Law No. 2911 and provocation to commit an offence. These cases are pending in the Istanbul Criminal Courts of First Instance. The majority of those detained were released at the first hearing, but as of September 1, 2025, when this report was prepared, the trial process was ongoing. Furthermore, as of today, no more than a handful of citizens detained nationwide are not subjected to judicial control or prosecuted.

In this context, the case law of national and international courts clearly demonstrates that interventions targeting peaceful demonstrations are unacceptable in a democratic society. The European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR)'s Akgöl and Göl decision emphasised that the punishment of students for their peaceful protest over their friends' murder constituted a violation of the right to assembly and demonstration, guaranteed by Article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). The court specifically stated that the lack of prior permission does not render a peaceful demonstration unlawful:

In its decision, Akgöl and Göl v. Turkey, No. 28495/06 and 28516/06, dated May 17, 2011 (No. 28495/06 and 28516/06, May 17, 2011), the ECtHR reiterated that, although it is unlawful under Law No. 2911 to conduct protests without prior notice to the relevant authorities, the lack of prior permission or notification does not render peaceful protests unlawful or justify intervention in these protests. The ECtHR deemed it neither necessary nor proportionate in a democratic society to subject students to the threat of criminal sanctions such as arrest and imprisonment for a protest organised by a group of 70-80 students to protest the deaths of their fellow students, which ended peacefully after approximately ten minutes of chanting slogans.

## 4.1.2.

# Freedom of Association and Expression

Article 26 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkiye and Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) guarantee freedom of thought and expression. According to the Constitution, "Everyone has the right to express and disseminate his/her thoughts and opinions by speech, in writing or in pictures or through other media, individually or collectively." This fundamental right also includes the freedom of receiving or imparting information or ideas without interference by official authorities.

Freedom of expression also underlies freedom of assembly and demonstration. These two rights complement each other in a democratic society, allowing individuals and groups to peacefully express their views, opppositions, and demands. Therefore, restrictions on assemblies and demonstrations should also be considered a direct interference with freedom of expression.

During the events following March 19, activists' social media posts were also used as a tool of pressure. Charges such as "insulting the President" and "provocation to commit an offence" became a legal cover for a series of "social media operations" that had become a habit. At least 25 per cent of those detained were taken into custody and arrested only for expressing their opinions on social media, even though they did not participate in the protests. In this context, those who called for press releases, rallies, or demonstrations were investigated for "provocation to commit an offence and "provoking public hatred and hostility." While the conditions for the legally charged crime were not met, and the posts should have been considered within the scope of freedom of criticism and expression, these absurd arguments led to people being imprisoned for months.

One of the most striking examples of this is the case of university student Esila Ayık, who was imprisoned for 40 days after being detained at a protest in Istanbul for holding a banner calling Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan a "dictator." Similarly, Bekir Aslan, known as "Basel" on social media, was detained at a protest in Istanbul on April 10th. In a message shared through his lawyers, Aslan stated that he was arrested for sharing a photo of the "DEV-GENZ" banner displayed at the protests and for retweeting a song by Grup Yorum. Likewise, on May 24, musician Cem Akarsu and guitarist Kaan Kaplan, performing at the "Resistance Spring Festival in Istanbul's Maçka Democracy Park, were detained for chanting the slogan "Jump, jump, jump if you are not pro-Erdoğan," and Cem Akarsu was arrested on charges of "insulting the President." These examples reveal the judiciary's tendency to criminalise even critical expressions and its practice of using the law for political purposes.

<sup>21.</sup> The combination of "Dev-GenZ," "DEV-GENÇ," and "Gen Z (Generation Z)" is read as a humorous discourse aimed at connecting the "tradition of Dev-Genç, a historical youth movement in Türkiye, and the revolutionary youth movements of the 1960s and 1970s" with today's Generation Z. In reality, no such organisation exists.

<sup>22.</sup> Medyascope TV - "Sosyal Medyada 'Basel' Olarak Tanınan Bekir Aslan Tutuklandı" See: Cemhttps://medyascope.tv/2025/04/11/basel-tutuklandi-gerekce-dev-genz-pankarti/

<sup>23.</sup> Yeni Yaşam Gazetesi - "Zıplamayan Tayyipçi Diyen Müzisyen Tutuklandı" See: https://yeniyasamgazetesi9.com/ziplamayan-tayyipci-diyen-muzisyen-tutuklandi/



Examples of violations of freedom of expression are not limited to these; activists who have voiced their concerns about the human rights situation in Türkiye on international platforms have also been targeted. Human rights defender Enes Hocaoğulları was arbitrarily arrested<sup>24</sup> after being detained at Ankara Esenboğa Airport upon returning to Türkiye on August 5, 2025, due to remarks made at a Council of Europe conference in Strasbourg.

Using a critical speech delivered at an international meeting as grounds for arrest demonstrates Türkiye's disregard for the ECHR and universal standards of freedom of expression. Hocaoğulları was released from prison at the first hearing of the trial on September 8, 2025. Despite the release, the charges remain. As for being released on probation, Hocaoğulları is required to visit the police headquarters once a month to submit a signature to "check in," which demonstrates that human rights defenders are under constant threat due to their activities, and even their release becomes another form of oppression (such as judicial control). This arbitrary process of arrest and prosecution is a clear indication that critical voices are being silenced even internationally.

# 4.1.3. Prohibition of Torture

Violation of the right to assembly and demonstration is frequently intertwined with disproportionate use of force and ill-treatment. Article 17 of the Constitution guarantees the corporeal and spiritual integrity of every individual, while Article 3 of the ECHR strictly prohibits torture and inhuman and degrading treatment. The absolute nature of this prohibition means that it cannot be violated under any circumstances, even during war or a state of emergency.

Law enforcement officers must respect these fundamental rights while fulfilling their duty to maintain public order and security. Interventions should be gradually increased in intensity, and the use of force should be avoided unless absolutely necessary. However, in the period following March 19, it has been observed that these principles were frequently disregarded in the field. The use of physical violence, such as batons, kicks, and handcuffs against protesters who engaged in passive resistance or attempted to leave the area, demonstrates that the interventions exceeded the principle proportionality. According to the statements of observing lawyers, no warning announcements were made, or they were incomprehensible and brief, followed by an immediate, violent intervention.

Another dimension of censorship and intimidation policies, at the level of severe torture, has been concreted by the targeting of young people who expose human rights violations committed by law enforcement. Eren Üner, a student in the History Department at Istanbul University, was detained immediately after exposing on social media the torture and ill-treatment police used on young people in custody during the Sarachane protests.

Üner was detained at gunpoint and handcuffed behind his back during a late-night raid on his home on March 24, and was subjected to severe physical and psychological abuse at the Vatan Police Department for six hours. According to Üner, he systematically encountered assaults, insults, sexual harassment, and threats. This process, which began with a command from superiors to "Crush him," resulted in Üner being prevented from obtaining a medical report for assault and being mocked. Because some of the police officers involved in the interrogation were the same officers mentioned in the news report Üner published, the torture he endured escalated into an act of retaliation.

Eren Üner's detention is also notable for the efforts to prevent documentation of torture. He was taken to the hospital while still handcuffed, and police prevented him from obtaining a medical report for the assault. The delay in responding to his request for a lawyer and the bar-appointed lawyer's attempt to mitigate the torture by saying, "There's no need, don't do it, he learnt his lesson", demonstrate the disregard for legal safeguards. Üner was released after two weeks in pretrial detention, but this case provides striking evidence that law enforcement officers directly violate the prohibition on torture and ill-treatment of individuals exercising their freedom of expression to cover up their own crimes. 25

The disproportionate use of force by law enforcement officers during the protests violates not only the principle of human dignity, as guaranteed by Article 17 of the Constitution, but also Article 3 of the ECHR. In its decision on Elif Kaya (Elif Kaya v. Turkey, No. 80765/17, 18.01.2022), the ECHR stated that the strip search of a student detained during the Gezi Park protests constituted a violation of the prohibition of degrading treatment. The court emphasised that the state has a positive obligation to effectively investigate allegations of ill-treatment against individuals deprived of their liberty.



While tear gas, frequently used in response to protests, is not considered a chemical weapon under international law, its use can be unlawful. Using tear gas indiscriminately, at close range, and horizontally violates the prohibition on the use of disproportionate force and ill-treatment. That poses serious health risks, particularly for vulnerable groups such as asthmatics. Furthermore, the use of FN 303 paintball-like devices, containing plastic capsules containing pepper powder, for close-range and rapid-fire has resulted in serious injuries to protesters. This practice is considered a new and unlawful form of tear gas, previously deemed unlawful by the ECtHR.

Likewise, the Erdoğan Yağız decision (Erdoğan Yağız v. Turkey, App. No: 27473/02, 06.03.2007) stated that handcuffing behind one's back, except in cases of necessity, could violate the prohibition of ill-treatment. In the Oya Ataman (Oya Ataman v. Turkey, App. No: 74552/01, 05.12.2006) and Ali Güneş (Ali Güneş v. Turkey, App. No: 9829/07, 10.04.2012) decisions, the disproportionate use of tear gas during peaceful demonstrations was labeled as "a weapon capable of causing serious and fatal injuries," and it was concluded that these practices violated Article 17 of the Constitution and Article 3 of the ECHR.

Physical violence has become another common violation. Testimonies of detainess reveal disproportionate use of force, including baton strikes, kicks, and punches intended to injure, as well as acts such as dragging by the hair and slamming heads against the ground or armored vehicles. Female protesters, in particular, have reported being subjected to sexual harassment and ill-treatment, including being forced to the ground and subjected to contact with private body parts.

Again, in another ECtHR decision condemning Türkiye for a similar incident (İzci v. Turkey, No. 42606/05, 23.07.2013), it was determined that police violence against the applicant, who participated in the March 8 International Women's Day protest, was not effectively investigated, and therefore a violation of both the prohibition of ill-treatment and the right to assembly was ruled. The ECtHR stated that the concealment of the police officers' identities and the failure to punish those responsible violated the state's obligation to effectively protect individuals against torture and ill-treatment.

# Detention Conditions and Violation of Legal Procedures

The prohibition of torture and ill-treatment has been violated not only in the protests but also during detention. Handcuffing detainees, tightly applied behind their backs as it cuts off blood flow, has become commonplace. Injuries have occurred as a result of the lack of equipment to remove the plastic handcuffs, and the operation being performed with a knife or lighter. The practice of handcuffing individuals, including children, who have not used violence, is a violation of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Child Protection Law, and stands out as a practice that exceeds its purpose.

Detention centre conditions also led to serious human rights violations. Reports indicate that the Police's Security Branch detention facilities in Istanbul are poorly ventilated, foul-smelling, and unhygienic. It has been reported that detainees are only allowed to eat the bread from the sandwiches that police gave them, and their access to water and hygiene supplies is restricted. The inability of those exposed to tear gas to wash their clothing aggravates the violation of the prohibition on ill-treatment.

Finally, it has been reported that police officers accompanied the patient during mandatory medical checks during detention, even though the doctor and patient should be alone. This situation clearly violates the Istanbul Protocol and the norms of the European Committee Against Torture. Furthermore, the removal of police ID numbers from their helmets and uniforms, resulting them to be unrecognisable, made it impossible to investigate allegations of ill-treatment and reinforced the perception of impunity.

Likewise, numerous ECtHR decisions have found clear violations of human rights in similar instances involving health checks in custody. (Akkoç v. Turkey, App. No: 22947/93, 10.10.2000 and Daşlık v. Turkey, App. No: 38305/07, 13.06.2017) Failure to conduct health checks without these safeguards, without in the absence of police supervision by qualified doctors, is contrary to the obligation to prevent ill-treatment stipulated in Article 3 of the ECtHR.



### 4.2

# Censorship: Pressure on Journalists, Censorship of the Media, Access Blockage to Social Media

The shrinkage of press freedom in Türkiye was also clearly evident during the March 19 process. Due to the siege of journalists by judicial procedures, administrative sanctions imposed on media outlets, and institutionalised mechanisms of censorship and self-censorship, reporting of the nationwide protests to the public was severely restricted. Citizens seeking information about the events turned to the few media outlets that were reporting the news, despite the presence of censorship mechanisms. It was observed that officials of relevant administrative institutions (especially the Radio and Television Supreme Council) made threatening statements, and journalists covering the protests faced pressures such as detention and arrest.

It is a direct violation of the freedom to obtain information and hold opinions. Yet, the press, by fulfilling its role of observation and documentation, is one of the most fundamental requirements of a democratic society, and ensures accountability for the exercise of public force and the actions of officials. The media's presence, particularly during public demonstrations, is critical for ensuring the transparency of interventions and measures taken. However, during the period of March 19, this media function has been systematically hindered.









### **Bandwidth Throttling Practice**

The difficulties in accessing social media platforms and the Internet on the morning of March 19, the day operations against the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) and its employees began, and in the following days, were a concrete manifestation of the practice of "bandwidth throttling." Experts in the field confirm that the restriction of the public's right to information, prevents them from accessing accurate and immediate information about the events. It constitutes a violation of the freedom to receive and impart information, as guaranteed by the Constitution and the ECHR.

#### **Oppressions on Journalists**

Following the March 19 protests, at least 14 journalists have been detained, and seven of them have been arrested. The arrest of seven of the ten journalists covering the demonstrations Saraçhane, Istanbul, on charges "participating in an unlawful assembly and demonstration" simply for journalistic activities constituted a clear violation of press freedom.<sup>27</sup> Photographs submitted as evidence in the case were found to hide the journalists' professional equipment and even to base absurd accusations of "directing the crowd." Although they were released following appeals, this process placed heavy pressure on the journalists.

These practices directly targeted journalistic activities, undermining society's right to access accurate and impartial information. However, the most prominent and enduring example of this oppression was the judicial process against journalist Furkan Karabay:

Journalist Furkan Karabay was detained in a dawn operation on the morning of May 15, based on a video he posted on YouTube and his social media posts. Following procedures by the police and prosecutors, he was arrested by the Criminal Court of Peace on the same day.

An indictment was prepared against journalist Karabay after 114 days in prison. The indictment listed the charges against him as "insulting the President," "targeting individuals involved in the fight against terrorism," and "insulting a public official because of their duty," and sought a prison sentence of from six to 15 years in total for these offences.

The fact that journalist Furkan Karabay is still in detention as of September 29, 2025, when the report was finalized, clearly reveals how critical journalism is being arbitrarily silenced in Türkiye and how detention has been turned into a tool of punishment.<sup>28</sup>

# Censorship on Media Outlets and Social Media

The threatening statements of the RTÜK President<sup>29</sup> triggered the implementation of censorship and self-censorship mechanisms on television channels. Faced with threats of sanctions, including broadcast suspensions and license revocations, many television channels either cut live broadcasts of the protests or resorted to broadcasting the footage silently. It was interpreted as "obstructing the right to receive information" and severely restricted the public's access to accurate information. At the same time, the ban on broadcasting outside of official statements was considered a direct interference with freedom of expression. Access restrictions on social media platforms, meanwhile, rendered one of the public's primary sources of information dysfunctional at a time when news was most needed.

<sup>27.</sup> Medyascope TV - "Saraçhane Protestolarını Haberleştiren Gazeteciler Tutuklandı" See: https://medyascope.tv/2025/03/25/sarachane-protestolarini-haberlestiren-gazeteciler-tutuklandı/

<sup>28.</sup> Bianet - "Tutuklu Yargılama Eleştirel Basını Susturma Aracına Dönüştü" See: https://bianet.org/haber/tutuklu-yargılama-elestirel-basıni-susturma-aracına-donustu-311318

<sup>29. &</sup>quot;RTÜK Başkanı Şahin'den Yayıncılara Uyarı: Halkı Sokağa Çağıran Yayınlara İzin Verilmeyecek" See: https://www.indyturk.com/node/764509/haber/rtük-başkanı-şahin'den-yayıncılara-uyarı-halkı-sokağa-çağıran-yayınlara-izin

### 4.3.

# "Special" Oppression Methods for University Students

The events following March 19 went beyond the general violation of constitutional rights, but they also became a specialised strategy of oppression directed particularly at university students. During this period, students were not only targeted by judicial mechanisms but also faced university administrations acting like "mini-states." These universities, most of which are run by trustees, have developed new and creative methods to suppress student political activities. These methods include administrative decisions that directly impact students' academic and social lives, as well as judicial processes.

The introduction details the issues we will cover in this section, such as Disciplinary Investigations and Suspensions, Scholarship Cuts, Expulsions From Dormitories, and Alum Card Revocations. It demonstrates that these forms of administrative pressure can have more lasting and severe consequences than even short-term arrests. At private universities, scholarship revocations, in particular, can have serious consequences, even leading to the termination of a student's education. In this section, we will examine in depth these specific mechanisms of repression developed to counter the youth's will to protest and organise.

The March 19 process exposed how universities were moving away from their academic autonomy and acting as extensions of the political power. During this period, disciplinary investigations against students were used as a means of pressure to prevent them from exercising their constitutional rights. The Council of Higher Education (YÖK) and university administrations attempted to criminalise students' exercise of their most fundamental democratic rights, disregarding legal norms in the process.

In this context, universities have been acting like "mini-states," exercising the functions of prosecutors. They used images from law enforcement or social media posts as the sole evidence in disciplinary investigations. It demonstrates that university administrations have established a pressure mechanism parallel to, and often independent of, legal processes.

# 4.3.1. Disciplinary Investigations and Suspension Penalties

Four disciplinary investigations were launched against an Anadolu University Faculty of Law student for the demonstration in which the individual participated. Similarly, disciplinary investigations were launched against an Ankara University Faculty of Communication student for participating in a press release in which declaring "no to child labour." The inquiry into Marmara University students who hung a banner of Ali İsmail Korkmaz, a 19-year-old student killed during the Gezi protests in 2013, on the anniversary of the Gezi Park protests demonstrates that universities view even constitutional rights as criminal activity.

The absurd justifications for the investigations targeting students are also striking. At Hacettepe University, actions such as students "dancing halay, cooking halva and waving LGBTQ flag" have been the subject of investigations. It demonstrates university administrations' intolerance of students' political identities and cultural expressions.

On the other hand, some students have been investigated despite not participating in the protests. For example, a Yıldız Technical University student who was investigated for "hanging a banner" said that they only took a photo of it. It demonstrates that the investigations are not legally motivated, but rather serve the purpose of intimidation and punishment.

During this process, coordination between universities was also used as a pressure mechanism. For example, Ankara University initiated disciplinary investigations against some May participating in the demonstrations, following a notification from the Police Department. Αt Kocaeli Istanbul University, the administration initiated investigation after police sent footage from the protests. This demonstrates a collaboration law enforcement and university administrations that violates legal practices.

Private universities were not immune to this pressure. Istanbul Aydın University sent threatening messages to discourage students from boycotting calls and protests, even cancelling a student festival. At Koç University, an investigation was launched against students for allegedly displaying "Israel the Killer" banners and rainbow-colored ladders at the festival.

All these cases demonstrate that disciplinary inquiries are no longer legal mechanisms, but have become a systematic weapon used by university administrations to intimidate students, threaten their educational rights, and prevent them from exercising their constitutional rights. The very fact that numerous cases have been reported demonstrates that the problem is not isolated, but rather widespread and structural.

Moreover, similar examples have frequently occurred in Türkiye historically, and in numerous cases before the Constitutional Court, the Court has ruled in favour of a violation verdict. For instance, in the **Melisa Kaya** decision, the Constitutional Court found that the disciplinary punishment imposed on a university student for attending a Nevruz celebration violated her right to assembly and demonstration, guaranteed by Article 34 of the Constitution. The Court emphasised that these disciplinary sanctions lacked the principle of legality and should be considered alongside freedom of expression.

"In this regard, since it is understood that the intervention in question does not meet the condition of legality, it should be decided that the right to organize meetings and demonstration marches guaranteed by Article 34 of the Constitution has been violated." (Melisa Kaya Application No: 2018/19529, 01.11.2023)

<sup>30.</sup> Evrensel Haber - "YTÜ'de En Az 8 Öğrenciye Mart Eylemleri Nedeniyle Soruşturma Açıldı" See: https://www.evrensel.net/haber/556503/ytude-en-az-8-ogrenciye-mart-eylemleri-nedeniyle-sorusturma-acildi

<sup>31.</sup> Related interview-news content including students' statements regarding disciplinary investigations: Anka Haber Ajansi - "Üniversitelerde, 19 Mart ve Sonrasında Devam Eden Eylemlere Katılan Bazı Öğrencilere Onlarca Disiplin Soruşturması Açıldı" See: <a href="https://www.ankahaber.net/haber/detay/universitelerde">https://www.ankahaber.net/haber/detay/universitelerde</a> 19 mart ve sonrasında devam eden eylemlere katılan bazı ogrencilere onlarca disiplin sorusturması acı idi 244406

The applicant, a Kocaeli University student, was sentenced to a one-week suspension from the higher education institution pursuant to Article 6, paragraph 1, subparagraph (f) of the Higher Education Institutions Student Disciplinary Regulations for attending Nevruz in 2016. However, considering that the applicant had not previously received a disciplinary penalty, the penalty was ruled а reprimand. Constitutional Court ruled that the applicant's rights had been violated, finding that the legality requirement was not met.

In the Constitutional Court's similar decision, Kemal Alican Yegen and others (No: 2018/10488, 29.03.2023), it was ruled that the disciplinary penalties imposed on the applicants, who were higher education students, for various reasons constituted an interference with their right to education. In the aforementioned decision, it was stated that the objection to the annulment of the rule allowing the statute of the provisions of the regulationthat were the basis of the disciplinary penalties in question -Article 54(a) and the relevant part of Article 65 of Law No. 2547- on the grounds that it was unconstitutional, had previously been examined by the Constitutional Court, and the relevant rules had been annulled. The Constitutional Court decided to annul the rules in question on the grounds that the relevant articles of regulation did not establish any connection between the actions that constitute disciplinary offences for higher education students and the disciplinary penalties that could be applied to these actions, that in this context, certainty and predictability were not provided for the addressees, therefore, they did not create sufficient legal guarantees, and also it was not possible to grant the administration the authority to regulate the disciplinary affairs of students through regulations in an area where certainty and predictability were not provided.

As a result, in the Kemal Alican Yeğen et al. decision, a decision of violation in terms of legality was given on the grounds that the underlying law article that allowed the disciplinary penalties in question was annulled by the Constitutional Court decision (for other decisions with similar assessments, see İsmail Karaca, App. No: 2017/26460, 21.04.2021, Nigar Hürel et al., App. No: 2017/16800, 22.11.2022). No situation would require departing from the aforementioned decision regarding the incident in question.

## 4.3.2.

# Scholarship Cuts, Expulsions from Dormitories, and Alumn Card Cancellations

During the period following March 19, pressures on university students were not limited to disciplinary investigations; they also manifested themselves in new and creative methods that directly targeted their lives and right to education. These forms of oppression aimed to cut off students' ties to housing, financial security, and the academic community. It clearly demonstrates that, in addition to the judiciary and the police, the administrations of universities and KYK are also acting as part of the political power's repressive apparatus.

## **Expulsions from Dormitories**

One of the most common and effective methods of oppression against students participating in protests has been expulsion from dormitories. A Trakya University student was expelled from the KYK dormitory for participating in the March 19 protests.<sup>32</sup> The decision issued to the student cited provisions violating constitutionally guaranteed rights (such as assembly, demonstration, and banner display). This situation demonstrates that even the right to peaceful protest is considered a crime under the Dormitory Services Regulation, effectively obstructing students' right to housing, and arbitrarily trampling on the hierarchy of legal norms to the detriment of students.

A similar incident occurred at Hacettepe University. Fourteen students residing in the university's dormitories and student housing were expelled months later for protesting the limitation of the operating hours of a campus cafe. This incident demonstrates the arbitrary nature of the repression, that students are punished not only for their political actions but also for their reactions to restrictions on their social life. Approximately 20 students residing in the KYK dormitory in Mersin were inquired by the dormitory administration after protesting İmamoğlu's arrest in the dormitory garden and were given a one-month suspension. This sentence was subsequently extended, resulting in the students being expelled just days before school began.<sup>33</sup> The dormitory director's response to the students, "Tell the CHP, they'll find you a place to stay," supports the political motivation behind this decision.

In a similar example from the March 19 process, the Constitutional Court ruled in the **Bedran Ali Ertuğrul** case, a student who was expelled from his dormitory indefinitely for participating in a Nevruz event, that his rights to assembly and demonstration had been violated. The court stated that the regulations on which the dormitory regulations were based lacked sufficient legal safeguards and that punishing students for exercising their democratic rights was incompatible with the principle of the rule of law.

<sup>32. &</sup>lt;u>Medyascope.tv</u> - "19 Mart Protestolarına Katılan Trakya Üniversitesi Öğrencisi Yurttan Atıldı" See: https://medyascope.tv/2025/08/04/trakya-universitesi-ogrencisi-19-mart-protestolari-nedeniyle-yurttan-atildi/

<sup>33.</sup> Mersin Haberci - "İmamoğlu Eylemine Giden Öğrenciler Yurttan Atıldı, Bursları Kesildi" See: https://www.mersinhaberci.com/haber/61642/imamoglu-eylemine-giden-ogrenciler-yurttan-atildi-burslari-kesildi.html

In the case above, the applicant, who was staying in a student dormitory, was expelled from the dormitory indefinitely due to the Nevruz event he attended on the university campus, and was punished under the relevant subparagraphs of Article 23 of the Regulation dated 03/01/1999. In its decision regarding Kardelen Hasret Kaygusuz (No: 2017/38607, 18.05.2021), the Constitutional examined the intervention in the form of a disciplinary punishment based on the same Regulation, from the perspective of freedom of expression. In the incident subject to the aforementioned decision, it was stated that it was not possible to speak of the existence of a legal guarantee for those who reside at the Higher Education Credit and Dormitories Institution and have the potential to be subject to disciplinary punishment, since there is no legal regulation that sets out the general principles regarding disciplinary offences, draws their framework determines the actions requiring disciplinary punishments, even in general terms, is suitable for achieving a certain purpose, and whose purpose and scope can be determined or foreseen. It was concluded that the interference with the applicant's freedom of expression did not meet the condition of legality.

"In the current application, an intervention was made within the scope of the disciplinary provisions contained in the Regulation, which is the subject of the decision as mentioned above. Therefore, there is no need to depart from the assessments and conclusions reached in the aforementioned decision. Therefore, since it has been determined that the intervention in question does not meet the requirement of legality, it must be ruled that the right to organize meetings and demonstrations, as guaranteed by Article 34 of the Constitution, has been violated." (Bedran Ali Ertuğrul Application 2018/20407, April 12, 2023)

#### **Scholarship Cuts**

Scholarship cuts at private universities are another significant tool targeting students. The Sabancı University cut seven graduate students' scholarships, totalling millions of Turkish liras. While "failure to complete their assistantships," and "GPA", were cited as justification, these decisions are believed to be linked to political actions. It demonstrates that even the slightest political action by students with scholarships can have serious consequences, such as the revocation of their educational rights. The revocation of a student's scholarship at Koç University after a speech at the CHP Beylikdüzü District Headquarters is a concrete example of this pressure.

#### **Alumn Card Cancellations**

The cancellation of alum cards has emerged as an unprecedented form of pressure in Türkiye. Boğaziçi University's trustee rectorate has added a new dimension to its crackdown on university members by permanently cancelling the alum cards of those who participated in the protests, which allowed them to enter campus after graduation, without any disciplinary action. This decision has resulted in alums being deprived of access to social and cultural facilities on campus, including the library and gym.

One of the most striking examples of this practice is the cancellation of Mehmet Baran Kılıç's alum card, editor of the Diken news website and a Boğaziçi University graduate, due to his reporting on problems and pressures at the university.35 The decision demonstrates that an alum's ties to the university can be severed, even due to their journalistic activities. Another example is the ban on Lütfi Sabri Batı, a lawyer who provides legal training to students at Koç University, from entering the campus until the end of 2026<sup>36</sup>, on the grounds that he supports students. These decisions reveal that even alum and their supporters are being isolated and intimidated from university campuses. It demonstrates that this practice, which is not based on any regulations, has been brought to court for the first time in Türkiye, setting a legal precedent.

<sup>34.</sup> Bianet - "Sabancı Üniversitesi Öğrencileri: Mobbing ve Burs Gaspına Son" See: https://bianet.org/haber/sabanci-universitesi-ogrencileri-mobbing-ve-burs-gaspina-son-310272

<sup>35.</sup> T24 - "Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Haberi Yapan Diken Editörünün Mezun Kartı İptal Edildi, Kampüse Girişi Yasaklandı" See: https://t24.com.tr/haber/bogazici-universitesi-haberi-yapan-diken-editorunun-mezun-karti-iptal-edildi-kampuse-girisi-yasaklandı,1072864
36. Statement by the Progressive Lawyers Association (ÇHD) on the subject: https://x.com/CHDistanbul\_/status/1937852975290224872



In the previous sections of this report, we detailed the political protests that have unfolded across Türkiye since March 19, 2025, and the legal and administrative rights violations that young people have suffered during this period. In addition to a chronological summary, we demonstrated how fundamental constitutional rights were systematically violated and how university administrations became part of this apparatus of oppression. In this section, we will examine these events and the general political climate in depth, providing a perspective on what it means for a young person to be a student in Türkiye.

Being a student in Türkiye has long been more than just an effort for academic success. This generation, growing up amidst the economic crisis, grapples with multilayered problems such as the high cost of living, housing crisis, inadequate education, and a futurelessness. Unfortunately, recent political developments have exacerbated these problems. In an environment where diplomas are devalued, forced to work for minimum wage or struggling with unemployment, even dreaming has become a luxury for young people. That has led them to define poverty not only by income but also by a lack of social and cultural opportunities.

In this context, the collective anger expressed by young people in the face of a futurelessness has not only been limited to economic and social demands. Still, it has also evolved into a demand for law and democracy. Unfortunately, this struggle for rights has encountered new and severe forms of oppression from various state bodies. In this section, we will examine the mechanisms of oppression on students, ranging from the impact of arrests, detentions, and disciplinary punishments on the right to education to economic attacks and the violation of their right to housing and healthcare.



# 5.1. Violation of the Right to Education in the Context of Arrest, Detention, House Arrest and Disciplinary Penalties

Arrests, detentions, house arrests, and university administrations' disciplinary measures systematically violated the right to education of students who participated in the protests following March 19. This process demonstrates that not only judicial authorities but also university administrations are using students' aforementioned rights as a tool of oppression.

The entrance and exit bans to the campuses prevented even students who did not participate in the protests from accessing their right to education. The complete police closure of campus gates made it impossible for students to attend classes and directly violated the constitutionally guaranteed right to education. This situation reveals how ineffective constitutional and legal provisions protecting the right to education are in the face of de facto oppression.

# The Effects of House Arrest and Imprisonment on Education

The educational rights of students who were placed under house arrest following the March 19 protests were effectively suspended. For example, Galatasaray University student Arda Karademir, who was detained and placed under house arrest for his social media posts, was freed after 129 days from the abovementioned judicial control. This period effectively made it impossible for Karademir to continue his academic career; as he stated: "129 days of house arrest is no different than prison." Such measures completely cut off students' access to classes, exams, and campus life, violating their right to education.<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, the situation of students in prison is similar. Imprisoned students face significant challenges in continuing their academic studies due to prison conditions. Jailed students struggle to study due to overcrowding population, noise, and inadequate lighting in their cells, and they have limited access to course materials and information. The prison administration can deny their rights to access online education or computer use due to inadequate infrastructure security concerns. These conditions demonstrate that arrests and imprisonment completely erode students' right to education.

The severe impact of disciplinary penalties against students on the right to education cannot be ignored. The investigations and their consequences related to the March 19 process, mentioned in the "Disciplinary Investigations and Suspensions" section of the report, constitute a clear and systematic violation of university students' educational rights. The frequent disproportionality of disciplinary penalties against students has also been emphasized in national high court decisions.

In the Constitutional Court's decision regarding Fehmiye Baskın (Fehmiye Baskın Application No: 2014/9074, 10.05.2018), it was ruled that the applicant's right to education had been violated after she was suspended from the university for approximately seven vears, and it was disproportionate emphasized that this punishment had irreparable consequences on the individual's academic life. Arrested due to her actions at the Nevruz celebration held outside the university campus, she was acquitted of the charge of leading an armed terrorist organization, sentenced to 25 days in prison for praising an offence and offender, and the announcement of the verdict was deferred. Upon notification of this situation to the Rectorate, a disciplinary investigation was initiated, resulting in a penalty of expulsion from the higher education institution. At the time of the disciplinary penalty, the applicant, a fourth-year student at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, was deprived of university facilities and education approximately seven years, thereby violating her right to education.

Likewise, the Constitutional Court's decision in the Ahmet Batur case (Ahmet Batur Application No: 2018/20182, 14.09.2021) held that a suspension imposed solely for sharing a news article was incompatible with freedom of expression and violated his right to education. The applicant, a Yıldız Technical University student, shared an article from the Sol Haber Portal news website titled "Is [M.] Managing Yıldız Technical University?" on his Facebook account without comment and was given a one-week suspension. The Constitutional Court ruled that the mere sharing of a newspaper article on social media, as an exercise of freedom of expression, should not automatically subject the applicant to sanctions and that his right to education had been violated.



Additionally, in the decisions regarding **ilknur** Uyan (İlknur Uyan application, No: 2019/14617, 14.04.2022) and Umut Deniz Yorulmaz (Umut Deniz Yorulmaz application B. No: 2019/19019, 20.12.2022), the Constitutional Court ruled that suspensions imposed for participating in press conferences or for making comments directed at the university rector violated the right to education. The disciplinary penalty of a onemonth suspension imposed on the university student applicant, who participated in a press declaration held to protest Mersin University's investigation into students protesting the Ankara Train Station attack, violated the right to education. The Constitutional Court found that a one-month suspension issued considering the reason for the statements used in the press declaration, its content, how each statement affected the institutional order, the applicant's current level of education, and the medium in which the statement was made, was neither necessary nor proportionate in a democratic society.

# 5.2. Economic Oppression, Violation of the Right to Housing and Health

Following the March 19 protests, besides the right to education, students' fundamental social rights, such as housing, finances, and healthcare, were directly targeted. This situation reveals that the state is using students' basic living conditions as a tool of oppression.

#### Violation of the Right to Housing

As previously mentioned, students participating in protests were arbitrarily expelled from KYK dormitories. A Trakya University student was expelled from KYK dormitories for participating in the March 19 protests. The decision criminalised constitutionally guaranteed rights such as "hunger strikes, sit-ins, and banner hanging" which are rights that are a manifestation of freedom of expression. Dormitory protests in Hacettepe and Mersin also met with similar consequences. These dormitory administrations' decisions show that the right to housing has been transformed into a political instrument of punishment.

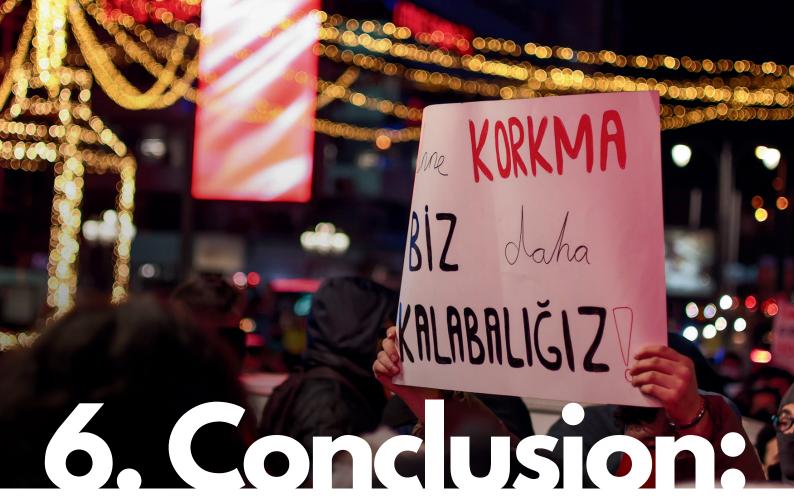
## **Economic Oppression**

Scholarship cuts, especially for students at private universities, are threatening their educational future. As seen in the cancellation of a scholarship for a Koç University student due to a speech made at a political event, such decisions demonstrate that they are politically motivated and being used as a weapon against students' financial futures. This situation highlights the significant risks young people struggling with the economic crisis are taking to continue their education.

#### Violation of the Right to Health

The ill-treatment by law enforcement during interventions and in detention facilities following March 19 also violated students' right to health. The disproportionate use of force, tear gas, and chemical agents resulted in physical injuries to students. The lack of hygiene in detention facilities, poor ventilation, and restricted access to basic needs endangered students' mental and physical health. The fact that detained students' health checks were conducted under police supervision is a violation of the principle of doctor-patient confidentiality and demonstrates that the legal basis of this detention has also been compromised.

These same issues were repeated most severely by arrest warrants. Detainees were transported to hospitals while handcuffed, the consequences were even more severe than those of illness, making treatment in an hospital facility an undesirable process for most prisoners. Similarly, as in the case of Esika Ayık who suffers potentially life-threatening heart disease, despite repeated documentation of chronic and structural illnesses, release requests were denied.<sup>38</sup>



# "Rights, Law, Justice"

The events since March 19, 2025, and the violation of rights documented in this report, raise deep concerns regarding Türkiye's democratic maturity and commitment to the rule of law. These events went far beyond a single political operation targeting Ekrem imamoğlu, paving the way for an explosion of years of accumulated social problems and the youth's anger due to futurelessness. This process has confronted all of society, from all walks of life, with the reality of how even their most fundamental rights can be arbitrarily suspended.

The monitoring findings detailed in the report clearly demonstrate the state apparatus's tendency to manipulate and instrumentalise rights guaranteed by the Constitution and international agreements for its political agenda. The arbitrary hindrance of the right to assembly and demonstrations, the criminalisation of freedom of expression through "social media operations," and the violation of the prohibition on torture even in detention facilities are evidence of the political manipulation of the law.

However, in the face of this spiral of oppression and violence, the youth's resistance and will to organize have created a hopeful dynamic. The university students' stance, which transcended traditional politics by declaring, "We came to protest, not to a rally," demonstrated that they were not just a mass of protesters, but also a political entity defending their future. These youth have taken a leading role not only in their own rights to education, housing, and a future, but also in the demands for justice and freedom for all of society.

Therefore, the slogan "Rights, Law, Justice" is no longer merely a demand; on the contrary, it represents a concrete contemplation of the historical period Türkiye is passing through. In an environment where lawlessness has become a pattern and justice is ignored, this slogan proclaims that the future of society can only be achieved by reestablishing these values. Our report aims to echo this voice and serve as a reminder of this period. Türkiye's future lies in the determination of the youth who raised this slogan and in achieving a social consensus that will rebuild these values.

# Rights.



## Laws.



# Justice.









