

**RECRUITMENT, OCCUPATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND  
PROFESSIONALISM IN THE TURKISH POLICE**

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**To the people who gave their lives in  
the struggle for independence and  
democracy for the Republic of Turkey:  
Hasan Tahsin, Kubilay, Ataturk,  
Inonu, Muammer Aksoy, Turan  
Dursun, Bahriye Uçok, Ugur Mumcu  
and all others ...**

## ABSTRACT

The research project was designed to investigate 'the recruitment process, occupational consciousness and professionalism in the Turkish Police'. To achieve its aims, the research was planned in four stages: The first stage was to identify and to collect basic data about the recruitment process (how does the police organization select new cadets?). The second stage aimed to examine the socio-economic background of the Turkish police. The next step was to measure occupational knowledge and consciousness by asking questions which were formulated from the Turkish Police Act (APDA and ASO). The last step was to investigate professionalism in the Turkish police.

This research can be defined as both 'quantitative-descriptive' and 'exploratory'. It was thought that qualitative methods would be more appropriate in order to investigate the recruitment process. In contrast, the data about socio-economic background, occupational consciousness and professionalism were mostly obtained by quantitative methods. The strategy adopted combined questionnaire, open-ended interview, unstructured observation, and secondary data techniques in the same study.

The research sample was drawn from the police officers serving at the 47 police stations (patrols) in Ankara, the capital of Turkey. In order to get reliable statistics it was calculated that it would be sufficient to have a sample of 150 police officers (25 administrators, 125 ordinary police officers). However, the data were ultimately collected from a sample of 166 police officers (26 police administrators and 140 ordinary police officers). The sub-samples of the districts of metropolitan Ankara were calculated by the principle of proportional allocation according to their proportions in the total population. The analysis of data was



carried out using the SPSS statistical package.

The results of the study revealed that police officers are mostly young, ranging from 25 to 40. The great majority have a high school, or equivalent, diploma. As a group, they have a higher educational attainment than the general population. Most of the police officers come from a lower or middle class background. For many, becoming a police officer is an opportunity for upward social mobility. The most popular reasons for choosing the police profession include serving the public, not being able to find another proper and permanent job, fighting and arresting criminals, making a better society, the appeal of uniform, adventure, the authority it connotes, and helping somebody in one way or another.

The applicants are subjected to intelligence, physical, medical and background investigation tests prior to being accepted in the force. However, it seems that most of police officers are recruited on the basis of their political preferences or connections, not simply because they had passed all the tests. Background investigation for recruitment is essential and eliminates radicals (specifically Left) and applicants with criminal records. Recruitment decisions are made to benefit the political idea in power. There is a visible discrimination against recruitment of women into the force.

It is also found out that there is a lack of occupational knowledge in the Turkish police, although they are conscious that they have chosen a quasi-military occupation which mainly aims to enforce the law of the country. Although the police organization has essential components of professionalism and police officers are generally aware of professional knowledge, ethics, values, judgements, opinions, and the availability of colleagues for reference, they mostly do not use these elements of professionalism in practice. It is clear that more research on a wider variety of the Turkish police is required.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

FERB (DIEK)	: Foreign Economic Relations Board
GDPI	: General Directorate of Press and Information
TGNA	: Turkish Grand National Assembly
OECE	:
OECD	: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
GDS	: General Directorate of Security
GCG	: General Commandership of Gendarme
CCG	: Commandership of Coast Guard
ASO	: Act of Security Organization
APDA	: Act of Police Duty and Authority
HTA	: Highway Traffic Act
MIA	: Ministry for Interior Affairs
MCA	: Military Coup Administration
MCG	: Military Coup Government
NIO	: National Intelligence Organization
JP	: Judicial Police
SP	: Society Police
PP	: Political Police
UN	: United Nations
RPP	: Republican People's Party
CSIAD	: Chairmanship of Smuggling, Intelligence and Action Department
DRPC	: Department of Research, Planning and Coordination
SIS	: State Institute of Statistics
TPTGV	: The Foundation for Strengthening the Turkish Police Organization
UNESCO	: United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization

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## - CHAPTER I

### - INTRODUCTION

The maintenance of a democratic society increasingly needs the renewal of its main social, economic and political institutions from time to time and from place to place. This is because power is influenced by forces such as technological innovation and development, bureaucratic growth, economic instability, environmental decay, population growth, growth of social groups and strata. In other words, all traditional institutions in non-traditional situations can easily become inefficient, because modern society continues to change and those changes create new problems and call into question old practices. Therefore renewing the main institutions in a society is compulsory. In order to renew and to develop an institution it is necessary to investigate, analyze and understand it as fully as possible.

The major concern here is one kind of governmental institution which is related to security and order: The



Police, or more specifically the 'Turkish Police'. The maintenance of both internal and external order and security is one of the most important, topical and enduring issues for each state. In order to build a new and a proper public order, policing has rapidly developed as a key issue on the contemporary political agenda. Police also cooperate and relate to other societal agencies as well as to individuals. Moreover, there is today much more widespread concern about the structure of the police organization and about the nature of the police's function and there are serious efforts to improve police operations in Turkey. These concerns and efforts need a fuller and a more realistic assessment of police work. However police work is always in a sensitive balance because of the tension in police roles and duties, between law enforcement and service to the public, between acting as a police force and a police service. Therefore the present research aims to investigate 'the structure of the recruitment process', 'occupational consciousness-knowledge' and 'professionalism' in the Turkish Police Organization, and their interrelationships, in order to examine the current character of the police organization in Turkey.

The study consists of nine chapters. Chapter One, firstly, explains the research problem. Here the reasons for choosing the study area will be given. Besides this the limits of the study will be drawn. Secondly, the literature which has made contributions to the debate on related issues will be reviewed. In Chapter Two, the methodology of the study will be given. Broadly, questions of 'how the sample was designed', 'how data collection instruments were developed', 'how data were collected' and 'how data were analyzed' will be addressed in as much detail as necessary. In Chapter Three, the theoretical bases of the police and

policing will be presented. Firstly, some theoretical approaches to the creation of the police will be discussed. Secondly, there will be a discussion of whether the police are necessary or not. In other words, the existence of the police and its alternatives will be assessed. Chapter Four investigates the Turkish Police in terms of its 'historical background', 'organizational structure', and 'education and training programme'. In part three, the empirical framework of the study will be given. This part of the study is largely descriptive and begins with Chapter Five which investigates the socio-economic background of the Turkish Police. In Chapter Six, the recruitment process, namely the new cadet selection policies of the state, will be examined. Chapter Seven deals with the occupational consciousness and knowledge which are determined in the Turkish Police Acts, APDA and ASO (numbered 2559 and 3201). Chapter Eight includes an examination of the meaning given to professionalism, and the level of professionalism. The final Chapter involves a conclusion which includes a discussion on the findings, and a recommendation section.

The aim of this study is to illuminate and contribute to new policies related to present issues of the Turkish Police such as recruitment, education, training and in-service training, policing policies and to pave the way for future studies in Turkey as well as be relevant to police studies in other countries.

## **1. The Research Problem**

Living together in a society requires a system of regulation that each individual accepts and obeys. This is the idea of social contract<sup>1</sup> which forms the basis for a



state and through which the legal system for the society and also the security of individuals is provided. The need for laws and the security that they provide have always existed not only in highly organized complex societies but also in the simplest ones.

In highly organized societies, the state<sup>2</sup> has important functions such as maintaining a legal system and collecting taxes. Besides these, the state also has social, economic and cultural duties; and of course the duty to set up internal as well as external security should not be overlooked or forgotten. For all these reasons the state needs to have a force to exercise its power over individuals, society, and other societies as well. It is difficult to imagine a state without this kind of power. The state exercises its power through legitimate organization such as the police force and the military. Being one of the means for a state to exercise its power, the police clearly assumes considerable importance in its own right as a focus for research. In dealing with the police, special emphasis will be placed on the recruitment process and practices, the formation and level of occupational consciousness and knowledge as well as the level of professionalism.

The power structure of a state provides us with clues about the democratic level of the society. An analysis of the democratic level of the Turkish Republic by looking at the police is especially important in a Western European context. Moreover, studying the police force could have far-reaching implications for a country like Turkey which is striving hard to establish full-fledged democracy and to join the European Community. For the European Community, which has a goal such as setting up a 'United European

States', unification of the main institutions seems inevitable. In this connection one of the first institutions that comes to mind is the police force.

Unfortunately, the police is one of the least studied subjects in the Turkish social science literature. Review of the literature indicates that there has been almost no sociological research at either theoretical or empirical level conducted in this area. That there are no sociological studies on police gives the police organization a character that is closed within itself like the military, although the journalist Birand's book (1986) has changed the 'closed box' image of the military and proved that even the military can be studied. Therefore one of the other purposes of this study is to show that the Police organization can and must be studied from the sociological perspective.

Another objective is also sociological in that it will attempt to get acquainted with the members of the Turkish Police Organization from the sociological point of view. This is important because the police officers in the sample who are patrol officers assume critical duties and crucial administrative tasks. They have more direct and closer relations with the public than the other members of the Police Organization. In this context the following questions significantly arise: Who are the Turkish Police? What is their socio-economic background? From which part of the country do they originate ? What kind of residential unit (village, town, city), in terms of childhood, do they come from ? What kind of families, in terms of education, occupation and income levels, do they originate from ? Do they willingly choose their careers ? or Are they still thinking of finding other jobs ? Under what conditions do



they make their decisions about their career ? Do they collaborate with their superiors, inferiors and colleagues? What career expectations do they have ? Do they use occupational journals, other written materials and panel discussions to enrich their knowledge about the profession? and so on. The research will try to answer these questions regarding the socio-economic background of the police officers in the Turkish Police Organization.

The three main concepts of this study, namely 'recruitment', 'occupational consciousness', and 'professionalism' cannot be thought of separately. Given the interrelationships among the three concepts, let us now briefly explain what is meant by them. For analytic purposes, these concepts will be investigated separately in part three.

Recruitment, in a sense, indicates the very first step into an occupation. Given the importance of the police force for the security of the people and the state, the main policy questions can be summarized as follows: How does the police organization select the new cadets ? According to which criteria is the selection done, and is it possible to point out a specific internal structure and policy, if there is one, in this process ? What determines the composition and operation of the examining board ? What kinds of questions are asked in exams ? Is there any discrimination between male and female applicants ?

It is obvious that the police constitute the most critical and perhaps the most powerful subsystem in the enforcement and adjudication of the law. A police officer in a police department is basic to the system of law enforcement in use in any country today, regardless of the

political system and bureaucratic structure. As Regoli and Jerome (1975:410) state, no other occupational group whose members' education and training are as limited is granted similar latitude and discretion in dealing with the lives and welfare of people. In contrast to lawyers, judges, prosecutors and other similar officials of the criminal justice system, the police are the least educated or trained. Their duty or position also allows them to exercise a strong control and power over the people in society. The administration of criminal justice system in a country depends to a high degree upon the officer's courage, skill and intelligent self-restraint in the performance of his/ her duties (Blum, 1964:vii). These realities inevitably direct our attention to the selection procedure of police personnel and make it very important. If an appropriate selection procedure is applied into the recruitment process, some of the disadvantages coming from the lack of education and training programs may be reduced. If the police service has to be of high quality, the members must have suitable qualifications, which are mostly determined during the recruitment process.

Another major area of the study is occupational consciousness and knowledge. This means that a person who is about to choose to become a police officer not only develops an understanding of the duties and rules of this profession but is also consciously aware of this understanding. Some of the questions to measure occupational consciousness and knowledge then will be: How deeply aware are the members of the police force of the job, duties and responsibilities which have been given them by the Police Acts ? How much do they know about the moral rules guiding their profession, namely the meaning of a 'good' and a 'bad' police officer in their minds ? Do they



apply these moral values in their own career ?

The lack of occupational consciousness, occupational knowledge in particular, will inevitably not provide an intellectual base for professional development that will contribute a dynamism to policing operations. This will lead to a lack of professionalism, and lead to an ineffective traditional organization in a nontraditional society.

Professionalism means, almost in any occupation, reaching a higher degree of perfection in performing the specific duties that the job requires. Presenting a new, helpful, and friendly image of police to people requires that crucial positions in the organization be filled by professionally trained police officers. It is obvious that the traditional way of organizational structure and management no longer meets the increasingly complex needs for service. Therefore, police organizations, like others, look for improved ways in which to organize and manage their operations. There is a search for more efficiency and the use of resources in getting policing work done. That's why professionalism is frequently advocated as crucial to progress in law enforcement, but the concept is subject to many interpretations and the form it takes is problematic (Poole and Regoli, 1979:65). However, some common criteria and measurements were developed by the scholars who studied police. In other words, although it is difficult to find a consensus about measurements and criteria of professionalism, reviewing the literature gives some common concepts which can be given as follows: 'view, opinion and judgement about the job', 'autonomy', 'dedication', 'belief', 'initiative', 'knowledge', 'personality', and 'using references or reference groups'. (Hall, 1968;

Hickson and Thomas, 1969; Snizek, 1972-1973; Fox and Vonk, 1973; Maniha, 1973; Haga, Graen and Dansereau, 1974; Keil and Ekstrom, 1978; Regoli, Poole and Lotz, 1978; Hurd, 1978; Abel, 1979; Farris, 1989; Macdonald, 1990; Vago, 1991; Cotterrell, 1992).

Moreover the degree of skills in practice usually determines the level of professionalism as well. In this sense, professionalism also relates to work experience, namely job-related background. The background of a police officer is seen as an indicator of professionalization. The most salient background characteristic of police officers is their formal education. In other words, education has been described as a centrepiece of professionalization.

Professional police officers place proportionally more emphasis on formal education; thus formal education can be interpreted as an organizational characteristic of professionalization. The other background characteristic considered as important is the length of service as a police officer. In the police literature professionalism and length of service are also found to be related. (Regoli and Poole, 1980). The professionalism questions and items in the empirical study are based on the main concepts and criteria given above<sup>3</sup>.

The analysis, then, will concentrate on the detailed investigation of the three concepts and their interrelationships. In the empirical study a career history of a police officer will be summarized from the recruitment process to the point where s/he is considered a mature and professional police officer. On theoretical grounds there could be considerable variations in gaining a kind of occupational consciousness and level of professionalism



after the recruitment process. First of all, the time between recruitment and gaining consciousness will differ for police officers. Secondly, having experience in certain departments will affect the overall process of becoming a professional police officer in different ways. Thus one goal of this study is to focus on and analyze the variations in patterns of becoming a professional police officer. However it must not be forgotten that a police organization has various sub-departments or sub-sections such as judicial, political, anti-terrorist, traffic police departments etc. In addition, each police force has its own either dependent or independent intelligence agency such as the CIA, KGB, MIT, MOSSAD etc. 'They operate alongside and outside the conventional police apparatus, which may well continue to deal with ordinary police problems, non-political crime, traffic control, public order and so on'. (Alderson, 1975:7). But, the present study excludes these various police sub-departments. It will just focus on the patrol officers who assume critical duties and crucial administrative tasks which have more direct and closer relations with the public.

## 2. Literature Review

When we look at the structures of societies in the modern world, it is possible to find many 'commonweal organizations' such as the military, the fire brigade, and police organizations. These organizations are distinguished from other types of organizations along a number of dimensions. Unlike mutual benefit organizations such as labour unions, and social work agencies that serve a specific clientele, the prime beneficiary of commonweal organizations is the public at large. Furthermore,

commonweal organizations are generally supported by public funds. Moreover, they are generally granted special privileges. For example, 'police organizations are granted the privilege to exercise force' (Lundman, 1975:161). Like all bureaucracies, commonweal organizations promote and protect organizational interests by maintaining bureaucratic secrets (1975:161). Individuals or organizations who seek to penetrate organizational boundaries for purposes of monitoring and learning about bureaucratic secrets are likely to be unwelcome. Social scientists, however, more or less routinely penetrate the boundaries of commonweal organizations for the purpose of social science research. Although there is certainly progress in terms of penetrating the various organizations, the sociological study of the Turkish Police Organization, unfortunately, has not been done up to now.

A review of two major American journals of sociology<sup>4</sup> revealed that 'the rate of publication of articles and book reviews on the police between 1940 and 1965 averaged less than one per year. In the following six years, however, the article and book review publication rate exceeded 3.6' (Lundman, 1975:162). When we look at the Turkish literature for the same period there is not a single sociological study or publication on the police. In fact the Police Organization in Turkey has not been studied specifically from a sociological perspective<sup>5</sup> up to now. With respect to historical studies, the literature review has revealed that there are very few studies carried out on the history of the Turkish Police Organization (Alyot, 1947). There are short articles about the Turkish Police printed in the Journal of Police Retirements<sup>6</sup>. A literature review also indicated that there are two doctoral dissertations about the Police Organization (Genc, 1979; Kaygisiz, 1982).



Moreover, there are about 15 Master's theses done at the TODAIE (Turkish Institution for Middle East Public Administration), Public Administration Departments of Gazi and Istanbul Universities.

Formalized police agencies in the western world have grown rapidly in size and number since the beginning of the 19th century. 'Police agencies were initially restricted to nighttime activity carried out by citizen volunteers, but eventually these gave way to organized full-time police systems' (Gibbons, 1968:47). The Turkish Police Organization was established as an organization in 1845 in the time of the Ottoman Empire. Since then, the Police Organization has gone through many different formations<sup>7</sup>. Now, it has reached a point where it has an important function and power in the Turkish society.

In the eyes of the public, crime control is the main function of the police. Until the twentieth century, the major function of the police was to maintain order rather than enforce the law (Carey, 1978). The police in a democratic society are required to maintain order and to do so under the rule of law. As functionaries charged with maintaining order, they are part of the bureaucracy. 'The ideology of democratic bureaucracy emphasizes initiative rather than disciplined adherence to rules and regulations' (Skolnick, 1966:6). By contrast, the rule of law emphasizes the rights of individual citizens and constraints upon the initiative of legal officials. This tension between the operational consequences of ideas of order, efficiency, and initiative, on the one hand, and legality, on the other, constitutes the principal problem of the police as a democratic legal organization. Therefore, the aim of the study is to provide a discussion of the police force -as a

social organization- by investigating the recruitment process, occupational consciousness and knowledge, and professionalism.

Public expectations of the police to maintain order on the one hand and the difficulties faced in performing dangerous police work on the other give rise to the development of a distinct police culture. One element of this culture as noted by sociologists is a high level of suspicion - a belief that people cannot be trusted and are dangerous (Popenoe, 1983:246). This belief sometimes affects their general attitudes, isolating them from the average citizen and confining them to their own world - for example, Polzar (Police Market), Polis Lokali (Police Club), Polis Evi (Police House), etc. in Turkey.

Who becomes a police officer ? Are people who become police officers more authoritarian than the rest of the population ? Is it true that there is a 'police mentality' that makes some people want the authority to use force against others ? What are the personality traits of police cadets ? These questions which are related to the recruitment process have been investigated repeatedly in the literature. For instance, Topp and Kardash (1986) studied personality traits of police cadets in U.S.A. and they found that recruits were more emotionally stable, conscientious, self-reliant, and practical than the general public. In addition, they were more self-assured, conservative in their thinking, and more relaxed. Besides this Carpenter and Raza (1987) in their study, 'Personality Characteristics of Police Applicants', found that the male and female police applicants tended to be cheerful, outgoing, and effective in living, and to have a strong interest in people coupled with an interest in practical



matters.

On the other hand, Balch (1972) found that New York city police recruits tend to be somewhat more authoritarian than most people, and they become even more so by the time they are experienced officers. That is, a self-selection process, long before appointment, predisposes those who are authoritarians to police work. However, there are some others (Neiderhoffer and Arthur, 1975:41) who think authoritarianism is developed after appointment as a result of socialization and experience in the police social system. The former thesis ascribes police authoritarianism to the personality variable rather than to factors of the police social system. Colman and Gorman (1982) also studied conservatism, dogmatism and authoritarianism in the British police. They found that the recruits' scores were significantly more conservative and authoritarian. That is, the police force attracts conservative and authoritarian personalities.

Furthermore, Poland (1978) has a review of studies that deal specifically with police selection methods and background characteristics. Although he implied that 'the literature on police selection methods varies in quality from speculative theorizing to sophisticated testing of theory in empirical studies' (1978:374), his review does not enable the police administrator to develop a set of recommendations about what the best procedure might be for selection of police officers (1978:386). However, Blum (1968:208) points out four essential factors to be taken into consideration in police personnel development: (a) careful placement; (b) high standards of performance; (c) provide the worker (officer) with information that is essential to his needs, and (d) provide an opportunity for

his(her) participation in activities that will give him/her management vision. According to him, these four factors could be applied in any programme of police personnel selection and development.

Besides these, McNamara (1967) focused on the uncertainties of the police role and the processes of recruitment and training which determine the degree of fit between the men, their training, and the demands of the job. Briefly, the literature on police selection focuses on the requirements of the formal police organization for intelligent, mature, and emotionally stable individuals. (See for recruitment criteria and selection procedures in different police forces also DuBois and Watson, 1950; Colarelli and Siegel, 1964; Spencer and Nicholas, 1971; Kent and Eisenberg, 1972; Gray, 1977; Lefkowitz, 1977; Spielberger, 1979). On the other hand, the questions, 'Is it possible to point out a specific internal structure and policy, if there is one, in the recruitment process?', 'What determines the composition and operation of the examining board?', 'What kinds of questions are asked in exams?' have not directly been reviewed and studied in the literature.

There is evidence that people become police officers for many of the same reasons people go into other careers. The career appears to be stable, and with good lifetime prospects. They see the status of the police officer as attractive, and one that is often higher than that held by their parents (See Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1968; Ozcan and Caglar, 1993).

A review of literature reveals that there is an absence of attention to the police' occupational



consciousness and knowledge, although sociologists have studied 'work', 'occupation' (Taylor, 1968; Norris, 1987) and 'occupational culture and socialization' (Thedorson and Thedorson, 1969; Manning, 1977, 1979, 1989; Holdaway, 1980; Fielding, 1984; McBride, 1989:157; Jary and Jary, 1991).

As it is well known, work is one important human function. Human beings work for sustenance, survival, status, and the avoidance of frustration. 'The meaning of work has come to be a duty, privilege, responsibility, ... but always the means to accomplishment of some end which is nonwork' (Taylor, 1968:9). However, work is realized or done in an occupation. In other words, 'work' is a basic condition and a generic term. 'Occupation' in its verb form, 'to occupy', may also be viewed as basic or generic. From a sociological point of view, work in an occupation is more limited, precise, and specific' (1968:9). Accordingly, occupation is defined as that 'specific activity with a market value which an individual continually pursues for the purpose of obtaining a steady flow of income; this activity also determines the social position of the individual' (1968:8). An occupation is also a social role that is determined by the general division of labour within a society. An individual's position in society is an important factor determining a person's prestige, class position, and style of life. But the term 'occupation' is used with various connotations. The meaning of occupation has changed considerably over time and from one place to another. From the occupational sociology point of view a specific conceptual formulation is needed. However, 'the notion of occupation must cover three sets of conditions, namely technological, economic, and social' (Taylor, 1968:8).

Theodorson and Theodorson (1969) and Manning (1989) saw occupational culture as accepted practices, rules, and principles of conduct that are situationally applied, and generalized rationales, beliefs, attitudes, rituals, jargon and other elements. The idea of occupational culture in Holdaway's study (1980) clarifies the essential British policing experience. He also explores themes of risk, violence, hedonism, and crime control found in both American and British research. Manning (1989) accepts police occupational culture in Anglo - American societies as a product of social structure and the evolution of the police organization. For him, the characteristic themes of the police occupational culture - dependence, uncertainty, autonomy, and authority - are found in their two social worlds: officers and administration. Consequently, occupation, sociologically speaking, involves a degree of cooperation, a degree of consciousness of kind, and a reciprocity between the acting individuals in the occupation and the recognition of these individuals in the occupation on the part of wider society.

Any kind of concern about professionalism is highly regarded in all post-industrial societies and in at least the modernizing sectors of others. The history of professions from the end of the 19th century is intimately connected with the rise of capitalism and the growth of the state (Abel, 1979:89). As productive units increased in size and complexity they experienced a greater need for planning, regulation, specialization and bureaucratic administration.

Hickson and Thomas in their study (1969), Professionalization in Britain, attempted to construct a measure of differences among occupations in degrees of



professionalization prompted by the literature on the process of professionalization. They examined the professionalization scores of qualifying associations in various fields of work, and they found a positive correlation with the age of the association.

The qualities of what constitutes professionalism are not always constant and indeed not always clear. One difficulty in many scholarly approaches to the definition of professionalism is the attempt by one authority after another to identify the ideal-typical or quintessential characteristics of an occupational category (Moore, 1970:3). For example, Vollmer and Mills (1969) describes professionalization as the process of legitimation an occupation goes through as it endeavours to improve its social status. Professionalism, on the other hand, is accepted as the adoption by members of an occupation of a set of values and attitudes that are consistent with a professional ideology (Regioli, Crank, Culberston and Poole, 1988).

Maniha (1973) draws a model of professionalization which includes the following crucial dimensions: (a) development of specific theory or intellectual technique, (b) relevance to basic social values, (c) a training period, (d) motivation toward an ideal of service, (e) autonomy, (f) sense of commitment, (g) sense of collegueship or community, and (h) a code of ethics (1973:317). Another shorter but mainly similar explanation is done by Vago (1991). That is, the possession (a) of a specialized technique supported by a body of theory, (b) of a career supported by an association of colleagues, and (c) of a status supported by community recognition may be mentioned as constituting an occupation as a profession

(1991:249-250).

The issue of police professionalism has received considerable attention, especially in late 1970s and early 1980s, from social scientists and police administrators or bureaucrats themselves, and has occupied a central position in the general literature on police throughout the twentieth century. Efforts toward professionalism have focused on changes in recruitment and training practices as well as management policies of police agencies. It has been assumed that the adoption of policies related to these issues will result in increased sensitivity and a deeper sense of dedication (Regioli and Poole, 1980). It is also assumed that the question of professionalism is a question of creating mechanisms by which all the human service occupations can be made more accountable to the public (Walker, 1976:702). Changes of this sort will increase the level of professionalism among police, because professionalism stresses police commitment to the rule of law as the basis of police authority. It emphasises the unique expertise of the police in combating crime (Cotterrell, 1992:279). The development of increasingly sophisticated police technology for surveillance and control is both an expression of increasing police professionalism, and a reflection of contemporary state demands for guarantees of social order (1992:279). However, Wilson (1968) does not accept the police as a full profession. He has argued that 'policing is a craft rather than a profession'. He states that the police 'acquire most of their knowledge and skill on the job, not in separate academies; they are emphatically subject to the authority of their superiors; they have no serious professional society, only a union-like bargaining agent; and they do not produce, in a systematic written form, new knowledge



about their craft' (1968:30). On the other hand, Reiss (1971:123) points out that 'the police in America belong to one of the few occupations that includes all the essential elements to qualify as a profession'. The recent developments on police educational institutions (academy), police associations, and scientific studies on police show that the assumption of Wilson is not valid, and the police is accepted as a profession.

Cain (1972:217-231) also studied police professionalism, and has raised three questions as standpoints from which that police professionalism can be examined: (a) is there a special body of knowledge and/or body of norms to which police officers could orient themselves which is independent of any particular policing situation, (b) to what extent are these norms formally institutionalized, and (c) to what extent are they shared? She uses three models of professionalism: The first one is 'the elitist model', where senior personnel only are professional. The second is 'the universalist model', where the whole hierarchy is professional. The third is 'the indirect (or mixed) model'. In it, the senior ranks only are professionalised but since they define norms, values, standards and appropriate knowledge for their juniors the ultimate effect may be similar to the universalist model, with the organization showing a high degree of professional consensus.

Although there is no consensus about what professionalism means, reviewing literature gives us a chance to have some basic approaches to the concept. Hall, who has developed a scale in order to measure the degree of professionalism among practitioners of various occupations, examined the professionalization process in the context of



the organizational structures in which professional or professionalising workers are found, in order to determine how these phenomena affect and are affected by each other (1968:92). His professionalism model consists of a series of attributes: structural and attitudinal. He used ten items to measure each of five attitudes of professionalism which are 'the use of the professional organization as a major reference', 'belief in service to the public', 'belief in self regulation', 'sense of calling to the field', and 'autonomy'. By using rotated factor matrices, Snizek (1972) tried to determine the degree of empirical fit of Hall's items used to measure each of the five theoretical dimensions of professionalism. His findings reveal that approximately half of the fifty items formulated by Hall have less than an acceptable factor loading on their appropriate theoretical dimension (1972:111).

Miller and Fry (1976) also used Hall's five dimension scale of professionalism which was revised by Snizek among the members of three small law enforcement agencies in U.S.A.. They stated that they were technically faced with problems of wording and redundancy on some of the items. However, the factor analysis they did showed that, with few exceptions, the basic empirical integrity of the scale is reaffirmed. Based on their findings, a number of cautions were offered by them to guard against misapplication of the scale in future research, and they reworded several items (1976:401-411).

Keil and Ekstrom (1978) used Snizek's (1972) version of the Hall's (1968) professionalism scale as well. They stated that 'this scale does not measure actual behaviour, nor does it encompass all aspects of the professionalism

concept; e.g., it is not intended to capture the structural dimensions of professionalism' (1978:473).

All these critical points made it necessary to rethink on the reliability and validity of Hall's professionalism scale. In fact, this scale was and is the only one which was specifically designed and formulated for measuring professionalism in the literature. However, its elements were slightly modified by people who studied police professionalism. For example, instead of 'belief in self regulation' 'judgement about the job' or instead of 'sense of calling to the field' 'dedication to job' was used. In this study, although the elements (dimensions) of Hall's professionalism scale were used, not all of the items or statements were used. Some major statements were deployed in the questionnaire (See Appendix I). In addition, some other elements such as 'a body of professional knowledge', 'personality' and 'initiative' were also deployed in the questionnaire. The main aim was to include as many dimensions as possible from the various methodological instruments used to study professionalism and to not exclude any criteria which are related to professionalism.

Regoli and Poole (1980:241-252) examined the impact of five dimensions of police professionalism on role conflict. They found that the various professionalism dimensions differentially affect role conflict. The results further indicated that role conflict may be reduced through the professionalization of the police, but the influence of professionalism is conditioned by department size.

Consequently, professionalism signifies both a mode of organization and a set of standards and values - an ethic deeply affecting actual practice (Greenhill, 1981:53). In



the literature, it implies the transformation of some nonprofessional occupation into a vocation with the attributes of a profession (Vago, 1991:249): (a) a professional (theoretical) body of knowledge, (b) a specialized education and training period, (c) a legal and clear definition of job, and (d) professional associations.

This brief literature review concerning the main concepts which will be employed in the research is, of course, not all inclusive but provides us with the basis for a more detailed study. The discussion of recruitment, occupational consciousness and professionalism goes to the heart of the study, because it inevitably raises questions about the purpose of police, the essential nature of police work, the level of occupational knowledge of police officers, the control and application of policing and the relationship between police and society. It is a particularly timely topic when the basic functions and organization of police are on the agenda and when the substantially enhanced remuneration of police is accompanied by calls for improved performance. However, the literature directly related to police is not so rich, especially in Turkey. This not only limits our efforts to deepen our understanding but also leaves us no basis for comparison. On the other hand, this situation gives an opportunity to do a pioneering study on the Turkish Police.



## Notes

1. This concept was developed by Hobbes as well as Locke. In the pre-social 'state of nature' people enjoy absolute personal freedom, but this very freedom means that they are exposed to the threat of physical violence and exploitation. In order to remove this threat, people enter into a social contract with each other whereby they surrender their absolute individual freedom to a third party (the state) which then acts to guarantee social order and stability.
2. The modern state is a set of institutions comprising the legislature, executive, central and local administration, judiciary, police and armed forces. Its crucial characteristics are that it acts as the institutional system of a political domination and has a monopoly of the legitimate use of violence. (Abercrombie, Hill, Turner, 1984:208–209).
3. See professionalism questions and items in Appendix I (Questionnaire Part III).
4. The two major American journals of sociology are the 'American Sociological Review' and the 'American Journal of Sociology'.
5. There is only one piece of sociological research on Police Academy students. It was carried out in 1989 (Ozcan and Caglar, 1993).
6. The Journal of Police Retirements is published monthly and in Turkish since 1961.
7. See more detailed information in Chapter IV and (Kaygisiz, 1982:1–7).

## - CHAPTER II

### - METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research process employed in this study. Research is a disciplined way to go about answering questions (Dixon, Bouma and Atkinson, 1987:15). Analysis of the answers to questions can be more reliable if the research process is completed according to scientific method.

With this in mind, the research was designed to investigate the 'recruitment process, occupational knowledge and consciousness, and professionalism in the Turkish Police Organization'. No attempt was made to examine other issues, because the Police Force, as a whole, is an area too complex to be included in a study of this size. To achieve its aims, the research was planned in four stages.

The first stage aimed to examine the socio-economic background of the Turkish Police, i.e. to gather data which addressed the following questions<sup>1</sup>: Who are the Turkish Police? From which part of the country do they originate ?

From what kinds of families, in terms of education, occupation and income levels, do they originate ? Do they willingly choose their careers or are they still thinking of finding other jobs ? Have they had any regular work before enrolling in the Police Force ? If they had, what kind of occupation did they have ? What kind of occupation do(did) their parents have ? What was the last school which they graduated from before enrolling in the police organization ? In what type of residential unit (village, town, city) did they spend their childhood ? These are some of the key questions concerning the socio-economic background of the police officers.

The second stage was to identify and to collect basic data about the recruitment process. That is, to obtain data which answered questions such as: How does the police organization select new cadets ? According to which criteria is the selection done, and is it possible to point out a specific internal structure and policy, if there is one, in the process ? What determines the composition and operation of the examining board ? Is there any discrimination between male and female applicants ? These are among the questions relevant to the recruitment and selection process.

The next step was to measure occupational knowledge and consciousness by asking questions which were formulated from the Turkish Police Act; i. e. How deeply aware are the members of the police force of the job, duties and responsibilities which have been given them by the Police Acts (APDA, ASO and Criminal Law) ? How much do they know about the moral rules guiding their profession ? Do they apply these moral values in their own career ? What are their perceptions of a 'good' and a 'bad' police officer ?



How do they evaluate their relationships with the public ? Such questions offer an initial indication of the degree of socialization of officers into the organisation.

The last stage was to investigate professionalism in the Turkish Police. Although it was difficult to find a consensus about measurements and criteria of professionalism, the questions<sup>2</sup> in this section were formulated according to common concepts -'view', 'opinion and judgement about the job', 'autonomy', 'dedication', 'belief', 'initiative', 'knowledge', 'personality' and 'using reference groups or references'- which were discussed in the literature review and the Chapter VIII<sup>3</sup>. Some statements are also derived from the 'Peelian Principles' which formed and framed the modern police in Britain<sup>4</sup>.

Within the general classification of empirical social research studies presented by Tripodi et. al. (1969:8-25), this study can be defined as both 'quantitative-descriptive' and 'exploratory'. In contrast to 'experimental' studies with their concern for testing cause-effect relationships empirically, 'descriptive' studies aim to 'describe certain characteristics of population' (Herbert,1990:19). In other words, research seeks to describe accurately some characteristics of designated populations. Moreover, these studies have the purpose of answering specific questions in regard to quantitative descriptions of a designated population (Tripodi et. al., 1969:25).

In the present study, the main characteristics, as indicated above, of the Turkish Police represented by the sample will be described. The raw data for this task

consists of questionnaire and interview responses of a sample of police officers, observations and related documents. Regarding the questionnaire data, the objective is to organize these into tabular form so that the salient features of the population may be described in as clear a way as possible.

'Exploratory studies seek to formulate a problem or questions in order to increase an investigator's knowledge of a phenomenon' (De Venanzi, 1981:154). They also develop and clarify ideas for more precise subsequent investigation. The emphasis is not necessarily on quantitative description or on the establishment of cause-effect relationships. Therefore representative sampling may be of less importance than is the selection of cases to stimulate and clarify ideas. Typically, exploratory studies include much information about a single case or a small number of cases (Herbert, 1990:19). In terms of studying the recruitment process of the Turkish Police, i.e. to explore the policy and structure of recruitment, the present study may also be partly labelled as an exploratory one.

It was considered essential that the research should use both quantitative and qualitative methods.

While quantitative research aims to collect facts and figures using methods like the social survey or analysis of statistics, qualitative research aims to gain a more in-depth understanding of a situation (Dunsmuir and Williams, 1990:7). This may involve interviews, observations, analysis of personal dairies, auto-biographies and other secondary data.



Qualitative methods permit the researcher to study selected issues, cases, or events in-depth and detail (Patton, 1987:9). It is the fact that data collection is not constrained by predetermined categories of analysis that contributes to the depth and detail of qualitative data. Quantitative methods, on the other hand, use standardised measures that fit diverse opinions and experiences into pre-determined response categories (1987:9).

The quantitative element is also the chief method which makes replication possible, and enables other researchers to check the reliability and validity of the data (Cawson, 1989:111). It measures the reactions of many people to a limited set of questions, thus facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data (Patton, 1987:9). In other words, it is only by the use of quantitative methods that a researcher can genuinely submit ideas and hypotheses to the possibility of disproof. By contrast, qualitative methods typically produce a wealth of detailed data about a much smaller issue or case. Such data provides depth and detail through direct quotation and careful description of programme situations, events, people, interactions, and observed behaviours. The detailed descriptions, direct quotations, and case documentation of qualitative methods are collected as open-ended narratives without attempting to fit program activities or people's experiences into predetermined, standardised categories such as the response choices that constitute typical questionnaires or tests (1987:9-10).

With these explanations in mind, it was thought that qualitative methods will be more appropriate in order to investigate the recruitment process of the Turkish Police.



In contrast, the data about socio-economic background, occupational knowledge and consciousness, and professionalism in the Turkish Police were obtained by quantitative methods.

Consequently, the objectives of the research required a design combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. Therefore, more than one method was used to collect different types of data or to test the reliability of findings from different sources.

Having established the aims and objectives of the study, it is necessary to explain the methodological stages upon which the research is based; namely, sampling design, data collection instruments, data collection, and data analysis procedures.

## **1. Sampling Design**

In selecting the sample for this research only police station officers were considered. Other members of the Police Organization were excluded, because it was thought that the patrol officers assume critical duties and crucial administrative tasks which have more direct and closer relationships with public.

The research sample was therefore drawn from the officers serving at the 47 police stations (patrols) in Ankara, capital of Turkey. The sample unit was a policeman, and administrators and basic grade police officers were included. An important point is that all sample units are male, because only male officers work in active duties as in a police patrol. Policewomen are mostly employed in

offices. Therefore they were excluded from the sample.

Geographically, the police security directorates (Emniyet Amirliği) in metropolitan Ankara are divided into five different districts which are Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Mamak, Çankaya, and Altındağ. Police stations in each district are homogeneous in terms of socio-economic characteristics.

Police stations in districts have a heterogeneous personnel composition. The personnel of each station (patrol) is composed of policemen who have administrative duties and basic grade police officers (ordinary police officers), and night guards (watchmen) who are not police officers. The first two types of police officers in the stations make up two categories of the sample of the study. Moreover, policemen in the administrative category are further divided into three subcategories: Head Commissar (Station Commander), Commissar, Vice Commissar (both can be the group chief). Police officers in the administrative category, except some vice commissars, who graduated from Police Academy, usually have 10 or more years of work experience in the Police Force. Basic grade police officers in the second category have, at least, one<sup>5</sup> or more years of work experience.

For sampling purposes, the total number of patrol police officers in five different districts of Metropolitan Ankara was obtained from the General Directorate of Security. According to the personnel register in 1989, the total number of employed police personnel who have the rank between basic grade police officer and head commissar was 1,711. If this is broken down according to the districts the following distribution is obtained:



Police Districts in Ankara	Personnel in Numbers	Percentage
Yenimahalle	278	16.2 %
Kecioren	257	15.2 %
Mamak	285	16.6 %
Cankaya	405	23.6 %
Altindag	486	28.4 %
Total	1711	100.0 %

Police Dist. in Ankara	Adminst.	%	P. Police Officers	%	Total	%
Yenimahalle	48	17.3	230	82.7	278	100.0
Kecioren	42	16.3	215	83.7	257	100.0
Mamak	52	18.2	233	81.8	285	100.0
Cankaya	73	18.0	332	82.0	405	100.0
Altindag	71	14.6	415	85.4	486	100.0
Total	286	16.9	1425	83.1	1711	100.0

The proportions for each district are given in percentages in the table. In order to get reliable statistics it was found that, on the basis of calculations to determine the sample size, it would be sufficient to have a sample of 150 policemen (25 administrators, 125 basic grade police officers). The sub-samples of the districts were calculated by the principle of proportional allocation according to their proportions in the total population. The selection was made on the basis that each and every member of the population was given an equal chance of being drawn into the sample, and the selection of any one unit had no effect on the selection of any other.

The share of each district in the sample is given in the table below.

Districts	Police in Numbers	Percentage
Yenimahalle	24	16.2 %
Kecioren	23	15.2 %
Mamak	25	16.6 %
Cankaya	35	23.6 %
Altindag	43	28.4 %
Total	150	100.0 %

The distribution of the subcategories of administrators and police officers is again calculated by the principle of proportional allocation.

Police Dist. in Ankara	Adminst.	%	P. Police Officers	%	Total	%
Yenimahalle	4	17.3	20	82.7	24	100.0
Kecioren	4	16.3	19	83.7	23	100.0
Mamak	5	18.2	20	81.8	25	100.0
Cankaya	6	18.0	29	82.0	35	100.0
Altindag	6	14.6	37	85.4	43	100.0
Total	25	16.9	125	83.1	150	100.0

For field work, at first, purposive sampling was used. It was decided to draw the central police station of each district into the sample because of the following criteria:

- 1-Those stations have the highest number of both



administrators and police officers compared to the other ordinary police stations in districts.

2-Geographically, they are responsible for the largest area in the related districts.

3-The number of daily work cases is the most in those stations compared to the other ordinary stations.

Secondly, the names of other ordinary police stations were placed on separate pieces of paper and were put into a bowl, mixed thoroughly, and one paper was then selected blindly. This procedure was repeated for each district. Consequently, ten police stations, five central and five ordinary, in total were selected for the field work of the research.

It was more suitable to draw the sample within each selected police station by using a random numbers table because of the frequent changes in the personnel among the police patrols. As Dixon et. al. (1987:137-141) state, a random sampling procedure provides the greatest assurance that the sample drawn accurately represents the population.

## **2. Data Collection Instruments**

The next step in the research was to decide upon the strategy and instruments that could be used most conveniently to collect the information or the data that constituted each of the previously outlined themes.

It should be accepted that data collection procedure or data collection instruments change according to the type of research which will be done.

The present study was mostly based on survey methods. Instead of directly studying the whole population, surveys typically collect evidence from a sample of people selected from population. They are carried out when a researcher wishes to gain statistical information from a number of people, usually to make generalisations about the population as a whole. The role of the observation, interviews, and documents of various kinds was to support and strengthen the data which were obtained by the questionnaires.

To achieve the aims of the study it was decided to develop and use the following data collection instruments:

### 2.1. Questionnaire

A questionnaire is an instrument comprised of a series of questions that are filled in or answered by the respondent (Labovitz and Hagedorn, 1976:72).

Existing questionnaires and scales were not particularly relevant to this study, and it was therefore necessary to design a new questionnaire specifically for it. However, some statements in Part III, Professionalism, were adapted from previous studies. In this connection, careful consideration was given to the works of Fielding (1988), Hall(1968), and Snizek(1972) and the Peelian Principles. Attention was also paid to how their questions or statements were designed and aimed to meet specific objectives, then the researcher considered which of their questions and items would provide information relevant to the objectives of the present study.



The questionnaire consisted of three parts with a total of 101 main questions and 15 statements. All of the schedule, except statements-items, were organised in a similar fashion.

The first part was concerned with general information about the police officers. Here, forty-two main questions were formulated in order to collect findings about socio-economic background variables such as social class, age, occupation, education, etc. and to compare and evaluate these with the normal population. Moreover, they were constructed so as to reveal certain problems, if any, within the structure of the police organization. Furthermore some of them were geared to the measurement of social attitudes.

The second part was related to the occupational knowledge and consciousness of police officers. In this section, thirty-six main questions were developed to measure how much the subjects knew their duties and responsibilities as they are laid down in the Police Act (APDA, numbered 2559), and their consciousness about their job.

The third part was designed to examine professionalism in the Turkish Police. Twenty-three main questions were created and fifteen statements were adapted from the related studies for this section. The police officers were asked to indicate agreement or disagreement on a range of five points as in the Likert procedure for statements.

The questions in the schedule were mostly closed questions with a number of alternative responses (multiple choices) for the respondent to tick. This made it easier

both to complete the questionnaire and to draw up statistics. However a small number of open-ended questions (seven main) were asked in order to gain more qualitative data related to specific aspects.

The weakness of any questionnaire is that it demands a certain level of educational attainment. Although the education level of the subjects was, at least, secondary school graduation plus one year police school education and training, an effort was specifically made to construct questions that were clear, understandable and easy to answer.

Another point was that some questions and statements were designed to control each other, in order to reflect the accuracy of answers and the data.

## **2.2. Interview**

The importance of interview data arises from the necessity to come into contact with individuals to get access to facts and opinions and to receive them directly and in the respondent's own terms (Gopal, 1964:161). Besides, the interview is also an effective data collection instrument, if there is no more opportunity or alternative to obtain data in other ways.

In the present study, the use of interview techniques was required for two reasons. First was to gather data about the recruitment process by interviewing senior bureaucrats (five) who are responsible for and have duties in the recruitment process. The second was to gain information and data in order to support and to strengthen



the data obtained with the questionnaire by interviewing police officers. In the former, a systematic interview schedule which contained a core of standard questions (semi-structured interview) was used. In the latter, the interviewer (researcher) raised the issues to be discussed and interviewees talked about them in their own way. Although an open-ended interview was used in this part, the researcher concentrated on the same topics during the interview in order to obtain the data particularly needed. Attention was also carefully given to the issues and questions which were used in interview in order to provide information relevant to the aims of the study.

### **2.3. Observation**

Observation attempts to achieve a detailed picture of social reality as experienced by the actors. The aim is mainly to see the world through the eyes of those the researcher is studying (Dunsmuir and Williams, 1990:9). It gives the opportunity to study a social event or the research subject in its natural context. However, the observer may see only what he wants or expects to see and may impose his/her own definitions and values.

With these important points in mind, the researcher has used the unstructured observations in the present study in order to obtain data which would support and substantiate the data gathered with the main data collection instrument, the questionnaire. As is known, there is no pre-arranged format in an unstructured observation.

## 2.4. Secondary Data

In order to consolidate the data gathered, particularly the data about the establishment and history of the Turkish Police and recruitment process, the researcher also needed to collect some secondary data such as brochures of the police organization, statistics and numbers about police educational institutions (police school, police high school and police academy), the types and contents of the last year exam questions, newspaper reports, articles, reports on the police organization, and some historical documents.

The strategy adopted is briefly to combine questionnaire, interview, observation, and secondary data techniques in the same study.

The data collection instruments, particularly the questionnaire schedule, were developed from October 1990 to February 1991.

## 3. Data Collection

Before starting the main survey, a pilot study was required in order to be able to administer the research methods smoothly and accurately.

### 3.1. Pilot Survey

Question wording in surveys is very important since the quality of results is inevitably affected by the questions (Dunsmuir and Williams, 1990:18). In other words,



if respondents do not understand the words used or if their preferred response is not included, the survey cannot produce useful or reliable results. Therefore, it was very important to pretest the research data collection instruments to ensure their adequacy before actually doing the research. This was also necessary for providing validity and reliability of the data collection instruments and the study.

It is for this and other similar reasons that the present study was preceded by a pilot survey which aimed to discover and rectify any problems before the actual survey was carried out.

First, the researcher had a consultation with two senior police bureaucrats who had passed through the process which the sample units were currently undergoing. By consulting them the researcher had the chance to review his preparation concerning the study. The bureaucrats were asked to reply to the following questions: Are there faults in the design and formulation of the questions and the questionnaire schedule ? If there are, how might they be corrected ? Does it seem likely that the researcher's presence would alter subject's behaviour significantly, particularly through observation ? If so, how might he reduce this ? Which type of question format will be more practical and understandable by subjects ? etc. After that a very few questions were rectified, e.g. the questions related to ranks and promotion.

Secondly, the questionnaire was piloted on nineteen<sup>6</sup> police officers who have similar characteristics to the sample units in a central police station, Cankaya Central Police Station. The pilot group was considered to be

representative of the normal population. Therefore, the officers who had police duty in the different police stations were selected. During this phase, they were asked to be very critical about understanding and formatting of questions. The main points which they were asked to address were as follows:

- Which question(s) or statement(s) they did not understand;
- Which question(s) did not provide adequate response categories;
- Which question(s) or statement(s) were double barrelled (ambiguous) or leading;
- Which question(s) they felt were important but which had not been asked ?

Furthermore, in the pilot survey, some very critical questions were asked in an open-ended form such as those related to branch or department in which they would like to work; whether they had been required to undertake non-occupational duties in the course of their work; areas of dissatisfaction in their employment; career aspirations, specifically the rank they would like to attain; the employment of women in the Police Force and the question of equipping police officers without firearms. The purpose of this was to enable the conversion of open-ended questions to closed questions in the main survey.

In addition, the researcher tried different ways through piloting in order to find the best way for administration of the questionnaire. For example, he practised ways of (1) asking questions and recording answers, and (2) self-administration. He also formatted the questionnaire schedule in several different types in order



to discover the most practical and comprehensible one. For example, (1) to print questions on one side of paper sheet with double line spacing, and with single line spacing; (2) to print questions on both sides of the sheet; (3) to print questions on one side of the sheet with single line spacing but double line spacing between each question.

At the end of the pilot survey, the researcher had the opportunity to iron out difficulties, unforeseen complications and misunderstanding of questions.

Following the pilot survey, open-ended questions were mostly converted to closed questions. In order to tolerate the disadvantage of a limited choice of answers which is given to the respondents in closed questions, the 'other' choice was added to a number of questions as required.

Moreover, it was found that the format of printing questions on one side of paper with single line spacing but with a double line space between questions ensured maximum response. It was found that giving the questionnaire schedule to a sample unit to self-complete and not to interrupt the respondent except if clarification of a question was requested proved to be the best way of administering the questionnaire. When the 'asking questions and recording answers' method was practised, it was observed that most of the police officers paused before answering. The responses were controlled and they did not feel comfortable.

The pilot survey also gave the researcher some idea of the amount of time that the questionnaire and interview would take and the best order in which to ask the questions.

Additionally, it was discovered that the most suitable time to administer questionnaires and to conduct interviews was at night, particularly after 21:00, because the number of cases the police deal with was lower and officers were more free after that time. This did not mean that the data collection process was conducted only during night.

Consequently, questions were standardised and a fifteen page questionnaire schedule was constructed. This format of the questionnaire was used for each respondent, and it was therefore assumed that subjects' responses are comparable since they are responding to exactly the same question, posed in the same order throughout the survey.

After finalising the work on the questionnaire, the researcher started to administer it and to collect the research data by doing the main survey.

### 3.2. Main Survey

Gaining access to do research in the Police Force is never easy. Entry was finally assured when a senior bureaucrat<sup>7</sup> agreed to cooperate with the researcher. He contacted and informed all related persons, stations, institutions, sections and departments with whom and which the researcher required cooperation in the data collection. Without this kind of support, access to the field would have been extremely difficult.

As a result of the assistance of this senior bureaucrat, the initial strategy for gaining access proved unproblematic. All police stations that the researcher applied to to administer the research instruments agreed to



participate in the study. Town (districts) directors and commanders of police stations mostly showed interest in the topic and instructed officers to cooperate with the study. After considering the researcher's request, they agreed to make officers available for administration of the questionnaire. However initially some police officers were uncertain as to the purpose of the study and were reluctant to participate. This sometimes caused delays in the research programme. A small number of officers in different patrols also refused to be interviewed. The reasons given were that they felt participation might cause some problems for them personally in their work. The researcher endeavoured to allay these problems by explaining the purpose of the research fully to these officers.

The researcher was also not able to ask questions related to police-government relationships and politics. Instead, these questions were partially pursued through interviews.

Although the writing of this thesis commenced in 1991, the fieldwork began in 1989 and was completed at the end of May 1991.

The researcher, at first, contacted the Police Academy students before framing the research in 1989. The aim was to become familiar with, to observe and interview them. For this reason, the researcher voluntarily taught a course, 'Introduction to Sociology', to first year students during the 1989-90 academic year in the Police Academy. At the same time, he took a short life-story of each student. Then, he carried out a collaborative research project on their socio-economic background<sup>8</sup>.

Besides that he started to collect all kinds of documents which were published by the press, the police organization and individuals concerning topics relevant to the Turkish Police. After framing the research project and standardised data collection instruments, the researcher conducted the main survey. The fieldwork was carried out in the five districts in the following order: Yenimahalle, Kecioren, Altindag, Mamak, Cankaya.

Before administration, the questionnaire and an outline of the aims and objectives of the research had to be submitted for formal approval and inspection to both town security directors and to the heads of selected police stations. After that, the subjects of each police patrol were informed about the aim of the study, and the researcher was introduced to them by each station (patrol) commander. When necessary, the researcher re-explained the main aim of the research to each sample unit. They were, if possible, collected in the same room but sat in different corners for the administration of the questionnaire. They were told that they were not allowed to discuss questions with each other, and that they should complete the questionnaire alone. Also, they were asked that if they did not understand a question to ask the researcher for clarification. However respondents mostly seemed to have no difficulty in understanding the questions in the schedule. Again, they were reminded that the project was concerned with police officers who have the rank from basic grade police officers to head commissar. The researcher's aims at this stage of the research were:

- To obtain the necessary information and data for the purpose of the study;



- To establish a relationship with police officers in order to gain their trust, to build some connection for further studies, and also to increase understanding of the subjects in their work place.

The subjects' aims, often, seemed to be:

- To gather information about different aspects of the study and the researcher;
- To talk and express their feelings, thoughts about their work conditions, work opportunities, and work related problems;
- To obtain, if possible, help for improving their work conditions and increasing the amount of their salaries by publication of the results of this survey.

Whilst the researcher never saw it as his role to meet the above expectations of the subjects, they were impossible to ignore, particularly in the light of his second aim, i.e. to establish a positive relationship with them, and to gain their trust in order to get their real responses to questions in the questionnaire. The relevant and appropriate information was given to the sample units, but not advice. In all police stations, their questions were answered in the same way. It was usually explained that 'this research does not directly aim to solve your problems. It aims to become familiar with you, to measure your occupational knowledge and consciousness, to determine your work related problems, and to examine the level of professionalism you practise when you are at work. However, the results of this study will also be presented to the General Directorate of Security as a report. Whether they are interested in it or not is an issue which is outside my control. My duty is just to carry out the research and to

find out the results, ...'. They were mostly satisfied with this explanation, but still complained about the low level of their salary and the difficulty of their work conditions.

Respondents completed the questionnaires anonymously. In other words, they were told that no identity information was needed, and the data (questionnaires) would not be given to any person or institution. The data would only be used for the purpose of this research. This definitely created more trust. Thus the researcher believes that his findings are representative of the police population.

The main-primary data on all three aspects were collected on the same schedule, and within the same survey. According to the results of the pilot survey, sample units were asked to complete the questionnaires themselves in which case it is typically known as a self-completion questionnaire. Each sample unit was given adequate time and opportunity to complete the questionnaire.

In contrast to the interview technique, the self-completion questionnaire has the distinct advantage in that a respondent's anonymity can be better assured (Ferman and Levin, 1975:42). A respondent may feel more comfortable if he is permitted to answer questions privately than in the presence of an interviewer or researcher. This may well affect the frankness with which a respondent is willingly to reply.

In order to check the accuracy and fullness of responses, the researcher checked each questionnaire sheet on submission by the respondent.



In examining the recruitment process or the process of joining the Police Force, two sources of data were used: Interview and Secondary Data (documentary study). Five high senior bureaucrats who were responsible for and had duties in the recruitment process were interviewed in their own offices. Each interview with a bureaucrat lasted for about one and half hours.

The interviews which were done with police officers aimed to get data and information about police-public interrelationships, police officers' thoughts about people who come into contact with police stations, types of crime and criminals, work related problems and suggested solutions, thoughts and perceptions about police-power (government) interrelationships, political pressure over the police, their definition and evaluation of the job and a 'good'- 'bad' police officer, why and how they joined the Police Force, their feelings, satisfaction and understandings of what they were doing, etc. They were interviewed in police patrols. The interviews lasted for a minimum of thirty minutes to one hour. Here, an unstructured interview was used. These interviews were conducted with a relatively small number of people, and they may or may not be representative of the general population. The aim, as stated before, was to gather information in order to support and strengthen the data which were obtained by the questionnaire. Also, they were useful to the researcher as a way of checking that the data were valid.

The researcher used both tape-recording and hand-written recording ways for gaining the data through interviews. Tape-recording was not preferred by most of the interviewees. Although it provides a pure representation of

what was said during the interview, tape-recording mostly disturbed interviewees. Therefore, it was used in a limited way. Instead, hand-written recording was used to round out the picture.

While an informal approach was adopted with ordinary police officers, a formal approach was practised with senior bureaucrats, at the beginning. Later this form changed to both formal and informal. The order of questions was very flexible because of both interviewees' personalities and work conditions.

The interviews were all conducted by the researcher himself and included a number of open questions which encouraged the interviewees to discuss their own feelings and thoughts fully.

The main part of the interview consisted of more specific areas for discussion that directly relate to the objectives of the research. It was attempted to pose all questions in such a manner as to give the interviewees maximum opportunity to express their attitudes and opinions. The issue of the autonomy of the Police Force which the researcher has ignored was identified by several interviewees as being important. Questions were followed up with supplementary questions when this seemed appropriate. The researcher showed interest, nodded and smiled on occasion in order to encourage the respondent to talk. This served to develop a friendly, relaxed atmosphere that invited discussion. The researcher always tried to provide an opportunity for the interviewee to add final comments about the topic under discussion. This was a useful way of securing any hitherto unexpressed thoughts and opinions. However, this sometimes led to problem with ordinary (basic



grade) police officers as it could, on occasion, encourage them to divulge information that was superfluous to the aims of the study and it required considerable skills on the researcher's part to focus the interview whilst maintaining full cooperation.

An additional problem was that the interviews with police officers were sometimes interrupted by superiors and when officers were asked to go out for work. When this happened, the researcher stopped the interview and completed it later.

Secondary data were also collected for the aims of the research. Specifically, writings about history and organisational structure; the organisation chart of the police force; entrance regulations and examination questions; statistical data about police personnel; police schools and their quotas; the Police Act and related bylaws collected from the related institutions, branches, sections and departments of the General Directorate of Security.

Although the study of the police is a sensitive area, there was no difficulty in obtaining existing documentary material in both the General Directorate of Security and the Police Academy. Access was also granted to use the libraries in both institutions.

As well as the questionnaire, interview and secondary data, unstructured observation techniques were also used in order to acquire supplementary data for the research.

The researcher observed subjects' behaviours toward colleagues and the people who come, apply or were brought by them into their natural setting. This strategy has

produced interesting insights into the life and times of officers in their work situations. By observing the daily work of officers, the researcher also watched how they behaved, how they engaged in conversation, and how they perceived and interpreted the events which occurred. The behaviours of people who come or were brought to police stations were also observed. This gave the researcher very important clues about the people's perception and knowledge of law and of police rights and duties. It helped also to understand what kinds of complaints are being made and from which stratum of society these originate.

Whilst administering the questionnaire, the researcher spent fourteen nights in the different police stations, mostly in central patrols. He had no part in activities, and never reacted to any incidents that occurred. He thought that nodding, smiling or sharing an officer's or a suspect person's reactions about an event would be disastrous in terms of remaining objective. The researcher kept a distance from events and made field notes during each incident.

The survey, consequently, was carried out with 166 police officers of whom twenty-six were administrators and 140 were ordinary police officers, as planned, in April and May 1991, a total somewhat in excess of the target sample of 150.

Throughout the survey all the subjects were thanked for having agreed to participate.

In conclusion, the data were collected according to the strategy which was determined before. In other words, the data about socio-economic background of the police and



their personal characteristics, about the recruitment process, occupational knowledge and consciousness, and professionalism in the Turkish Police were obtained by pre-determined data collection instruments.

#### **4. Data Analysis**

The data of the study were gathered from both primary and secondary sources: questionnaires, interviews, observations and secondary documentary material. As known, data only has meaning in terms of the analysis and interpretations made by a researcher.

After completing the data collection process, all questionnaires were numbered. Then, a key form was developed, and the questionnaires of each district were coded and entered on computer according to the key. After that the SPSS program for frequency distribution and other statistics was written. 'A frequency distribution is an important statistical technique because it is (1) the basis for the computation of many other statistics, and (2) an extremely useful descriptive device in its own right. Without such a distribution, data analysis would be limited to impressionistic accounts which is hardly a basis for reliable and comparative research' (Labovitz and Hagedorn, 1976:91). Finally, the SPSS programme was run, and the frequency distribution was obtained.

Data analysis can be thought of as a process of exploration. It involves descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics help the researcher to describe data by reducing large quantities of numbers to a manageable, in other words, a summary form. The researcher's direct

observations, and the interviews, also enabled him to generate ideas about the moral order, the norms and behaviours of the police officers, job descriptions, the recruitment process and the people who contacted the police. In addition, content analysis was applied to written documents such as interviews recording, governmental documents, newspapers reports, etc.

The findings will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

## Notes

1. See Appendix I for more detail of socio-economic background, occupational knowledge and consciousness, and professionalism questions.
2. Some statements were taken from Fielding's study (1988) and Hall's professionalism scale (1968; Snizek:1972), and Peelian Principles.
3. See professionalism questions and statements in Appendix I, Questionnaire Schedule Part III.
4. See for the 'Peelian Principles' (Cordner, 1989:1-7).
5. Only six units of sample had one year experience.
6. The pilot survey sample was primarily determined as fifteen sample units, i.e. ten percent of total sample size.
7. Ex-vice president of the Police Academy, and currently the Head of Foreign Affairs Department of the General Directorate of Security.
8. This research, titled 'Who Are the Future Police Elites? Socio-economic Background of the Students at the Police Academy in Turkey', is currently being published in **Policing and Society**, Vol.:3, No:4, 1993.



**PART I**

**TOWARDS A SOCIOLOGY OF THE POLICE**

### - CHAPTER III

#### - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

In research, theory is the *sine qua non* of practice. All researches are underpinned by theory at some level and all researches are 'theory dependent' (Clegg, 1990:116). An empirical study without a theoretical framework cannot produce an academic product. In this study, it is therefore necessary to discuss police and policing in general and to examine them in a historical context first. Then we may have a theoretical background in order to be able to understand and investigate the recruitment process, occupational knowledge and consciousness, and professionalism in the police force. These main concepts, for analytical purposes, will be investigated separately in part three.

This chapter seeks to discuss the police as a social phenomenon. The plan is to begin with a brief and basic explanation of the relationships between the police and the social sciences, particularly sociology. Secondly, attention will be given to what the existence of the police



as a policing system contributes within society, i.e. the emergence of the police and policing in both primitive and modern societies. Finally, the relationships between state, citizens and police, policing or the police idea will be discussed. The questions 'are the police necessary ?' and 'can the police be replaced by any alternative ?' will also be posed. Briefly, in this section the police, the state and the citizen triangle will be the focus of discussion.

## **1. The Police As A Social Phenomenon**

### **1.1. Policing and Sociology**

The concept of the police is actually derived from the Greek Politeia and then the Latin Polita (Whitaker, 1979:35; Reiner, 1988:141; Mawby, 1990:2). However the origins of the modern police may be traced more directly to the emergence of the state police forces in Western Europe. The growth of the idea of nation states, combined with the development of 'modern' bureaucratic systems and increasing urbanisation created both the machinery and the need for civilian forces to maintain law and order.

The Collins Dictionary of Sociology (1991) defines the concept of police (policing) as 'the organized civil force and agency of social control, which, in the service of the state, is charged with preserving law and order. It does this by protecting persons and property and bringing wrongdoers to justice, and acting as a deterrent to crime'. The same source defines sociology in brief as 'the scientific and, more particularly, the positivistic study of society. Since then, however, the term has gained far wider currency to refer to the systematic study of the

functioning, organization, development, and types of human societies ...'

Policing is seen as an agency of social control in the service of the state and is charged with preserving law and order, on the one hand. Sociology is defined as the systematic study of the functioning, organization, development and types of human societies, on the other. It also deals with interactions and interrelationships between two or more people or groups of people, namely human social behaviour. In addition, the main concepts, such as class, authority, domination, ideology, power, socialization, culture, social stratification, social order and control, education, etc., that the study of the police needs also organize the sociological map of the human world. In other words, it is obvious that sociology as a discipline has a strong concern with police or policing. As a result of this relationship, the sociology of the police or police science has emerged as a subject of scientific study 'with connotations far broader than the present meaning of the term' (Reiner, 1988:138), particularly in American and Western European Universities. Sociology is a subject of vast potential but the sociology of the police is one of its less prominent and most recent branches. It is also neglected in all histories of criminological thought, with the sole exception of Radzinowicz's encyclopedic History of English Criminal Law (Reiner, 1988:139-140). Although there has been a relatively rapid growth of research and writing on the police particularly in U.K.(see for detail Reiner, 1985:Ch.4), U.S.A. and Canada, the subject remains in little more than embryonic form in many other countries.

Social sciences such as sociology, psychology, politics, economics, anthropology, and history contribute



to developing a deeper understanding of the structure, function and social environment of policing. The study of legal institutions, criminology, penology, social and public administration contribute to an understanding of deviance, crime and control. These developments led to new studies which concentrated on comparative police studies, police principles, ethics, discretion, autonomy, accountability, impartiality, police management and administration, education, training, socialisation, 'the historical development, occupational culture, organizational framework, routine operations and constitutional status of the police' (Reiner, 1987:1). However, the relationship between the police and social scientists, particularly the sociologists, has been an uneasy one. As Pope and Weiner (1981:87) stated, police officers, with varying degrees of amusement and impatience, dismiss the social sciences as unrealistic, unhelpful, and contradictory. Social scientists complain that the police do not welcome them, understand their approach, or appreciate their ideas. Police and sociologists tend to view each other negatively. Explanations of these attitudes have been suggested by various writers such as Pope and Weiner (1981); Greenhill (1981) and Reiner (1985). The prime reason given is that sociologists have failed to communicate their findings effectively to the police force and thereby to demonstrate their practical value for police work. This may lead the police to see the sociologist's work as irrelevant. On the other hand, sociologists fail to recognise the contribution that police officers may make in criticising and informing their research, labelling police officers as incapable of conceptualising sociologically about their work.

How can this impasse be resolved ? Greenhill (1981:91-

107) suggests that sociologists must demonstrate 'the potential improvements to be obtained by the organisation, the increased information and knowledge to be acquired'. For example, sociological inquiry might lead to improved public understanding of and confidence in the police, based upon independent and objective studies. Modern sociology has its special contribution to make to the understanding of police or policing for two reasons. The first is that the sociologists, who have concentrated their studies on different societies with the police, have been in a position to comprehend such societies each in their entirety and so to deal with the police as an integrated system. This has made possible the development of comprehensive theories of policing dynamics embracing law enforcement phenomena as one aspect of the socio-political structure. The second arises from the fact that sociology is also a comparative science. It draws its data from all orders of society - primitive and modern or pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial - and from all portions of the globe. It provides the data to check hypotheses as to the nature of human behaviour and society by finding variables somewhere in the sociological research on a related society. It thus makes it possible to move much closer to both an empirical and theoretical study of police and policing. Sociologists can also examine police problems from different perspectives and with different tools. They can bring a greater precision to bear on the measurement of factors which concern the police. As a result, they can correct distortions and improve the public picture of policing (Pope and Weiner, 1981:87).

The police, on the other side, themselves can learn about alternative ideas and techniques. They will also be able to improve the quality of their services, to rectify



their policies, strategies and work styles, and to strengthen their relationships with the people they officially serve. Police science and the sociology of the police, therefore, needs academic knowledge which is very important for understanding people's needs, beliefs, values, and attitudes. It should use the scientific method and sociological approach to determine the main principles of human behaviour, although the application of these principles to the understanding of human behaviour mostly depends upon our interpretation and judgement. For example, the police can learn from Banton (1964) that they can only have a marginal influence upon social control, which is a function of many other agencies and attributes of the social structure. From Cain (1973) they may begin to appreciate the variations in styles of policing which are found in different social environments and to understand the sometimes conflicting pressures which impinge upon the constable's role. From Reiner (1978; 1985) they may begin to develop an insight into the critical position of the police in the class structure and the relationships between the police and politics, and from Mawby (1979) the extraordinary extent to which the police depend upon all sections of the public for both information and results (Greenhill, 1981:97). From Balch (1972), Butler and Cochrane (1977), Adlam (1981), Colman and Gorman (1982) and Reiner (1991) they can learn the main personality characteristics of the police officers and police elites; from Wilson (1981) political awareness in policing; from Mawby (1990) the practice and application of different policing systems in different countries and from Fielding (1988; 1991) a detailed picture of the training of police recruits and the role of the police in social conflict, etc.

The gap, in fact, between social scientists, particularly sociologists, and police develops from a mutual misunderstanding and lack of knowledge about each other's aims and methods.

## **1.2. The Emergence of the Police**

In the previous discussion some basic definitions of the police, sociology and the inter-relationship between sociology and the police were briefly given. In this section, the emergence of the police will generally be discussed within a historical context.

### **a. Early Formation of the Police (Policing)**

The first question which may be asked is 'have all societies, both primitive and modern, some form of policing?' If studies of Schwartz and Miller (1964), the study of Diamond (1971), and the Hoebel's study (1976) are taken into account the answer, without discussion, will be 'No'. Schwartz and Miller (1964) studied three characteristics -counsel, mediation, and the police of fifty-one primitive societies. They realized and defined the 'police' as a 'specialized armed force used partially or wholly for norm enforcement'. According to their findings, only twenty societies in the sample had police, that is a specialized armed force available for norm enforcement. Eighteen had only mediation, and some also had both mediator and police. The others had no form of policing. They determined some of the characteristics of primitive societies that had developed a police force. 'Eighteen of the twenty in our sample are economically



advanced enough to use money. They also have a substantial degree of specialization' (1964:166). In other words, in many of these primitive societies property is more significant than in others and some mechanisms are required for dealing with disputes over ownership, inheritance etc.

Hoebel (1976), studied law and anthropology and agreed that the procedure was first to develop a setting of ideas and methods for the study of law in a primitive society. Having done this, Hoebel then analyzed seven primitive cultures with reference to their underlying jural postulates and the ways in which these were translated into legal forms and action. He stated that 'every human society has some sort of territorial structure. The members of the group are usually closely related and they live separately from other groups; they move about in their own recognized territory and a sense of cohesion rests equally on kinship and territorial bonds. ...almost all peoples conceive of some acts which are believed to endanger the group as a whole and are treated as offenses against society per se' (Hoebel, 1976:295). According to him 'the law of things begins to rival the law of persons'(p.316). Special threats to the economic security of the tribe may come under a tribal criminal jurisdiction but 'the development of criminal law remains weak'(p.311). The conflicts between tribes or kinship groups were handled through official mediators, the monkalun. A monkalun is literally, an advisor, or functionally, a mediator. He is always the key figure in the adjustment of any troubles. Hoebel accepts the existence of the monkalun as the first step in the development of juridical institutions (1976:114). However he does not mention evidence of any police system in these primitive societies.

Diamond (1971) had also studied primitive law. He stated that 'among communities whose social structure is of the simplest there are no intermediate social, economic or political organs' (1971:178). However, when we turn to government and administration, according to his explanation, we find again variations from tribe to tribe but a degree of development from the Food Gatherers and from the simpler to the complex economies. For example, he stated that 'in the less organized social structures, among the Eskimo, there is no government: there are no chiefs though there is in most settlements an especially prominent person whom the rest tacitly and almost unconsciously acknowledge as the first among equals. Among the Western Shoshoni, where the extended family is the only politico-economic unit, there is the influence of the head or elder of the family but little mention of chiefs' (1971:184). In regard to disputes and disorder arising from alleged wrongs, the chiefs' function and efforts are to preserve or restore peace. He may offer advice or moral persuasion but not judgement(p.185). Power to administer punishment rather than persuasion varies from tribe to tribe, but everywhere exists to enforce conformity rather than revenge (p.186). The chiefs made the minor political decisions and discussed the major questions before bringing them before the general assembly of freemen of the tribe for their approval or rejection. Priests maintained order in the assemblies and imposed capital sentences. The other forces supporting order must be recognized: the power of the father as owner of the family property over wives and sons, after his death the influence of the eldest son over his brothers, the bonds with members of age-sets, agnatic kin, affines and maternal relatives, the personal relationships between individuals and groups with common interests, economic, social and ritual, the personal influence of a few rich



men, successful warriors and sages, all of which cut across other groupings, the desire for public approval, the fear of violent reprisals by offended groups and individuals making for social control (1971:242-243). Diamond also does not mention any form of police systems in primitive societies which he had studied.

Mawby discusses both Schwartz-Miller's and Hoebel's studies, accepts their explanations and states that many primitive societies had minimal levels of organization, with no form of money, little property and no specialization. Many other societies had some degree of administrative structure, but still had no police (1990:16).

It is, in fact, very difficult to accept such a view of the police or policing in primitive societies, namely the idea that all primitive societies had no form of police. As is known, the police are accepted, in general, as a governmental agency who enforce law, protect individuals and their properties. If so, it is possible to say that all primitive societies either less or more organized or not organized, had a sort of policing, although not all primitive societies had an official-governmental form of administration. This sort of policing may not be formal as we have today but it might be accepted as an informal one. Since human beings had to live either in a group or in a community, there had been interaction and communication with other members of the group or the community. For example, Mawby states that homicide only became a group responsibility where the offender was guilty of repeated killings and was thus seen as a threat to the group. In such situations the group might agree on united action, either exile or lynching. There was, however, no

individual or group specifically designated with any responsibility for controlling even this extreme example of deviance (1990:16). This may be true. There might be no specifically designated individual or group with responsibility for controlling deviant behaviour. But it should be accepted that if there is, at least, a united action for exiling or lynching of a person who threatens the group, there should also be some kinds of behaviour that are both acceptable and unacceptable, namely behaviour which threatens and does not threaten the group. Additionally, Hoebel (1976) mentioned the official mediators who handled the conflict between groups and were responsible for determining damages, and he accepted norms and taboos in these primitive groups or societies that had no form of policing. These two simple examples, in fact, mean that the primitive groups or societies had both informal policing and judgement-punishment duties and services, although there were no specifically organized institutions for them.

Besides this Schwartz and Miller (1964), Hoebel (1976), Diamond (1971) and Mawby (1990) also accept that many primitive societies had some degree of administrative structure, or some form of mediation. If there is an administrative structure, there are also inevitably norms and rules. Also the existence of mediators means there were different forms of conflicts. If the group or community had no such authority, the individual solved his problem himself - that Diamond (1971:195) called a 'private offence'. That is 'there was hardly anywhere a trial' (p.192). If the case is considered in the context of modern society, it cannot be accepted or labelled as a policing system but in a primitive society context, it is obviously the first step towards a kind of policing system. This



might later lead to the policing by soldiers in more organized socio-political structures. Mawby (1990:17) also mentioned the soldiers' societies that were deployed when societal conflict reached an unacceptable level at which the need for some regulatory force was recognized. Hoebel (1976:155) explained the development of this procedure in a very clear way as well. Policing by the military was more evident in the Roman Empire (Stead, 1984). It was especially used to maintain law and order, particularly in the provinces (Mawby, 1990:18).

The existence of an organised police system was not important or appropriate, because there were mostly norms and taboos which determined the daily social, political and economic life. Those were replaced by law in modern societies. All explanations provide that there was a norm and taboo enforcement system which was carried out by either chiefs, priests, monkalun, teachers, soldiers, kinship group, tribe, oldest man in the family, father or by eldest son of the family, namely by either community or by individual himself. If the norm or taboo enforcement was at community level, the practice should be labelled as 'informal primitive community policing'. If it was at individual level, the practice should be labelled as 'informal individualistic policing'. Consequently the different policing practices, either at community (group) level or at individualistic level, can be identified in primitive societies though these do not have the characteristics that the modern policing system has. These early forms of policing emerged as social structures and became more complex in terms of the invention of writing, some form of money, property divisions, and other specialist roles, particularly where full time government officials were established based on non-kinship criteria.

Equally clearly, though, these police systems themselves changed as societies became more complex (Mawby, 1990:19). The elements of the police system emerged in a sequence, such that each constituted a necessary condition for the next. Lundman (1980:15-17) conceptualizes this period - transition from informal policing to modern-formal policing - as 'transitional policing'. According to him, 'transitional policing' was characteristic of the systems which emerged in response to the breakdown of informal police networks. These systems of policing anticipated modern police departments in office and procedure, but they lacked continuity and they were not accountable to a central governmental authority. For example, this applied to the policing system in the city of New York between 1697 and 1783 (see for detail Richardson, 1970:3-22), and policing characteristic of eighteenth century London.

#### **b. The Modern Police**

The changes in social, political and economic structures that took place over thousands of years in primitive societies or pre-history took only a century or two in Western Europe in eighteenth or nineteenth century and take only decades in societies today. However it is very difficult to say that changes in each step were reached (occurred) from the same step on the scale. There are almost no human activities or socio-political arrangements that do not now stand under some form of governmental regulations. Moreover life now is economically, socially and politically more controlled than in earlier times.

The existence of modern policing and the nature of



modern police authority may perhaps be tested by the answers to three questions: Is there an office or post in which the police are charged with policing ? Has anyone a lawful (official) right to give an order that must be obeyed ? Has anyone an official right to make an arrest and a detention to maintain or restore social order ? When modern societies are considered, the answers to these three questions will be 'Yes'. In fact the creation of the modern police is closely related to the extent, and in what sense, the law is to be found in societies. Although common law worked for centuries without an identifiable police force, the emergence of modern police became a necessity in parallel to the increasing of population and complication of social, economic and political life.

The modern police as a regular and recognized part of the modern state is a comparatively modern innovation. In 1763, the police were defined by Adam Smith as 'the second general division of jurisprudence' (cited in Reiner, 1988:141). However, in the Western World, during the early part of the nineteenth century, a number of conditions developed that caused people to consider restructuring the law enforcement systems though the roots of the police today came from the pre-historic period. For example, from the rule of C. Octavius in 27 B.C. the police emerged as a distinct and a separate arm of government in the Roman Empire. By the third century, Rome had a well-established police force with *vigiles*, based in police stations, regularly patrolling the streets (Mawby, 1990:18).

Lundman (1980:17) gives four distinctive characteristics for modern policing: persons generally recognized as having full-time police responsibilities, continuity in office, continuity in procedure, and

accountability to a central governmental authority. According to Bayley (1985), modern policing incorporates three main (crucial) characteristics: it was public, specialized and professional. Mawby (1990:19-20) considers Bayley's model in the context of the three key features of policing: legitimacy, structure and function. He means by the police an agency which can be distinguished in terms of its legitimacy, its structure, and its function. If careful attention is paid to these three conceptualizations, it can easily be seen that the meaning of concepts more or less overlap with each other though their conceptualizations are different. Legitimacy, according to Mawby (1990:3), implies that the police are granted some degree of monopoly within society by those with the power to so authorize - that is it has a public characteristic - be they an elite within the society, an occupying power, or community as a whole. The concept of structure implies that the police are an organised force, with some degree of **specialization** and with a code of practice within which for example, legitimate use of force is specified. Although there might be considerable differences in terms of crime definitions, the balance between law and order, prevention and detection and the other duties, which are service related, administrative or concerned with political control, are assigned to the police force. The term 'function' implies that the role of the police is concentrated on the maintenance of law and order and the prevention and detection of offenses.

The modern police, as we know it today, is a product of English society in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Bittner, 1980:15). The location of origin reflects the fact that England was, at that time, further advanced



along the path of development as an urban - industrial society than other states. 'The British model was adopted everywhere else, albeit with modifications required by different traditions and different forms of political organization' (Mawby, 1990; 1991). However, there are considerable differences in the ways in which modern police systems have been constructed in different societies.

Although it is always hazardous to formulate estimates of historical necessities, it would seem to be exceedingly unlikely that the idea of the modern police could have arisen in many of the social, economic and political contexts that are described below.

Before the organizational formation of the modern police, the police served as nightwatchmen. With rapid social change new pressures and demands were generated for the police. In view of the changes in social, economic and political life, some other duties were added including lighting the gas lamps, finding lost children, catching burglars and so on (Richardson, 1989:433-439). Over time many of these functions were transferred to other agencies such as the municipality and other local organisations. For example, 'before the nineteenth century no police existed in Britain' (Bowles,1966:15). That is to say, no full-time, trained and paid enforcers of internal law and order. Police functions were fulfilled by other elements of the state, especially the military and various local volunteer forces (1966:15). By the 1820s, however, the challenge to the authority of the state and the property interests it protected, particularly from the rapidly growing working class of the industrial towns, was becoming unmanageable (1966:15).

### **i. Approaches to the Creation of Police**

Historical research on the police has increased in quantity and quality in the past few decades. According to these studies it is, in general, possible to put in order a few different approaches to the creation of the modern police, although categorizing theories on a world-wide basis is difficult, because the creation of police systems is very complex. In other words, there are currently four standard conceptual frameworks for examining the history of the police or to answer the questions: Why were earlier police systems inadequate ? What problems were the new police designed to confront ? and What determined the characteristics of the new police ?

One explanation for the rise of the modern police, especially the urban police, is that crime rose to such unprecedented levels that the constable-watch system collapsed and was incapable of adjusting to the pressures of industrialization and urbanization (Conley, 1989:439-446). Urbanism brought with it the need for explicitly formal regulation because the lives of the people living in cities are replete with opportunities of infringing upon one another and virtually devoid of incentives to avoid it.

The former is due to the sheer congestion of very large numbers of people, the latter to the social distance between them (Bittner, 1980:122). Towns were becoming larger and population density was increasing. 'Many people felt that crime and disorder were rising to dangerous levels' (Weiner, 1981:70). In the face of these conditions the ineffectiveness of a part-time, nightwatch became increasingly obvious. 'A number of cities, therefore, also instituted a day-watch: Philadelphia in 1833, Boston in



1838, and New York in 1844' (1981:70). The Metropolitan Police of London served as a policing model which was adopted by larger cities (Monkkonen, 1981:55). This new model of policing spread from larger to smaller cities although they did not have the same problem that the larger cities had.

A second explanation argues that the riots of the early nineteenth century created such fears among the populace that alternative means of riot suppression were sought (Conley, 1989:441). These conflicts caused the creation of most state police forces (Weiner, 1981:70). For example, the first state police, the Texas Rangers, had been formed in 1835 in USA, to patrol the Mexican border. In 1905, Pennsylvania established a state police to deal with striking coal and iron workers (1981:72). After World War I, the state police were widely adopted, primarily to quell strikes, to handle increasing automobile traffic, and bring a semi-balance of law enforcement to rural areas, where the old (previous) policing system had become inadequate (1981:720).

The third explanation is that 'the elites feared the rising number of and threat from the poor immigrants' (Conley, 1989:441). This fear came mostly from the possible destruction of their social values and fear for their property. In addition, the threat of losing control of the urban social order was another reason for fear which elites had at that time (1989:441). In other words, the argument is that the elites established the police to control the potentially dangerous classes. In this context, it is possible to give two different interpretations: The first one claims that the police served 'a social-control function', while the second claims 'a class-control

function' (Harring,1983), which is a Marxian approach.

The fourth and final and most probably the newest explanation argues that 'the police represented just one of many urban government agencies created to provide services to meet the changing demands of city governments ...' (Conley, 1989:441). In other words, city governments began to absorb many services such as health, fire, sewage, criminals, and so on. That is, in parallel with the increase of population, the size of bureaucratization of organisation also increased. This was coupled with the increasing and accelerating pace of technological, social, political and economic changes in the environment in which the police operate (Plumridge, 1981:175). In order to fulfil these duties, they established bureaucratic organizations. As a result, the urban uniformed police emerged as one of the governmental agencies.

In addition to these approaches, according to Bittner (1980:15) the most remarkable fact about the timing of the foundation of the modern police is that it is sequentially the last of the basic building blocks in the structure of modern executive government. The absolute monarchies of the seventeenth and eighteenth century had ample reasons for creating the kind of institution that would furnish them with means for the continuous and detailed surveillance of citizens. Yet they did not develop such means, but relied on inherited methods of crime control and met such peacekeeping problems as they confronted by contingently mobilized means (1980:15).

Although public concern for order, riots and crime played an important role in shaping the new police, these issues did not dominate the debate about the establishment



of the police. In other words, in terms of the problems which gave rise to the emergence of the modern police, it is clear that arguments, advocated at the time, that crime was out of control or that public disorder had reached new heights were grossly exaggerated. At best we might accept that circumstances were considered unacceptable by the emerging urban elites. In some instances, rising crime or street violence was identified as the problem, and street protests by political activists have been specified; rather the growth of cities has been associated with the threat posed by a more heterogeneous population - with more immigrants, emigrants etc. These issues may have served as a precipitating event in most cases, but they are not preconditions to the establishment of the modern-uniformed police alone. For example, 'most cities did not experience these social problems, yet they also created uniformed police organizations during the late nineteenth century' (Conley, 1989:441). Consequently, it can be said that there is no historical evidence to support any theory which assigns sole agency to urbanization in the creation of a uniformed police force. There is, briefly, no single reason for the creation of the modern police. Conversely, all the reasons which have already been mentioned have a contribution or a role to play in the emergence and development of the police today. The modern policing systems existed in many different societies and in many different time periods. Many countries were influenced by one another. For example, the U.S.A. adopted community-based policing practices from Britain, the Netherlands, France and other European countries (Mawby, 1990:10). However, it should be realized that elements of one policing system cannot necessarily be transferred, because the practices of one society may or may not be applicable in other societies. However, the essential feature of the

new, modern policing systems are that they are public (legal), professionally organised and specialised.

If a comparison is made between primitive and modern policing in terms of their legitimacies, structures and functions, the explanation below can be given; in terms of primitive police, the role of a non-state police was more common (Mawby, 1990:20). Any formation that can be called the police was mostly community based. There was no restricted legitimacy. The structures of the policing systems were less formal and prescribed. They might functionally be characterized by a lack of specialisation. Policing can be accepted as only one aspect of an individual's occupational responsibilities.

In the modern police, legitimacy is accorded a public characteristic. Although local, private, voluntary or informal policing forms may exist, the police force has a national mandate. It is structurally located in an organization whose mandate is clearly prescribed and which is bound by legal rules. They are structured to a large extent though the form of structure varies considerably. Police organizations have centralization, specialization, rank-structure and authority, expressed through laws or codes defining what is an acceptable level of force. Functionally, modern policing is characterised by both external and internal specialisation. Specialisation is a main feature of modern police systems, although the basis for specialisation varies considerably. Police officers are legally expected to work in law enforcement to the virtual exclusion of other jobs, and internally less emphasis is placed on non-crime administrative responsibilities and more specialization on specific aspects of crime (Mawby, 1990:20). However, in practice, the police make service



demands more than crime control demands (Punch, 1979:103-117; Bittner, 1980:14; Crisp, 1990:16).

The problems the modern police were designed to confront can generally be classified as follows<sup>1</sup>:

- 1- Working-life related problems: Industrial disputes, strikes, demonstrations and counter-demonstrations, etc.
- 2- Socio-political order related problems: Terrorism, anarchism, crimes - arson, bombing, kidnapping, etc. -, demonstrations and protests against the political system (state) and social peace, etc.
- 3- Economic structure and property related problems: Tax crimes, smuggling, gambling, theft, burglary, robbery, etc.
- 4- Person related problems: Murder, kidnapping, stabbing, mugged, assault or attack, rape, sexual harassment, child abuse, discrimination, suppression of vice, etc.
- 5- Arrest, detention and prosecution duties: To make a search or inquiry, to arrest law violators, to collect evidence, to take criminals to court, etc.
- 6- Entertainment related problems: Sport matches and activities, problems in discotheques, celebrations, etc.
- 7- Prevention duties: Preventions for possible crimes, disorder and delinquency, etc.

8- Other duties: These are mostly service oriented duties. For example, controlling and directing of traffic, provision of public services, crowd control, supervision of licensed establishments, arbitrating fights and mediation, emergency health aids, ceremonial functions, taking care of lost children, evicting a drunken person from a bar, etc.

In sum, the role of the modern police is to address a very wide range of human problems.

### **1.3. The Police, the State and the Polity: A Discussion**

In terms of modern policing today, it is possible to find private, voluntary or informal policing in parallel to the legitimated public police force in some societies. Security firms, with uniform officers, perform a policing job in both public and private places. In this section, however, they will be excluded because of not having a universal character, as they are either subordinate to the public police or have a restricted legitimacy. They are normally under the control of the public police force which has a national rather than a local mandate. Therefore the public police will only be assessed in terms of the state - citizen and police relationships, police or policing idea, its characteristics, structure and function, and its challenge.

If an assessment or a discussion is made about the police, it is inevitably necessary to take the arguments from the three different dimensions (perspectives) into account: State, Citizen and Police. In other words, the



nature of police work clearly needs to concentrate on the relationships between the state and individuals as citizens, and the role and place of the police in these relationships. This is because current policing philosophy identifies the public as customer, and public opinion is increasingly likely to influence the choice of policing strategies (Mirrless-Black, 1991:21-25). In other words, up to twenty years ago, most people, including most academics and politicians, were content to leave policing to the police. More recently, however, developments and changes in socio-political and economic life have led widely divergent groups to ask questions about the purposes of policing and about the effectiveness of the police in achieving these purposes, whatever they might be (Morgan and Smith, 1989:1).

In this section, most attention is paid to the Western model - the capitalist formation of the state.

In general, a composite definition of the state includes three elements (Hall and Ikenberry, 1989:1-2; Barbalet, 1988:109). First, the state is accepted as a set of institutions, or it can be described as a network of power relations between the distinct organizations involved in the promulgation, interpretation, application and enforcement of law. These institutions or organizations are manned by the state's own personnel. Second, these institutions are at the centre of geographically-bounded territory, usually referred to as a society. Crucially, the state looks inwards to its national society and outwards to other societies in which it must make its way. Third, the state monopolises rule making within its territory. In creating and enforcing the rules or laws to which all social entities are subject it constitutes the principal

expression of political power in national societies. This tends towards the creation of a common political culture shared by all citizens.

A stronger state presence is required for security reasons to establish order. The search for security by a state means that it will seek to play balance of power politics. 'The power of a state is very closely related to its wealth, and state strategies often seek to maximize wealth to gain the power' (Hall and Ikenberry, 1989:11). The security which is generally regarded as the first responsibility of the state has a dual aspect (Beetham, 1984:214). Internally, the state claims to protect people under its authority from violence at the hands of each other though they also need a guarantee of protection against the violence of the state. Externally, the state claims to defend them against the threat from other states. Of these two, the state obviously has more control over the internal than the external aspects. Each state has an authority which means 'the ability to declare, and to enforce the "law of the land" ' (Bauman, 1990:162). The people under the authority are forced to obey, whether they like or not. In fact the state claims the sole right to apply coercive force: to deprive the law-breaker of freedom through imprisonment. The other side of the state monopoly of physical coercion is that any use of force which has not been authorized by the state, or committed by anyone other than its authorized agents, is condemned as an act of violence and hence invites prosecution and punishment. The law announced and guarded by the state determine the rights and duties - responsibilities - of the state citizens.

The combination of rights and duties which are determined and legalized (legitimated) by the power (the



state) make the individual a citizen of the state or the society. Citizenship is as old as settled human community, and it can be described as participation in or membership of a community or a society. 'Different types of political community give rise to different forms of citizenship' (Barbalet, 1988:2). In its own terms, the practice of citizenship contributes to the 'public (common) good'. But the structures in which citizens participate in their collective affairs have wider implications for the organization of society as a whole. The practice of citizenship concerns the consequences of advances in citizenship rights (1988:1), especially for the relationships of citizens and for the social and economic institutions in which they live and work.

The relationships between the state and its citizens, as Bauman stated (1990:167), look like the relationships between a doctor and its patient. Even if the patient is allowed to choose his/her doctor, s/he is expected to listen and obey. The doctor tells the patient what to do, and s/he generally expects approval, not discussion. The doctor explains that s/he does it for the patient's own good. Similarly, the state justifies its own call for the uncontested implementation of its instructions. The state puts forward that it is there to guide citizens towards a peaceful social order and protect them against insecure conditions (1990:167). However, there is a converse relationship between the state and its citizens. For example, the citizens can complain to the authorities and seek their assistance if their bodies or properties have been assaulted on the one hand. On many occasions, they resent the obtrusive interference of the state into their private lives and rights on the other. They may feel that the state constrains their freedom. They mostly blame the

state organs such as government, parliament, social institutions, bureaucratic organizations, etc. if some of their paramount needs or values are in danger, because, 'the state always tends to strengthen its demand for more discipline and authority' (1990:167). Therefore, even under the best circumstances, there is always at least a residue of tension and distrust between the state and its citizens. The fact that being a citizen of a state is a combination of rights and duties makes the citizens feel simultaneously protected and oppressed. Their experience of the state is therefore inherently ambiguous. It may happen that they like it and dislike it at the same time. Which one prevails depends on circumstances, because they know they owe to the awesome force always waiting somewhere in the wings to be deployed against the breakers of peace. They believe that if the state withdraws its punishing first, universal violence and the law of the jungle would rule instead. Therefore it is generally believed that the citizens owe their security to the power of the state, and that there would be no security without it. Briefly, they confront the controversy between the demanding and opposing aspects of the state activities. The relationships between the state and its citizens are often strained, as the citizens find themselves obliged to struggle to protect their citizen status threatened by the growing ambitions of the state. From the state's point of view, the citizens are first and foremost objects of state regulation. Their conduct is seen as something that ought to be strictly defined by the rights and duties determined by the state. If the state neglects such a defining, the citizens will determine their actions themselves - very often to their own and their fellows disadvantage, as they pursue selfish ends, making living together uncomfortable. Therefore the citizens demand a peaceful security from the state and the state



organs, specifically from the police.

In order to provide a peaceful social order for its citizens 'the state needs legitimation' (Bauman, 1990:169). In other words, the state needs to convince the citizens that there are valid reasons why they should obey the authority of the state. 'Legitimation is meant to secure the citizen's trust that whatever comes from the state and bears the stamp of the appropriate authorities deserves to be obeyed; and the conviction that it also must be obeyed' (1990:169). Everybody should follow the law just because it is demanded by legitimate authority, the state. In other words, the formation of the general system requires everyone to respect the law and legitimate authority if he does not wish to be punished in some way. 'Legitimation aims at securing obedience through reasoning and calculation' (1990:169) because the state directly or indirectly via education, mass media or briefly via socialization processes asserts that it is better for everybody if everybody is obedient. Consensus and discipline make society better, and a concerted action is more beneficial to everybody. Wherever industrialization has occurred, it has been associated with important changes in the relationship between the state and the citizens, namely governors and the governed. It has been related to the emergence of social classes and the changing distribution of power between them.

The relationship between citizenship and social class is the focus of Marxist critique of bourgeoisie citizenship, although 'the rulers of industrial societies do not regard the state as their own property' (Hurd, 1978:35). In addition, it is expected that all groups and all strata in society are involved with the affairs of the

state. Major political decisions are therefore made not only in terms of the interests of the rulers but also have to take account of the interests of other sections of the population (1978:35). Marxist theory, however, suggests that inequalities under capitalism signify modes of domination and exploitation; claims about mutual advantage and the impartiality of the principles of justice look very thin. Capitalist entrepreneurs, in this view, are not a means to the general advantage; they are a ruling class with their own particular interests which are privileged and protected by the capitalist state (Walton, 1984:116). The ruling group, the bourgeoisie, try to maintain their privileges and their domination over others. They manage to organize military, police, administrative and religious affairs in a way which acts to their advantage (Hurd, 1978:28). Althusser (1971), even, terms them as 'repressive state apparatuses'. Therefore citizens do not have an equal distribution of welfare, education, health, income, etc. Especially in the less developed Third World States, the law tends to protect the interests of the ruling group. The governmental agencies or institutions are charged by the strong at the expense of the weak. There is always an ideology or propaganda that it is right that the ruling group should rule; that the power (state) is legitimate and every single member of society must obey. This ideology or propaganda is also a creation mechanism of social, cultural (moral-ethic) values that serve to prevent and to maintain the existing social order.

The ruling group also tends to have a monopoly of knowledge and so is able to control the flow of information to the rest of the population (Hurd, 1978:30). This helps to secure legitimacy for the state and its major function of concentrating power and so supporting the social,



political and economic superiority of some groups at the expense of the others. This imbalance of the power inevitably creates inequalities among the members of society. For example, the history of modern-industrial societies is full with struggles that consistently pursued better wages and better work conditions. In other words, 'the collectivism of the struggle conducted by trade unions was the natural response of the workers to the imbalance of power on to sides of the great divide, a necessity dictated by the need to restore the balance of power warped by the employers' monopoly on work resources' (Bauman, 1988:73). This is because the state power, as discussed above, means monopoly over the instruments of coercion. It is only capable of enforcing legitimated rules of conduct and promulgating laws which all citizens must obey.

As a result, the distance between those who govern and those who are governed has grown and the gap has been filled with bureaucratically symbolized communication. Weber identified bureaucratization as one of the dominant motifs of the modern age (Walton, 1984:128-129). Because the tasks of the modern state have become specialized, and the exercise of the state control is assigned to specifically authorized bureaucracies, therefore a more bureaucratic administration is needed. One aspect of the further development of the state is the emergence of a specialized central or local administration and a more specialized army and police that is directly responsible to the holder of power (the governor).

The tasks of the modern state and the relationships between the state and individuals as citizens show that the state needs to have a force to exercise its power. It is almost impossible to imagine a state without this kind of

power. The state internally exercises its power through a legitimate organization, namely the police force. In other words, governors have historically striven to protect the public safety by enacting laws and organising police agencies to enforce them. The police force clearly assumes considerable and critical duties and crucial administrative tasks in order to exercise state power in the relationships between the state and its citizens. In this context, the police have more direct and closer relations with the individuals as the citizens of the state. The police are often viewed as an enforcement organization whose domain of competence is determined by penal codes and other statutory delegations of the state.

When the literature is reviewed, it can easily be seen that much of the history of police development is a story of learning from the experiences of police systems elsewhere. Thus the legality, structure and function of the police forces today -more or less- have similarity. For example, the Romans bequeathed a legal system and the concept of centralized bureaucratic control on much of Continental Europe and later the French imposed policing systems in their own territories (Mawby, 1990:10). In addition 'emigrants to the U.S. and Canada took with them an awareness of policing in Europe, which then shaped early developments in North America. Conquerors attempted to impose police systems of their own on subjugated populations, in the Colonies. We also see US influence on postwar Japan, Japanese influences in China and Hong Kong' (1990:190). The translation of neighbourhood watch from the U.S. to England and Wales (1990:10) can be given as a recent example. Briefly, borrowing occurs when police systems adopt practices from other countries. This mutual characteristic of modern policing systems allows a broad



assessment on the general idea of police or policing, although the structuralization of organization might be , as Bayley (1982) stated, the authoritarian, the oriental or the Anglo-Saxon model; or as Mawby (1990) stated, the continental or the colonial police system; or as Wilson (1968) pointed out, the watchman, the legalistic or the service style policing.

The police force occupies a position of special interest among the institutions of modern government in every single state. It has emerged as having the advantage over any other governmental or social institution in dealing with public disorder. The police are authorized to establish an effective response to some sorts of problems in social, political and economic daily life and to evolve operational practices. The police are the agents of the system whatever it is. This gives them a unique and, admittedly, uncomfortable position within society. In other words, it should be recognised that the need for order, via the formal - legitimated institutions of government, established the police force. Police, in one sense, are an expression of the desire of society to regulate itself, although they are not separated from the public. However the police are different from other segments of society in many ways because it is clearly obvious that policing society is essentially an authoritative activity that requires (needs) to enforce rules in society. Therefore the police's role in occupation is accepted as an atypical social experience (Adlam,1981:161). In addition, some persons advocate authoritarian policing as a sort of reward to the police in that clear, strong police powers would make their job easier and greater authority would enhance their status in society (Wilson,1981:129). Such kinds of interpretations lead to a belief that police officers tend

to be authoritarian, dogmatic, and mostly conservative.

Balch (1972:154-156) examines evidence that bears upon one or another of two main theories advanced to account for the apparent police authoritarianism. The first one is upon role and demands of police work, that is the fulfilment of a social role induces certain psychological characteristics. The second one suggests that authoritarian individuals who mostly think they are right and other people should obey them are, in some way, attracted to police work. Balch gives three kinds of recruitment or selection procedures. First, authoritarian individuals may deliberately choose police work because it is compatible with their needs. Second, any liberals may avoid police work. Third, the police may recruit their members from the persons who are relatively authoritarian. Another reason may be that police work is a low-paid occupation, the requirements for which can be met by individuals who are poorly educated.

Furthermore, Adlam (1981:158), by reviewing an evaluation made by police officers about themselves, gives the main characteristics of police officers as follows:

- (a) the police are authoritarian and do attract authoritarian personalities;
- (b) the police are alienated;
- (c) the police are racially prejudiced although they do not often translate this into discriminating behaviour;
- (d) the police are specifically sensitive to criticism, real or imagined; (the implication is that the police are overly sensitive);
- (e) the police have a preference for a traditional male role; particularly in their conception of, approach to and treatment of women;
- (f) the police do not have a sufficient awareness of relevant developments in technology and social science;
- (g) the police perceive the world as a rather threatening and dangerous place, in consequence, they are particularly concerned about their children and are often highly (even overly) protective towards them;



- (h) the police secretly admire the 'intellectual' and educated; therefore they want the best possible education for their children.

This self-criticism or evaluation of police officers shows that the police are different from the other segments of the population in certain ways. (see also Butler and Cochrane, 1977; Colman and Gorman, 1982). Here a question can easily arise as to why they are different ? Such a question requires a sociological and psychological analysis at both the level of theory and practice.

The relationships between the police and individuals, and the internal organisation of the police are both of considerable complexity and variety, and are not readily understandable by commonsense alone. This is because policing represents an extremely important and relatively little known aspect of society, vitally related to government, to criminal justice and to social welfare (Greenhill, 1981:105). In other words, the police force, as Bittner (1980:119) stated, is at once the best known and least understood. It is best known, because every individual or member of society is aware of its existence and s/he can contact with the police in any time and in any way. It is at least possible to see a police officer who directs and regulates the traffic on a corner or to see a police car with siren passing in the street. The police force is least understood, because since its establishment, there has been sedulously built up around it an image of general perfection. Politicians, government commissions and committees, the judiciary and magistracy, most of the press (media), many educational establishments constantly foster the belief that the police serve the common good and that any bad behaviour on their part is exceptional, not a reflection of either the nature of the policeman or the role he performs (1980:119). The critics of the police are

mostly seen as 'anti-police', 'anti-law', 'anti-order', even sometimes as 'unpatriotic'. In addition, when people are called upon to explain on what terms and what ends the police service is furnished, they are mostly unable to go beyond the most superficial and misleading commonplace. They mostly base their images of police or policing on personal experiences. Police forces have mostly not succeeded in formulating a justification for their existence that would recognizably relate to what they actually do (1980:119).

First and foremost, the police as an organization has a hierarchical and semi-militaristic structure which causes its members to see themselves as 'disciplined'. Hence it is different from other organizations in society (Plumridge, 1981:177). It is also a highly complex system that has many sub-departments which aim to serve a different aspect of the general policing system. The quest for a peaceful social order at top maximum level is one of the main political targets of contemporary governing agencies. To provide this, power and authority are granted to police organizations so that an orderly society can be brought about. Naturally this has brought a complex set of relationships between the police, central and local authorities (government), and individuals as members of society. The police both as individuals and as an occupational group have wide influence over how the way of life in society is conducted and thus, indirectly, over the way society will develop the future. As a profession, the police aim to consider the matter of how society should be policed. In this context, the police are seen and accepted as the public servants and accountable to the same public. But the entire history of the police obviously shows that first and foremost, they were designed to protect property,



and therefore the wealth and privilege of the minority who control the major part of industry, trade, finance and land by their influences and dominations on the government (Bittner,1980; Bowles,1966; Mawby,1990; Monkkonen,1981; Conley, 1989; Hurd, 1978). This minority is to be protected not only from robbers and criminal individuals, but also from popular movements that might threaten their position and power. Therefore, when there is a strike, the police act on behalf of employers; when there is opposition to war preparations, they act on behalf of those who gain from preparing for war. When the police spy, they spy on those whose views and activities are considered subversive of the establishment (Bowles,1966:15). Thus, there is mostly an important gap between public expectations of the police and their actual ability to deliver services, particularly in relation to solving or controlling crime. The gap may occur from a possible contrast between police and public priorities in relation to police work. These considerations raise a point that although the police are seen as public servants in theory and this varies in different societies, they are the police of political power. Therefore the balance between police, power and the public as customers should be well organized. The police may have to spend a lot of their time in order to explain their actions and to ensure that they do not alienate their communities in democratic societies because the police can only operate effectively with the consent of the public (majority). Therefore, we should pay attention to the nature and direction of social change and the extent of sympathy and support the police have from the public. The police should desire public support upon job-related issues (law and order issues), and they should have consciousness that they are in charge of the service today.

Secondly, we often read or are told that the role of the police is to centre around law enforcement (Reiner, 1987:2), crime control and internal-social peace keeping. This is a true but an insufficient explanation of reality, or at least an oversimplified definition of reality, although 'the repressive state apparatus myth depicts the police as an essentially oppressive political force creating crime and criminals through its labelling activities' (Reiner, 1985:111). This is because 'according to available estimates, approximately one-third of available manpower resources of the police are at any time committed to dealing with crimes and criminals' (Bittner, 1980:41), and the police have a limited capacity for controlling crime (Crisp, 1990:16). In other words, policing is obviously more than simple law enforcement or crime control, although law enforcement is a government service with which the citizens have frequent contact. The police, firstly, have considerable powers of discretion in enforcing (invoking) the law, and, therefore, the police's role in society goes deeper than just blindly enforcing the law in a particular way. Policing cannot be understood without reference to the criminal justice system in total, or the wider legal tradition as well. It may also be shaped by the political system of the country, or public administrative structures such as the balance between central and local government or the role of a professional civil service, the military or a political party in administrative affairs (Mawby, 1990:15). The part the police play in the administration of justice is very specific and indispensable because they are charged with the responsibility of conducting investigations leading to the identification of suspects and with securing the evidence required for a successful prosecution. That is why they are always on the side of prosecution.



It is also possible to see some desire from political party representatives who are in power to exercise direct control over the police for their own privileges. They may try to strengthen linkages between the party machine and police organization, especially by appointing high level bureaucrats and directors. To deal with this pressure, the police must be separated from the direct interference of government. However it is difficult to reduce the interference of politicians in the police in the countries which are politically unstable.

In addition, because the policing of society is an authoritative activity, the police sometimes use force to achieve their objectives. The authorization and obligation to use force on the basis of no more than reasonable belief that the undertaken action is justified is the exclusive monopoly of the police (Bittner, 1980:34). In other words, the mandate of the police is organized around their capacity and authority to use force. No other official in any branch of civil government has this right or this duty. Contrary to the cases of self-defence and the limited authorization of custodial functionaries, according to Bittner (1980:37), police authorization is essentially unrestricted because the lawful use of force by the police is practically meaningless, and no one knows the minimum level of use of force when the police are on duty. It is not clear enough. To say, however, that the police have a monopoly on force means that this is their unique role in society, with which, on the basis of practical considerations, neither the government nor the citizens can presumably do without (1980:34). To institute or organize a police force is to legitimize the use of responsive force, and neither the police nor the public is entirely in the dark about the justifiable use of force by the

officers. When a police officer is at work s/he generally does something for somebody by proceeding against someone else. Therefore, in some cases, the police can need to use force, e.g. to bring dangerous criminals, killers, etc. to the bar of justice. Police officers may use the needed force only in the performance of their duties and not to advance their own personal interest or the private interests of other persons. The police officers may also not use force in a deadly, malicious or frivolous way.

Besides this, because the police occupation is mostly preventive and service-oriented, many activities that they deal with are, in fact, unrelated to law enforcement. They lie in the field of various societal institutions such as educational, psychiatric and social welfare institutions (Bittner, 1980:40). Each of these fields has its own trained specialists who are respectively more competent than the police, although none of them, except police, are available twenty-four hours a day. It would seem preferable, therefore, to take all those matters that belong properly to other specialists out of the hands of the police and turn them over to those to whom they belong. Though police officers often do what psychologists, lawyers, teachers, physicians, psychiatrists, social workers etc. might expect to do, their involvement in cases is never that of surrogate of these specialists. Police officers, their interests, objectives and duties have a radically distinct nature. Therefore, saying that the police profession is dealing with people in trouble and in danger should not mean that police officers are good at playing the role of other occupations or professions. The police profession involves matters of extraordinary seriousness, importance and necessity. It has bodies of technical-professional knowledge and elaborate schemes of norms to guide



individuals in their respective tasks (1980:142).

Thirdly, the terms 'impartiality' and 'autonomy' gain importance in a discussion of police, citizens and state (government) interrelationships. These terms are not precisely defined in practical ways. Both impartiality and autonomy are, within limits, desirable and that is essential, in the interests of achieving a service which is correct, lawful and effective. Police organizations have, since their inception, exercised a considerable degree of self-regulation. Police see mostly themselves as highly accountable to the law, to the government, to the local police authorities, to public opinion via the media and to the individual citizens via the complaints systems. The freedom of a police officer from central or local government is not absolute in practice. They have to accept central or local regulations and conditions of service, and have to explain their actions if required to do so and finally may face the possibility of being dismissed. Besides this, they may feel that they are beset by bodies exerting pressure upon them. In other words, there is a common police perception that they are answerable only to the law by both the state and the police organization. However, the degree of independence practised by the police is greater than in other governmental departments or institutions. They are remarkably autonomous, able to manipulate the law, neutralise the Local Police Authority, ignore public opinion and discredit complainants (Greenhill, 1981b:101). How can one really be independent of something that one is charged with? Police officers are first and foremost humans. They are characterised by processing and capacity limitations like any other humans. Furthermore, many studies (Bittner, 1980; Fielding, 1988; Ozcan and Caglar, 1993) show that police officers are

mostly from middle, lower middle and lower class origin, and are mostly unemployed, particularly in the Turkish case, before joining police force (Icelli, 1977; 1987; Icelli and Unal, 1989; Ozcan and Caglar, 1993). As stated before, they are more authoritarian and different from the non-police populations in many ways. Therefore, 'because of their own social origins, many tend to express social prejudices more emphatically than other members of society' (Bittner, 1980:11). For example, as is well known, the preferred targets of special police concern are some ethnic and racial minorities, the poor living in urban slums, and young people in general (1980:11). However they may sometimes have special reasons for it because the preponderant majority of police interventions are based on mere suspicion or on merely tentative indications of risk, and police officers would have to be expected to judge matters prejudicially even if they were personally entirely free of prejudice (1980:11). Moreover, for a police officer, rushing to the scene of a crime is an opportunity to do something remarkable that will bring him to the attention of his superiors in a way that might advance his career. Therefore, although police departments are highly bureaucratized and police officers are surrounded with strict internal regulations, a police officer is mostly alone and independent in his dealings with citizens. He receives very little guidance and almost no supervision, and he is on his own. He gets advice when he asks for it, but since police officers do not share information, asking for and giving advice is not built into their relations; his/her decisions are reviewed only when there are special reasons for review, and records are kept of what s/he does only when s/he makes arrests (Bittner, 1980:135-136). Briefly, like everybody else, a police officer wants to succeed in what s/he undertakes. But unlike everybody else,



s/he does not retreat, if s/he defines a situation as properly his/her business, and s/he has to learn on his own most of what a police officer needs to know to do his work. Thus, what ultimately gets done depends primarily on the individual officer's perspicacity, judiciousness, and initiative (1980:142).

The fact is that each police officer is vested with power in order to do his job. Law is passed by parliament. Although Police Acts and police superiors tell a police officer how s/he should act in upholding the law in theory, no one can tell any police officer how s/he should act in practice. He/she uses his/her own discretion when carrying out his/her duty, like a vigilante (Reiner, 1985:155-156; see also Pike, 1985:63-91 and Lustgarten, 1986:10-24). In this context s/he is in exactly the same position as any other citizen. Sociologically s/he mostly has freedom of acting when s/he is alone on duty and on the street. This raises the question whether police carry out their duties properly and lawfully. In addition, when a police officer breaks or violates a law, his/her colleagues may lead him/her to be arrested. In other words, if a police officer behaves criminally, s/he is arrested by another police officer. The impartiality of a police officer towards his/her own colleague is also worth discussion. Can police really be entirely independent and objective in a criminal case involving a police officer? It is difficult to say a police officer always behaves objectively towards his/her colleagues. This also means the violation of law by the law enforcers and protector. Constitutionally or according to law police are not the servant of anyone. They enforce the law itself. The responsibility for law enforcement lies on their shoulders; they are answerable to law and the law alone. However, it is very difficult to say that this

always exists in practice because there is no direct control over the police officer on the street. S/he most probably makes subjective and personal judgements. As an individual s/he may not feel an agent of any system or anyone. S/he thus makes a personal assessment of invalidity, based on his/her own perceptions and experiences rather than on any concrete evidence (Wilson, 1981:126). The cases of the Birmingham six, Guildford four, Tottenham three<sup>2</sup> and Stephen Kickov<sup>3</sup> in U.K., and the explanation of the Istanbul Security Director<sup>4</sup> are good examples of the asserted idea that the police cannot be entirely objective and independent, and all the jobs done by the police may not be entirely lawful, and the police have more autonomy in their job than any other governmental officer.

One can say that the decision of imprisonment belongs to the law courts. But the courts give their decision according to the evidence that is collected by the police. As is known, the police are charged with the responsibility of conducting investigations leading to the identification of suspects and with securing the evidence required for a successful and lawful prosecution. In addition the setting up of an independent Police Complaints Board recently is also an example of the police subjectivity and prejudice. Therefore, some institution or someone who is outside of the Police Organization must be given the authority to question police actions. If there are not enough control mechanisms, this often leads to danger, because by using the name of law, the law is mostly being violated. For example, the police racism in U.K. (The Times, 18/2/1992:3), and the ransomer - gun fighter police officers in Istanbul, Turkey (Cumhuriyet, 7/11/1991:1-4) are good examples of the law violating police officers.



In the Third World and non-democratic countries this danger is clearly seen. The annual reports of Amnesty International and International Human Rights Organizations can be accepted as evidence of the situation, because there are no influential human rights' organizations, occupational or professional associations, organized or unorganized pressure groups and public associations which have a direct or an indirect duty of control over the power of the police. Briefly, there is no mechanism for controlling the police force and police officers directly, especially in the non-democratic underdeveloped countries where they may sometimes have the duties of law enforcer, criminal catcher, prosecutor and judge. This situation leads to people who the police try to protect through their social order not mostly liking the police. On the contrary, they are against the police in many aspects.

Furthermore, the bureaucratic organizations like the military and the police never do their duties completely as stated in the related laws and regulations. This is because it is contrary to the nature of the bureaucratic structure of both organizations. As is known, a police organization needs new technological vehicles, apparatus, buildings, clothes, new personnel and other kinds of equipment that are required for policing purposes in order to provide and maintain its policing fabric, and to get as big a budget as possible from the national income (the government), at least more than the previous year's. If the police or military do their duties completely, they cannot demand a new increased budget and privileges from the government when it comes to making up budgets and to acting on new laws for them. Therefore propaganda is often strongly used to fuel prejudice and encourage stereotypes thus enabling the concept of an enemy to be perpetuated. An essential

feature of both police and militaristic organizations is the concept of an enemy from whom we must, at all times, be ready to defend ourselves. This attitude may be conceptualized as '**threat or enemy complex**'. Therefore, it is obvious that more of the national income in each single country is always spent on defence than on health or education. For such a balance of priorities to be sustained a great deal of effort is put into building up the idea of the threat from an outside enemy (Fell, 1988:76). For example, apart from Switzerland, the army of every single country in the world has at least one potential enemy. The Pakistan Army has an Indian threat, the Turkish Army has a Greek threat, the Arabs have an Israel threat, etc. The intensity and density of enmity, and the name and number of the enemy country can be changed according to time and space. But each army has at least one potential enemy. Both the police and the army as special organizations spend and make an effort to have such a situation. They introduce themselves as '**sine qua non**' to both state and society.

This procedure is always kept fresh. For example, the Turkish Government in 1990 wanted to make a 8 % discount (decrease) in the budget of the National Defence (Army). One day later, the Head of Turkish Army (the Chief of General Staff) made a statement that 'if a border of the country is violated by one of our enemies and if the Army cannot resist it the responsibility of this situation does not belong to the Army. In contrary, the people who want to decrease the budget of the Army will be responsible' (Hurriyet, 25 October 1990, p.1). As a result of this reaction the government gave up its decision, and the budget which the Army wanted was approved. Therefore such kinds of organizations never do their duties completely, but they also consciously never decrease the level of



service they provide under a certain degree. In fact this is valid for all kinds of bureaucratic organizations but it is more clearly seen in army and police organizations. If they decrease the level of service they provide under a certain degree, society may be suspicious about their existence and their success, and may look for an alternative organization. They regulate the balance so as always to appear that they are indispensable. This can be accepted as a special characteristic of both police and militaristic organizations. In fact the maintenance of an adequate and efficient police organization is definitely dependent on their occupational knowledge, professional skills and their work-related technical opportunities.

Finally, an attempt will be made to answer the questions why we need the police or 'are the police necessary ?', and 'can the police be replaced by any alternative ?'

An important characteristic of the modern state is the growth of bureaucratic organizations because as the size of the state increases the organs of administration expand and become more bureaucratic. In other words, the institutions and practices of the community are dominated by the bureaucracy and subject to bureaucratic criteria of control, although bureaucratic organizations mostly elude democratic control and accountability (Walton, 1984:128-129) because of their hierarchical and centralized structure. The initial growth of the specialized political bureaucratic organizations of the state is probably closely linked to the emergence of social stratification. When states face pressures for change in social, economic and political life, they generally have three options, as Barbalet (1988:10) states: They may ignore them, they may

accede to them, or they may repress the groups demanding them, all depending on the balance of social forces. The state, as the Marxist approach states (Tucker, 1972), is not at any time a neutral force, representing the general interest. On the contrary, it embodies the interests of the dominant class. The rules serve the interests of some rather than all of the people, although every citizen of the state has constitutionally the same right; and the generalization of modern citizenship across the social structure means that all persons as citizens are equal before the law and therefore no person or group is legally privileged. Those disadvantaged by the class system are unable to practically participate in the community of citizenship in which they have legal membership (Barbalet, 1988:2). However, some groups manage to organize military, administrative and religious affairs in a way which acts to their advantage. The establishment of further state offices of law and taxation furthers this process (Hurd, 1978:28). Thus the law mostly tends to protect the interests of the ruling group. In this context, the state may mostly not be able to control all social groups which exist in its own territory, although the state power has gained other sources of power, notably ideological, ethical and nationalistic ones. Therefore policing society is one of the main political targets of contemporary governing agencies. In addition, policing is a belief system which is based on the assumption that human beings are by nature violent, aggressive, and competitive, and that the social order needs to be maintained by a force like the police.

Although the formation of the modern police occurred in the 19th century, the yearning for peace and order is, of course, not a 19th century invention (Bittner, 1980:17). More importantly perhaps during the nineteenth century the



structure of everyday life changed more rapidly, especially in cities, in ways indicating that people relied on the efficacy of the means that were available to secure freedom from violence. In other words, the obstacles to peace and order in society are many and varied: Social structures are mostly constructed on a model where 'one wins' automatically means 'another one loses', because of living in a world organized in a competitive and hierarchical way. That is, having a peaceful order mostly needs a state of peace in which there is no conflict. But a moment's thought makes it clear that a social life without conflict is virtually impossible because when a power aims to do good it also does harm, and something that should be saved can also be destroyed. This can be accepted as the paradox of the nature of policing.

Another obstacle to peace and order that requires the police in society is fear (Fell, 1988:75). The people in a society all experience it to varying degrees at times, especially in situations of conflict. They may be afraid of their adversary because of the possibility of physical harm that may be inflicted on them, or it may be fear of differences between them that leads to conflict. Such differences may be of character (personality), race, religion, class, sex and may arise from prejudice because of the stereotypes we receive through the media, the socialization process and other sources. In general, this is because, as members of society citizens are socialised to act initially with suspicion towards those they know to be different from themselves in some way.

Besides this if we are to be interested in peace and order, we also have to be interested in violence. Broadly, violence within a society falls into two main categories:

direct and indirect. The direct violence is directed by one person to another as in the case of assault, torture, terrorism, etc. looking more at conflict than at peace. Indirect or structural violence is the way in which people may also suffer as a result of social, political and economic systems (Hicks, 1988:6). Such structural violence may also lead to death and disfigurement or a diminishing of human well-being and potential, as a result of racism and sexism, poverty, denial of human rights, etc.

Briefly, what makes the police available and inevitable in society is the need of living together in a community that creates social contracts between the members of society, and the authorization of the state for this need. Under conditions of complexity and anonymity prevailing in modern, particularly in urban, life, order in public life can be maintained only by formal means of control that the majority of society members have consensus about. Therefore one of the important risks in defining the role of the police in society is to oversimplify their significance. Although order and security depend on other factors such as economic, social and political ones, the availability of the police does make life safer and more orderly. The simple fact is that both society and the state are dependent on the availability of a professional police force which we continually expect to improve its work methods, to be more democratic, and to become more powerful for a safer and more orderly life. All citizens in society inevitably need the help of the police when their life or paramount values are in danger. Most people will agree that life today is complex enough and is replete with situations in which the need for such service is not in doubt, and in which, accordingly, the service of the police is indispensable. No matter what the socio-political and



economic structure of society is, an organized police force is inevitably needed, except in a utopian society model or religious-abstract living systems.

Consequently to say the police are not necessary for social life is difficult. In addition, to look for another alternative which will be able to take the place of the police force is also difficult because society appears as a whole behind each concrete social institution (Adorno, 1989:268), and it remains a product of human activity. All individuals more or less depend on the totality which they form. In such a totality or living together, everyone is also dependent on everyone else. The whole survives only through the unity of the functions which its members fulfil (1989:268). Therefore policing society is one of the main and inevitable necessities of social life. The main and important problem is to make the police force very accountable. In other words, the questions, 'what constitutional limits should be set on police powers and autonomy, and how should these work in practice ? What political structures and processes are involved in setting goals for policing and monitoring the means of their achievement ?' (Reiner, 1987:3) etc., should carefully be answered.

In order to make the police force more accountable, special interest should be paid to the recruitment process, occupational knowledge, skills and consciousness, and the level of professionalism that the police perform when they are at work. There is also a need to have a concerted view and to publicise the true nature of policing. Without the confidence and approval of the public, the police machine as we know it today would become powerless and incapable of fulfilling its function. The history of the police clearly

shows that loss of public approval would make them helpless and unable to function (Bowles, 1966:228). A relatively small number of police can be effective if they have the cooperation of the majority of the population. The police therefore have constantly to be aware of public opinion and react to it. The public should have confidence in the police and think more highly of their police than of other institutions. In order to succeed in this, there is a need to democratise the police by increasing its visibility, accountability and sensitivity to public (citizens) needs as expressed via media, pressure groups, associations or through legitimate political processes. In addition, a notion of the common good (benefit) and shared values, ideals associated with the idea of the society, should be created. These can be linked with a participative idea of democracy. From this standpoint an increased participation and democratic accountability beyond the formalities of representative democracy are essential. In this way democracy supplies a persistent challenge to concentrated administrative power. This is because both the state and the police cannot rule and cannot be effective in the absence of support from significant social classes and groups, namely the public.

On the basis of this assessment an attempt has been made to conduct a sociological discussion concentrated on the inter-relationships of state, citizen and the police. In the following chapter, the Turkish Police Force in terms of its 'historical background', 'organizational-bureaucratic structure', 'policing' and 'education and training' will be investigated.



## Notes

1. For different descriptions of problems the modern police are designed to confront see (Bittner, 1975; Johnson, 1978; Regoli and Poole, 1980; Shapland and Vagg, 1988; Folley, 1989; Morgan, 1990; Cotterrell, 1992).
2. These people were accused of killing people in terrorism. The Birmingham six stayed in prison 16 years, Guildford four 14 years, Tottenham three 4 years. Later, the Appeal Court found them innocent and they were released (ITN, "Judge on Trial", 23/4/92).
3. S. Kickov was also accused of killing an 11 years old girl. He was cleared of murder after 16 years in Jail (Horsnell, 1992:3; Campbell, 1992:1-3-18).
4. The Security Director of Istanbul, Turkey stated to the press that "we catch criminals but courts release them" (Eksi, 1992:1-11).

## **PART II**

### **THE TURKISH POLICE ORGANIZATION**



## **-CHAPTER IV**

### **-THE TURKISH POLICE ORGANIZATION**

There is today, in contemporary Turkey, much more concern about the nature of the police function and about the role of the police in society. In parallel to this, there are serious efforts by the government to improve the police's negative image, to provide public support and to make the police more effective and accountable in their work. That is why one of the aims of this chapter is to investigate the Turkish Police Force as an organisation in general. It is also thought that this is necessary, because a general description, explanation, investigation and discussion of the Turkish Police Organization as a whole will allow and help us to make a more reliable, realistic and understandable investigation of recruitment process, occupational consciousness and professionalism in the Force.

Firstly, a short explanation that gives general information about the Republic of Turkey will be given. It

is thought that this will be useful in the case of lack of knowledge on Turkey in general. Secondly, attention will be directed to the historical background of the Police Organisation. As is well known, one of the important points which should be moved into the forefront of the discussion is the formulation of criteria for judging (assessing) the police and their practices. Therefore, to advance further in the quest for a realistic definition of the Turkish police, it is necessary to review historical materials that will show how the Turkish police moved into the position in which they find themselves today. Thirdly, the organisational structure or bureaucratic nature of the contemporary Turkish Police Organization will be described. Additionally, the duties that the Turkish police are currently charged with and the policing system in the country will also be given. Finally, the education system and training process of the Organisation will be explained.

## **1. The Republic of Turkey**

The Republic of Turkey is located at a point where the three continents making up the old world, Europe, Asia and Africa are closest to each other, and straddles the point where Europe and Asia meet. Its actual surface is 814,578sq km, of which 790,200 is in Asia known as Asia Minor or Anatolia, and 24,378 is located in Europe known as Thrace. The land borders of Turkey are 2,753km in length; its coastlines are another 8,000km (5,000 miles) long. It is bounded on the West by the Aegean Sea, on the northwest, in Europe by Bulgaria (269km) and Greece (212km), on the north by the Black Sea, on the northeast by Georgia and Armenia



(former S. Union Republics-610km), on the east by Iran (454km), and on the south by Iraq (331km), Syria (877km) and the Mediterranean Sea (GDPI,1990:15).

The population of Turkey is 56.9 million (1990). Some 47 percent of the population lives in the countryside. Major cities are: Istanbul (7.4m); Ankara, the capital (3.2m); Izmir (2.7m); Bursa (1.6m); Adana (1.9m); Antalya (1.1m). Life expectancy at birth is 64 (UN Demographic Yearbook,1988). For administrative purposes Turkey is divided into 74 provinces. (See map 4.1).

The Republic of Turkey was founded on the social and economic heritage of the Ottoman Empire. As is well known, the Ottoman Empire collapsed at the end of World War I, after an existence of some five centuries. Writers like Namik Kemal and philosophers like Ziya Gokalp had already begun to propagate doctrines of Turkish nationalism and to establish contact with the Turkish masses through such methods as the simplification of the Ottoman language to conform more to popular Turkish speech (Weiker, 1981:1-2). Some reforms were begun by the Young Turks when they had come to power in 1908, but they were able to achieve little in the way of development. In 1919, when the allied armies had occupied a big part of the country, the Ottoman general, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk who was born in Salonica in 1881, the son of a minor bureaucrat and educated in Ottoman military schools, began political organization. Defence of Rights Societies (which later became the nucleus of the Republican People's Party) were organized and brought together in Congresses at Sivas and Erzurum. From these Congresses issued the National Pact, declaring Turkey's intentions to remain sovereign (1981:2). In the early 1920s, at a time when Turkey was under occupation, Ataturk,

who is the founder of the Republic, created a system based on the supremacy of the national will. The first constitution of the new Turkish State adopted in 1921 was inspired by the thoughts on which the Western democracies were built.

Following the Turkish War of Liberation, on July 24, 1923, the Lausanne Peace Agreement was signed, and the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) announced on October 13, 1923 that Ankara was the new capital. On October 29, 1923, the Republic was proclaimed. Following the foundation of the Republic, a series of reforms took place one after the other; through amendments to the civil code, women were given social and electoral rights and privileges, the Latin alphabet was adopted, the Western legal system was adopted, and a secular state was formed. After proclaiming the international recognition of the new Republic, the 1924 Constitution was adopted. This Constitution provided for continuation of the system of parliamentary governments. Both legislative and executive powers were held by Parliament. Whilst Parliament had the right to monitor and if necessary to bring down the government, neither the president nor the government could dissolve Parliament. Under the provisions of the 1924 Constitution, executive powers could only be exercised by the President or the Council of Ministers. The judicial and executive powers are clearly separated. Courts exercise judiciary powers independently. The 1924 Constitution was amended in 1937, the six main principles of the Republican Peoples' Party (which was the only political party in that time) program, republicanism, nationalism, populism, etatism, secularism, and revolutionism, being enshrined in the Constitution itself as basic qualities of the State (GDPI, 1990:47).



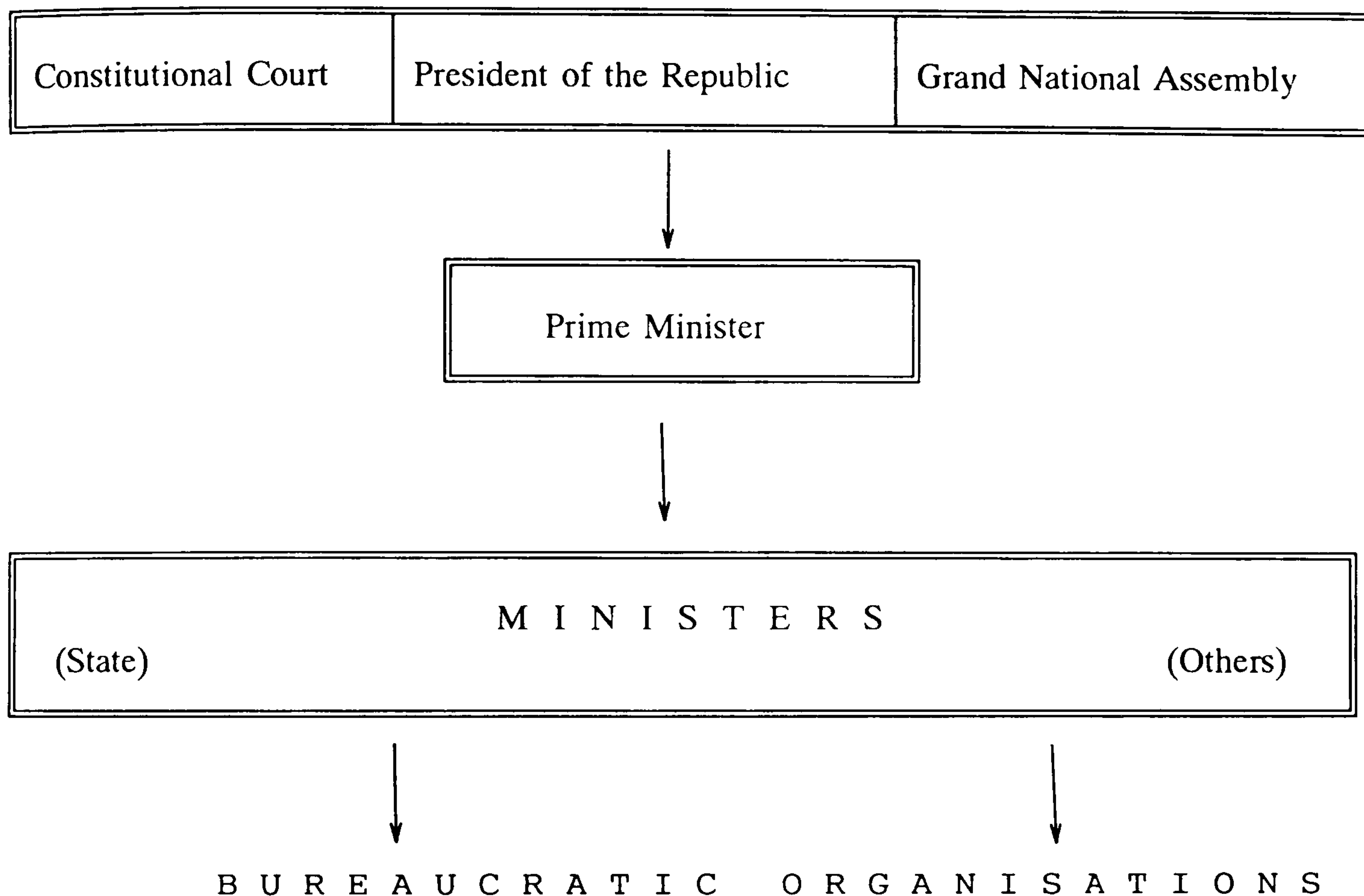
After the Second World War, in 1946, the multi-party system was adopted, and the formation of blocs on the international plane led Turkey to bolster her relations with the Western world, with which she shares common values and a democratic political regime. Determined to ensure her national security within the Western bloc, Turkey joined NATO in 1952. She also joined in and contributed to the efforts of Western Europe towards integration by first taking her place in the Council of Europe politically, by joining the OECE and then the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) economically.

The 1924 Constitution represented a mixed system somewhere between parliamentary governments and a parliamentary model. In 1961, a new constitution was adopted by a referendum. This constitution brought about further developments towards the parliamentary system. The legislature was a bi-cameral parliament. One chamber was the National Assembly consisting of 450 deputies elected by the people in the general election. The other was the Republican Senate, composed of 150 senators elected also by national suffrage, as well as 15 Senators that were appointed by the President, in addition to which the members of the National Unity Committee and former Presidents of the Republic were lifetime natural Senators. In the legislative process, the National Assembly had final say over the two houses. In the exercise of executive power, the President symbolically represented the unity and integrity of the State, and the Prime Minister and other Ministers made up the 'Council of Ministers', who held political responsibility in the use of this power. The Prime Minister was appointed by the President from among the members of the TGNA. The Ministers were appointed by the Prime Minister and presented to the President for his

ratification. The 1961 Constitution fully separated the judiciary from the executive and the legislature, thereby clearly operating the separation of powers principle. In this system, details regarding the security of judges as well as matters related to full freedom and independence of the courts and the careers of the judges were turned over to the 'High Commission for Judges', whose members were elected from among the judges of the 'Supreme Court'. Furthermore, the concept of the 'Constitutional Court' was first introduced with the 1961 Constitution. The developments in police organisation and policing system in Turkey will be discussed in further parts of this chapter.

After the military coup in 1980, the 1961 Constitution was significantly changed, and a new constitution prepared by the Consultative Assembly, which was promulgated after a referendum in 1982. In this Constitution, the Republican Senate was abolished, and the election system of the speaker of the House and the President was re-regulated. Both of them are selected by the members of the TGNA. The speaker is on duty until the following general election, but the President is elected for a seven-year period. Furthermore the 1982 Constitution has provided the Executive with powers that derive directly from the Constitution itself, provided that the executive actions taken do not conflict with laws. The Prime Minister is also appointed by the President, who is generally the leader of the most successful party in the general election and also is a member of the TGNA. The Ministers are appointed by the Prime Minister and presented to the President for his ratification. The structure of the state in Turkey is as follows:





The general-national election is held in each five-year period. The 1982 Constitution has also provided that a 'state audit board' functions as a constitutional body, appointed by the President and reporting to the President. According to a constitutional provision, the President may, upon the proposal of the Prime Minister, terminate the holding of office of any Minister.

The duties and the establishment of the administration are regulated by law and are based upon a centralized as well as local government concept. Centralized administration means that authorities are centrally held, and that all administrative services are performed by

agencies or organizations that are attached to the central hierarchy, or these services are performed in the provinces by provincial or county administrations that are attached to the central administration. Local administration or government means that public services are performed in the region itself by corporate bodies or institutions, whose officers are elected by the people living in those areas, to deal with the administrative, social, scientific, technical and cultural matters (GDPI, 1990:61).

Judicial power is exercised by independent courts. According to Turkish law today, the power of the judiciary is exercised by judicial (criminal), military and administrative courts. These courts render their verdicts in the first instance, and the superior courts examine the verdict for the last and final ruling. The superior courts are: the Constitutional Court, the Court of Appeals, the Council of State, the Military Tribunal of Appeals, the Supreme Military Administrative Court, the Court of Jurisdictional Dispute, the Court of Accounts and Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors (1990:63). Judges, who are independent in discharging their duties, rule on the basis of the provisions of the Constitution, the laws, jurisprudence and their personal convictions. No organ, office, authority or individual may attempt to intimidate, instruct or order, make suggestions or recommendations to or send notices to any judge concerning how they may exercise their judgements in the courts. The independence of the judiciary is the guarantee for judges and prosecutors provided for in the Constitution.

A competitive and pluralistic political party system has been in operation in Turkey since 1946. The formation, activities, supervision and dissolution of political



parties are regulated by the provisions of the 1982 Constitution and political parties law of 22 April 1983. All citizens of Turkey, with the exception of civil servants and members of the armed forces, who are over 20 years of age, may form and become members of political parties. Prior permission for the formation of a political party is not required. The parties are allowed to function freely in accordance with the provisions of the related laws and the Constitution. All political parties must establish their headquarters in Ankara and formation requires the signatures of at least 30 Turkish citizens who are eligible for election to Parliament. There are currently 12 political parties in Turkey. All citizens both male and female who are over 21 including police officers have the right to vote for any political party in elections.

## **2. Historical Background of the Turkish Police Force**

As mentioned before, the Republic of Turkey was founded on the social and economic heritage of the Ottoman Empire. This heritage included a tired but capable army, a corrupt bureaucracy, the rudimentary beginnings of modern economic and social institutions, and a group of publicists and politicians who were veterans of several periods of struggle against Sultanistic absolutism (Weiker, 1981:1). The victories against the allied armies which had occupied an important part of the country swept Ataturk into a position of unchallengeable national authority which he was to retain until his death in 1938. Under the Republican People's Party (RPP) stewardship, Ataturk and his

colleagues (who were the new modernizers) moved to take control of all aspects of public affairs. Although some organizations and institutions such as the Sultanate (Monarchy), the Caliphate (the title of 'Defender of the Faith') (Hale, 1981:33-34), etc. were abolished, some others such as the army, bureaucratic organizations, educational institutions, etc. were transformed into a modern Western and secular form in the new Republic. In fact, in their early stages newly independent states often rely upon more tenuous charismatic leadership and authority. This mostly creates problems, particularly for orderly succession and power transfer although the problem of public order in such situations is particularly acute.

The Police force was one of the transformed organizations inherited from the Ottoman Empire. The first regular organization named as the Police was established on April 10, 1845 in Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, with the publication of an official paper called 'Police Rules-Regulations (Polis Nizamnamesi)'. This paper consisted of seventeen articles that defined and explained the police role, work and duties. (See for more information Alyot, 1947:77-78). This new force mostly located in Istanbul was responsible for acting in towns and cities in order to establish and maintain internal security. Internal security services in rural areas were left to the soldiers called Gendarme (Jandarma). This police organisation, however, existed for a very short period of time. Instead, the Marshalship of Gendarme established in 1846 became responsible for the maintenance of law and order both in Istanbul and other cities. Later on, although an inspectorate was set up to handle police functions, it was abolished and its tasks were handed over to the Gendarme. In 1879, the police organisation was re-set up for the



maintenance of security in Istanbul. After 1893, this organisation was extended to other cities. During this period, as a result of the establishment of the Ministry of Gendarme and direct attachment to the Office of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman Army, the Ministry of Gendarme began to act just like the present General Directorate of Security (GDS) and the Gendarme Department assumed the task of the present General Commandership of Gendarme (GCG) (GDPI, 1990:84). The Ottoman police organization briefly underwent organisational and occupational changes in 1867, 1869, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1885, 1894, 1898, 1899 (TPTGV, 1983:30-32). Meanwhile, regulations defining the tasks and responsibilities of the Police Organisation were issued in 1907.

During the period of Constitutional Government, and particularly between 1909 and 1913, many laws, rules and regulations dealing with various aspects of law enforcement were issued. The most important legislation was the law on the Establishment of the General and Istanbul Directorate of Security, which was enacted in 1909. From this year, the GDS began to administer the police functions instead of the Ministry of Gendarme. Therefore, a GDS, above all security directorates and affiliated to the Ministry of Interior Affairs (MIA), was formed for the first time to administer the national police. The tasks of this organisation were defined by the Organisational Regulations of the MIA, issued in 1913 (GDPI, 1990:84). Two months after the convening of the Grand National Assembly at Ankara on April 23, 1920, a new Directorate of National Security was also established in Ankara (TPTGV, 1983:32). The Istanbul-located organization was completely abolished in 1922 when the Salvation (Liberation) War was won. Instead, the Ankara organisation became the unique, central and national

security organisation of the new Turkish Republic. The police regulation of 1923 preserved many articles of the 1913 regulations. In addition, it clearly defined the powers, tasks and responsibilities of the police force. This regulation remained in effect until the enactment of Law numbered 2094 Pertaining to the Security Organisation and Law(Act) numbered 2559 on Authorities and duties of the Police, promulgated on July 4, 1934. Later on, Law numbered 3201 on security organisation, enacted on June 4, 1937, defined and regulated the duties, responsibilities, powers and personnel affairs of the national police organisation. In other words, the official police rules and regulations that explained, defined and regulated the police's roles and duties, and were legislated in 1907 and 1913, were practised in total until 1930, and partly until 1932, 1934 and 1937 (see details of these changes below). Consequently, although affiliated to the MIA, the GDS became an agency administered under its own law.

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the first discussions of possible regulations relating to the security organisation were done in 1930. At this date, the Act of Interior Affairs Ministry Central Organization and its Duties, numbered 1624, was legislated. With this Act, General Directorate of Security (GDS) became one of the organizations of the Ministry for Interior Affairs. The GDS was defined in the fifth article of this Act. According to this Act, the GDS consisted of five divisions and one document office. These can be given as follows (EGM, 1973:15):

- a- The first division consisted of two offices which were responsible for general security and peace in the country.



- b- The second division consisted of two offices which dealt with administrative, local and judicial duties.
- c- The third division consisted of two offices which worked on matters related to appointment, promotion, retirement, etc. of employees, matters related to education, accountantship (finance) and equipment.
- d- The fourth division consisted of three offices which dealt with the matters related to foreign people.
- e- The fifth division consisted of two offices which dealt with the technical, statistical and publicity works.
- f- The document office was responsible for postal service of the organisation, and for processing applications to join the Police and its results.

In 1932, the most radical legal regulations were instituted with the Act of Police Organization, numbered 2049. This Act consisted of forty-six articles. The main principles of central and peripheral institutions of the Police Organisation, cadres and ranks, recruitment necessities, appointment, promotion, exchanging of work place and duty, committees, and discipline (penalty) regulations for officers were regulated by this Act (EGM, 1973:14-16). This Act also defined and determined the police as a new profession, and proposed to open official and regular police education institutions to educate and train police officers. Police officers were classified into two categories: officers with uniform and officers without uniform, also officers with horse and without horse (foot officers) (Alyot, 1947:615).

With the Acts numbered 2050 and dated 1932, and numbered 2531 and dated 1934, the fifth article of the Act numbered 1624 which regulated the central institutions of the GDS was changed. With this change, general security which was the responsibility of the first division of the GDS was transferred to a new (sixth) division, and another division (seventh) that was responsible for border matters was established. In 1934, the Act of Police Duty and Authority (APDA), numbered 2559, was published and legislated (TPTGV, 1983:32). This remained in use for a long time. With this Act, all codes which were in the different Acts and related to the police and security affairs were mostly combined in the same Act because this untidiness was causing an ineffective policing service. A few years later, with rapid social, economic, and political change, rapid increase of population and high rate of migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey, the legal regulations related to the police and the Security Organisation became ineffective. That is why the old Ottoman police regulations, the Acts numbered 2049, 2050 and 2531 were completely abolished. Instead, with the revision and investigation of some Western European countries' Police Acts, such as the Wien Police Organisation, a new act named 'the Act of Security Organisation (ASO)', numbered 3201 was adopted on June 4, 1937 (EGM, 1973:16-43).

The ASO is primarily concerned with the structure of the organization and does not refer to police action, which remains covered by the APDA. The ASO reorganised the GDS and its central and peripheral institutions. For example, in order to develop the occupational knowledge and quality of police officers, the new police educational institutions such as 'Police Institute' in which the middle and higher



rank professional administrators would be educated and trained was proposed, and later established in Ankara. Since 1934 and 1937 these two Acts, 2559 and 3201, became the foundation of the legal codes of the Police Organisation. Although some changes were made in these two Acts, the APDA (2559) and the ASO (3201) remain in force.

These changes can be given as follows:

a- **Changes in APDA (PVSK) (2559):** On June 15, 1935 the 5th article of the APDA was changed by the Act numbered 2270. The Police were authorised to take finger-prints and photographs of criminals who had committed property crimes, smuggling crimes and who were vagabond as well.

On February 20, 1948 the 18th article of the APDA was modified by the Act numbered 5188. This article was related to the police authority which was given by the highest ranking governor of the residential area. The authority that made the police able to detain people and to seize both their private and non-private vehicles was abolished.

After promulgation of the 1961 Constitution, a commission was designed to find the articles of the APDA which were contrary to the Constitution. As a result, the 2nd article of the APDA was re-regulated by the Act numbered 594 on July 16, 1965. The oral and written command situations that the police had to obey were re-regulated.

On July 26, 1973 the 25th article of the APDA was re-designed, and the authorities and duties given by this article were transferred to the township (subdistrict)

Commander of the Gendarme.

In 1971, the Constitution was partly changed, and according to these modifications a new Act numbered 1775 was enforced on July 26, 1973. With this new Act; (1) The 8th article of the APDA was changed in order to make clear the matters related to the re-opening of the commercial places or shops in which crime had been committed. (2) The 9th article was extended in order to authorise the police further to search for persons and their belongings by (at) the command of a high rank civil administrator. (3) The method for determining the drunkenness level of aggressor criminals was made clearer by extending article 13 of the APDA. (4) The 20th article that regulated police entrance conditions to houses for search was brought into accord with the 120th article of the Constitution.

**b- Changes in ASO (ETK) (3201):** On June 15, 1938, the 3rd, 8th, 75th and 77th articles of the ASO were changed, and the contents of the 19th, 25th and 70th articles were expanded by the Act numbered 3452. The important changes at this time were the decision to establish a police high school (polis koleji) which would be a source of students for the Police Institute.

On December 16, 1946, promotion matters and the period of each rank in career were regulated by the Act numbered 4868. The 24th article of the ASO was also changed by this Act.

On April 15, 1959, the 26th and 30th articles of the ASO were changed and the promotion principles of the Police Institute graduates were shown by the Act numbered 7257.



On January 1, 1960, the 90th article of the ASO was changed, and a 'Police Care and Help Fund (Polis Bakim ve Yardim Sandigi)' was established to cover the moral and financial necessities of police officers including retirement by the Act numbered 7410.

In order to provide more educated personnel for the Police Organisation some new articles were added to the Military Act by Acts numbered 341 and 342 in 1961. With these changes, the high school graduates who had been selected as gendarme (jandarma) (300 people per year) for their compulsory military services were allocated to the Police Organisation during ten years. These selected high school graduates completed their military services as working police officers under the legal regulations of the APDA and the ASO.

Besides this on May 11, 1953, the Highway Traffic Act (HTA), numbered 6085, was published. The GDS was authorised to establish a new-specialised police branch called 'Traffic Police (Trafik Zabitası)' in the central and peripheral institutions of the Organisation in order to regulate and organise traffic matters. Before this Act, traffic problems were addressed according to different laws such as APDA, The Rules-Regulations of the Gendarme Duty and Authority, and the local regulations which were prepared by the municipalities. The HTA was also partly changed according to the increasing complexity of road traffic in 1961 by the Act numbered 232 and in 1967 by the Acts numbered 197 and 866. However, it is currently in operation.

Another important development in terms of the Turkish Police Organisation was the Act for the Establishment of

the Society Police (Toplum Zabitası Kurulması Hakkında Kanun), numbered 654 and dated 1965. The 1961 Constitution provided and extended basic rights and freedoms including to syndicate and to form associations and unions in many fields of working life. This situation sometimes created problems in terms of social order and peace. With this Act the GDS was authorised to establish a new and specialised branch called 'the Society Police (SP)' in all security institutions which were located in each city and in big towns. The main duty of this branch was to secure 'the right of demonstration and meeting' and to hinder illegal demonstration and meetings. The specifically trained SP was technically well-equipped in terms of guns and vehicles in a short time after its establishment. On June 5, 1971, the authorities and duties of the SP were extended by the Act numbered 1422. For example, protecting statesmen, providing security for people and their properties in the extraordinary events (situations) like fire and earthquake and rescue operations were added to the duties of the SP. Additionally, when order-related problems did not happen, the SP was temporarily charged to help the Traffic Police with the permission of the Minister for Interior Affairs.

After the Military Coup in 1980, the national Security Organisation was re-regulated. Reorganisation of the police force has been quite frequent, reflecting concern both over the police's low standing and over public criticism of the effectiveness of the force, particularly as terrorist action rates soared from the very low levels that prevailed in the late 1960s and 1970s. Concern over rising crime as a serious problem in 1970s led to the establishment of a new police unit instead of the Society Police. In other words, parallel with accelerated restructuring of the police during the early 1980s a fundamental change in the



organisation of policing was centred upon the concept of the 'Society Police'. Consequently, the SP branch was converted to a new, smaller but more active, specialised and semi-militaristic force called 'the Active Force' (Cevik Kuvvet) which also included 'Special Teams'. On August 11, 1982 seven extra articles were added to the ASO (3201), and the Act numbered 654 (the Act for Establishment of the Society Police) was totally abolished by the Act numbered 2696. The new force was organised in 21 cities and 2 towns by the end of 1983 (TPTGV, 1983:77) in order to handle the demonstrations, strikes, riots, terrorist activities and attacks, etc. This special branch of the Police Force is currently organized in 43 cities and 10 towns. It is not set up in other cities and towns, because there is no job that this branch deals with in these areas.

Furthermore, the Organisation was totally revised after the 1980 Military Coup, and the matters related to illegal political and separatist movements, which the Active Force was charged to deal with, passport, border and customs, emigration, refugee and citizenship were re-regulated and necessary divisions, branches, equipment and personnel were firstly determined, and later re-organised and allocated.

An Interpol division was also embodied within the GDS in order to cooperate with other countries' police organisations about policing related problems that were determined by the byelaw of Interpol in 1972.

### 3. Organisational Structure of the Turkish Police Force

This section begins with a review of bureaucratic structure of the Turkish Security Organisation. Secondly, the duties that the Turkish Police are currently charged with are given. Finally, policing is discussed from the state perspective, and in terms of the current policing and the relationship between the Police and the public which has implications for the legitimacy of the police.

#### 3.1. The Bureaucratic Structure

The Republic of Turkey has a national police organization which is administered by a single and centralised department of the State. In other words, the Ministry for Interior Affairs (MIA) is charged with and authorised to provide internal security and social peace in all aspects of life in the country. The MIA is also authorised to fulfil its duties (functions) through the General Directorate of Security (GDS), the General Commandership of Gendarme (GCG) and the Commandership of Coast Guard (CCG) (see Figure 4.2), and to ask help from the Army when it is needed.

The Turkish Police Organization is formed according to legal codes (procedure) of the ASO, numbered 3201, and operates according to the articles of the APDA, numbered 2559. The GDS is a highly centralised organisation. It is commanded by a general director who has the highest rank in the Organisation, from headquarters in Ankara, capital of the country. The general director of the Security



Organisation is appointed by the Minister for Interior Affairs who is appointed by the acting government (in charge). The director is responsible for the general administration of the Organisation, and he is assisted by five assistant directors who are responsible for different departments of the Organisation. (See Figure 4.1). However, the Minister for Interior Affairs has more power than the General Director of Security. The general director can refuse information on operational matters to his authority but he cannot refuse the demands of the Minister for Interior Affairs. Since the Minister has the power to require reports he also has the responsibility to answer to the Parliament for efficient policing in the country. He has to answer questions which are directed by deputies in the Parliament on provincial or general policing as well.

Until the beginning of the Military Coup Administration (MCA) (12 September 1980), the GDS had organized and established 'the directorate of city security' in all 67 cities (there are now 74 cities ; see Map 1) and 'directorate (authority) of town security' in 452 towns. The total number of police stations in Turkey was 912 (TPTGV, 1983:34). However, the political stability and social peace and order had not been provided by the national security organization. After the MCA, it was planned to increase the number of stations to 1298 but it was only increased to 957, 489 in cities and 468 in towns. The number of police officers who worked in the area of social order and peace was increased to 23,019 by the Military Coup Government (1983:34). Additionally, the Security Organisation had carried out many changes in terms of its operational system such as more routine rotation of personnel, radical changes in training, increased patrolling; in terms of policing apparatus such as greater

use of computers and new technical equipment like light machine gun, radios, helicopters, new vehicles, etc.; and in terms of its legal-organizational structure. For this reason the central organization was re-regulated and some new divisions and departments were formed. They can be given as follows (1983:45-47,87):

**(a)- Central Organization:** the Secretary General, the Group Chairmanship of Guns and Vehicles, Aviation, Traffic Support, Provisions, Reinforcement and Maintenance, Electronic Data Processing Centre, Inspector Groups in Inspection Council, and Chairmanships of Departments (Daire Baskanliklari).

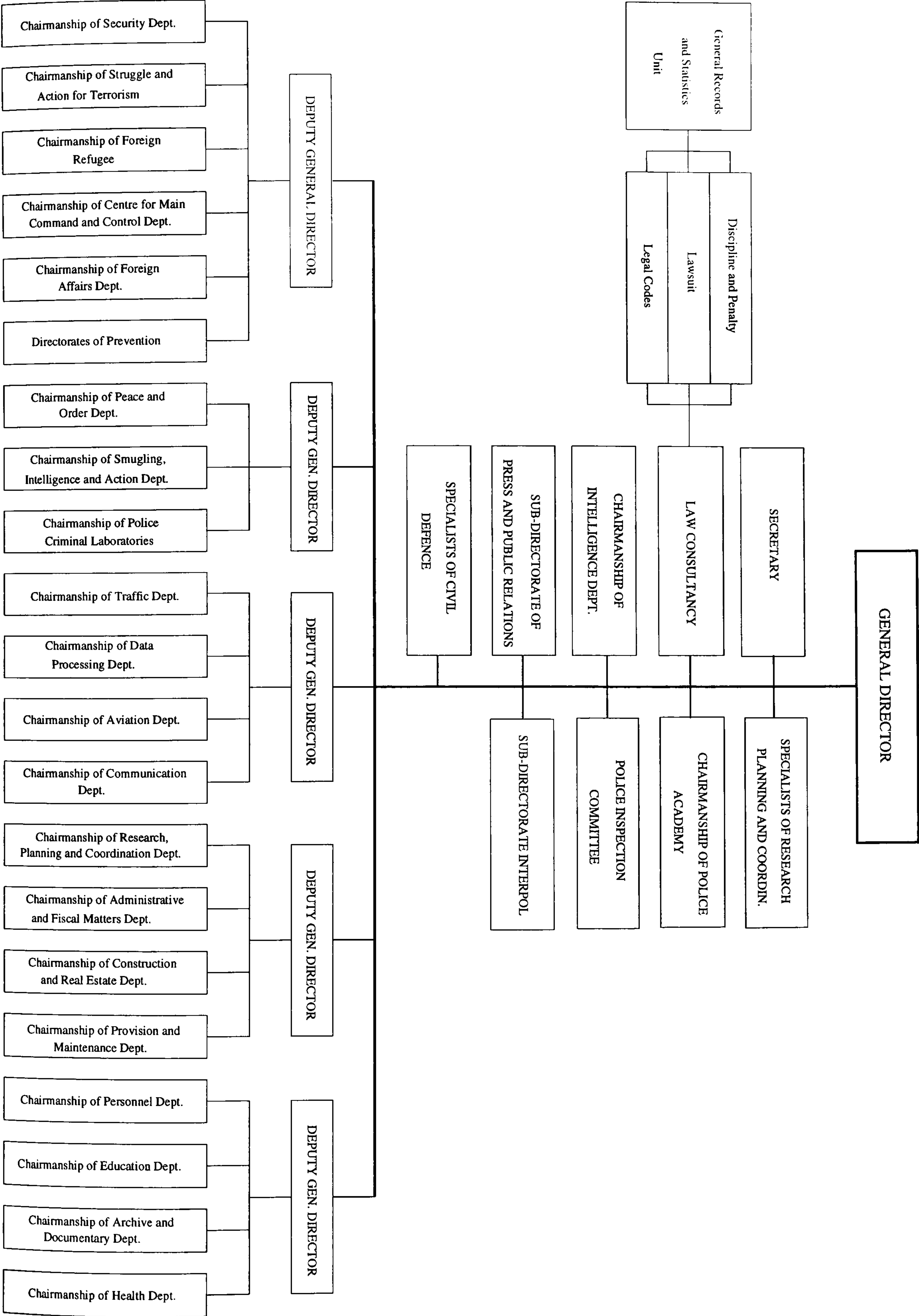
**(b)- Regional Institutions:** Regional Police Criminal Laboratories, Regional Police Outpatient Clinics, Regional Vehicle Repair and Maintenance Centres, Regional Communication Centres, and Regional Air Police Units.

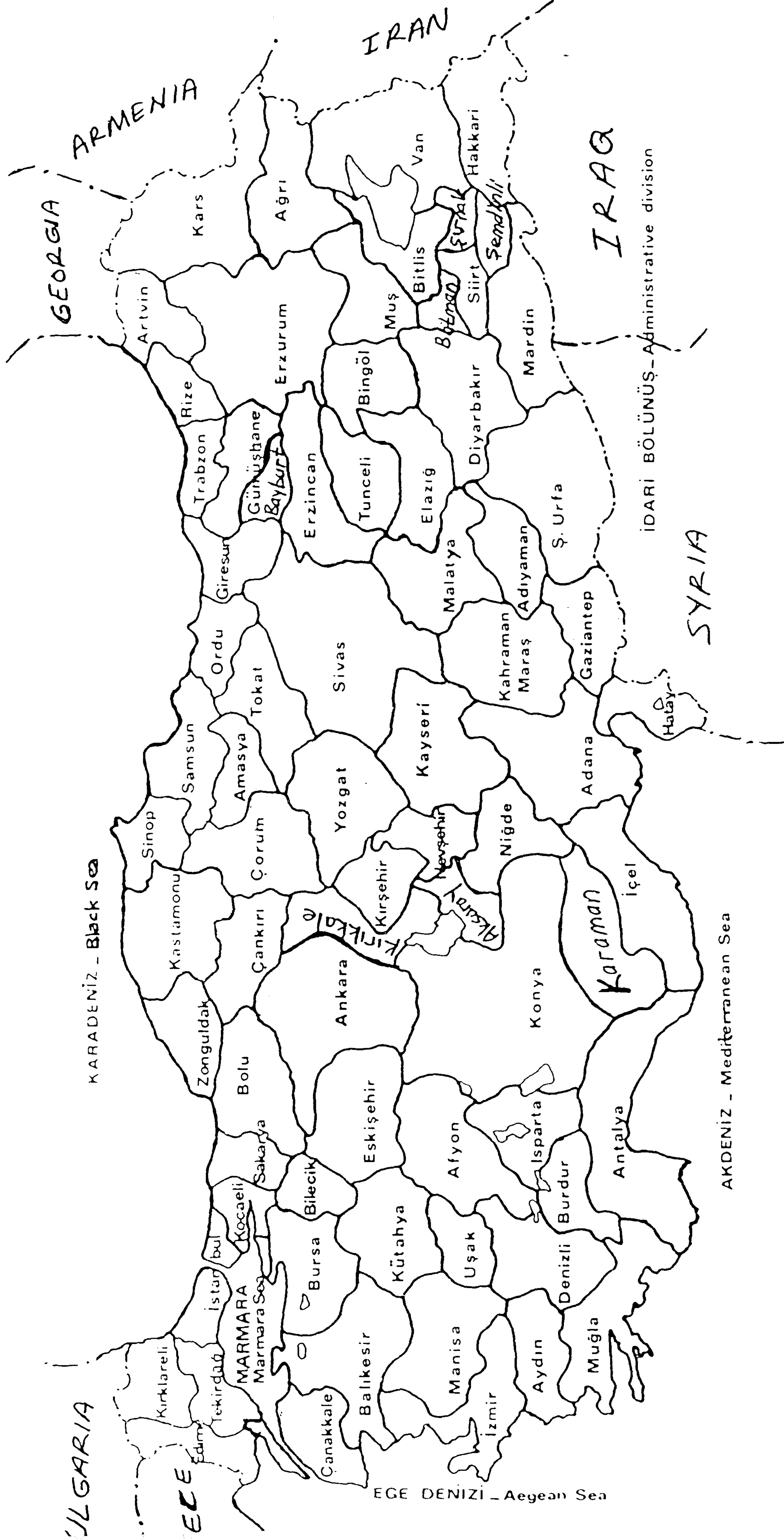
**(c)- City Institutions:** City Security Directorates, Town Security Directorates, Police Stations, and Frontier (Boundary) Patrols (Stations).

Since the beginning of the establishment of the State, governments have both increased the size of police establishment and transformed the organisation of the force into fewer and larger units. The latest and current organisational structure can be figured as follows:



Figure 4.1 : The Organizational Chart of General Directorate of Security.





Map 4.1: Administrative Division of the Republic of Turkey



The GDS is currently organized in all urban-residential areas. The nature and size of the administrative structure of the GDS reflects the centralistic character of the Turkish State. For the purpose of ordinary administration and policing, the country is divided into 74 provincial administrative units (city) (in Turkish 'Il') (See Map 4.1). Each city is also divided into a few towns (Ilce). The official institutions in towns are administratively dependent on and accountable to the authorities and governor of the city (Vali), and to their central organisations located in the capital which are accountable to the government via Ministers. Policing duties and administration of police authorities in cities and towns are essentially the same and standard.

Turkish political bureaucracy does not disseminate to outsiders statistical information about certain bureaucratic organizations such as the Police Force, the Military, National Intelligence Organization, etc. However, it is a reality that personnel numbers increased over the years, (83.9 percent from 1980 to 1991, See Table 4.1) and according to the data gathered from the Chairmanship of Personnel Department, Department of Research, Planning and Coordination, and interviews conducted with senior bureaucrats, the total number of regular police officers who were employed in the Organisation was 92,120 although the officially allocated (authorised) force consisted of 115,439 cadres in 1991 (See Table 4.2). The total number of police stations was 1175 in 1991 in the country. The number of people per police officer, the ratio of the police establishment, was 20,000 in 1885, 4,200 in 1909, 2,500 in 1938 (TPTGV,1983: 34) and 324 in 1989 in comparison with France 262, Italy 380, and U.S.A. 381 in the same year (Bilginer, 1989:5). Due to political-economic difficulties

and decisions, many police departments are below their authorised strength (See Table 4:2). All officers are full-time employees and there are no part-time or specifically contracted officers in the Organization. The distribution of police personnel across the country is roughly correlated to population density of the residential area. The numbers of the regular police for the years 1980-1991 are given in Table 4:1. The figures for the regular police do not include the intelligence organization. The Security Organisation is independent from the National Intelligence Organization (NIO, in Turkish MIT). The GDS is, as stated before, a part of the Ministry for Interior Affairs, and operates within its formal structure of authority while the NIO reports directly to the Prime Minister, the President and the National Security Council. Besides this, there is also a military intelligence branch dealing with 'military matters', which sometimes overlap with the security organisation and NIO operations. In addition to the regular police force, 19,587 (in 1991) nightwatchmen (carsi ve mahalle bekcileri) were also in charge of security matters in Turkey. They work under the directions of the head commissar, commissar and vice commissar who are the administrative personnel of a police station.

Besides the growth in overall numbers, the gender composition of the regular police officers has been modified. While still overwhelmingly male, the number of policewomen has increased over the years. During the 1970s, attention turned to the role of women in the policing workforce. Since the adoption of the Republican Civil Code in 1926, females have entirely equal opportunities for recruitment and advancement in all aspects of labour, and all kinds of occupations except if the job requires specifically to employ men, such as military, village



guards, forest guards, nightwatchman, etc. Although the exact gender percentage of police officers was not available, it is a reality that the percentage of policewomen who are employed in the Police Force is very low in comparison with the percentage of females in other professions. For example, the percentage of female teachers is 43.3, and of female judges is 20.4 (Gureli, 1993:15) in Turkey, according to the number of 1993.

**Table 4.1:** The Numbers of Regular Police Officers by Rank and Year

RANKS	1980		1985		1991	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Security Director (City)	607	1.2	982	1.4	1,422	1.5
Security Director (Town)	378	0.8	546	0.8	590	0.6
Head Commissar	1,940	3.9	1,440	2.1	3,115	3.4
Commissar	610	1.2	3,248	4.6	5,535	6.0
Vice Commissar	4,560	9.1	3,312	4.7	4,194	4.6
Police Officer	41,985	83.8	60,587	86.4	77,264	83.9
Total	50,080	100.0	70,115	100.0	92,120	100.0

-Source: Statistical Yearbooks of the GDS (1980-1991) and the Chairmanship of Personnel Department.

One other trend of interest in the police's establishment is the growth in numbers of civilian employees. The regular police have recruited an increasing number of civilians to undertake a variety of general administrative, health, education services, technical,

clerical, academic functions, etc., thereby freeing uniformed officers from many routine and more specialised tasks. The numbers of authorised and present cadres (actual number) of these personnel in 1991 are shown in Table 4.2. The regular force has itself become more specialized in a range of functions such as judicial, fiscal, narcotic, political, social peace and order, murder, traffic, ethical values, etc.

**Table 4.2:** The Number of Personnel of the GDS by Service Classification in 1991.

Services	Authorised Number	Actual Number	Difference
Security Service	115,439	92,120	23,319
Gen. Administ. Service	855	477	378
Technical Service	607	260	347
Health Service	959	484	475
Educational Service	547	333	214
Religious Affairs	2	1	1
Nightwatchmen	21,046	19,587	1,459
Academic Service	110	83	27
Contracted Personnel	205	92	113
Worker	1,720	1,423	297
Others (Various)	6,061	5,434	627
TOTAL	147,551	120,294	27,257

-Source: Chairmanship of Personnel Department of the GDS, and (EGM, 1991).



Until 1980, the MCA, one of the less organized areas was the area of smuggling and related crimes. In other words, the smuggling problems and crimes in fiscal and narcotic areas were pursued in the Chairmanship of Social Order and Peace Department. The development and specialisation of smuggling traffic and its negative effects on the economic structure of the country made it necessary in 1981 to form a new department which is called the Chairmanship of Smuggling, Intelligence and Action Department (CSIAD) (Kacakcilik-Istihbarat-Haraket Dairesi Baskanligi) in order to deal with all kinds of smuggling including drug traffic in the country.

In fact, the Central Directorate of Fiscal Subdivision was formed as a sub-office in the Chairmanship of Social Peace and Order Department on January 28, 1970 in order to combat smuggling effectively and to make coordination easier between the cities' security institutions. This office was joined to the CSIAD on January 3, 1980. In 1981, the total number of offices was increased to 48 in the whole country (TPTGV, 1983:78). The fiscal police is charged to deal with customs matters, foreign exchange, precious metals, monopoly, tax, ancient-archaeological artifacts, false coinage and its circulation in market, and all other economic structure-related smuggling problems and crimes which were formulated and described in the legal codes.

Like the fiscal office, the narcotic office was also organised under the Chairmanship of Social Peace and Order Department and later was joined to the CSIAD. In 1980, the narcotic office was in operation in only 34 cities' security institutions. It is now in operation in all 74 cities of the country. It is charged to deal with all kinds

of illegal drugs and narcotic substances. The Turkish Police Organisation have very close relationships with other countries' police organisations such as Germany, Syria, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Italy, Iran, Greece, Sweden, Egypt, etc. (TPTGV, 1983:80) for international drug smuggling and traffic related problems and crimes.

Another office in the smuggling area is the 'gun and ammunition smuggling office'. Until the MCA in 1980, this office was a fiscal unit in the Chairmanship of Social Peace and Order Department. After 1980, it was re-organised and a new office (division) was formed in the Central Organization. It is now in operation in all cities (74) in the Country. When needed, in-service training programmes are organised by the GDS in order to make the officers specialists who will be able to work in these offices and divisions.

There is a standard condition of service, ranks and uniform in the Turkish Police Force. All members of the force are required to wear a revolver with a 7.65 mm barrel and a truncheon (only uniformed officers). Each patrol car is equipped with a radio and a long-range automatic shotgun, and is painted black and white, which do not correspond to the uniform colour, which is dark green.

The composition of the ranks in the Organisation can be given as follows: General Director, Assistant General Director, Chairperson of Department, Security Director (city, Emniyet Muduru), Security Director (town, Emniyet Amiri), Head Commissar, Commissar, Vice Commissar, ordinary police officer and nightwatchmen (who are not included in the police rank).



The GDS is empowered to; appoint the chairpersons of the central departments, city and town security directors, chief (head) commissars of police stations, commissars, vice commissars and ordinary police officers; require them to retire in the interests of efficiency; determine the number of officers of each ranks; and provide and maintain buildings (educational and police stations buildings, apartments of the Organisation, police houses, etc.), equipment and vehicles required by the Force. However, all these powers are mostly subject to the approval of the Ministry for Interior Affairs.

Although police officers have the right to vote for any political party in local and general election, police unionisation and strikes, and political activities, are illegal. They are officially not allowed to stand for electoral office, to join and openly support any political factions. However, to have union rights in all kinds of work is now more common and reflects beliefs prevalent among the public, the employees and the politicians in Turkey. Recently, the idea of unionisation has become more common so that officers are able to make their views known on issues such as pay, work conditions, internal discipline, promotion, etc.

Promotions are usually based on written examinations which are administered by a commission formed by the GDS. The judicial and qualification records are also very important in promotion. Officers must keep their records clean. Personnel of higher rank such as chairpersons of departments and other administrative officers are appointed by the General Director of Security with the approval of the Minister for Interior Affairs. That is, appointments at particularly high levels are politically motivated, and

career advancement in departments is heavily determined according to political preference, regardless of competence and efficiency. For example, although the same political party (Motherland Party-ANAP) was in power in 1991, when Mesut Yilmaz took power of presidency of the party from Yildirim Akbulut, his government replaced all chairpersons of the departments in the Police Organization.

The GDS is financially supported by its budget which is determined in the budget of the Ministry for Interior Affairs, i.e. drawing all its financial resources from central government through general taxation. The growth in the establishment of both officers and civilians, together with an increasing reliance on the application of technology, has inevitably led to rising police expenditure. Paradoxically, the growth in both numbers and expenditure has tended to have little impact on the effectiveness of the force as a law enforcement agency: convicted criminal numbers have risen from 32,955 in 1983 to 44,826 (36%) in 1990. (SIS Crime Statistics 1983-1990). The same situation has happened in recent years in England and Wales, i.e., although the police expenditure have risen from £2,370 million in 1982/3 to £4,724 million in 1990/1, the numbers of all notifiable offenses recorded by the police have risen from 3,262 thousands in 1982 to 4,544 thousands (39.3%) in 1990 (British Criminal Justice Key Statistics, 1991). Salaries are standardised except salaries of officers who work in the region that the emergency statement declared - a few cities in East and Southeast of the country are in a state of temporary emergency because of the Kurdish separatist-terrorist organisation, PKK (Kurdish Worker Party) -, and the cost of all police service is paid by the central government.



### 3.2. Duties

The duties and responsibilities of the Turkish Police will be discussed in an analytical manner in Chapter VII, 'Occupational Consciousness in the Turkish Police'. Therefore, in this section, the duties that the Turkish Police is currently charged with will be described in general. They can be divided into four main groups.

#### a. Judicial Duties

In general, criminal investigations in the name of the Republic by prosecutors (public), collection of evidences, apprehension of suspects and their turn-over to the judicial authorities make up the judicial functions of the Turkish Police Force. In order to operate in these areas a branch which is called the 'Judicial Police' (JP) exists in the Police Force. According to the ASO and the APDA, the JP has to do its work in accordance with the legal regulations and under the directions of the judicial authorities.

According to the APDA, the duty of the JP starts when a crime is committed. This duty is also defined in the 2nd article of the APDA as to do the duties which are given by the Act of Methods for Judicial Examination (Trial) (Ceza Muhakemeleri Usulu Kanunu) and other relevant laws. These duties are given as follows: to do preparation inquiries, to catch criminals in the very act, to produce a prisoner before a court (ihzar), to fulfil the verdicts of arrest and imprisonment, to keep temporary records (muvakkat zapt islemlerini yapmak), to make a search and temporary detention (arrest), to watch the persons who are punished with general watching (that is, those released from custody

onto after-care) penalty, to reply to the reports from the public on criminal events, to inform judicial authorities about suspected and unknown deaths, to fulfil the duties which are demanded by public prosecutors and examining magistrates (coroners), to carry out the duties which are given by the Governor of city (Vali) in accordance with the 156th article of the Act of Methods for Judicial Examination (Trial), to help court bailiffs (icra memurlari) and to arrest and give the suspects with evidence to the justice (the courts) (TPTGV, 1983:21).

#### **b. Political Duties**

Although there is no certain and clear-cut definition for the concept of political crime, the crimes related to the politics and political system of the country are accepted as the political duties of the Turkish Police. These also consist of duties related to nationality and minorities, and issues such as espionage or political and internal events that are of concern for the security of the state. Like Judicial Police, a branch which is called the 'Political Police' (PP) is also formed in order to deal with the policing problems in this area. The main aim of the PP service is to protect the state, the democratic, secular and republican regime, the constitutional order, and revolutions and principles of Ataturk. When a crime which is relevant to these matters is committed, the prosecution process is done in the way that the Judicial Police works. In other words, there is no difference between the judicial practices of both Judicial and Political Police.

The criminal events which are defined and accepted as political crime can appear in two different ways: (1)



direct political crimes such as the illegal activities against the democratic-constitutional state order, independency and unity of the country, and political election procedure; (2) indirect political crimes such as murdering or kidnapping a government member for illegal political targets, etc.

In practice, the crimes for which the PP has responsibility are classified in terms of their connections with the state and political order securities. The general duties of the PP can be given as follows: to take precautions for the existence and continuation of the State, to prevent the republican state order which is determined by the Constitution, to prevent freedoms and personal inviolability of individuals, to prevent principles and revolutions of Ataturk and his personality values, to protect statesmen (government officials), foreign diplomats, missionaries, and foreign statesmen who visit the country, to deal with matters related to passport, citizenship, refugees and residing (staying) of foreigners, to observe and to deal with matters related to political parties, unions, and associations, to investigate media and film scenarios.

### **c. Administrative Duties**

In general, prevention of attempts and activities against the public order is accepted as the administrative duty of the Turkish Police. In other words, administrative functions of the GDS include maintenance of law and order, enforcement of laws and regulations, quelling public disorder, prevention of smuggling and apprehension of smugglers, fingerprinting and photographing, performance of the duties of municipal police when necessary, prevention

and apprehension of illegal arms, explosives and drug traffic and issuing residence permits to foreigners in the country. The administrative duties of the Turkish Police can also be divided into three sub-categories in terms of their nature and structure.

1- Preventive duties include the provision of social order and public peace, building and locating police stations in all districts, charging of a police team in order to prevent possible criminal behaviours.

2- Protective duties comprise the protective measures for buildings which belong to the State, public and individual citizens in order to provide a peaceful social order.

3- Helping duties composed of assistance for elderly and disabled people, patients, children and people in need. Additionally, the duties and matters which are related to civil defense, mobilization, and are given by the Act numbered 7201 (about the legal communication- a notice in writing by a court), the Military Act, and the Act of Protection for the Children in Need, the services which are related to the Act of Primary Education, public health and social charity, the Act of Gecekondü (shanty town) and Reconstruction, and to exercise the court verdicts, etc. can be given as the other helping or service duties of the Turkish Police.

#### **d. Traffic Duties**

Traffic duties of the Turkish Police are designed and regulated by the Act of Highway Traffic, numbered 6085 and dated May 18, 1953. The Traffic Police ensure the smooth



and safe flow of traffic on the roads, investigate accidents and educate the public on road safety and about traffic regulations. According to the data in 1983, 15.83 percent of personnel of the Security Organization is employed in the traffic services. The current percentage is unfortunately not available.

### 3.3. Policing

In the development of the modern state, the people comprising a nation became the sole source from which the state could derive its legitimacy; and the nation became the sole legitimate object of their political allegiance (Bittner, 1980:123). Nationalism in this sense was associated with the redrawing of the territorial map of the new Turkish Republic. This was a process that occurred with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War. This new nation state embodied(s) two distinct ideas of sovereignty: sovereignty as the idea of the state's supreme and independent jurisdiction over a given territory; and sovereignty as the idea that the source of legitimacy for that jurisdiction derives from the people who constitute the nation. It also embodied(s) two distinct but mutually reinforcing notions of exclusivity: the exclusivity of the state in its jurisdiction over its territory; and the exclusivity of the nation, both in the sense that the interests of its people are paramount, and in the sense that the nation forms the exclusive object of its political allegiance.

The Republic of Turkey has been a sovereign state for 70 years. Much of its constitutional development has focused on the assertion of this sovereignty in the face of

continuing economic, social, political and cultural influences emanating from more developed and powerful Western European countries such as Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France, etc. However, the nature of policing in Turkey differs from that of Western democratic societies. Policing is a state monopoly; the Police are closely controlled by the government with minimum input from the citizenry. Its responsibilities are broader and it is more intrusive into the daily life of the population. The centralised state successfully claims a monopoly of law making and law enforcing power over a unified geographical territory and independence from any external authority. Therefore policing has recently developed as a key issue on the contemporary political agenda in Turkey. In the process, a number of seemingly inviolable features of both the police as an institution and policing as a set of functional activities have been challenged.

The Republic of Turkey has a political philosophy which it is hard to define but is usually labelled 'liberal democratic'; it is an incongruous mixture of many elements gleaned idiosyncratically from diverse sources. She is governed under the new 1982 Constitution and its articles provide the most appropriate springboard for any discussion of the legislative context of policing and public order. The Constitution is, among other things, a measure against which the laws of the state have to be judged; and it also contains basic rights that the state is bound to defend. The various articles prevent any citizen being deprived of his/her liberty except in accordance with law and no-one can be on a criminal charge except in due course of law. However, although the Constitution goes some way towards protecting the individual citizen's liberty, it does provide for restrictions on that liberty in the interests



of the common good and in particular when the security of the State is deemed to be under threat.

The national Turkish Police Force is homogeneous and monolithic and operates with a single style which is suited to the traditions and character of the state and society. In their defence of public order, the police have been provided with technological equipment and arms which amount to their militarisation. It is part of the duties and equipment of a multi-purpose force. Militarising the police in this way occurs in Turkey because of the preference for arming the police rather than using the Army in situations of public disorder and terrorist events, which 'sit more easily with liberal views of the relationship between society and the state' (Brewer, et. al., 1988:222). However, as in most other countries, the Police Force in Turkey is able to fall back on military help in situations of major civil unrest. On some occasions, the military have been called in to replace (rather than assist) the police in situations where the police have been unable to enforce the law and to provide social peace and order. The military help was asked by the MIA especially in the late 1970s in order to provide social peace and order in big cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, etc. There is today a state of temporary emergency in 11 cities of the eastern part of the country because of the Kurdish separatist-terrorist organisation. In these cities, the military has mostly replaced the police in order to re-establish social peace and order in the area.

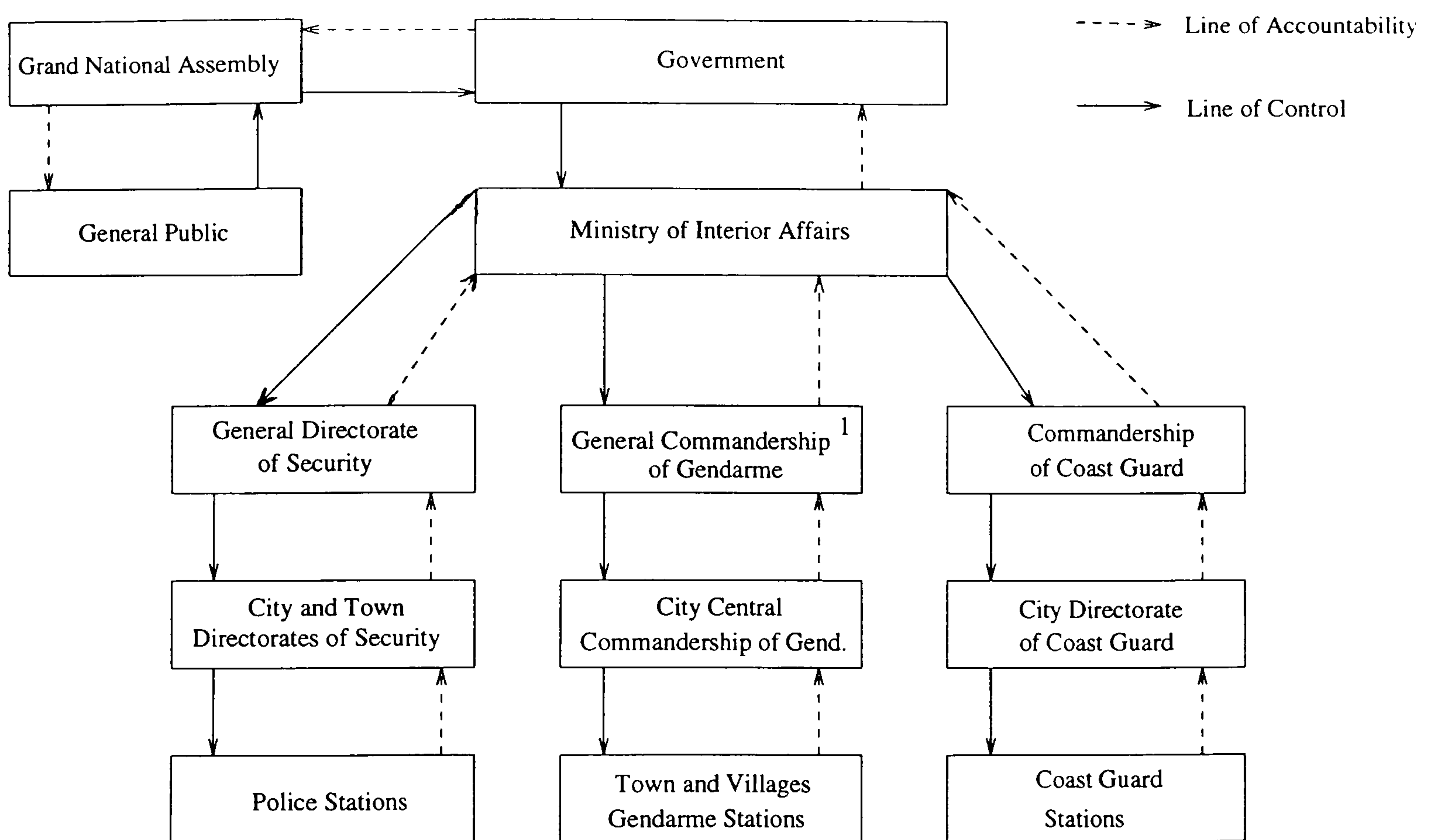
As mentioned before, the MIA is charged with and authorised to provide internal security in all aspects of life in the country via the GDS, the GCG and the CCG. The GDS is charged with the general security and social order

and peace problems in the urban residential areas whereas the GCG is charged with the same duties in rural, both residential and non-residential, areas. The CCG is charged with the enforcement of law on coasts related matters, and the officers of the CCG have the same power of the officers of the GDS. These three types of office became permanent after the Salvation War. In other words, a regular army which is named 'Jandarma' (Gendarme) assists and has replaced the Police Force in public order and law enforcement situations in the countryside (rural areas) in Turkey. Here, the gendarme totally undertake the police role, have powers of civil arrest, detention, search, etc. In fact the gendarme reflect the inability and absence of the regular police to deal with intense threats to policing in rural areas. The economic benefit of this force is that the soldiers who serve their compulsory military service as gendarme are not paid while acting on their duties. But this link with the Army brings its own problems on behalf of the police. There have been difficulties of police-military liaison over their respective jurisdictions. Although in liberal-democracies the police are usually portrayed as the neutral arbiters who hold together the framework by which society's struggles are resolved peacefully (Brewer et.al., 1988:222), the gendarme are portrayed as the neutral arbiters in the public eye in Turkey. This might be explained with the strong state and army tradition in the history of the country. Besides this, serving in the army is culturally accepted by most people as a holy duty, and the men who serve in this force are not paid and are the sons of any family located in any part of the country. They also serve for a temporary period. Therefore it is reasonable that the gendarme is seen as a neutral arbiter rather than the police. As it is known, the main subject of the research is the Police, namely the GDS.



That is why the GCG and the CCG will not be discussed more in this chapter or elsewhere. The control and accountability in policing in Turkey can be diagrammed as follows:

**Figure 4.2:** The Flow Chart of Control and Accountability in Policing in Turkey.



The national Turkish Police Force takes responsibility for all national and international law and order functions, ranging from the control of drug smuggling to terrorism, from regulating traffic to helping people. In other words, the duty of the Turkish Police is defined as follows: 'to keep our existence as state and nation away from both internal and external dangers in the democratic, free constitutional order, to provide and preserve the dominance

of law, to provide social peace and order in the country, to provide and protect (preserve) the life, properties and honour of citizens, to prevent the possible criminal behaviours, to intervene (to form obstacles) in the continuation of committed crimes, to catch and arrest criminals and to give them to the judicial authorities for prosecution (judging), and to carry out all duties that are given by the related legal procedure (laws, etc.)' (TPTGV, 1983:19). The Turkish Police Organization has to practice (apply) the articles and verdicts of 271 laws, 51 rules-regulations (tuzuk), 168 bylaws (directions- yonetmelik), 87 Ministers Cabinet Orders and 62 codes (directions, instructions- yonerge) (1983:19).

The GDS has an overall responsibility for the efficiency of the police and policing throughout the country. In other words, it is responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and the preservation of the public peace. It is required to use the powers given to it by the Police Acts, the Criminal Law and other legal regulations in the interests of efficiency. It exercises its functions to maintain a reasonably uniform standard of policing everywhere in the country. Conditions of service are set nationally and give local agencies no more discretion. The day-to-day police duties of crime prevention, patrolling, investigation, detection and law enforcement are handled by the police stations which are located in the districts of urban-residential areas. Each station is governed and under the operational and administrative control of a head (chief) commissar. Three groups serve in shifts during the day. Each group serves for eight hours, and consists of a group chief who has, at least, the rank of commissar or vice commissar, a police officer who is responsible for typing and writing



communications and keeping the records, and ordinary police officers. The number of ordinary police officers in each group changes and is determined according to the capacity of the police station. Additionally, nightwatchmen also serve in police stations along with police officers. They perform the police functions in the districts in the hours of darkness, and have the same power that police officers have except initiating criminal investigations.

The head commissar, commissar or vice commissar has to use his discretion in deciding how he deploys his man-power to maintain law and order and there is the code of discipline within the organisation which allows him to exercise control over his own force. In other words, as far as central government is concerned the police are technically independent since no-one can tell a chief officer how to run his force. However, the freedom of a chief officer from central organisation and central government is not absolute. In operational terms, neither ordinary police officers nor directors and senior police bureaucrats are totally independent. This situation is well established in law. They have to accept central regulations over pay and conditions of service; they have to explain their actions to their superiors and to courts if required to do so and finally they may face the possibility of being dismissed. Each officer in any rank is answerable to his superiors and ultimately to the courts for policing and management but it seems that the courts are limited in what they can do because very few police officers have been dismissed in comparison with the number of complaints against them. This can mean one of two things; either all forces have been so efficient in their own particular way that the GDS has had no grounds for dismissing anyone, or there were some ethical and judicial problems in policing

operations which have gone unresolved.

The members of each security directorate in cities and towns are dispersed among several precincts and specialize narrowly in areas of police work such as traffic, narcotic, fiscal, murder, social peace and order, etc. It need hardly be emphasised that the inevitable overlap between these jurisdictions can lead to rivalries between forces, duplication of effort and ultimately a less efficient prosecution of the criminal.

The police in Turkey have formal, institutionalised and legal relationships on four levels. These are with; (1) the law; (2) local administrators; (3) central government; and (4) individual citizens. Most matters relating to police status are defined in the ASO and the APDA. However, a review of criminal procedure (the Act of Method for Judicial (Trial) Examination) has recently been done which has brought some positive changes on the police - public relationships and policing applications (arrest, detention, questioning, etc.) in Turkey. This is carried out by the efforts of Ministry of Justice in accordance with the democratization policy of government in 1993. Under the current coalition, the Ministry of Justice is in the control of Social Democrat Populist Party while the Ministry of Interior Affairs in the hands of Conservative Party (True Path Party).

The powers of central government are extensive, and have been used to achieve uniformity and standardisation throughout the police service. The GDS provides a wide range of services on a national basis, including police high schools, police training centres, forensic science laboratories, etc. Though the authorised establishment of



the police force is formally determined by the GDS, the government via the Minister for Interior Affairs has the final say.

The Inspector Section oversees the investigation of complaints against police officers and as a whole functions as the disciplinary body for police officers. In other words, the conduct of the police is closely circumscribed by law, it is officially not possible for them to breach formal constraints and to act outside the law, whether in the detection of ordinary crime or in the prevention and quelling of disorder. Any citizen who feels aggrieved at the behaviour of a police officer up to the highest rank can lodge a formal complaint under the articles of the Criminal Law. Each police officer is individually responsible for his/her own actions. As Reiner (1985) states for Britain, there has never been a 'Golden Age' of police-society relations in Turkey either. There is almost no reliable, scientific data on public-police relationships and public perception of the police. However, interviews with police officers showed that the police are more likely to be unpopular than any other governmental officers or civil servants (see also Ozcan and Caglar, 1993). However until the late 1960s, the police and policing policy has been relatively unproblematic. By being given the right of establishing their own association in 1970s, the police started to divide into two main groups: (a)-Pol-Bir (Police Unity), which was the extreme and central rightist police officers association. (b)- Pol-Der (Police Association), which was the leftist and social democrat police officers association.

This separation created a day to day hostility among police officers. This hostility and ideological climate was

also directed to the police - public relationships. For instance, if a political demonstration was held by a rightist group, the members of Pol-Bir tolerated them whereas the members of Pol-Der did not, and vice versa. It was also possible to see conflicts and fights between these two different police associations' members. As a result of this situation, the popular image of the nightwatchman and police officer ('uncle nightwatchman' or 'uncle policeman') which prevailed in the 1960s as avuncular figures endowed with common sense and guided by the doctrine of always helping and securing people now appears less persuasive. In the 1970s and 1980 (until the beginning of Military Coup Administration on 12 September 1980), police tactics and behaviour during industrial disputes, at political demonstrations and during the course of violence in universities and street disorders in certain inner city areas have damaged this sanguine portrait. On the other side, the police also lost confidence in the public. Both these important changes have made the police less a part of society, and more apart from it. As a result of all this, the police problem has moved into the forefront of public attention.

Constitutional changes, the changes in public order legislation and in the Police Act (APDA) by the MCA have ensured that policing became a live and salient issue in Turkish politics during the 1980s. Such developments have served not only to place a strain on police - public relations but they have also reawakened doubts about the nature of the Turkish State. Changes in the nature of public order policing, set against union rights (worker rights), civil servants and university staff and students' association rights, the occurrence of bitter industrial disputes and violent street disorders and attempts to



depoliticise virtually all sections of society have encouraged the view that the Turkish State is becoming increasingly authoritarian. Naturally, these developments made the police more powerful, and the police had a strict control of daily life.

On the other hand, a succession of statements and recommendations have been made by social scientists, intellectuals and politicians that a fundamental restructuring of the police should take place in the course of the 1990s. This restructuring is to be achieved through democratization of the organization and police practices and by more input from citizenry. It is also argued that the reconceptualisation of the police as a service and the redesignation of the community as customers will make the police more responsive. It is not exactly clear how these debates will be resolved but it is clear that a reconceptualisation and restructuring of policing is on the agenda. In fact this can be achieved through organizational structures which will ensure prioritization of public (customer) needs, enhanced professionalism, a re-distribution and re-design of police duties (police work) and public opinion surveys. As a consequence, it is hoped that the traditional consensual relationship between the police and public will be re-established; direct local accountability of the police will be strengthened and prejudgments about the police will mostly be eradicated.

Although there is a reluctance to admit a direct connection between the police and politics in Turkey, policing itself is a political activity (Brewer et. al., 1988:4-5), and politics has an effective and important role in policing. First of all, decisions concerning enforcement policies, police resources, organisation and administration

are essentially matters of political choice. Secondly, the police as an organisation does not have full discretion or a role to play in decisions concerning promotion of police senior bureaucrats and policing strategies in general. The politicians cannot directly tell the police how to operate, but there is a very effective final sanction available to the Minister: If he feels that any police administrator should be dismissed or is inefficient, he can order the Police Organisation to dismiss him or to change or replace his post. If so, how far can the force operate without political interference ? Turkish political history since 1950 has emphasised differing conceptions of law and order such that national police organisation and practice have exhibited considerable inconsistency. The Police Organisation has also been seen to serve different political factions, rather than standing as a body with consistent practices that derive from constitutionally directed duties. The economic reforms since January 1980, designed to privatize the Turkish economy, and the political reforms since October 1991, aimed to modernise and rationalise the Turkish Justice System and the Criminal Law, have promoted a renewed emphasis on social order and police - public relationships. The Ministry of Justice and the Ministry for Interior Affairs wished the police to emerge from this policy change as upholders of new legal codes, acting in a non-political and scientific-objective manner. Reflecting this, a number of new legal codes have now focused on the role of the police in the detention and investigation of offenders. So far the new economic, social and political policies continue. However, for many years to come the predominant public impression of the individual officers is likely to be that of someone associated with authority and the state rather than one who wears the badge of a separate and neutral body.



#### 4. Education and Training in the Turkish Police Organization

The complexity of the police task is as great as that of any other profession, even more in particular situations. The performance of this task requires more than physical prowess and common sense, because police officers who in unpredictable situations are required to make difficult judgements, should possess a sound body of knowledge of society, human behaviour (Weiner, 1981:75) and their own occupation. This can best be obtained through a contemporary and continued education and training. The Turkish national security organization (GDS) which is aware of this reality, therefore, gives a special interest to the education and training program of police officers, although there is no available scientific data about the efficiency and quality of education. The education level of police officers by ranks is given in Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3:** Educational Level of Police Officers by Rank in 1991 in Turkey.

Rank	University	High School	Secondary School	Primary School	Total	%
Security Director(C)	1,422	-	-	-	1,422	1.5
Security Director(T)	590	-	-	-	590	0.6
Head Commissar	408	1,500	1,202	5	3,115	3.4
Commissar	684	1,964	2,887	-	5,535	6.0
Vice Commissar	2,271	1,067	900	-	4,194	4.6
Police Officer	772	45,060	26,256	124	77,264	83.9
Total	6,103	54,643	31,245	129	92,120	100.0
Percentage(%)	6.6	59.4	33.9	0.1	100.0	

-Source: Chairmanship of Personnel Department, the GDS.

The police officers are supposed to be educated and trained in accordance with the principles of Ataturk, which aim to preserve the Republic, and in order to enforce laws of the country in all aspects of the daily life. There are three main educational institutions in which police officers, both administrative and ordinary, are educated and trained in Turkey. The admission process of students to these institutions will be given in chapter VI, 'the Recruitment Process in the Turkish Police Force'.

**1. Police School:** There are currently 15 police schools which are located in different cities of the country (See Table 4.4). The curriculum is standardised and the same programme is applied in all police schools, and emphasises patrol tactics, traffic control techniques, criminal law and procedure, principles of investigation and physical training, etc. (See for more information TPTGV, 1983:156). Police education centres are established according to the article 216 of Act numbered 657, and police schools are established according to the article 19 of ASO.

The length of education in police schools was only 2-3 months until 1980. It was increased to 9 months by the MCA. It is currently one full year (12 months). The curriculum which is standardised includes basic occupational education, branch (judicial, political, administrative and traffic) and specialization education and practical education. Recruits wear a special uniform and schools are totally financed by the GDS. At the end of the educational period, an examination is taken by all recruits, and successful candidates are employed according to the needs



of the GDS. The total number of recruits in all police schools was 7763 in 1991-92 academic year. The recruits who are not successful and are punished by the discipline penalties are dismissed from the career.

**Table 4.4:** Name, Quota, Number of Students and Date of Establishment of Police Educational Institutions in 1991-92 Academic Year, Turkey.

	Name of School	Quota	Student Number	Date of Establis.
POLICE SCHOOLS	Istanbul Police Educ. Center	1000	1231	8.5.1978
	Istanbul K. Eroge Pol. School	150	-	21.5.1978
	Izmir Bornova Police School	250	259	8.5.1978
	Izmir 100. Yil Police School	500	567	21.7.1981
	Trabzon Police School	500	614	6.3.1985
	Samsun 19 Mayıs Police School	700	1031	21.7.1981
	Nazilli Police School	500	662	25.11.1981
	Eskisehir Police School	350	309	6.3.1985
	Malatya Police School	300	417	21.4.1982
	Bursa Police School	451	447	21.4.1982
	Gaziantep Police School	350	375	21.4.1982
	Elazig Police School	350	374	21.4.1982
	Balikesir Police School	750	871	23.5.1986
	Diyarbakir Police School	250	229	6.9.1989
	Erzincan Police School	250	377	18.12.1984
Total		6651	7763	
POLICE HIGH SCH. (Polis Koleji)	Izmir Police High School	600	443	22.2.1985
	Istanbul Police High School	600	476	22.2.1985
	Kayseri Police High School	400	295	27.4.1988
	Adana Police High School	400	298	25.2.1988
	Ankara Police High School	800	616	15.6.1938
Total		2800	2218	
POLICE ACADEMY	Police Academy (Ankara)	1800	2687	6.12.1982
Total		1800	2687	

-Source: Chairmanship of Education Department of GDS, and (EGM, 1991).

**2. Police High School (Polis Koleji):** In order to provide students as needed for Police Academy, five Police high schools are organized and located in different cities of the country (see Table 4.4). The total number of students in these schools was 2218 in 1991-92 academic year, and they were established first in 1938 by the Act numbered 3452, and they were and are boarding schools. Students wear uniform, and schools are totally financed by the GDS. Graduates are charged with compulsory service in the Organization.

The length of education was 3 academic years until 1978, and a general high school education was practised. From the beginning of the 1978-79 academic year, a one year English language preparatory course was added to the curriculum, extending the course to 4 years, and the old curriculum was converted to a new one in which foreign languages and science are dominant. The curriculum is standardised in all police high schools and is determined by the GDS. Adding one-year English language preparatory course to curriculum aims to make police officers able to communicate with foreign people, tourists in particular.

As mentioned before, police high schools are the main student sources of the Police Academy. After graduation, an overall examination is taken by graduates. The students who are successful have the right to be new students of Police Academy, and those who are unsuccessful have to join the GDS as ordinary police officers.

**3. Police Academy:** The Academy was established in 1937 by the article 18 of the Act numbered 3201 (ASO) as a two-year



education institution in order to train and educate middle and higher level officers and security administrators for providing service for the Security Organization. In addition, this Institute aimed to provide the necessary professional skills for the personnel and train them in their professional attitude as officers committed to the Law of the country and the principles of Ataturk.

When it was first established this Institution was intended to fulfil a double function; on the one hand it was to function as an educational centre for the police vocational schools, on the other hand it was to provide the highest level of specialisation for police officers. However, through social and political changes in the Turkish Society, the Institution was segregated from the main body of the vocational schools. It was then established as an independent institution for higher education. In the 1960-61 academic year it thus acquired the identity of an institution for higher education and in 1962 the curriculum was extended to three years. Later, in 1980, a decision was taken to extend it to four years. Presently it provides education at four-year college level. In 1982, when a new university law was legalised, the name of the school, which was Police Institute, was changed to 'Police Academy', in accordance with article 132 of the Turkish Constitution and article 2 of the Organization for Higher Education (Y.O.K.). (TPTGV, 1983:143). It is located in Ankara, capital of the country. The total number of students in Academy was 2687 in 1991-92 academic year. The Academy is a boarding school and is totally financed by the GDS. Students wear a special uniform. Graduates are charged with compulsory service in the Organization, and they start with the rank of vice-commissar which is mostly the post of group chief in a police station.

The students of the Police Academy come mostly from police high schools (around 75 %), from general high schools and equivalent schools, from the Police Organization (among the police officers who are in service) and from other universities<sup>2</sup>.

In addition to education which is fulfilled by the educational institutions which are discussed above, a widespread system of training and in-service training programmes are also organized by the GDS according to needs. This is in line with wider plans for training of professionals in virtually all areas of policing such as learning of foreign languages, using technical equipments, driving vehicles, specialization and ballistics courses, criminalistics, changes in criminal law and related matters, the administrative differentiation of departments, orientation meetings, seminars on different subjects, etc. (see for more information TPTGV, 1983:145-155). The lengths and contents of training courses are determined by the GDS according to nature and subject of programmes.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to investigate the Turkish Police Force as an organisation in general. To achieve this aim, firstly, a short explanation that gives general information about the Republic of Turkey was given. Secondly, the historical background and the bureaucratic structure of the Organisation, and the duties that the Turkish Police is currently charged with were described, followed by a sociological discussion concentrated on the policing system in the country. Finally, the education system and training process of the Organisation was explained.

In the following chapter, the socio-economic



background of the Turkish Police will be investigated and the related findings will be discussed. This is the first step of investigation of recruitment process, occupational consciousness and professionalism in the Force. It is also necessary that the findings of socio-economic background might be accepted as indicators that will help to advance further in the quest for a realistic explanation, discussion and understanding of recruitment, occupational consciousness and professionalism in a police force.

## Notes

1. It is also accountable to the General Commandership of Turkish Army (The Chief of General Staff).
2. Students who graduated from other universities and wish to pursue a career in the Security Organization are accepted after taking an examination and are subjected to a special training and education for one academic year. Then those who are successful after this training and education obtain the same status as the Academy graduates.

## **PART III**

### **EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**



## **-CHAPTER V**

### **-WHO ARE THE TURKISH POLICE ? SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND**

The main purpose of this chapter is to investigate the socio-economic background of police officers, both administrative and ordinary, in the Turkish Police Force.

When the crucial and sensitive duty of the police organization in terms of both State and public is considered, the significance of getting acquainted with police officers becomes more obvious. This is important because the police officers in the sample who are police station officers assume critical duties and crucial administrative tasks. They have more direct and closer relationships with the public than the other members of the Police Organization. Investigating the socio-economic background of police officers is also a necessary step on the way towards a full analysis of recruitment, occupational consciousness and professionalism in the organization. In other words, socio-economic origin as data may be accepted as an indicator of the occupational

consciousness and professionalism level that officers already have and practise in their daily work, because the socio-economic origin of a police officer influences a realistic understanding of daily police work. Therefore background information about the Police is sought in order to catch main points that help to make a further analysis, explanation and discussion of the recruitment process, occupational consciousness and professionalism in the Turkish Police Force, and in order to understand the other personal characteristics of officers.

The socio-economic background of the sample is mainly examined on the basis of four sets of variables. These are: (1) Basic demographic variables such as age, birth place, place where they lived until they were 12 years old, type and composition of family, number of sisters and brothers, etc. (2) Data related to education, occupation and income. The data about education level, occupation of wives and parents, and about reasons in choosing to become policemen, work related problems, job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are also relevant. (3) Data relevant to ranks, promotion, relationships between officers and their superiors, colleagues and inferiors, etc. (4) Data on the attitudes towards their revolvers and uniforms, and on the intellectual world of officers such as the frequency of reading newspapers, journals (periodicals), books, watching TV, and going to cinema and theatre, etc.

## **1. Basic Demographic Variables**

**1.1. Age :** Among the police officers, the 31-35 age group makes up the majority (28.3 %). The second largest group is the officers between age of 26-30 (25.3 %); the third group



is the officers who are 41 years old and over (24.7 %), and the fourth group is the officers between ages of 36-40 (16.9 %). The percentage of officers under 26 years old is only 4.8. These figures show that more than two thirds of police officers (70.5 %) are from the age between 26-40. In other words, policing, like many other professions, is very much a middle-aged occupation. The use of physical force is sometimes needed in order to achieve some of policing objectives. This means that police officers should be physically as well as professionally strong enough to carry out their work. Therefore being physically fit, and thus in the 26-40 age group, can be accepted as a necessity for the police profession, especially for those serving in an operational role. (The maximum age of recruitment is 28).

**1.2. Type of Place of Birth and Distribution According to Provinces :** Table 5.1, below, summarizes the birth places of officers and the location where they lived until the age of 12, i.e. until the end of primary school education.

**Table 5.1:** The Birth Places of Officers and the Locations Where They Lived Until the Age of 12 (End of Primary School)

Birth Places			Place They Lived Until the Age 12	
	Number	%	Number	%
Villages	83	50.0	67	40.4
Towns	50	30.1	52	31.3
Cities	31	18.7	47	28.3
Abroad	2	1.2	-	-
Total	166	100.0	166	100.0

This table shows that after primary school, the

tendency to live in larger cities proportionally increases. Only 40.4 percent of those officers who were born in villages (50.0 %) lived there until they finished their primary school education. It seems that there is more emigration to larger cities during the primary education of officers. This actually reflects the result of huge horizontal mobility in late 1950s, in 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. This made life in the atmosphere of city culture possible for most police officers. It may be assumed from this that most officers have the norms and values of an urban culture in their lives. It is known that urban settlements are characterized by size, density and heterogeneity, which in combination provide the basis for a complex division of labour. Urbanization is related to fundamental changes in the nature of social relationships which have rendered ties of kinship less important and replaced them with relationships of an instrumental, transitory and superficial character (Jary and Jary, 1991:681). However, it should not be forgotten that these norms and values should be thought of in the Turkish cultural context. In particular, the trend to urbanization is more recent in Turkey and traditional social bonds based on kinship remain strong relative to countries like Britain.

Furthermore, it is thought that to know in which province officers were born is important because this may help in determining the policy of the Turkish Police Organization in choosing the officers in accordance to their provincial backgrounds. When it is considered with regard to the Military Academies, so to the Army, in Turkey, the following remark is made by Birand.

The Military is sensitive to choose students from every province and region. Although it is hard to maintain this policy yet it is true that



there is at least one student from each province of Turkey, but majority of the students in the Academy come from the 17-20 provinces and towns or villages belonging to these provinces (1986:32).

An interview with the senior bureaucrats in the Police Organization has revealed that the organization does not have and maintain such a policy. However, this research shows that there are officers from almost every province. This may be the result of equal opportunity to all Turkish citizens in the recruitment process. Table 5.2 provides the list of those provinces which have 3 or more officers in the research sample with the corresponding percentages which will help to show the trends in the distribution of officers by provinces.

**Table 5.2:** Distribution of the Officers According to Their Place of Birth by Provinces<sup>1</sup>

Provinces	Number	%
Adana	6	3.6
Ankara	15	9.0
Aydin	4	2.4
Balikesir	5	3.0
Elazig	5	3.0
Eskisehir	4	2.4
Gaziantep	4	2.4
Hatay	4	2.4
Istanbul	6	3.6
Izmir	4	2.4
Kars	5	3.0
Kayseri	9	5.4
Kirklareli	6	3.6
Kirsehir	5	3.0
Konya	4	2.4
Malatya	5	3.0
Manisa	3	1.8
Nigde	3	1.8
Nevsehir	5	3.0
Samsun	4	3.0
Sivas	6	3.6
Trabzon	6	3.6
Yozgat	8	4.8

Table 5.2, above, shows that there is not a clear-cut accumulation of officers from particular provinces. However, there are more officers from some of the provinces when compared with others. For example, 9 percent of the officers come from Ankara; the second largest group (5.4 %) is from Kayseri. Besides these Yozgat, Istanbul, Sivas, Adana, Kirklareli, Trabzon, Balikesir, Kars, Malatya and Nevsehir have comparatively higher numbers. When the places of birth of officers are considered, it is hard to find a discernible pattern of distribution among provinces. However, the provinces in the central part of the country have comparatively higher percentages. This may highlight the fact that the police organisation is centrally located in Ankara, which is the capital and is in the central part of the country. In addition, there are police schools in provinces such as Ankara, Kayseri, Malatya, Adana, Istanbul, Izmir. It is therefore understandable for these provinces to be overrepresented because more people have direct access to information about police schools and their recruitment requirements. In addition, according to legal regulations all Turkish citizens who meet the recruitment requirements have equal opportunity for application regardless of their race, religion and ethnic background. The distribution of provinces across the country can be seen in the map 4.1 on page 130.

**1.3. Marital Status, Composition of Families, and Number of Siblings:** In terms of marital status, almost all police officers (91.6 %) are married. Only 6.6 percent of them are single (non-married); and 1.8 percent married but live separately. The married rate is 60.2 percent, single rate is 34.5 percent for the population over 12 years old,



according to the 1985 census, in the country (SIS Yearbook 1991:60). It is obvious that the percentage of married police officers is higher than the general married average of the country whereas the percentage of single police officers (non-married) is lower. Another important point is that no one is divorced among the police officers who make up the research sample. This means that either divorce is an unfavourable phenomenon among police officers or they all have happy marriages. When the general average percentage of divorce in Turkey (25,712 in 1990, SIS Yearbook 1991:99-100) is taken into account, the second assumption is false. The incompatibility of spouse is the most important reason (91 %) for divorce in Turkey (1991:102). Therefore, it is impossible to say that all police officers who are married are compatible with their wives, and have happy marriages. Additionally, when their economic backgrounds and present incomes are considered, it is easily seen that their wives are mostly housewives and their incomes are not so high (See Table 5.13). That is their wives cannot afford to live separately. The dominance of male and the low social position of a divorced woman in society also form obstacles for dissolution of the marriage. In this context, it can be easily said that there are strong pressures against divorce among police officers in Turkey.

The table below illustrates the quantity of siblings, family members and children of the police officers in the research sample group and their frequency distributions. (See the footnote 2 for comparison to the average for Turkey). It will be seen that the police family size is lower than the national average.

**Table 5.3: The Family Size and the Number of Siblings and Children**

Quantity	Siblings		Family Members		Children	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0	-	-	-	-	7	4.2
1	3	1.8	1	0.6	33	19.9
2	3	1.8	2	1.2	64	38.6
3	16	9.6	28	16.9	35	21.1
4	25	15.1	54	32.5	12	7.2
5 +	119	71.7	81	48.8	3	1.8
Total	166	100.0	166	100.0	154	100.0

If the number of siblings is taken as the basis for determining the size of families which the police officers come from, those officers who have only 1 or 2 siblings comprise 3.6 percent. This percentage was 46.3 in the Ozcan and Caglar's study (1993) on Police Academy students in Turkey. The reason for this difference might come from the transition from the extended family to the nuclear family structure, which can be seen as a natural result of industrialization, rapid urbanization and modernization in the country, and of the difference between generations. While a family with two children is considered a small size family in Turkey<sup>2</sup>, the percentage of the officers who have 3 or more siblings including themselves is 96.4. This means that police officers in Turkey, unlike Police Academy students, do come mostly from larger families and villages and small towns (See Table 5.1).

Although the percentage of officers who have their own families with 5 or more members is 48.8, the trend



concerning their father's families is contrary (96.4 %). The percentage of officers who have families with 4 and less members including them and their wives is 50.2. This trend is more obvious in the number of children of officers. Those officers who have 3 or more children comprise only 30.1 percent of all officers. In other words, the officers, unlike their fathers, plan to have small size families. This might be a result of recent social and economic changes in the country. The unemployment rate was statistically known to be 7.7 percent in April 1991 in Turkey. The welfare state's benefits are also not well developed and distributed. All these reasons may affect the decisions of officers about their family size. However, some officers have extended family traditions. Some 19.9 percent of them live with at least one person from outside his own family. That is, 6.6 percent of officers live with their mothers, 5.4 percent live with their fathers and mothers, and 7.2 percent live with another member of the extended family. In addition to the Turkish cultural and ethical values, the underdeveloped social security services in Turkey can also be accepted as a reason for elderly relatives living with police officers.

## **2. Data Related to Education, Occupation and Income**

**2.1. Education :** Tables below show the educational background of parents and wives of police officers and their frequency distributions. Firstly, the literacy and illiteracy rates are given. Secondly, the levels of education that literate fathers, mothers and wives achieved are discussed.

**Table 5.4:** Literacy and Illiteracy of Parents and Wives of Police Officers in Turkey.

	Father		Mother		Wife	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Literate	136	81.9	85	51.2	150	96.8
Illiterate	30	18.1	81	48.8	5	3.2
Total	166	100.0	166	100.0	155	100.0

With regard to Table 5.5, although 'literate' can be seen as an unusual category in educational attainment, there are few opportunities to become literate without formal schooling in Turkey. For example, when an illiterate man joins the army for his compulsory military service, he is taught to write and read during his training. Another way of being literate for both men and women is to be taught by their children. Besides this some public institutions, such as Public Training Centre and summer school courses of the State, teach reading and writing to illiterate people. Unfortunately, they cannot receive a formal school diploma even though they can read and write.

The results show that there is an important difference between generations in terms of literacy, especially for women. Although the literacy rate among fathers and wives of police officers is very high, this percentage is only 51.2 among the mothers. When the general literacy rate (80.7 %) in Turkey (89.7 percent for men, 71.1 percent for women in 1990; FERB, 1991:30) is considered, the literacy rates of both fathers and mothers are lower whereas the literacy rate of wives (96.8 %) is higher than the general average of the country. This can be accepted as a further reflection of trends to modernity in Turkey.



**Table 5.5:** Level of Education that Literate Fathers, Mothers and Wives Achieved

Level of Education	Father		Mother		Wife	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Learned by him(er)self	35	25.7	22	25.8	5	3.3
Literacy courses provided by State	4	2.9	8	9.4	4	2.7
Primary School	73	53.7	52	61.2	82	54.7
Junior high(secon.) school	11	8.1	2	2.4	26	17.3
High school or equivalent	11	8.1	1	1.2	29	19.3
University	2	1.5	-	-	4	2.7
Postgraduate	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	136	100.0	85	100.0	150	100.0

Among the parents and wives, primary school graduates make up the majority (53.7 percent of fathers, 61.2 percent of mothers and 54.7 percent of wives). These percentages are 55.1 for male, 57.9 for female for population, 6 years old and over, in Turkey according to data gathered from 1985 general census (SIS, 1992: 62-63). The percentages of fathers and mothers who are primary school graduates are in parallel with the percentages of fathers and mothers who are primary school graduates of Police Academy students in Turkey (see Ozcan and Caglar, 1993). It is possible to say that police are close to the norm for community, i.e. there is a similarity to the norm for the population. The percentage of fathers who are literate but have no formal school diploma is 28.6, of which 25.7 percent learned literacy by himself or with the help of his children or during his military service and 2.9 percent learned by literacy courses. The percentage of literate mothers who have no formal school diploma is 35.2, and 25.8 percent of

them have learned to read and write by herself or with the help of her children. When the percentage of literate wives is considered, a contrasting situation is seen. Only 6.0 percent of wives who have no formal school diploma are literate, of which 3.3 percent learned to become literate by herself or with the help of her husband and children. The combined total of junior and high school graduates is 16.2 percent among the fathers, 3.6 percent among the mothers, and 36.6 percent among the wives. Besides this 1.5 percent of fathers, and 2.7 percent of wives have higher education, i.e. a university degree. However, no mother has a higher education degree. There are no postgraduate degrees among fathers, mothers and wives. As it is seen, most of the parents and wives have a relatively low educational background which is mostly either primary school education or no education at all.

When the father's education is examined, which is the more important determinant of the son's educational status in Turkey (Ozcan 1983a), it is obvious that fathers have a much lower education level than their sons. The education level of police officers is also much higher than their mothers' and wives' education levels. Although 98.5 percent of the literate fathers have at most obtained a middle level of education, this percentage is 100 percent for the mothers, and 97.3 percent for the wives.

Most of the police officers are the children of parents who have, on average, a primary school education. This raises a critical question: Why do the parents particularly with lower education want their children to become police officers ? or why do the children of the parents who have relatively lower education choose to become police officers ?



It is a fact that Turkey as a country has a very high percentage of young population. According to the data gathered from the general census in 1985, 37.1 percent of the population is between 14-34 age group (SIS,1992:56). On the other side, the percentage of unemployment is and has been very high for 3 decades. For example, the unemployment rate was known to be 12.1 percent in 1983, and was 7.7 percent in April 1991 (1992:227). The high unemployment rate in the country might direct people, both parents and their sons (police officers), more towards a job in the security organisation which is secure and guaranteed by the state. This point will be discussed further in the section of 'reasons for choosing to become a police officer'.

Low educational achievement appears to be the natural consequence of the economic status of the parents. This fact will also be seen in the distribution of parents' and wives' occupations (see Table 5.7).

**Table 5.6:** The Last School that Police Officers Graduated from before Enrolling in the Police Force

School	Number	%
Primary school	-	-
Junior high school(Secondary school)	-	-
High school or equivalent	-	-
Police high school	1	0.6
Police school	-	-
Police academy	5	3.0
University	1	0.6
Junior high(secondary) and police school	67	40.4
High-equivalent and police school	92	55.4
Others	-	-
Total	166	100.0

Table 5.6 shows that there is no police officer who has joined the Police Force without occupational education

or training. However, there is a difference among the officers in terms of their educational level before having occupational education or training. That is, although more than half of the officers (55.4%) graduated from high or equivalent school before having occupational training in the police educational and training institutions, only 40.4 percent of officers graduated from junior high (secondary) school. Some 3.0 percent of the officers in the research sample graduated from the Police Academy before enrolling in the Police Force.

According to data gathered from the Police Organization in 1991, the educational level of all police officers in Turkey can be given as follows: 0.1 percent of them graduated from primary school, 33.9 percent of them from secondary (junior high) school, 59.4 percent of them from high or equivalent school, and 6.6 percent of them from university or Police Academy before enrolling in the Police Force (EGM, 1991:79). These official figures are in parallel with the data of this research. Therefore, it is possible to say that the research sample is representative of the overall police population. Besides this, a very low number of officers have increased their educational level with the distance learning education programmes after joining the Police Force. When the percentages are compared, it can be said that the educational level of police officers in the Turkish Police Force is gradually increasing by the years. In other words, the police are upwardly mobile in terms of schooling.

**2.2. Occupation :** In this sub-section, first, the occupations of fathers, mothers and wives of police officers who made up the research sample are given.



Secondly, the occupations of police officers before enrolling in the Police Force and other related issues of police officers' occupation are investigated and discussed.

**a. Occupations of Parents and Wives:** In Table 5.7, the distribution of occupations among parents and wives as reported by the police officers can be seen. The coding by the State Institute of Statistics which is outlined in the brochure entitled 'Classification of Professional and Economic Activities (1980)', and its terms were used in order to classify the occupations of parents and wives of officers. This is the translation of the internationally known occupational classification called ISCO (International Standard Classification of Occupations). Having the occupations classified this way, it will be easier to compare and contrast the results of this research with other similar research done in other countries.

When the occupations of fathers, mothers and wives of the police officers in Turkey are examined, it is seen that almost half of fathers, the largest group (47.6 %), are small farmers, i.e. the villagers who deal with agricultural work. The second largest group (21.1 %) is employed in the service sector as public sector employees. Those who work at higher level administrative jobs make up only 0.6 percent of the fathers. The percentage of professionals, who are mostly primary and secondary school teachers, is 6.0. Almost all of the mothers (96.4 %) and a very big majority of the wives (81.9 %) are housewives and are not working outside. Although 5.4 percent of wives are employed in the public sector, 7.8 percent of them are declared unemployed.

**Table 5.7: Occupational Distribution of Parents and Wives of the Police Officers**

Occupations	Fathers		Mothers		Wives	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
House Wife	-	-	160	96.4	136	81.9
Anaesthetist	-	-	-	-	1	0.6
Nurse	-	-	-	-	2	1.2
Computer Programmer	-	-	-	-	1	0.6
Teacher (Secondary School)	2	1.2	-	-	1	0.6
Teacher (Primary School)	2	1.2	-	-	1	0.6
Clergyman	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Language Translator	-	-	-	-	1	0.6
Inspector (Primary Educ.)	2	1.2	-	-	-	-
Pharmacist	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Bank Branch Manager	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Subcontractor	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Public Sector Employee	35	21.1	2	1.2	9	5.4
Tradesman, Artisans(Self-Em)	14	8.4	-	-	-	-
Real Estate Agents	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Police Officer	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.6
Nightwatchman	2	1.2	-	-	-	-
Farmer (Small)	79	47.6	1	0.6	-	-
Mining Worker	2	1.2	-	-	-	-
Textile Worker	1	0.6	1	0.6	-	-
Baker	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Tobacco Worker	2	1.2	1	0.6	-	-
Tailor, Dressmaker	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Craftsman (Furniture)	2	1.2	-	-	-	-
Foreman (Ship Building)	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Telecommunication worker	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Welder	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Painter or Decorator	1	0.6	-	-	-	-
Construction Worker	5	3.0	-	-	-	-
Driver	2	1.2	-	-	-	-
Army Officer (Lower Rank)	2	1.2	-	-	-	-
Unemployed	2	1.2	1	0.6	13	7.8
Total	166	100.0	166	100.0	166	100.0

The occupational distribution of parents and wives is in conformity with their educational background (See Tables 5.4 and 5.5). Most of the fathers work in relatively low



prestige jobs such as small agricultural jobs, service jobs, small private businesses, etc. which require no education or require only junior or high school education. If it is remembered that 98.8 percent of mothers and 78.0 percent of wives have junior high school education at most (See Table 5.5), it is not surprising that the majority of them are housewives. Therefore, it is very natural for these parents to encourage their children to pursue a more desirable job than they have/had, such as police occupation. This idea is also confirmed by some police officers during the interviews.

**b. Occupation of Police Officers:** In this section, occupations of officers before enrolling in the Police Force, the length of service of officers in the Force and reasons for choosing to become a policeman, job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and occupational socialization of officers within the family will be given and discussed.

**i. Occupations Before Enrolling in the Police Force:** The social class of a police officer is generally determined by his last occupation and the education level achieved before enrolling in the Police Force. A high proportion of police officers had previously been unemployed and many had held jobs of a relatively lower status than their present occupation. These findings are given in the table below. That is, many policemen have experienced upward mobility in terms of the job they had before entering the Force. This is also valid for the British Police (Reiner, 1979:159). When the question 'did you have any regular job before enrolling in the Police Force?' was asked to the police

officers in the research sample, more than half of the officers (57.8 %) replied to the question negatively. This means that only 42.2 percent of officers had a regular job before enrolling in the Police Force.

The last jobs that the officers had before joining the Police Force are given in the table below.

**Table 5.8:** The Last Job of the Officers Before Enrolling in the Police Force

Occupation	Number	%
Electrician	4	5.7
Pharmacy Shop Assistant	1	1.4
Door to Door Salesman	1	1.4
Accountant	3	4.3
Teacher (Secondary School)	1	1.4
Footballer	2	2.9
Removalman	1	1.4
Subcontractor	1	1.4
Public Sector Employee	13	18.6
Private Sector Employee	2	2.9
Tradesman, Artisans (Self-employee)	5	7.1
Salesman	3	4.3
Market Trader	1	1.4
Restauranteur	2	2.9
Municipal Police	1	1.4
Farmer (Small)	11	15.7
Craftsman (Metal)	1	1.4
Textile Worker	2	2.8
Baker	1	1.4
Tailor, Dressmaker	1	1.4
Craftsman (Furniture)	2	2.9
Craftsman (Automobile)	1	1.4
Telecommunication Worker	3	4.3
Welder	1	1.4
Signwriter	1	1.4
Construction Worker	2	2.9
Driver	2	2.9
Machine Operator	1	1.4
Total	70	100.0



Among the police officers who had a regular job before enrolling in the Police Force, public sector employees make up the majority (18.6 %) as the largest group. The second largest group (15.7 %) are the officers who were employed in the small-scale agricultural works. The others had various jobs with small percentages (See Table 5.8). When fathers' and their sons' occupations are compared, it is interesting to see that the majority in the occupations in which fathers and their sons were (are) employed are the same occupational categories, small farmer and public sector employee, although the percentages of them are in contrast. There is also a similarity in the other kinds of occupations which fathers had/have and police officers had (See Tables 5.7 and 5.8) before enrolling in the Police Force. That is, the distribution in occupational terms of police origins and parents fits closely. When the Reiner study on British Police (1979:158-160) is taken into account, there is a similarity in terms of jobs that the police officers come from. That is, police officers come from skilled or semi-skilled manual origins, with a minority having a non-manual background.

After learning of the last job of officers before enrolling in the Police Force, it was aimed to make a comparison between their former and present jobs. It was supposed that this may help to understand the level of professionalism and values such as dedication to work, adoption of work, effectiveness of officers, etc. This will be discussed in more detail under the sub-title of 'Job Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction'.

Some 41.4 percent of officers who had a regular job before enrolling in the Police Force state that their present job is not as good as their previous job. Although

reasons of 'not being happy with the present job' will be discussed with Table 5.11, according to data gathered from open-ended interviews with officers the 'regular work hours', 'not being required to work on weekends' and 'life security' of their previous work make the former job more pleasant than the present job. Only 30 percent of them says that their present job is much better than their former job. Data gathered from interviews with these officers also show that having better income, opportunities and prestige are the features which make their present job more attractive than their former job. Besides these, only 18.6 percent of officers who had a regular job before enrolling in the Police Force state that their present job is slightly better than their previous job, and only 10.0 percent of them say that their present job is about the same as their previous job.

**ii. Length of Service and Reasons for Choosing to Become a Police Officer:** It is assumed that the length of service in the Police Force may help officers to make a fuller and more reliable analysis of occupational consciousness and professional values. The length of service in an occupation may also make possible an objective evaluation and interpretation of a job by employees. Therefore, an attempt was made to ensure that the officers who make up the research sample had at least 2 or more years of work experience in the career.

The length of service of police officers by years is given in the Table 5.9.



**Table 5.9: Officers Length of Service by Years**

Year (Length of Service)	Number	%
1967 (22 Years)	1	0.6
1968 (21)	2	1.2
1969 (20)	3	1.8
1970 (19)	1	0.6
1971 (18)	6	3.6
1972 (17)	14	8.4
1973 (16)	10	6.0
1974 (15)	2	1.2
1975 (14)	4	2.4
1976 (13)	2	1.2
1977 (12)	4	2.4
1978 (11)	6	3.6
1979 (10)	8	4.8
1980 ( 9)	12	7.2
1982 ( 8)	6	3.6
1983 ( 7)	3	1.8
1984 ( 6)	44	26.5
1985 ( 5)	19	11.4
1986 ( 4)	10	6.0
1987 ( 3)	1	0.6
1989 ( 2)	2	1.2
1990 ( 1)	6	3.6
1991 ( 0)	0	0.0
Total	166	100.0

When the distribution of officers in the police service by years is examined, it is seen that the vast majority of officers (88.6 %) have at least 5 or more years of work experience. The median value is 1983 (8 years). From this, it would appear that the responses made by the police officers to the research problem, specifically about job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, occupational consciousness and professional values, should be well-informed and reliable because they are able to draw on a relatively long experience of police work (policing applications).

Table 5.10 illustrates the frequency distributions of the three most important reasons for police officers, both administrative and ordinary, for choosing to become policemen. The frequency distributions of Icelli's studies in 1976 and 1986 which are related to the same subject are also given in the same table.

**Table 5.10: Reasons for Choosing to Become a Police Officer**

Reasons	1st Reason		2nd Reason		3rd Reason		Icelli's		Stds	
							1976		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
To acquire prestige and to have a position of respect	3	1.8	4	2.4	6	3.6	1	0.5	0	0.0
To live an adventurous life	4	2.4	5	3.0	3	1.8	5	2.5	0	0.0
To have better income and opportunities	42	25.2	28	16.8	8	4.8	37	18.5	2	4.0
No other work available	53	31.9	17	10.2	6	3.6	114	57.0	22	44.0
It was the occupation of my father	3	1.8	1	0.6	-	-	7	3.5	14	28.0
I always wanted to be a police officer	54	32.5	10	6.0	18	10.8	36	18.0	12	24.0
Other reasons	2	1.2	3	1.8	2	1.2				
No idea	5	3.0	1	0.6	1	0.6				
Total	166	100	69	41.4	44	26.4	200	100	50	100

When the data are analyzed, it is seen that 32.5 percent of all officers marked the choice 'I always wanted



to be a police officer' as the most important reason in choosing to become a police officer. The most frequently mentioned attraction of the job in this group was the characteristics of work that can be broadly classified as having power and dealing with justice, i.e. helping people who are in need. The character of the police occupation as a disciplined and uniformed body, and being recognized as a man's job, also attracted police officers in this group, according to the data gathered from interviews conducted with officers. These results are in parallel with Reiner's study (1979:159) on the British Police. However, almost the same percent of officers (31.9 %) stated as the most important reason that there was no other work available. If the median value of length of service which is 1983 (see Table 5.9) is taken into consideration, the situation of high unemployment, which was 12.1 percent in 1983 in Turkey (FERB, 1991:103), might once more attract police officers interested in the police force rather than an intrinsic desire for work of any kind. There are some data, in Icelli's study, which will be given below on recruit motivation to confirm this explanation. Some 25.4 percent of police officers made clear that the most important reason in choosing to become policemen was to have better income and opportunities. Good pay was also seen as one of the three most important factors in choosing the job in the British Police (See for more information, Fielding, 1988:37-42).

Icelli (1976 and 1987) also studied the reasons for choosing to become a police officer while she was making the medical and psychiatric investigation of police recruits as a medical professional in 1976 in Sivas and in 1986 in Izmir. In Sivas, 57 percent of the sample (see Table 5.10) asserted that because of not finding any other

job they had decided to become policemen (n=200). This percentage is 44 in her study ten years later (1986) in Izmir (n=50). If Izmir and Sivas are compared in terms of development and various work opportunities, this difference can be easily accepted as an understandable result, although there is not a big difference between percentages. Rather than seeing the findings of Icelli's and this study as being slightly contradictory, they indicate the historical relativity of reasons for joining the Police Force.

**iii. Job Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction:** The main aim in this subsection is to try to understand how much the officers are satisfied or dissatisfied with their present job.

The concepts of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction traditionally have been of great interest to social scientists concerned with the problems of work in an industrial society (Kalleberg, 1977:124). Job satisfaction is the result of various attitudes possessed by an employee which are related to wage, supervision, steadiness of employment, conditions of work, advancement opportunities, recognition of ability, fair evaluation of work, social relations on the job, prompt settlement of grievances, fair treatment by employer and others, family relationships, social status, recreational outlets and politics, etc. (Blum and Naylor, 1968). Therefore job satisfaction may be accepted as a first step towards improving productivity, effectiveness and organizational or institutional functioning, and to help the development of personal potential which is needed and essential in a modern-industrial society. However, the concepts of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are multidimensional



because of individual differences and variety (diversity) of work practices. That is, an individual may be satisfied with one dimension of the work and dissatisfied with another. Therefore, 'sociology needs to be supplemented by psychological theory in order to understand the reaction of individuals to their jobs' (Kalleberg, 1977:142). In line with these considerations, a measure of overall job satisfaction and dissatisfaction was developed based on the responses of police officers to several questions concerning how satisfied the police officers are with their job as a whole. These questions included indirect inquiries as well as direct measures. In other words, the following issues were explored: Are respondents happy with their present job or not ? If they are not, what are the reasons ? Which one is better when they make a comparison between their previous job before enrolling in the Police Force and their present job ? Would they like to work in another branch or department in the Police Force if they were given an opportunity ? If so, what are the reasons ? All things considered, to what extent are they satisfied with their job ? Have they any complaints about their present job ? If they have, what kinds of complaints are they ? This is necessary in order to understand the feelings and thoughts of police officers about their job, i.e. relationships between police officers and their job, because 'job satisfaction refers to an overall affective orientation on the part of individuals toward work roles which they are presently occupying' (Kalleberg, 1977:126).

Additionally and more importantly, exploring these questions may help to discover the meaning or level of professionalism values such as adoption of the job, dedication and adaptation to the job, etc. to officers. From these results it will be possible to make a prediction

about the efficiency of policing in Turkey, because the efficiency of occupational practices may directly depend on professional ethics, rules and regulations of an occupation. In this context, efficiency means that it maximizes output from a given quantity of factor inputs (Mann, 1983:105).

Being happy or not with choosing to work in the Police Force was the first point that police officers were asked to make clear in this section. Although 63.3 percent of officers reported that they are happy with their present job, 36.7 percent of them said that they are not. Similar results were obtained when the officers were asked to make a comparison between their present and previous job. Some 41.4 percent of officers stated that their present job is not as good as their previous (civilian) job. In other words, it is very difficult to expect from officers who say their present job is not as good as their former job or they are not satisfied with their present job, that they will dedicate themselves to their daily work, to adopt the ethical and professional values of their occupation, and to socialize themselves in their profession. This situation can inevitably create ineffectiveness in policing in the country in general.

The three most important reasons given by officers who are not happy with their occupation, and related frequency distributions, are given in the table below.



**Table 5.11: Reasons for not Being Happy with Occupation**

Reasons	1st Reason		2nd Reason		3rd Reason	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
It has low prestige in the public eye	2	3.3	1	1.6	5	8.2
It is an occupation that physically and psychologically wears one out	14	23.0	11	18.0	21	34.4
There are no regular and organized work hours	2	3.3	18	29.5	5	8.2
It is an occupation with no life security and with dangers	1	1.6	2	3.3	6	9.8
Undeserving people are promoted to certain positions	9	14.8	5	8.2	2	3.3
It is an occupation where the working conditions are very heavy	6	9.8	12	19.7	7	11.5
It is an occupation with low income (salary)	21	34.4	9	14.8	4	6.6
It is an unsatisfactory occupation in terms of emotional (spiritual) and material gains	5	8.2	3	4.9	11	18.0
Other reasons	1	1.6	-	-	-	-
Total	61	100.0	61	100.0	61	100.0

The first most important reason which is stated by the police officers who are not happy with their occupation is the low income (salary) of the occupation (34.4 %) (See for income data Table 5.13). Almost one third (29.5 %) of the officers accept irregular and unorganized work hours as second most important reason for not being happy with the

occupation. Some 34.4 percent of them give the physical and psychological difficulties and disadvantages of their occupation as the third most important reason. In other words, the image of the police job, unlike the British Police (Fielding, 1988:42-50), is connected with the low material gains, irregular and unorganized work hours, and physical and psychological difficulties and disadvantages of the work.

The officers who are not happy with their present occupation were also asked to state the occupation which they would like to work in. Almost half of them (46.0 %) preferred to be self-employed, i.e. to have or establish their own business as a tradesman or an artisan. Some 23 percent of them wanted to be public sector employees, another 13.2 percent chose to become private sector employees. The rest with very small percentages made their choices in favour of becoming teachers (both primary and secondary, 8.2 %), aircraft pilots, lawyers, journalists, craftsmen (furniture) and lower rank army officers.

Another point was the satisfaction of officers about their work place in the Police Organization. The police officers were asked to make clear their position if they were given the opportunity to work in another branch or department of the police organization. More than half of the officers (57.2 %) made their choice in favour of working in another branch or department of the organization, although 10.2 percent of them said that they do not want to work in another place. Almost a third of them (32.5 %) stated that they have no preference for working in their present place or elsewhere.

The officers who wanted to work in another branch or



department were again asked to state their preferred work place in the organization. It will be recalled that the sample entirely comprises patrol officers. More than a third of them (38.8 %) asked to work for the security of the President, Prime Minister (as a bodyguard) or National Assembly, 15.3 percent of them preferred to work in Police Educational Institutions, 11.2 percent of them chose to work in the Section of Finance Offenses, 10.2 percent of them opted to work in either Section I or in Section II which deal with political crimes and criminals. The others made their choices with small percentages for Narcotics Section (9.2 %), Homicide Department (5.1 %), the Intelligence Services Department (3.1 %), Section of Ethics (Moral values) (2 %), Special Team (4.1 %) and Judicial Police Department (1 %).

When the reasons for wishing to change their present work place were explored, more than a third of the police officers (38.8 %) gave better income as the most important. The other reasons can be given as follows: the higher prestige of the preferred work place (20.4 %) (perhaps similar to the ambition of many British police to join the C.I.D.), the ease of duty (15.3 %) and the adventurous nature of the job (12.2 %). Another 13.3 percent gave different reasons such as having specialization in the preferred area, because of unfavourable comparison with his first work place in the organization, to preserve youths from social, cultural and psychological corruption and criminal behaviour, to be more useful, and the closer fit of the job with their personality. Police officers were also asked to state the kind of job they would like to do in the organization. More than half the police officers (59.6 %) stated that they had no preference. Some 21.7 percent of them preferred to work in motor patrolling, 13.9

percent at an office desk, 2.4 percent in foot patrolling, and another 2.4 percent made their choice in favour of a different type of work such as to work as a member of a special team, an intelligence agent, or an undercover agent.

In order to make data on satisfaction and dissatisfaction of officers more clear, the issue discussed before was reexamined in another part of the questionnaire with similar questions. Similar results were obtained. That is, 41.6 percent of officers said that they obtain a medium degree of satisfaction from their job. Some 19.9 percent of them reported that they have a high satisfaction from their job, i.e. they find police work very satisfactory because they see public service as important in a job, and stated that their profession is serving the whole society. The same percent of officers asserted that they get a limited degree of satisfaction, and 18.1 percent said that they obtain no satisfaction from their job at all. In this case, the results are in something of a contrast to the job satisfaction in the British Police (Reiner, 1979:161). According to Reiner's study, the police officers in Britain are mostly satisfied from their job. The difference may come from the different nature of the policing system, the organizational structure of the Force, the policing practices, and most probably from the different socio-economic structures of the two countries.

Additionally, data on complaints about their job, if they have any, and the most important causes of their dissatisfaction were also gathered. The three most important complaints of officers and the related frequency distributions are given in the table below in order of importance as first, second and third.



**Table 5.12:** The Complaints about the Job

Complaints	1st Compl.		2nd Compl.		3rd Compl.	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
It is an occupation that physically and psychologically wears one out	31	18.7	23	13.9	41	24.7
Those that deserve it are not promoted to the proper position	17	10.3	27	16.3	10	6.1
The working conditions are heavy (difficult)	16	9.7	25	15.1	27	16.3
Working hours are irregular and inadequately organized	14	8.5	35	21.1	25	15.1
The material gains are inadequate	66	39.8	29	17.5	23	13.9
There is a lack of love, justice, respect and equality (there are discriminations and insults)	10	6.1	11	6.6	12	7.2
There is a pressure from superiors	2	1.2	4	2.4	6	3.6
There is no concern for individual problems	1	0.6	3	1.8	13	7.8
No idea	8	4.7	8	4.7	8	4.7
Other	1	0.6	1	0.6	1	0.6
Total	166	100.0	166	100.0	166	100.0

The first and most important complaint which is stated by police officers about their present work is related to the inadequacy of material gains, that is inadequate income. The second most important one is related to the irregular and inadequately organized working hours, and the

third is about the physical and psychological difficulties, problems and effects. When the findings of this table are compared with those in Table 5.11, it can be easily seen that the officers have indicated the same problems related to their work in both tables. This similarity also shows the reliability and validity of the data given by the police officers.

**iv. Occupational Socialization :** Although the police's occupational socialization into the organization will also be discussed in further sections and especially in the Chapter 7, 'Occupational Consciousness in the Turkish Police', the socialization within the family in terms of selection of police profession is given in this subsection.

In modern societies, as Giddens (1989:76) states, most early socialization occurs within a small scale family context. Socialization is the process whereby, through contact with other human beings, the helpless infant gradually becomes a self-aware, knowledgeable human being, skilled in the ways of the given culture and environment (1989:87). Although there are many variations of family context or structure, 'the family into which a person is born largely determines the individual's social position for the rest of his or her life' (1989:77).

In order to look at the occupational socialization within the family in the Turkish Police, the officers were asked to report whether they had/have any relative in the Force or not. Some 41 percent of officers stated that they had/have at least one police relative either in the family or among the relatives who works(ed) in the Police



Organization. The total number of relatives is 91 whereas the number of officers from the sample and who had/have at least one relative in the Force is 68 (40.9 %). The largest group among the relatives who were/are in the Force is male cousins with 52.7 percent. The percentage of the officers who said that their brother(s) were/are in the organization is 18.7. Some 14.3 percent of them said their uncle(s), 2.2 percent their father(s) works(ed), and 12.1 percent told that they had/have another relative in the Turkish Police Force.

When the data are evaluated and interpreted, it is possible to say that there is an occupational socialization inside the family or among the relatives. Although the influence may be negative, positive or simply 'realism enhancing', as Fielding stated (1988:28), contact with the police before joining as family member or kin has an important potential to influence the recruit's image of the occupation. Recruit contact with police is also high in the U.K. (1988:28) and in U.S.A. (Van Maanen, 1974:88). It may be accepted as an international characteristic of police recruits.

Although some officers (36.7 %) stated that they are not happy with their job, they were encouraged by their relatives to get a job in the Police Force. As mentioned before, not having other work opportunities and wishing to increase their income are important factors (see Table 5.10) in choosing to become a policeman but having a relative in the Force is also an important reference for a candidate(applicant) during the recruitment process. This reality increases the level of occupational socialization both in the family and among the relatives.

**2.3. Income :** In this section, the present income of police officers, whether having any other paid work apart from their present job or not, whether any other family member contributes to the family budget or not, and some of the possessions that the officers have, will be given.

Since recent research done in social stratification has shown that there is not a strong correlation between educational, occupational and income status (see for U.A.S. Jenks and others, 1972; for Turkey Kasnakoglu, 1975; Ozcan, 1983b), distributions of income stand out as a problem to be evaluated independently. Table below shows the distribution of answers given to the present income question<sup>3</sup>.

**Table 5.13: The Monthly Income of Police Officers**

Income (TL and £)	No	%
1,000,000 (£ 145.60) - 1,125,000 (£ 163.80)	25	15.1
1,125,001 (£ 163.80) - 1,250,000 (£ 182.00)	92	55.4
1,250,001 (£ 182.00) - 1,375,000 (£ 200.20)	27	16.3
1,375,001 (£ 200.20) - 1,500,000 (£ 218.41)	22	13.2
1,500,001 (£ 218.41) +	0	0.0
Total	166	100.0

More than half of the officers (55.4 %) who made up the research sample stated that their monthly income is between TL 1,126,000-1,250,000. The median value of the distribution is 1,200,000. This shows that the police officers in the Turkish Police Force have an average monthly income of TL 1,200,000 which was approximately



equal to £ 174.72 in May 1991. If it is compared with other occupations' monthly income (paid employee monthly income) which is on average TL 1,956,361 (£ 284.85) (Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1991, 1992:251) in the urban residential area, the monthly income of police officers is obviously lower than the general average of paid employee income of the country.

The officers were also asked to state whether they have any other paid work apart from being a police officer or not. From all officers only 1.2 percent reported that they have a second job apart from being a police officer. The job done is that of a taxi driver when they are off duty. The amount of money that they earn from this second job is around TL 500,000 (£ 72.80) per month. Additionally, some 17.5 percent of officers also declared that some members of their families contribute to the family budget. The rest (82.5 %) stated that they have no other income apart from their own salary which is given in Table 5.13.

It should also not be forgotten that these are the incomes of the officers who have an average 8 years of length of service (see Table 5.9) and have mostly 5 family members (see Table 5.3), and whose wives are predominantly housewives or unemployed (see Table 5.7). It is even possible to consider the families of police officers below average. Under these circumstances it may be concluded that the police officers in Turkish Police Organization are at low or middle income level.

Furthermore, the data about the possessions that the police officers have or do not have e.g. car, house were also gathered. The main aim was to draw a general picture of police officers in society in terms of their economic

power (capability) in addition to their personal income, extra income and family members' contributions. Only 4.2 percent of all police officers who make up the research sample said that they have their own (private) car. The percentage of private car ownership in the whole society is 3.65 ( Source: Renault Automobile Factory, Marketing Strategies Department, Turkey). Similarly, the ownership of a family house is also examined. While only 4.8 percent of officers stated that the house they live in belongs to them, a very big majority (81.9 %) said that their house is rented. Another 6 percent of officers stated that the house is provided by the state (lodging) and does not belong to them. 4.2 percent of officers live in houses belonging to their parents, and the 1.8 percent of officers live in houses belonging to their wives' parents. The percentage of officers who reported that the owner of their house is his wife is only 0.6. Another 0.6 percent of officers live in houses belonging to both a police officer and his wife. That is, 94 percent of officers do not have a house which they, their wives or both together own. The percentage of house ownership is 71.2 and the percentage of tenants is 21.9 (Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1991, 1992:264) in Turkey. From these results it is possible to say that police officers in the Turkish Police Organization are in a relatively disadvantaged position in terms of possessions. When an overall evaluation is made it is possible to say that the Turkish Police can be accepted as lower class in society in terms of their economic wealth.

**3. Data Related to Ranks, Promotion, Relationships Between Officers and Their Superiors, Colleagues and Inferiors :** In this section, the aim is to investigate, first, the rank



that the police officers currently have and the promotion that the officers have already achieved, if any. Secondly, the relationship between officers and their superiors, colleagues and inferiors is explained.

It was necessary to obtain data related to the issues mentioned above in order to be able to understand rank structure, the promotion procedure of the Turkish Police, and additionally, to comprehend the occupational-cultural relationships and informal occupational socialization among police officers, both ordinary and administrative.

**3.1. Ranks and Promotion:** The current rank structure of the Turkish Police can be given as follows:

**a. Ordinary Police Officer:** After recruiting, candidates have to have a one-year training and education program which is totally related to policing issues in a police school. When the programme is ended, exams which are on training and education courses are taken by all recruits. Those who are successful are appointed to the ordinary police officer's post, and they can serve in this post until they are retired with the exception of specific conditions for promoting to the post of vice commissar.

**b. Vice Commissar:** According to recent regulations, a person can be a vice commissar if he/she graduated from the Police Academy which has two distinct programmes. One of them is the normal four-year Academy education and training programme, the other is a 'special class' programme. The 'special class' consists of students who graduated from other universities and wish to pursue a career in the security organization. These students are accepted after

taking an examination and are subjected to special training for one academic year. Those who are successful after this obtain the same status as the Academy graduates.

Vice commissar and subsequent ranks are the ranks of administrators in the Turkish police Force. A vice commissar is generally charged with the leadership of a group in a police station. With the specific occupational requirements he/she has the right to promotion to commissar rank.

**c. Commissar:** According to recent regulations, the main source of the post of commissar is the vice commissar's post. A commissar is mostly charged with the leadership of one of three shifts in a police station. He/she also represents head commissar in the absence of him/her in the police station. He/she has the right to be promoted to the head commissar's rank with some occupational requirements.

**d. Head Commissar:** A head commissar is most probably the head or chief of a police station. He/she is responsible for all the activities and policing practices of a police station. After serving for a certain time in this post, he/she can either retire or be promoted to the post of town security directorate at the proposal of the high police authorities and by the approval of relevant political authorities of the government in action.

**e. Town or City Directorate of Security:** A town or a city director of security is the head or chief of all security forces in a town or in a city, and he/she is responsible for local policing activities. A town director of security



is directly accountable to the governor (Kaymakam) of the town and city director of security and indirectly accountable to the governor (Vali) of the city or similar political authorities. A city director of security is accountable to the governor of the city and its political authorities such as General Directorate of Security (GDS) and Ministry of Interior Affairs (MIA).

A town security director can be promoted on the proposal of GDS and with the approval of political authorities, namely MIA and Cabinet of Ministers, to the post of city director of security. Similarly, a city director of security can be appointed to the post of governor of town or city again at the proposal of related authorities in the MIA and with the approval of the political authorities which are in charge. Actually, both the governor of the town and city are the personnel of the Ministry of Interior Affairs but they are not graded in the rank structure (system) of the Police Organization.

When the data related to the rank structure of the police officers who made up the research sample is examined, it is seen that 84.3 percent of them are ordinary police officers. Only 15.7 percent of sample is composed of administrative police officers, i.e. 6 percent are vice commissars, 6.7 percent are commissars and 3 percent are head commissars. In the sampling design of the study, the aim was to obtain data from 25 administrative police officers. The number, already given above, is 26. Another point to remember is the limitation of sample units from the rank of ordinary police officers to the rank of head commissar which is included. Another is the rank of 'nightwatchman' (bekci). Although a nightwatchman works in the area of responsibility of a police station and is

accountable to the leader of a working shift who is on duty during the night, his rank is not accepted in the rank structure of the police profession. Therefore it is excluded from the discussion.

Promotion in the police profession up to the rank of town directorate of security in Turkey totally relies on written and oral examinations carried out by a commission formed by the General Directorate of Security (GDS). The judicial and qualification records are also very important in the promotion of officers. The officers must keep their official records clean. The promotion in much higher ranks such as town and city directors of security, chairmen of departments and other administrative officers depend mainly on the preferences of the political authorities which are in action. In other words, they are appointed and promoted by the GDS with the approval of the Ministry of Interior Affairs. That is, appointments and promotions at particularly high levels are politically motivated, and career advancement in departments is heavily determined according to political preference, regardless of competence and efficiency.

Data on the promotion of officers in the rank structure of the profession, if any, and the length of service in each rank was also gathered from the police officers. According to the data, only 13.9 percent of officers were promoted from the rank of ordinary police officers to the rank of vice commissar, with at least 6 and at most 15 years of length of service in the rank of ordinary police officers (median value is 11). Some 10.8 percent of them were promoted from the rank of vice commissar to the rank of commissar with at least 2 and at most 6 years of service in their previous rank (median



value is 3). Another 3.6 percent of officers were promoted from the rank of commissar to the rank of head commissar with at least 2 and at most 3 years of service in their former rank (median value is 3).

When the results are interpreted it is possible to say that although promotion from the ordinary police officer's rank to the vice commissar rank is not impossible, it is very difficult. However, promotion between other ranks is relatively quicker and more regular in terms of length of service. These also show that there are two distinct strata in the police profession as ordinary and administrative police officers.

The police officers who are happy with their present job (63.3 %) were asked to report the rank they would like to attain in the police profession. The table below illustrates the frequency distributions.

**Table 5.14:** The Rank That the Police Officers Would Like to Attain in the Police Force.

Ranks	No	%
I am happy in the position (rank) which I have	35	33.3
Vice Commissar	6	5.7
Commissar	7	6.7
Head Commissar	44	41.9
Town Security Director	0	0.0
City Security Director	10	9.5
Governor of the City	3	2.9
Other	0	0.0
Total	105	100.0

The data show that almost a third of the police officers (33.3 %) who are happy with their job are also happy in the rank which they have. In other words, they have no aspirations for the higher ranks in their profession, and are not concerned about upward mobility in their profession. According to the data gathered from interviews conducted with the officers, the reasons may be various but the most important are (1) greater responsibilities of higher ranks, (2) the unjust and subjective examination system which the officers have to face for rank advancement, and (3) political preference from the top for ranks mostly after the rank of head commissar. Some 41.9 percent of the officers who are happy with their job and would like to attain a much higher rank in their profession made their choices for the rank of head commissar, i.e. they are concerned about upward mobility in their profession. It is very reasonable that this rank is one of the most desirable because, first, a head commissar is the chief of a police station, he/she has more power in comparison with lower ranks such as commissar's and vice commissar's ranks. Second, generally it is not under the threat of political pressure and preference compared with much higher ranks such as town and city security directorate and city and town governorship. Therefore, a head commissar rank is more attractive to police officers.

**3.2. Relationships Between Officers and Their Superiors, Colleagues and Inferiors:** Data related to the relationships between officers and their superiors, colleagues and inferiors outside working hours were collected in order to understand the informal occupational communication and socialization among the profession members, if any. Police socialization is the process whereby police recruits learn



the values and behaviour patterns characteristic of experienced police officers (Lundman, 1980:73). This also may help us to comprehend the isolation of officers themselves from the other strata of society, if any.

When the police officers who made up the research sample are asked to answer the question 'have you friendship with other police officers (superiors, colleagues and inferiors) outside working hours?', a big majority of them (78.9 %) stated that they have relationships with their colleagues, superiors and inferiors. It is possible to say that most of the police officers have informal relationships and communication with each other. This helps officers to socialize each other in terms of occupational values, knowledge and ethics, because it is very natural and reasonable to talk and share common points mostly when people from the same occupation meet in informal circumstances. However, this brings a danger of one-sided socialization and communication in society on behalf of the police occupation which may obstruct more direct connections with the general public in social life. This may lead to isolation from the general public and a creation of strict behavioural forms (patterns) among the police officers which will be very dangerous for a profession like the police. The data gathered from interviews with the police officers also support the idea that most police officers have fewer relationships with non-police people than they have with their own kind. The reasons put forward mostly concern the negative image of the police among public, and not having enough free time because of hard working conditions. This is a source of concern in other countries too.

Moreover, nearly a quarter of them (21.1 %) said that

they have no kind of relationship with their superiors, colleagues and inferiors outside working hours. This means their relationships with other police officers are limited to the relationships in working hours which are predominantly official and occupational. It is very difficult to establish an informal occupational communication and socialization for these officers outside working hours. These officers also gave other reasons: 'not having enough free time because of hard working conditions' and 'dislike of the police occupation', for not having relationships with other police officers.

Besides this, almost all police officers who made up the research sample of the study, but mostly ordinary police officers, complained about not benefiting enough from the services provided by the Police Organization such as Police House, Police Summer Holiday Camps, etc. They stated that there is a big discrimination among the ranks in using or benefitting from these facilities. Ordinary police officers said that when they are in a police house and even occupying a table with their family members sometimes they are displaced because of the arrival of superiors. They said that they are treated as the lowest class in the Police Force. This kind of behaviour and complaints about discrimination of ranks naturally build a wall between police officers who are administrators and ordinary police. The validity of data on this issue is also supported by the lack of facilities among the police profession across the country in comparison with some other professions such as army officer and teacher. Although there are 57 Police Houses in Turkey (EGM, 1991:210), there is at least one Army House in each city (n=74) in Turkey. These are not lodging houses -like the British 'section house'- but recreational and social facilities.



**4. Data on Attitudes Towards Their Revolvers and Uniforms, and the Intellectual World of Officers :** In this section of the chapter, first, the attitudes of officers towards their revolvers and uniforms are explained. These do not include the psychological aspects of personalities of officers. Secondly, the intellectual world of police officers such as reading newspapers, journals, books, watching TV, attending occupational seminars and panel discussions, going to theatre and cinema, and knowing any foreign languages is questioned and discussed. The main aim is to try to draw a picture of a policeman in his daily social and cultural life.

**4.1. Attitude Towards Revolver and Uniform:** The police officers who made up the research sample were asked to state whether they always (even when they are off duty) carry their revolver or not. A very big majority of them (86.1 %) reported that they always carry their revolver. Only 13.9 percent of officers said that they mostly do not carry their revolver when they are off duty. The officers who always carry their revolver were also asked to give their reason for doing so. Some 37.1 percent showed the obligation given by the Police Act; 29.4 percent said that 'a revolver is the honour of a policeman, so it must always be with him'; 26.6 percent stated that the revolver makes them feel more confident. Only 1.4 percent gave the reason as love of guns. Another 5.6 percent asserted different reasons such as need of it at any time, to prevent any accident related to the gun in the home, to preserve the gun, because of being chief of a police station, being accustomed to it, and to be ready for duty at all times.

One of the important points stated in relation to officers with their guns is the matter of honour. Almost a third of officers (29.4 %) concentrated on this reason. This may be accepted as a reflection of the old Turkish cultural values of the officers job or to their instruments and their personalities. In old Turkish cultural life 'horse, wife, and gun (at, avrat, silah)' are the most private and untouchable things in a man life. If the low socio-economic class background of officers is considered with this case, it will be easier to understand their conservative values to certain objects such as guns. Another important point is related to the feeling about self-confidence. In other words, some officers (26.6 %) feel less confident when they do not have their gun with them. This raises some question marks about the law enforcement agents, their policing effectiveness and their professional and personal values. Does the reason for this feeling come from the personal characteristics of police officers or from the impossibility of policing in society without a gun ? However, it is not important whether the first or second reason is true, since in both cases these reasons represent a problem which needs to be dealt with in the policing system and policing policy. This requires more and deeper studies in these areas.

Similarly, the attitude of officers towards their uniform is also questioned. As Klockars (1985:49-50) states, politically, the requirement that the police be uniformed is a guarantee that they will not be used as spies, that they will be given information only when their identity as police is known, and that those who give them information are likely to be noticed as they do so. The uniform also has the political advantage of increasing the possibility that the state can be held responsible for the



acts that is own agents undertake , under orders or on their own initiative. In other words, the uniform is used as a symbol or as a communication instrument in the relationship between the state and its citizens. However, in light of this it is surprising that all police officers (100 %) preferred to wear their civilian clothes when they are off duty. In other words, there is a negative attitude towards the police uniform by the police officers in Turkey. The reason may be the negative image of police in society, i.e. police officers mostly stated that the ordinary citizens do not feel comfortable when they have social relationships with them in the street. That is why they also feel uncomfortable in their relationships, and they prefer to wear their civilian clothes when they are off duty. A similar problem arose in Ozcan and Caglar's study (1993) on Police Academy students in Turkey. The Police Academy students also prefer to wear their civilian clothes when they have days off from the Academy.

**4.2. Intellectual World of Police Officers:** As mentioned above, the intellectual and cultural activities of a police officer will be given to be able to draw a general picture of him in terms of his socio-cultural life in this subsection.

The police officers were, at first, asked whether they ever attend panel discussions or seminars on police work or not. A very big majority of them (87.3 %) said that they did not attend any panel discussion or seminar on police work in their professional life, leaving only 12.7 percent who attend panel discussions or seminars related to their profession. The police officers who said that they have not attended any such events were asked to give the most

important reason for not attending. The biggest group (41 %) said they were not informed about occupational panel discussions or seminars. Some 28.8 percent of them asserted that such scientific and occupational panels are not held. Another 24.7 percent stated that they have no time to attend this type of meetings. Only 5.5 percent of them said that the contents of these types of meetings are void and meaningless.

When the results are analyzed, it is, first, possible to mention a lack of occupational scientific activities in the Turkish Police Organization. More than a third of officers (69.8 %) reported either these activities are not being held or they are not being informed about them. In order to enrich the data, the police seniors were also interviewed on this issue. They stated that such activities are organized very rarely, they are not organized with an academic aim. They are on specific issues and not applied to all police officers in the Organization. Further, a senior bureaucrat made the following statement:

To be honest, we do not organize such scientific and academic panel discussion or seminars. When we have a command from upper officers, we organize small-scale occupational activities but they are very rare, and in my opinion they are just for formality. However, we cannot blame only Police Organization. We are not an academic organization like university. Actually, this should be among the social responsibility of universities, but as you know there are not enough and healthy relationships between institutions and organizations in our country. I am not optimistic, because this is a policy problem... (H).

As stated by the senior bureaucrat, there is a big gap between academic institutions and the Police Organization in Turkey. Having no academic research and studies either theoretical or empirical on the Police Force and its policing system can also be accepted as evidence for this



gap. When the number of universities which are well established (29) in Turkey is considered this lack of relationships will be more obvious. In fact, the academics should be blamed when their pioneer role in scientific research in society is considered. However, it should not be forgotten that this is a political preference and a policy related matter. That is, the government should make its choice for a more open (visible) policing, and the GDS should allow, even call, social scientists to take policing operations and policies under scrutiny.

Secondly, police officers were asked to reply to the questions, 'have you read any book in the last month?', '(If Yes) please write the name(s) of it(them)', '(If No) when did you last read a book?'; 'do you read a daily newspaper?', '(If Yes) what is the frequency of your reading a newspaper?; and 'do you read any weekly or monthly journal?'

A very big majority of them (84.3 %) gave a negative answer to the first question, so only 15.7 percent of officers replied positively. After that another question which was related to the writing of the name of the books they have read in the last month was directed to the officers who gave a positive answer. Around two thirds of these (61.5 %) gave only one name; 26.9 percent wrote down two names; and another 11.5 percent wrote down the names of three books. The police officers who said that they have not read any book in the last month were also asked to state when they last read a book. More than half of these officers (53.6 %) reported that they had read a book at least two or more years ago; 8.6 percent of them one year ago; 17.8 percent six months ago; and 20 percent two months ago. Similarly, officers gave a negative answer to the

reading of any weekly or monthly journal. In other words, 84.9 percent of officers said that they do not read any weekly or monthly journal whereas 15.1 percent of them stated that they do.

In contrast to reading a book and weekly or monthly journal, 86.7 percent of police officers who made up the research sample asserted that they read a daily newspaper whereas 13.3 percent of them said that they do not. The police officers who said that they read a daily newspaper were asked to report on the frequency of their reading. Some 63.9 percent of them stated that they read a newspaper daily, i.e. they are regular readers; 29.9 percent of them read whenever they get hold of one; 4.8 percent read them two days in a week; and another 1.4 percent read one day a week.

The results show that there is no habit of reading of books and journals either general or occupational (professional) among Turkish police officers. Similarly, although the percentage of newspaper readers seems high, the data gathered by interviews with officers and observation showed that the officers are not regular buyers of newspapers. Some daily newspapers are bought by and brought to the police station, and the officers read these newspapers. Most of them said that they otherwise cannot afford to buy a newspaper everyday. The newspapers' prices are more or less similar with the prices in U.K., although there is a big gap between the salaries of officers in both countries. As a result, it is possible to say that Turkish police officers suffer a lack of reading activities. Actually, this is not valid just for police officers, because the general reading level in society is very low. For example, although the population of Turkey is



56,473,035 (General Census of Population, 1990) and the literacy rate is 80.7 % in 1990, an average of 3,669,000 copies of daily published newspaper (circulation per 1000 is 69 in 1988) are circulated all over the country. The circulation per 1000 is 273 in Hungary, 96 in Greece (1983), 75 in Spain (1986), 105 in Italy, 208 in South Korea (1986) (FERB, 1991:30-36). The copies which are sold are much less than this number. Further, if a book sells more than 5,000 copies in Turkey, it is accepted as one of the best sellers. The total number of books which were published in 1991 in Turkey including the publications of official institutions was 6,522, and the total number of periodical publications in the same year was 3,033 (SIS, 1992:165). Therefore this reluctance or low level for reading can be accepted as a general characteristic of the Turkish people. On the other hand, this inevitably underplays the potential of a highly literate population. In terms of the police profession, reading should be accepted as a part of continuing education, because the socio-cultural and economic life style of the people who the police are charged to serve are always changing as a result of scientific and technological innovations, discoveries and transformations. The police, therefore, have to be aware of these kinds of developments and transformations, and should be encouraged and directed to read and learn more, at least to be able to follow the developments in daily social life. This kind of attempt is also a policy matter that the authorities have to pay attention to.

Thirdly, whether the police officers have gone to the cinema and theatre in the last month or not, and how long they watch television per day were examined. Some 88 percent of officers said that they have not gone to the

cinema in the last month. Similarly, almost all of them (94 %) stated that they have not gone to the theatre in the last month either. The percentage of going to cinema is 29.2, going to theatre is 3.7 in general in Turkey (SIS, 1992:167-168), including around half of the population who are located in rural areas and have mostly no opportunity to attend such cultural activities because of not having cinemas and theatre halls. The results show that, similar to the reading of books, journals and daily newspapers, there is a lack of interest in cultural activities by the police officers. The interviews done with some officers provide data that officers do not find enough time because of hard and irregular working hours and have insufficient income to attend such cultural activities.

In contrast to going to the cinema and theatre, the officers were found to be more interested in watching TV. Some 30.7 percent of them said that they watch TV for an average of 2 hours, 25.3 percent 1 hour, 25.3 percent 3 hours, and 13.3 percent watch TV for 4 or more hours per day. Only 5.4 percent of all officers stated that they do not watch TV at all. If the widespread habit of watching TV in society is considered, these results may be seen as normal or even below the general average of society. According to the data gathered from interviews with them, officers stated that they do not have enough spare time. They mostly work more than their paid-official working hours (40 hours per week). The reasons of overtime of officers may be various, but the most important one is the lack of personnel numbers. According to the data gathered from the Chairmanship of the Personnel Department of the General Directorate of Security, although the authorised number of officers in the security service was 115,439 in April 1991, the actual number was 92,120 (difference =



23,319). (See more information in Chapter III). This also affects the job satisfaction and aspirations of officers in their profession.

Fourthly and lastly, the police officers who made up the research sample were requested to report whether they know any language except Turkish. A big majority of them (77.7 %) stated that they do not know any other language. However, almost a quarter of them (22.3 %) replied positively, i.e. they can speak another language. The frequency distribution of officers who do know another language except Turkish can be given as follows: English 45.9, Kurdish 29.7, French 10.8, German 8.1, Russian 2.7, and Yugoslavian and Albanian language 2.7 percent. Although there are ethnic minorities such as Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Kurds, etc. in Turkey, no one said that, except Kurds, they know one of the languages of the ethnic minorities. This means either no one from these minorities, Greek, Jews and Armenian, is recruited or the police officers who are from these minorities hid the reality about the issue. This will be discussed further in the following chapter, 'recruitment process in the Turkish Police'. However, it is necessary to state that the Turkish Constitution accepts Turkish as the only official language of the country, and does not discriminate regarding ethnic origin, race, religion, etc. among the citizens.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to investigate the socio-economic background of police officers in Turkey. The related findings were given largely descriptively, with some discussion and interpretation. The idea has been to convey a broad picture of the characteristics of the police, as a means of providing a sound basis for an assessment of occupational consciousness

and professionalism. In the following chapter, the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Force will be explained and discussed.

## Notes

1. The table classifies individually these provinces which have 3 or more officers in the research sample. The number of all provinces in Turkey was 67 at the time of data collection. This number is now 74.
2. The increasing rate of population is 2.2 percent per annum (Brown,1992:I). The average number of children was 3.7 in 1985 (SIS Yearbook 1991:60–65). The consumer indexes were formerly calculated by the State Institute of Statistics according to a family with four children. However, this has recently changed, and a family with four persons in total is now taken into consideration when the consumer indexes are calculated. Therefore, unlike Ozcan and Caglar's study (1993), a family with two children is accepted as a small size family in this study.
3. The data about the income of police officers were collected in April and May 1991. £1 was approximately equal to TL 6,867.81, and \$1 was approximately equal to TL 3,994.07 in May 1991.



## **- CHAPTER VI**

### **- RECRUITMENT PROCESS IN THE TURKISH POLICE ORGANIZATION**

Recruitment is the very first step into an occupation. The literature on the recruitment process derives from a wide variety of sources. With some exceptions, the quality and quantity of research which has been performed in the area are both poor and very old. On the other side, the fields of public administration, law, psychology, sociology, psychiatry, medical sciences, criminology, policing, behavioral sciences, etc. have all contributed main and basic concepts and theories to the development of the recruitment methods and processes of professions. However, it is difficult to say that these contributions are well integrated into a general theory of recruitment, particularly for the police profession. The literature on the recruitment process of police, as Poland (1978:374-393) states, varies in quality from speculative theorizing to sophisticated testing of theory in empirical studies. Some of them (Cohen and Chaiken, 1972; Kayode, 1973; Topp and Kardash, 1986) try to find a relationship between certain background characteristics of police officers and actual

measures of the job performance, while others (Ross, 1964; Manyak, 1975) examine background characteristics without any attempt to relate these characteristics to measures of performance (Poland, 1978:374).

Given the importance of the police force for the maintenance of the social and law order, and the security of the people and the state, the purpose of the police selection process (recruitment) is to ascertain which job candidates have the highest potential for developing into successful police officers (Poland, 1978:374). Personnel selection in law enforcement is, therefore, equally important, not only for organizational effectiveness, but for the protection of other police officers and the general public, as well (Topp and Kardash, 1986:3). In other words, personnel selection is the key to the future of law enforcement service. The effectiveness of a law enforcement organization rests to a large degree on its ability to adequately select, train and supervise its personnel (Colarelli and Siegel, 1964:287). Therefore, to ascertain which applicants have the highest potential for developing into successful police officers can be accepted as a common point for all police organizations regardless of the political structure of countries and bureaucratic structure of police organizations. For example, a worldwide survey done by United Nations (UN) (1992:24) shows that almost all countries require some sort of fitness, minimum height, which usually is different for men and women, minimum and maximum weight, minimum education level, medical-psychiatric examination, physical agility test, psychological test, background check, etc.. Some countries also require an IQ test. Further reported criteria include citizenship, single marital status, no criminal convictions, military service completed, good vision, no



glasses, no colour-blindness, driving licence, ability to swim, loyalty to state, loyalty to socialist system, etc. Additionally, nearly all police organizations require persons who meet these criteria to take and pass a civil service examination. These exams are basically general intelligence (aptitude) tests and they are mostly biased in favour of the recruitment policy of the related organization. (See for recruitment criteria and selection procedures in different police forces also DuBois and Watson, 1950; Colarelli and Siegel, 1964; Spencer and Nichols, 1971; Kent and Eisenberg, 1972; Gray, 1975; Lefkowitz, 1977; Spielberger, 1979). These explanations show that although every single police organization has its own selection methods or criteria, the ultimate aim of all organizations is to find the most appropriate candidate for the job. This is actually not valid only for the police profession. All other professions also have a set of minimum requirements for applicants, because the profound impact of personnel selection on industrial productivity has become increasingly evident in the light of new techniques for estimating economic utility (Hunter and Schmidt, 1983). Therefore, it is possible to establish and mention a direct relationship between professions and the recruitment as a process.

When the crucial and sensitive duty of the police organization in terms of both State and public is considered, the recruitment policy and practices occupy an important place to be discussed and investigated. There has been no basic research undertaken in the field of police personnel selection in Turkey. In the light of the importance of the police function for the maintenance of the society the procedures employed in the recruitment and selection of police officers require a validation in terms

of their structure and consequences. Therefore, the investigation of the structure of the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization is the main concern of this chapter. It does not mainly aim to develop a set of recommendations about what the 'best' procedure might be for selecting police officers. Instead, this chapter will be concerned with the recruitment process that deals specifically with the police personnel selection procedure. In other words, the main research points in this chapter can be summarized as follows: How does the Turkish Police Organization select new cadets ? From which sources do they come ? According to which criteria is the selection of recruits done? Is it possible to point out a specific internal structure and policy, if there is one, in this process ? What or who determines the composition and operation of the examining board ? On which subjects are the questions asked in exams ? Is there any discrimination regarding sex, race, religion or ethnic origin among the applicants ?, etc.

When the ways of becoming a member of the police profession in Turkey are considered, it is necessary to mention three different sources. These are 'police school', 'police high school' and 'police academy'. An explanation and definition of each institution has already been given in the chapter four. Therefore ,in this chapter, only the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization is investigated on the basis of these three mentioned sets of sources. Firstly, the general and specific requirements of the recruitment process of each institution are explained. The related data are mainly gathered from the interviews conducted with senior bureaucrats who engaged with the recruitment process of recruits and took place in the examining boards. The secondary data which are related to



the subject are also obtained from the departments and educational institutions of the General Directorate of Security (GDS). Secondly, an explanation and discussion of the main requirement for the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization is given. Finally, an overall discussion of the recruitment process in the organization which is supported by the interviews conducted with senior bureaucrats is presented.

## **1. The Sources of Recruitment in the Turkish Police Organization**

**1.1. Police School:** This is a boarding and uniformed educational and training institution for new recruits of the police organization. There are already 15 police schools which are located in the different cities across the country (See more information in chapter IV). Like other institutions, they are accountable to and financed by the GDS. A standardised education and training program is applied in all police schools. The selection procedure of new recruits is standard and exactly the same for all police schools in the country.

Every year the GDS determines the quota and the number of new recruits. These figures and application requirements are sent to all city and town directorates of security, and to all directorates of police schools for announcement to public. This information is also broadcast by the 'radio police' in Ankara and Istanbul. The people who meet these requirements and want to apply to examination have to complete their documents first. These documents are: petition (written application), the national ID card or its

ratified copy, high or equivalent school diploma or its ratified copy, the document which points out the military service situation, the document which contains the biographic information, six photographs pictured from the front. Then, they can apply to their local city directorates of security. In order to be able to apply for the examination, an applicant has to fulfil and meet the requirements for applicants. They are: to be Turkish citizen; to graduate from high or equivalent school (at least); not to be younger than 18 and older than 27 years old according to the date of January 1st of examination year; not to be shorter than 1.65 m for women and 1.67 m for men; to have the health conditions which are explained in the Byelaw for the Required Health Conditions for the Students who will be Recruited to the Educational Institutions of the GDS and Their Appointments to the Police Profession; not to be known with characteristics of drunkenness and gambling; not to be engaged with socio-culturally low and inferior jobs; not to be married or live with a foreigner (non-Turkish citizen); not to be engaged with or join illegal political activities, anarchy and terrorist events; excluding negligence crimes, not to be imprisoned with hard labour (agir hapis) or more than 6 months, or not to be punished or sued for any criminal events such as crime against the State or embezzlement (zimmet), pilferage (ihtilas), corruption (irtikap), bribery (rusvet), theft (hirsizlik), swindle (fraud) (dolandırıcılık), falsification (sahtekarlık), misuse of religious faith, fraudulent bankruptcy (dolaylı iflas), smuggling excluding using and consuming smuggling (istimal ve istihlak kacakcılığı), to put depravity into official (State) adjudication (ihale) and purchase-sale; to have not an impedimental situation for joining security organization according to investigation (inquiry) (background check)



about his/her and his/her family members ; to have military service problem at the starting date of education program. Almost all these criteria are also required for the applicants of police high schools and police academy.

Applications are checked first at the local city directorate of security. After the general evaluation here, the appropriate applicants are called for examinations. The types and contents of examinations are determined and prepared by the Chairmanship of Education Department of the GDS, Ankara. All the examination documents (questions, answer sheets, etc.) are sent from Ankara to all examination centres with special couriers. According to the data gathered from the same Chairmanship, there are seven centres of examinations of police schools in the country. These are Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Diyarbakir, Trabzon and Kayseri. The examining boards are formed by the GDS (with collaboration of the Chairmanship of Education Department and the Chairmanship of Personnel Department) among the senior bureaucrats such as directors (Mudur and Amir sinifi) and Head Commissar, Commissar or Vice Commissar (Komiser sinifi).

There are three different stages of examination in police school which educates and trains ordinary police officers. The selection steps are arranged in the same order. Only those who pass the first hurdle are able to go on to the second. The first one is the 'interview'. During the interviews, the applicants are evaluated and assessed in terms of speech skill (ability), health and physical vision and fitness, self-confidence, comprehension (understanding) and expression ability. The applicants who are seen as successful, then, have to take a physical fitness examination. Applicants are graded in five

different physical agility tests which are press-ups (\$inav), sit-ups (mekik), chin-ups (barfiks), long jump (uzun atlama) and running (1000 m). All applicants have to have this five sub-stage examination. The top grade for each sub-stage is 100. The applicant's final grade is calculated at the end of last sub-stage according to his/her total grade divided five. After physical agility tests, a written examination is taken by applicants who completed the previous test. This examination includes a general intelligence (aptitude) test and questions related to the principles of Ataturk and the history of revolution, basic civics (temel yurtdaslik bilgisi), the geography of Turkey, Turkish culture and civilization, Turkish composition (writing), and mathematics. All jobs related to the format, publishing, distribution, storing, etc. of questions are done by the Chairmanship of Educational Department of the GDS in a 'top-secret' process, and the number of questions is determined by the GDS itself. The answer sheets are specifically designed such that the ID information of applicant is not seen by the examiner (grader). All answer sheets officially have to be stored for one year after the examination. The exam papers are graded over a 100 point scale. Every year, the quota of new recruits is determined by the GDS. According to this quota, applicants are assessed as successful from the top grade to the quota number. That is, the number of applicants who are seen as successful is equal to the number of quota determined.

The failed applicants have no objection rights to authorities regarding interview and physical agility tests results. However, they may object to the written examination result with a petition (written application) in three days following the announcement of all results to



applicants. An examination committee processes the application, and informs the applicant of the result in three days following the day of application. The successful applicants have to get a health report which is specified by the related Byelaw. After that, the new recruits are sent to the nearest police school of their residential area. An education and training programme which is prepared and determined by the Chairmanship of Educational Department and approved by the GDS is applied in all police schools in the country. This is in line with wider plans for educating and training new recruits in virtually all areas of policing. The length of education and training in these schools is 12 months. As mentioned before, the police schools are uniformed and boarding schools. Each recruit is also monthly paid student pocket money. The amount is equal to 8 percent of the monthly salary of a commissar. This was TL. 70,000 (£ 10.19) in 1991 educational year. At the end of the programme, all recruits have to take a written exam for each course which they are taught. The assessment and examination of each course is done by a course tutor. In order to be appointed to the ordinary police officer post every recruit is expected to be successful from all examinations. Failed recruits have one make-up examination right. At the end of this examination, if the recruit is still unsuccessful, he/she is discharged. The successful recruits are appointed to the ordinary police officer posts by drawing lots.

**1.2. Police High School:** This school is also a uniformed and boarding school. Students of these schools are recruited after graduation from secondary school (junior high school), at the age of 14-15. Only boys are recruited to this school. The length of education is four years. In

the first year, students attend a preparatory course in a foreign language (English, French and German). The language classes that they have to attend are determined according to their secondary school foreign languages' courses. After first year of foreign language education, a science dominant curriculum which is similar to the Anadolu high schools' of Ministry of Education is instructed in these schools. From the second year to the end of school, a Turkish instruction programme which also includes a foreign language course is applied. There are five police high schools in the country. These are: Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Adana and Kayseri police high schools. They are also accountable to and financed by the General Directorate of Security (GDS).

Every year, the quota and the number of students who will be recruited are determined by the GDS. These figures, related information and application requirements are sent to all city and town directorates of security, and to all directorates of police high schools and secondary schools (junior high schools) in the country for announcement to public. A related announcement is also broadcast in the 'radio police' which broadcasts in Ankara and Istanbul. The selection procedure of students is standard and exactly the same for all police high schools in the country. The people who meet the requirements for application and want to apply for entry to examinations have to complete their documents first. These documents are: petition (written application), the national ID card or its ratified copy, secondary school diploma or its ratified copy and six photographs pictured from the front. The applicants also have to be Turkish citizens, male, not older than 15 years old, and should have a good vision. Besides this, except the military service, the same conditions which are stipulated for the



police schools' applicants are also required.

The students who wish to pursue a career in the police force through police high school, and who meet the application requirements for examination should make their application to the directorate of police high schools. After general evaluation here, the appropriate applicants are called for examinations. There are three different stages of examination for applicants. These are 'interview', 'physical agility' and 'written' examinations. The first two are locally done in each police high school. The last one is carried out in Ankara only. There are also two examining boards in the recruitment process of police high schools. The first one is formed by the GDS (with the collaboration of the Chairmanships of Education and Personnel Departments) among the senior bureaucrats who are directors (Mudur and Amir sinifi) and head commissar, commissar or vice commissar (Komiser sinifi). This board is responsible for the examination stages of interview and physical agility tests. The other board is formatted by the Chairmanship of Education Department with the approval of GDS among the teachers of Ankara police high school, and is responsible for the assessment of written examination.

An important point before taking exams is the background (security) investigation about the candidate and his first degree family members. This inquiry is done by the local police forces of the place where the candidate resides. It begins with the application of the candidate and is completed by the first exam date. The investigation should certify that the candidate and his first degree family members are fit in terms of the security requirements which are given above. The applicants who do not meet these requirements are eliminated, and have no

right to take exams.

The interviews and physical agility examination of students are done in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Kayseri, Diyarbakir, Erzurum and Trabzon provinces. During the interviews the applicants are evaluated and assessed in terms of speech skills, health and physical appearance and fitness, self-confidence, comprehension (perception and understanding) and expression ability. The applicants who are seen as successful, then, have to take a physical fitness examination. Applicants are graded in two different physical agility tests which are athleticism and gymnastics. Athleticism consists of two stages which are long jump from a stationary position (durarak uzun atlama) and running (400 m). Gymnastics consists of press-ups (\$inav), sit-ups (mekik), and headstand - forward and backward rolling (el-bas amudu - on ve arka takla). All applicants have to have a physical agility examination. Assessment is done according to the performance of applicants. The total top grade is 200 for athleticism and 300 for gymnastics. The minimum grade is 120 for athleticism and 180 for gymnastics. The applicant's final grade are calculated according to their total grade at the end of all physical tests. To be accepted as a successful applicant, each one has to get a grade between 300 and 500.

After physical agility tests, a written examination is taken by applicants who completed the previous test and were accepted as successful at the end of it. The written examination is carried out in Ankara only, usually in August. It includes a total of 100 questions which are a combination of questions related to Turkish language (35), science (50) and foreign language aptitude (15). The questions are both selected among the existing questions of



Ankara police high school's question bank and the questions prepared by the teachers of Ankara police high school by drawing lots. All work related to drawing lots, publishing etc. of questions are done in a 'top-secret' way by the commissions which are formed by the Chairmanship of Educational Department of the GDS, as done in the police schools. The design of answer sheets, grade and storage of exam papers and determining the number of successful applicants according to the quota are exactly similar with the procedure in the police schools' recruitment process.

The name of the police high school which the successful candidate registered is determined according to applicants' first or second preference and his grade of written examination. In the case of equality, a grade which is taken from the physical agility test is taken into account. If there is still an equality, the youngest applicant is preferred. After completing the quota number, half the number of each school quota is also listed as reserve students. When some applicants from the first list give up the right to register, those who are in the reserved list get the right to be registered. Besides this, the children of martyrs (sehit) who are mentioned in Law numbered 2330 are directly accepted to be registered to their first preferred police high school of regardless their written examination grade. All official records related to the examination process and the list of successful applicants are given to the Section Directorate of Schools of Chairmanship of Educational Department. After that names of applicants who are seen as successful are advertised by the directorate of Ankara police high school. The names are also broadcast in the 'radio police' in Ankara. Later, they have to get a health report which is specified by the related Byelaw. The successful applicants

are taken to a 15 days introduction programme which includes various information related to police high schools and their education. After that, the new recruits have to apply to the police high school where they have gained the right to be registered as a full-time student.

A standardised education and training programme which is prepared and determined in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Chairmanship of Educational Department of the GDS, and approved by the GDS is applied in all police high schools in the country. The length of education period, as mentioned before, is four academic years. All expenses of the students during their education are paid by the GDS. Anyone who is unsuccessful or dismissed from the school because of any reason, has to repay all expenses paid for him and related interests.

The students who graduate from the police high schools have to take the Police Academy Entrance Exam. This is exactly the same as the exam which is applied to the students graduating from non-police high schools and who wish to be students of Police Academy. The successful students have the right to be registered to the academy. Others have four options. They are: (1) to re-enter the academy entrance exam every year, at most for three years; (2) to repay all expenses and to go his own way; (3) to work in the police force as an ordinary police officer; and (4) to have the right of registration to the departments in any university which are suggested by the GDS by taking a university entrance exam in the country. Those who prefer the last options are also financed by the GDS during their higher education. At the end, they have to work in the police organization, i.e. they have compulsory service to the police organization.



**1.3. Police Academy:** There is only one police academy which is located in Ankara, the capital of the country. Like other police educational institutions, it is a boarding and uniformed school which provides education and training at four-year college level. The middle and higher level officers and administrators of the Turkish Police Organization are educated and trained in this school. It is totally financed and controlled by the GDS. The students of the academy are recruited among the police high schools' graduates (around 75 %), general high school and equivalent schools' graduates, and among the applicants who have graduated from other universities in the country. Although the first two groups have a four-year education and training programme in the academy, the other universities' graduates (special class) have one academic year of education and training programme. Those who graduate from the 'special class' obtain the same status as the academy graduates.

The quota and the number of new recruits for each academic year is determined by the GDS. These figures, related information and application requirements are sent to all city and town directorates of security, and to all directorates of high or equivalent schools in the country for announcement to public. A related announcement is also broadcast in the 'radio police' which broadcasts in Ankara and Istanbul. The selection procedure of students is standard. The people who meet the requirements for application and want to apply to examination have to complete their documents first. These documents are: petition (written application), the national ID card or its ratified copy, high or equivalent school diploma or its ratified copy, six photographs pictured from the front, the

documents which shows the military service situation, the first stage examination card of the university entrance exam (only for undergraduate programme applicants), and two stamped addressed envelopes.

Furthermore, the applicants also have to be Turkish citizen and male. Females are not recruited to the Academy. Besides these, the applicants should not be married or live with a female without a marriage contract; not having been punished or imprisoned for any kind of crime; not having been discharged from any school which he attended for moral or discipline reasons; not having been sued for any crime at the time of application; not having any impediment for joining security organization after investigation into himself and his family members. In other words, the conditions stipulated for police schools' and police high schools' applicants are required from police academy students as well.

The students who wish to pursue a career in the police force through the police academy, and who meet the application requirements for examination should make their application to the directorate of the police academy. The examining committee is formed by the GDS (in collaboration with the Chairmanships of Education and Personnel Departments, and the Chairmanship of Police Academy) among the senior bureaucrats such as directors and among the teaching staff of the academy. The committee consists of a minimum 4, maximum 6 members including the chairperson. After general evaluation here, the appropriate applicants are called for examinations. Here, there are also three different stages of examination for applicants. These are 'interview', 'physical agility' and 'written' examinations. The procedure in all examinations is more or less the same



with the procedure applied to the police schools' applicants. In order to be eligible for the written examination, each applicant has to get 70 out of 100 points from physical fitness and agility. After this test, a written examination is taken by applicants who completed the physical fitness test successfully. The written examination includes the general aptitude and IQ tests, questions related to science, social science, foreign language and Turkish language, literature and composition (writing) for undergraduate applicants. The total number of questions is 100. The written examination for special class applicants includes questions related to general culture, principles of Ataturk and the history of revolution, the law of administration and constitutional law, etc. The total number of questions is determined by the GDS every year. All the work needed for the recruitment process is also done by the Chairmanship of Educational Department of the GDS in a 'top-secret' process (way). The applicants who get 70 out of 100 points are assessed as successful. The objection right and procedure of failed applicants is the same as with the police schools' applicants'.

An adaptation education is taken by the successful applicants after the display of lists of successful candidates at the police academy. During this education, the recruits are examined in terms of health conditions, and all their expenses are met by the police academy. After that, the recruits are conditionally registered in the academy. The recruits whose security inquiries (background check) are positively completed have to apply to the academy with their national ID, original copy of diploma and the official document of contract for full registration.

An education and training programme which is prepared and determined by the Chairmanship of Educational Department with the consideration of similarity to other universities and approved by the GDS is applied in police academy. This is in line with wider plans for educating and training new recruits in virtually all areas of policing. Therefore the contents of courses vary from sociology to law, from human rights to forensic sciences. The examination and assessment system of students is similar to the system in other universities. An applied occupational training programme is also taken by students in the summer vacation every year. The length of education and training in the academy is four full academic years for undergraduate recruits, and one academic year for special class' recruits. As mentioned before, the police academy is a uniformed and boarding school. Like police schools' students, each recruit is also paid a student pocket money monthly. The amount is equal to 8 percent of the monthly salary of a commissar for first year undergraduate students, 9 percent for second year students, 10 percent for third year and 11 percent for final year and special class' students. This was TL. 70 000 (£ 10.19) for first year students in 1991 academic year.

At the end of the programme, all recruits have to take a written exam for each course which they are taught. The assessment and examination of each course is done by the course tutor. In order to be appointed, each recruit is expected to be successful from all examinations. Failed recruits have a right to one make-up examination. At the end of any examination, if the recruit is still unsuccessful, he has to repeat the course that he failed. The successful recruits are appointed to the vice commissar post by drawing lots. If there are any discharged or



unsuccessful students, they have to pay all expenses back to the GDS or to accept work in the force as an ordinary police officer.

## **2. Main Requirements of the Recruitment Process in the Turkish Police Organization**

In this part of the chapter, an explanation and discussion of the main requirements for the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization is given.

As mentioned earlier, there are three different sources of recruitment in the Turkish Police Organization. These are 'police school', 'police high school' and 'police academy'. However, the requirements for recruiting of police personnel in these schools except the age and education level are exactly the same. In other words, the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization which is set up by law is forced to accept specified criteria or standards. These can be given as follows: citizenship, education, age, height (for police school and academy only), health standards and appearance, and background investigation which also includes the absence of felony record and presence of good character. In all three sources, there are three kinds of examinations which consist of oral interview, written examination and physical fitness (agility) test. It is known that as the population has grown, the main governmental services have grown at a huge rate. This situation forced the law enforcement to use a selective method for recruiting the new candidates because of an employer competing on the open labour market on the one hand, and specialization and professionalization in policing on the other.

**2.1. Citizenship:** This requirement mostly reflects widespread beliefs about who should be eligible to receive tax money and public employment (Blum, 1964:50) in a given country and is a general one which is applied to most employment in governmental institutions and organizations. In terms of police work, it may reflect the need of loyalty to the country and political system, belief about desire to prevent conflict, protect people, and provide social order and peace in society, and equal opportunity and a privilege given to all people who are citizens in the country.

It is reasonable for an independent country to make some restrictions and ask for some specific requirements such as citizenship in its own employment policy. The nature of police work may even need more specification and restriction. However, it restricts and prevents international police exchanges. It is obvious that because of more developed social, political and especially economical relationships between countries, the police forces need to have closer and stronger relationships with one another. Although there are some limited relationships between some police forces of different countries by Interpol, the restriction on citizenship and exchange of police officers prevents the sharing of information, technology and development in a country with another.

The interviews conducted with senior bureaucrats who also took part in the examining boards of recruitment process showed without doubt that all interviewees were agreed about the restriction and requirement on citizenship. They stated that no citizen of another country can be as loyal to Turkey as its citizens are. They were agreed that the police forces should share information on



specific areas such as terror, smuggling and similar criminal activities, technology and developments in policing with one another, but recruiting non-citizen people to the force is unacceptable. They also accepted and defended that the requirement about citizenship is inevitable because Turkey is a state governed by the law.

**2.2. Age:** In Turkey, the minimum and maximum age limits for recruitment to the police profession is set by law. These limits change for police schools', police high schools' and police academy recruits. Like all police organizations in the world, the age limits of recruitment for Turkish police recruits are in parallel with the age which makes a person able to have full rights and responsibilities legally (18) in society. According to the data gathered from interviews conducted with senior bureaucrats, the average police applicant is relatively young, averaging about 22-25 years of age.

**2.3. Education:** Like many other agencies, the Turkish Police Organization requires a certain level of educational attainment which is set by law. Each police educational institution requires a different education level. This has already been explained in the first part of the chapter. According to the last regulations in 1984, the minimum education level which is required for the ordinary police officers post is at least high school graduation. For administrative posts, the officers have to have a university degree either from the police academy or from any university with a one-academic-year education and training in the police academy. This requirement should be accepted as an inevitable one, because a police officer must be able to write a clear and understandable report. It, as Blum (1964:56) stated, also assures the social

equality of the police officers in their dealings with other citizens; a fundamental need in order to secure self respect as well as citizen and community respect.

In addition, it is apparent that the educational standard for police recruits cannot be considered apart from the broader issues of police respectability and police image, and the preparation of an educated and trained administrative cadre in the organization. The required level of educational attainment is a natural consequence of the development in educational level of general public. That is, the educational achievement level of the average citizen is rising steadily. Police work cannot be maintained properly by the officers who have low educational attainment in a society where the general educational achievement level of public is relatively high (See SIS, 1992). In other words, the police officer who has to work with and for members of the community will not command respect or perform his/her task satisfactorily unless his/her educational achievements are at least equal to the average citizen with whom he/she will be in contact (Blum, 1964:15). Besides that there is an effort by the GDS to build a proper and good image of the police and police service in the country. However, it is obvious that the diploma itself is not evidence that the police officers will perform their daily duties and responsibilities properly. The quality of education and training is important as much as the educational attainment. Unfortunately, there are no scientific studies on the evaluation of educational and training programs which have been recently applied and taught in the police educational institutions in Turkey. This issue may require a separate study.



**2.4. Height:** This is a requirement in almost all police organizations in the world for recruitment of new officers, although the scale differs according to the general height of the people in the country. The minimum height of candidates in the Turkish Police Organization is set by law, and it is 1.65 m for women and 1.67 m for men. It is clear that operational police work sometimes needs the use of physical force by police officers. This makes it necessary to accept some limitations or restrictions on age, height and weight for recruitment of new recruits. However, both the increasing internal and external migration, and the developments in quantity and diversity of criminal activities require some sort of flexibility on the requirement such as age, gender, citizenship, height and weight. This flexibility is also a consequence of the recent developments in non-discriminational policies, equal opportunities and the necessity of recruiting the people from ethnic minorities. A non-flexible and very strict requirement on height punishes some people who are keen, skilful and want to be police officers but are unable to because of their natural body structure. It also means discrimination and rejection of equal opportunities and basic human rights. On the other side, the increase in complexity and diversity of criminal activities such as organized crimes, financial crimes, smuggling, terrorism and international crimes need the intelligence and the ability of officers to make successful investigation more than body measurements. In addition, policing in the different aspects of law enforcement does not need all police officers to have a certain height. Instead, specialization, ability to make a proper investigations and intelligence of police officers occupy a more important place. Traditional height and weight requirements make it

difficult for women and some other capable men to become police officers. Short people can be needed at many levels within a law enforcement agency because they are as capable as anyone else.

**2.5. Health Standards and Appearance:** Almost all police forces in the world require a minimum standard certification of health. The underlying and important assumption is that police work requires particular physical, psychological and psychiatric (mental) capacities. The minimum standards for health requirements of applicants in the recruitment process of the Turkish Police Organization is set by law. In order to be appointed, the recruit has to get his/her health certificate from the authorized hospitals according to legal regulations.

There might be many reasons for the requirement of particular health conditions. For example, the necessity for the safe operation of potentially dangerous equipment; guns, and automobiles, the necessity to protect fellow officers and the public from contagious illness, and the need to detect existing defects so that these do not become the basis for later disability claims (Blum, 1964:61). Additionally, the nature of policing itself requires physically and mentally healthy recruits for many functions of policing such as the need to use force on a person resisting arrest and the similar difficulties in law enforcement.

Appearance which also includes expression, dress, speech and personal quality of candidate may be accepted as a basis for judgement of an oral board which is responsible



for the interview of candidates. It is natural that the board has to consider some main points during the recruitment process. The senior bureaucrats who have been interviewed for the recruitment process stated that they concentrate on a few important points during the interview. These are: (1) whether this is the person that we want to employ and allow to work in the police force or not; (2) whether this is the person who is capable enough for police work or not; (3) whether this is the person who will give a good image of police to the public or not, etc. These points may be accepted as inevitable to be considered for a selection process. However, it is easy for interviewees to err in the judgements they make. They have to rely on their own impressions. Judgements of appearance and an oral interview, as Blum (1964:65) stated, are also affected by our own personal idiosyncrasies and problems. Our preconceptions, fears, and unresolved personal problems may distort the judgements we make. When those judgements are part of the selection process, the distortions weaken the excellence of the selection tool, that tool being the judge itself. Besides this the emotional reaction of each member of the board to a candidate plays an important role in the judgement of appearance of the candidate.

**2.6. Background Investigation:** A background investigation is the systematic collection of facts and opinions from persons who have known the applicant, or from persons who have custody of the records of his/her past performance (Blum, 1964:157).

The purpose of the background investigation for an applicant is at least fourfold in the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization, according to the

interviews which were conducted with senior bureaucrats. The first and main objective is to prevent the organization from recruiting a person who will prove unqualified, especially in terms of conviction of a felony and crimes involving moral turpitude and political action against the state. The senior bureaucrats who have been interviewed on the issue are unanimously agreed that although the results of other tests and examinations are important, the most valuable asset to recruitment process is the background investigation of the applicant. They justified their view that the statements of neighbours, employers, teachers, tradesmen and other provided clues to past behaviour of an applicant are the 'mirror of the applicant's personality'. The second is to gather similar data about the close relatives of the applicant. The third is to learn how the candidate has behaved under a wide variety of circumstances and from this to base a prediction concerning future performance as a police officer. The last one is to verify all of the statements the applicant has made in his/her application to become a police officer.

Actually, the personal history of an applicant for the police service is an important issue. The facts concerning applicant personal behaviour and habit in the past may form a basis that will permit a prediction to be made that he/she will or will not function successfully as a police officer in the future. In other words, a police officer whose reputation is questionable or bad cannot be given respect by the community he/she serves, and can destroy or lower the image of the police in society. The interviewed senior bureaucrats stated that the investigation of personal history of an applicant assists the examining board, naturally the GDS, in selecting the best and most appropriate recruits from those who are interested and



appear to be qualified, and will prevent the organization from making unrestorable damage. However, it should be recognized that this idea presumes the unchanging nature of personal characteristics. That is, the premise is that adult human behaviour is constant. Actually, it is not exactly known and proved what characteristics of human personality are subject to change or not in a particular condition. To avoid such disadvantages, the GDS may use outside specialists such as sociologists, psychologists, social workers and psychiatrists in the recruitment process. The possible problems with the background investigation in the recruitment process of the organization will be discussed in the following part of the chapter.

### **3. An Overall Discussion of the Recruitment Process in the Turkish Police Organization**

In the following part of the chapter, an overall discussion of the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization which is supported by the interviews conducted with senior bureaucrats who took place in the examination boards is given.

An analysis of the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization illuminates several major problems confronting the police and those who would understand them. The first of these is the lack of a job description for the police. In order to produce an appropriate personnel selection method, one should know first what a police officer does (Blum, 1964:46), what he/she is required to do it, how she/he can do it, what abilities and skills are needed to do it, where does a police officer's job start

and end ? etc. It is possible to find some general description and explanation which are set up by law, but if the fast structural changes in society are considered, these general descriptions will not be sufficient to build an appropriate recruitment standard and policy.

Although the complex rank and departmental structure of the GDS can cause many problems of job description of a police officer, it will, otherwise, be difficult to say what qualifications a police officer must have in order to do his/her job well and without further problems. If the job which will be done by a police officer is well described and explained, it will be very easy to determine what the minimum capacities and qualifications of each applicant must be, the minimum capacities and qualifications which will allow the recruit to work anywhere and anytime in the police organization. To solve such a problem, each department may perform a job analysis for each job. The results of these can be compared and combined by a professional recruitment board, then the basic requirements and qualifications, capacities of recruits may be determined. That is, the next step is to derive standards based upon this job description and analysis. Such an approach may provide the selection of most appropriate recruits for the job and serve a good police image in society. The organization will definitely benefit in the long term.

The second problem in the recruitment process arises from the 'background investigation of applicants and his/her close relatives'. The background investigation of applicants who have qualified for the eligible list and who are being considered for immediate appointment is done by local police officers where the applicants reside and are



registered.

The main and essential problem in the background investigation of an applicant in the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization is related to the personal characteristics, values, prejudices and political preferences of officer(s) in charge to make investigation, whose ability as an investigator, interrogator, reporter and evaluator of evidence has not been proven in the crucible of experience. In other words, although police officers daily have to evaluate human beings in terms of the evidence presented by eye-witnesses to an event, and the distance between this kind of investigation and background investigation is short, untrained, inexperienced and non-professional officers can decide most issues on the basis of personal experience, attitudes, emotional reactions and political preferences. An officer who has not enough training, knowledge, ability and experience unconsciously eliminates all applicants except those who reflect his/her own concept of the ideal or satisfactory candidate. He/she may investigate more thoroughly some individuals who do not measure up to his standards until sufficient facts are available to disqualify them (Blum, 1964:175). Instead, professionals whose loyalties to the organization and the code of ethics of law enforcement are proven should be used in the process of background investigation. Although such a way might be more expensive in comparison with the present one, the organization will definitely benefit in the long term.

In the Turkish Police Organization, the background investigator is assigned to make all necessary checks and interviews to determine the qualifications of the applicant. Regardless of the results of examinations, if

the result of background investigation of an applicant is negative, he/she has no chance to be appointed as a police officer. In one sense, the investigator him/herself has the power of the examining board. Therefore, he/she should clearly have the ability to understand that the facts of past behaviour will be the foundation for predicting future behaviour. He/she should also have the ability to discriminate between what is and what is not important, according to the published criteria and unwritten standards of the organization. While this general description of the investigator may be sufficient to establish an understanding of the need for careful selection for the task, his/her training is a matter of additional importance. That is, the investigator should receive additional training through reading, discussion and formal education if she/he does not have it when assigned to the task. He/she should also have sound fundamental knowledge concerning the nature of emotional maturity, social dynamics and the general field of cultural anthropology. In the field of moral standards, however, the criteria become more difficult to define (1964:175). That is, whose moral standards should be applied ? When does 'social drinking' become 'alcoholism' ? Does the fact that a candidate successfully defended himself in a paternity suit while suffering a loss in reputation render him/her unsuited for the service ? Is divorce a limit ? (1964:175). The answer to most of these questions may vary according to the culture of the community in which it is asked, and it even may vary in the same community depending upon the time it is asked.

Consequently, the background investigation is a necessary and important tool in the field of police personnel selection. As a process, it has some



imperfections, the most obvious of which are those that are dependent upon the exercise of subjective judgements by investigators, and an examining board which gives the last verdict for recruitment of a candidate. The important point is that if all judgements are to be made in favour of the department, the people and society as a whole which will be served by the police, the process will be a valuable tool in providing officers of good character for the police service. In fact, there are many issues for research in this field. One of the most important developments will be the production of a set of written standards that can be applied in evaluating the background and personal history of those interested in police employment. When developed, it will assist the police to even further refine their dedicated interest in the exercise of fair employment practices in this professional field.

A third problem is in the content of civil service examinations and the objectivity of the oral interview procedure. First of all the content of civil service examination is not directly related to the police service. However, it is one of the main examinations in the recruitment process, which is very effective and important especially in the recruitment of ordinary police officers. It eliminates a large number of applicants, and therefore it may be accepted as a poor predictor because of rejecting applicants who would possibly be well-qualified for police work.

The senior bureaucrats who have been interviewed were asked to give their opinion on the objectivity of the recruitment process, particularly the oral interview. Although applicants have a right to object to the results of written examination and physical agility test, they have

no right to object to the results of the oral interview, the verdict of the board. This gives an unquestionable power to the board. Although all Turkish citizens have legally equal rights to apply to become a police officer, this unquestionable power creates some question marks in mind about the objectivity of the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization. However, the senior bureaucrats claimed that recruitment is based completely on merit and policy to recruit the best applicant in terms of qualifications. They were also agreed about the objectivity of all examinations which were the main measurement instruments of the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Force. However, when the regional and provincial background of police officers in the organization is reviewed, it is obvious that the police officers are recruited mostly from the provinces where the number of votes and political representatives (parlamenters) of the rightist political parties are much higher than the leftist or social democrat parties (See Table 5.2 and SIS (1992a:XII-XXIII)). In addition, a nationwide news journal (Nokta) published weekly also made a small-scale inquiry on the recruitment issue in the police organization in Turkey in 1990. According to this, the main requirement for recruitment of the police officers is to be religious. To be a religious person is also very important in promotion to higher positions in the organization (Nokta, 1990). If the being in power of rightist parties since the 1950s is considered this explanation (assumption) may be accepted as a part of reality. Police power is and has always been under the dominance of political power in Turkey. When political power is used wisely and fosters sound police administration, society is the fortunate beneficiary. When political manipulators prostitute the police service for selfish ends, society must contend with confusion,



uncertainty, and a double standard of enforcement which the Turkish society is familiar enough with. The police that are compelled to operate in this environment cannot function effectively and lack the fundamental basis upon which it may build or attain self-respect. The negative image of the Turkish police both nationally and internationally can be accepted as an outcome of this one-sided policy.

Another problem in the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization is related to the discrimination among the applicants. As explained earlier, the senior bureaucrats were agreed that there is no discrimination among the applicants in terms of their religious and ethnic background or their gender, although the female students are legally not allowed to apply and are not recruited to police high schools and the police academy. The legal regulations prohibit any discrimination on the basis of race, colour, religion, sex, etc. in the recruitment process and employment practices of the organization; in fact in all public and private institutions as well. The interviewees stated that they totally apply the law in the recruitment of new cadets. All Turkish citizens who have met the requirements for recruitment officially have the right to apply and become police officers. The only condition is to succeed in the examinations. However, the researcher was not able to question the discrimination on religion, race or ethnic background of applicants, if there is any, through the questionnaire. Therefore, there is not enough data to control the data which were given by interviewees on the matter.

Discrimination on the gender of applicants was

questioned through the interviews. All interviewees, except one, were not clear in their explanations. They mostly averted the conversation, and did not directly accept discrimination on the gender of applicants. They stated that the number of male or female recruits is totally determined according to the quota number which has been allocated by the GDS itself. However, one interviewee has finally accepted that they had and have been involved in gender discrimination among the applicants. He made the following statement:

Yes, there is officially no discrimination in terms of gender of applicants. To be honest, but, we the selection committee, sometimes make a discrimination between male and female applicants. Because, as you know, policing, although is not totally –in some areas we need policewomen–, is a man's job. It is a dangerous and life-risky job. Women are not being sent to dangerous police work; they mostly work in offices even though they get exactly the same salary that their male colleagues get. They also have the pregnancy problem. Policing is a job that you have no the day or night time differentiation. You are always supposed to be on duty. Therefore, we do not want to recruit so many women. It is obvious that police work , I do not know other countries well, but in Turkey's conditions, the police work is not an appropriate job for women. We, the selection committee, sometimes have a real problem in the interviewing of female applicants. In fact we do not want to recruit them, but officially we have no right to bar them. To make them unsuccessful, we ask some really illogical and difficult questions. However, some of them are really very intelligent and they answer our questions properly. This situation really causes problems during the recruitment process. However, if there is a definite quota, we have to recruit them (H).

It is clear that police work has historically been men's work, but where manpower shortages existed, the developments in equal opportunities to gender, developments and diversities in policing all required police forces to recruit women across the world. It is today possible to see women police officers from communication to foot patrolling. However, as it is in the Turkish police case,



there is an informal resistance of men to women in policing. For example, although the police organizations in U.K. are seen as relatively democratic, Alison Halford had not been promoted and appointed to the post she deserved in 1992. It is true that women lack the physical strength to conduct a battle with rioting people or particular criminals such as a fleeing burglar. However, there are many policing areas in which women's presence may be advantageous. For example, searching a woman, dealing with domestic violence, child criminals, woman criminals and working in some undercover policing duties, etc.

In the Turkish Police Organization, primary emphasis has been on the development of personnel after their entry into the force, although there is a very strict examination and investigation process. Almost all efforts and resources of the GDS are channelled toward this goal, failing to keep in mind that a satisfactory finished product is possible only when you have sufficient raw material. However, the senior bureaucrats who have been interviewed blamed the state for their inability to recruit high quality personnel. They stated that it is difficult to attract the most appropriate people for the job because of lack of economic opportunities in the profession. Many applicants apply to become police officers because of not finding another proper job, not because of thinking the police work fits their personalities and wishes. These explanations are in parallel with the data gathered from the questionnaire (See Chapter V).

If the explanations above are true, the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization seems to be non-efficient and unproductive. It might be time to reconsider the recruitment policy. In fact, the quality and

effectiveness of the police service starts with recruitment. Therefore, research programs must be established in the field of police personnel selection that will continuously seek to identify the techniques and methods that will best aid the GDS in procuring recruits. Each advance in testing technique that can be developed will reduce the margin of error in the recruitment process which will in turn reduce the loss of funds expended in the education and training of recruits. It is known that selection criteria, methods and instruments which were/are used in the recruitment process have never been challenged in Turkey. In other words, the validity and reliability of recruitment method and procedures were never under scrutiny. That is why the procurement of appropriate recruits remains one of the most important issues in the policing field of the country, and the recruitment process plays an important role in the future hopes and goals of the GDS. By accepting and meeting this challenge, both the police organization and society at large will benefit.

Consequently, in order to construct a rational and effective series of selection steps, it will be necessary to know in statistical terms derived from research how useful each selection procedure is in predicting job performance. The recruitment process material should be set down formally in writing to the greatest extent possible. The members of examining boards must be informed about the validity of each standard and of the methods used to evaluate the applicants according to it. It is particularly important that program materials be readily available for the examination committee's members before the date of recruitment. Additionally, the experience of each year should be a base for the recruitment process of the following year.



In this chapter, an attempt has been made to investigate, explain and discuss the recruitment process in the Turkish Police Organization. In the following chapter, the occupational consciousness in the Turkish Police Force will be examined and evaluated.

## **- CHAPTER VII**

### **- OCCUPATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE TURKISH POLICE ORGANIZATION**

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate and evaluate the occupational consciousness in the Turkish Police Force.

The police organizations in today's societies are generally charged with responsibilities of law enforcement, order maintenance, and some of the community services (Blankenship, 1989:503 and Vago, 1991:90). In conjunction with these mandates, the police are also granted power and authority, although the police power is not unlimited and they are accountable for their actions, that facilitate their accomplishment, including the authority to detain and arrest for crimes, to search for and seize evidence, and the ultimate power, the authority to use deadly force (Blankenship, 1989:503). In addition, it is obvious that one of the important characteristic of the police organization is its strongly bureaucratized and quasi-militarized hierarchical structure, and the police are



expected to maintain order under the rules of law of a particular country. Organizational effectiveness requires greater coordination that police officers must work within a more occupationally formalized operation where rights, duties and responsibilities are spelled out in detail, and the police are conscious of this.

Although 'police work', 'police occupation', 'police organization' and 'police culture and socialization', etc. have been scientifically studied, the literature review reveals that there is an absence of attention from sociologists to the police' occupational consciousness. It is known that the concept of consciousness mostly connotes a psychological and biological dimension. Therefore, it is important to say exactly what we will be talking about because just as in using the terms 'conscious' and 'unconscious' we would need to distinguish it from certain other phenomena such as falling into a coma. That is, the relations between brain and consciousness will not be taken into account. Here, the sociological dimension of the term is intended. Although Searle (1993:3-16) uses the term in medical way only and sees no direct connection of consciousness with knowledge, being occupationally conscious is mostly based on occupational knowledge, attention and awareness. 'To be conscious of' is sometimes used to mean 'to pay attention to' and 'to be aware of'.

Although the term of occupational consciousness includes different aspects of occupation such as occupational socialization, culture, and understanding (perception) of profession and work, the most important determinant is occupational knowledge. In other words, occupational knowledge, culture, socialization, and understanding (perception) of profession and work may be

accepted as the components of occupational consciousness. Because, having knowledge on both formal and informal occupational rules, regulations, moral values, ethical codes, operational activities, etc. makes a person able to have consciousness about his/her occupation. It is clear that professionals develop distinctive ways of perceiving and responding to their environment. This can be achieved by occupational consciousness of members of a profession.

It is obvious that the concept of culture is subject to wide variations in definition. However, the term of occupational culture is a limited and task-based version of culture (Manning, 1989:360). It contains accepted practices, rules and principles of conduct that are situationally applied, and generalized rationales and beliefs.(1989:360). It is also possible to mention an occupational subculture which consists of a group of specialists recognized by society and themselves as having an identifiable complex of common culture, values, communication symbols, techniques, and appropriate behaviour patterns (McBride, 1989:157). A review of literature shows that police officers have a common argot, use esoteric knowledge, utilize internal sanctions on peers, have a strong sense of unity (1989:157). In fact, the occupational culture may be accepted as a product of social structure and the evolution of the police organization.

Similarly, the term of socialization is also subject to various definitions. (See Jary and Jary, 1991:584-585) In a general sense, it is a process in which the cultural, social, economic and political values, attitudes, skills, knowledge, traditions, etc. of a certain group or a society are transmitted to newly joined individuals. In the case of



police, occupational socialization is a process in which police officers learn how to behave (act), to police, to defend themselves and their rights, to do their work, to develop their knowledge and skills, and to learn police rules and regulations and behaviour patterns. '... A general appreciation of organization practices necessitates a view of the inter-relation of formal organization, its environment, and the culture formed around membership. Satisfactory exercise of organization duties requires socialization not only to formal rules and practices but to situated knowledge' (Fielding, 1984:572). Briefly, the occupational socialization is a continuous process in which a police officer gains a police identity which leads also to an occupational consciousness. Actually, a world of an occupation includes more than occupational culture, socialization and knowledge. Therefore, a broader term, 'occupational consciousness' is used to investigate the occupational world, which is mostly based on occupational knowledge of the Turkish police, instead of investigating and using the terms of occupational culture and socialization separately.

Being occupationally conscious and having knowledge of the techniques of law enforcement make police officers able to produce and provide the practical aspects of policing, and put them in a better position in society. 'One factor that results in a healthy respect for law is the knowledge on the part of every police officer that s/he may personally be held accountable in a legal suit for actions which s/he takes as a police officer' (Goldstein, 1975:102). The police officers' knowledge of his/her legal powers encourages him/her to proceed with actions' (Rubenstein, 1975:70).

A lack of occupational consciousness, particularly occupational knowledge leads to a conflict between police and the people who the police are in charge to serve. However, the major problem of policing is not that of police quarrelling with citizens. Most such quarrels are at least understandable. They are much like quarrels between citizens themselves. The worst problem or abuse may not even be the police hitting people in such quarrels; pugnacious citizens hit others in private disputes everyday. The root of the problem is the abuse of power that they have been legally granted. It is obvious that many policing events are so complex that an average police officer is incapable of understanding both the nature of the dispute and the complicated issues involved. A lack of occupational knowledge and consciousness leads such police officers to make their judgements or decisions on a policing case according to their own personal values, rights and wrongs which may result in violation of both law and human rights. They may easily arrest anyone who challenges them. If they do not know their legal occupational power, authority and duties which are legalized by law, and are not conscious enough about the sensitive position of their profession, they will more likely develop their own law which abuses anyone who doesn't fit with it. Once they arrest someone, as Chevigney (1975:79) states, lying or producing scenarios becomes an inevitable part of the procedure of making the quarrel or arrest look like a crime. In other words, once an arrest is made, the police may begin to consider what testimony is necessary for a conviction and what charges are necessary to create pressure on the defendant for a plea of guilty. Such an event may easily result in conviction on false evidence, or at least may cause an embittering experience against the police. Police abuse and consequent conviction



on false evidence are the sources which feed the impulse to riot, express grievances by force and disrespect the legal structure of the country.

Furthermore, the legal authority under which the police conduct themselves sometimes requires the use of force, 'violation of privacy, deception, and denigration of an individual character' (Gray, 1975:48). For example, 'the process of arrest permits, and sometimes requires force from simply touching to maiming or killing; similarly, search warrants require violation of privacy, and investigations sometimes require deception and the denigration of an individual character. Normally such conduct is legally restricted to the enforcement of laws, and when no laws are being enforced this very conduct is illegal' (Gray, 1975:48). It is obvious that if a police officer does not know the legal dimension of power and authority that s/he is granted, and the duties s/he is in charge to do, the violation of human rights and law by law enforcers is inevitable. This will easily create a gap between police and public which leads to an ineffective policing operation in the country. The police in such a position may view the outside world as a hostile and potentially violent place.

Besides these the police administrators in a police stations - head commissar, commissar and vice commissar - have in common with all other executives from governmental offices, particularly those of Ministry of Interior Affairs, the responsibility for the policies of their organization. In principle, they are supposed to set up policing strategies which are in accordance with the policing policies, and exercise policing. Ideally, performing law enforcement function requires that the

administrators have sufficient knowledge about and control over the rank, especially rank officers in police station so that they can show what the police officers are doing and how well they are doing it. With respect to some aspects of the work of officers, the administrators are expected to have a body of occupational and professional knowledge on how well his/her police officers are preventing crime, apprehending criminals, and maintaining order. Therefore, an occupational consciousness which is based on occupational and professional knowledge is essential for police officers to carry out their functions properly. It is for these reasons that the occupational consciousness which is mainly based on the occupational knowledge of police officers is needed to be investigated in order to be able to draw a general picture of police and policing in Turkey.

The occupational consciousness of the sample which represents the Turkish Police is, therefore, examined mainly on the basis of two sets of data. The first one is about the general knowledge on the Turkish Police Organization. The second is on the operational knowledge which is related to the police duty and authority which was given by the APDA (Act of Police Duty and Authority).

### **1. General Knowledge on the Turkish Police Organization**

The main aim in this section is to investigate the general knowledge of police officers about their occupation and occupational organization. This is also a necessary step to judge the professional level of police officers in the subsequent chapter. Because, to be aware of values, ethics and boundaries of his/her occupation can be accepted



as a characteristic of professionalism too.

First of all the establishment date of the Organization was asked to police officers. A very big majority of the respondents (91%) gave the correct answer to the question. However, 3.6 per cent of them stated that they do not know the establishment date of the Organization. The other small percentages gave the different dates for it. The result shows that the Turkish police officers mostly know when their occupational organisation was established.

Secondly, police officers were asked to write the full name, number and date of the Act (Act of Police Duty and Authority, numbered 2559 and dated 1934) which determines the duties and authorities of them, and number and name of occupational branches of police organization in which they are employed.

In contrast to the establishment date of organization, only 4.8 per cent of officers knew the full name, number and date of APDA. Around half of them (50.6%) gave the correct name and number of the Act only. They did not remember the date of it. Some 16.9 per cent of officers stated that they know there is an Act but they do not know anything about details of it. However, 15.7 per cent knew the name only, 10.8 per cent the number only and 0.6 per cent the date only. Another 0.6 per cent wrote down both the name and date of the Act. Results indicate an important problem on the basic knowledge of law enforcers in Turkey. In other words, the people who are responsible for law enforcement in the country do not even know the full and correct name, date and number of the Act that gives duty and authority (power) to them for their occupational

operation. How can one be sure about the lawful operations of officers who even do not know which act determines their duties and authority ? This is a very critical and questionable issue which requires a review of education and training program of police officers.

Another issue which was questioned is the number of occupational branches of the Police Organization in Turkey. As it is mentioned in the Chapter IV, there are four main occupational branches in the Organization. They are Judicial, Administrative, Political and Traffic. The police officers who made up the sample of the research were asked to report the number and full name of these branches. Results showed that only 53.6 per cent of them answered the question correctly while almost a quarter of them (21.1%) gave the wrong answer. Another quarter (25.3%) stated that they do not know how many main occupational branches the Police Organization has. It is obvious that almost half of the officers (46.4%) either have no knowledge or have a wrong knowledge about the main occupational branches of their organization.

The police officers were also questioned whether they know which institution the GDS (General Directorate of Security) is accountable to or not. Almost all of them (98.8%) surprisingly gave the correct answer which is the Ministry of Interior Affairs (MIA). Similarly, they were asked to state the number of province security directorates in Turkey. Again, a big majority of officers (70.5%) wrote down the right number which is 74. In other words, Turkey was administratively divided into 74 provinces at the time of data collection, i.e. April - May 1991, and there is one security directorate in each province. However, almost a third of officers gave different answers to the question



which are not correct.

Besides that police officers were asked to report which organization has the responsibility of carrying out security services in and around countryside in Turkey. In other words, who is doing their duty of policing in and around countryside? In terms of policing activities, Turkey is divided into two main regions, urban and rural. As explained in Chapter IV, the GDS is responsible for the policing activities in urban residential areas, the GCG (General Commandership of Gendarme) is responsible for the policing activities in rural areas. Both organizations can collaborate when it is needed, but they cannot interfere (intervene) with each others activities. A very big majority of police officers (92.5%) answered the question in a correct way. However, 4.8 per cent of them stated that they do not know which organization is responsible for policing activities in rural areas in country.

Another general issue was about the police association, police union and police journals in Turkey. In other words, the knowledge of police officers who made up the research sample were questioned on whether there are any police associations, police unions and published police journals in Turkey or not. It is obvious that professional associations reinforce occupational and personal values, beliefs, and identities within a profession (Regoli and Poole, 1980:245-246). Before the 1980 military coup, there were two different, opposite associations, Pol-Bir and Pol-Der, which seek political organization among police officers in Turkey. Pol-Bir was the association of extreme rightist, Pol-Der was the one of social democrats and central leftist police officers. In 1980, they were both closed and prohibited to operate by the military coup.

Police officers are not officially allowed to organize themselves in any form for political targets. There was never be a union of police officers in Turkey during all history of police organization. However, a foundation named 'The Foundation for Strengthening the Turkish Police Organization' is in operation in Turkey for a long time. There is also an association of retired police officers in Turkey. A monthly journal is published by this association in order to inform readers for appointment and promotion of personnel, changes and any developments in profession.

Although there are at least two associations related to the police profession as mentioned above, more than half of the sample (55.4%) stated that there is no any police association in Turkey. Some 22.3 per cent said that they do not know anything about police association. However, another 22.3 per cent explained that there are police associations in Turkey. It is a fact that a big majority of police officers (77.7 %) are not aware of the existence of their occupational and professional associations in their country. On the contrary, a very big majority of them (93.4%) is aware that there is no police union in Turkey. Some 4.2 per cent of officers stated that they have no idea about it, and 2.4 per cent said that there is a police union in Turkey. Although the percentage is very low (2.4%), it is strange that some of the law enforcers are not aware of the non-existence of police union in country.

Police officers were also required to report that whether there is any police journal published in country or not. Some 62 per cent reported that there is a published police journal even though 21.7 per cent said that there is not any police journal in Turkey. Another 16.3 per cent stated that they have no any idea on the issue. The



officers who reported that there is a published police journal in country were asked to write the number and name of journals. Only 35.5 per cent (which is only 13.3 percent of all officers) of them wrote the name of journal. The 64.6 per cent said that they know there is a police journal but they do not know the name of it. In other words, 86.7 per cent of all officers are not aware of the journal published in their occupational area. If it is remembered from the previous chapter (Chapter V), 84.9 per cent of officers reported that they do not read any weekly or monthly journal. Therefore, it is not surprising that a very big majority of officers (86.7%) do not have any idea on it. However, this is not the case of asking about an ordinary journal. This is a journal which is published with the name of police and on the issues related to police profession in country. Therefore, the disinterestedness and ignorance of police officers on the issue show that they have a lack of professional values (characteristics) of their profession. They are just some operational tools in the hand of police seniors, bureaucrats and police organizations.

Furthermore, police officers were questioned in terms of their knowledge on an international police organization, 'The Interpol'. They were asked to report what the Interpol means to them. Almost a third of them (76.5%) defined the Interpol in a right term which is an international police organization. Some 13.3 per cent said that they have no any idea about the Interpol. Another 10.2 per cent explained the Interpol in a false term. In other words, almost a quarter of them (23.5%) do not have a proper knowledge on 'Interpol'. It is supposed that a member of a profession like police occupation should know the international connections of his/her profession.

The police officers who made up research sample were also asked to report who or which organization pays ultimately their salary. They were presented seven different options to tick: State, Government, People by tax, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Interior Affairs, GDS and other. They were expected to state that the people in country pay police officers' salary by their tax. Unfortunately, the result shows that only 3.6 per cent of officers are aware of this reality. The other very big majority (96.4%) gave different institutions as their pay office: State 24.7 per cent, Ministry of Finance 39.2 per cent, Ministry of Interior Affairs 19.9 per cent, GDS 10.8 per cent and Government 1.8 per cent. If the educational level of police officers (see Chapter V) and their one-year education and training program in police schools are considered, it is not natural for police officers to not know that the people pay their salary by tax. This result shows that police officers are not conscious about the source of their salary payment, although they are expected and should know it because of being members of a profession.

A next issue which was asked to police officers is on the administrative structure of police profession. That is, they were first asked to report whether they know that the police are administratively divided into uniformed and plain clothes police or not, and secondly, whether the uniformed police are administratively subdivided into those with cars and those without or not. Thirdly, whether they know or not that non-uniformed (plain clothes) police can work in all branches of the security services, a police officer who is on leave can be accepted as on duty if he/she wears his/her uniform within the municipal boundaries, and a police officer who is on leave can wear



his/her uniform when s/he has left the municipality boundaries where s/he is posted.

The legal regulations on police classify police officers as uniformed and plain clothes officers, and subdivided the police administratively into those with cars and those without. Similarly, legal regulations allow non-uniformed (plain clothes) police officers to work in all branches of the police organization. A police officer who is on leave can be accepted as on duty if he/she wears his/her uniform within the municipality boundaries where he/she is employed. However, legal regulations on police do not allow a police officer who is on leave to wear his/her uniform when s/he has left the municipality boundaries where s/he is posted.

A big majority of the police officers who made up the research sample (81.3%) made their statement in accordance with the legal definition on the division (classification) of uniformed and non-uniformed police officers. However, 16.3 per cent reported that the police are administratively not divided into uniformed and non-uniformed divisions. Some other 2.4 per cent of them said that they do not have any idea on the issue mentioned. That is, one in five does not know the police is administratively divided into uniformed and plain clothes officers. Similarly, 41.5 per cent of officers do not also know the police are administratively subdivided into those with cars and those without. Only 58.5 per cent of them do know the administrative subdivision of police officers.

It is seen that only 41.6 per cent of police officers knew that the plain clothes officers can legally work in all branches of the police organization. The rest of them

(58.4%) said that they cannot. This means that they do not know the legal regulations on the issue. On the other side, a big majority of them (80.1%) knew that a police officer who is on leave can legally be accepted as on duty if s/he wears her/his uniform within the municipal boundaries. Some 16.3 per cent said s/he cannot be accepted on duty, and another 3.6 per cent stated that they do not have any idea about it. Briefly, the result shows that again a fifth of police officers do not know the legal regulations that accept a uniformed police as on duty if even he/she is on leave. Such a lack of occupational knowledge will lead those officers to not perform their occupational duties and authorities when they are on leave and wear their uniform, although the police senior bureaucrats who were interviewed stated that a police officer is always in charge in the area he/she is posted, and s/he has right to interfere in any event related to policing activities. A police officer who is on leave, however, is not legally allowed to wear his/her uniform when s/he has left the municipality borders of where s/he is employed. In spite of this legal regulation, only 66.3 per cent of police officers said that they are not allowed. Some 32.5 per cent stated that they are allowed to wear their uniform when they are on leave and left the municipality borders of where they work. In other words, they have wrong knowledge about the legal regulation which determines what they are legally allowed to do on their uniform in the region where they are not employed. A very small percentage (1.2%) of them said that they do not know the legal regulation about the matter discussed.



## **2. Operational Knowledge on the Duties and Authorities of Police Officers**

The main purpose of this section is to measure and investigate the operational occupational knowledge of police officers in Turkey. It is obvious that in order to perform the professional duties and authorities of an occupation, it is necessary to have some legal basis which define and authorize the application of occupation into practice. No one single profession which has not legalized by society (State) is allowed to be performed. As one of the most important professions in terms of social order and security of society and State, the police profession has its own legal basis. Although the Turkish Police Organization has to perform (practice) the articles and verdicts of 271 laws, 51 rules-regulations (tuzuk), 168 bylaws (directions - yonetmelik), 87 Ministers Cabinet Orders and 62 codes (directions, instructions - yonerge) (TPTGV, 1983:19), there are two main Laws that give the police more direct and specified duties and authorities. The first one is the APDA (the Act of Police Duty and Authority), the second one is the ASO (the Act of Security Organization). While the first one is more specified on police officers' duties and authorities, the second one is on general matter and definitions which are related to the institutional and organizational dimension of security organization. Therefore, the knowledge which is aimed to be tested or measured in this section was mostly taken and converted to the questionnal form from the APDA. A careful attempt was made that these questions should include the main and basic duties and authorities which police officers face and use in their daily policing activities. No attempt was made to ask questions on more specialized policing activities.

It is thought that as law enforcers police officers are supposed to know very well at least the main and basic occupational law which gives duties and authorities to them in order to perform their professional operations. The reason comes from the idea that if the law enforcers in a country do not know their legal duties and authorities, they will never be able to perform a proper policing in country. This inevitably causes an anarchy in social peace and order of society. Being the first sociological research on police in Turkey makes this research on the occupational knowledge of police officers necessary and important. To achieve this aim, some basic duties and authorities which were given to police officers by Law were converted to a question form and then were asked to police officers who made up the sample of the research. The discussion on the issue is given below.

Firstly, police officers were questioned to learn whether they know in which situations they can be dismissed from their profession or not. Such a knowledge can also be accepted as a corner stone for a proper occupational and professional operation. In other words, if a member of a profession does not know which kinds of behaviours come into conflict with his/her professional values, s/he can never practise a proper professional activity. Therefore, to know whether police officers know in which conditions they can be dismissed from their job or not is an important point to learn occupational consciousness and professionalism level of an employee.

Actually, a police officer in the Turkish Police Organization can be dismissed from his/her post in three different conditions, according to the legal regulations. These are (a) 'by being graded with negative reports by two



superiors in two promotion periods', (b) 'by being imprisoned for six months or more for any kind of crime' and (c) 'by being punished by not being promoted and not being graded with positive reports by two superiors in the same time period'.

It is surprisingly seen that only 7.8 per cent of police officers who made up the research sample gave the reasons of being dismissed from a police officer's post correctly. More than half of them (56%) reported only the second reason, 6 per cent only the first reason and 3.6 per cent the third reason correctly. The percentage of officers who stated both first and second reasons is 1.8, first and third reasons is 4.8, and second and third reasons is 4.2. On the other side, 15.7 per cent of them said that they have no any idea on which situation they will be dismissed from their posts. Results create a very critical and important problems in that the policing in Turkey is mostly in the hands of police officers who have their own laws. In other words, how can a police officer who does not even know in which conditions he may lose his job be a right person to conduct law enforcement ? This result inevitably requires a review of policies of recruitment, education and training programs of police officers, namely policing policy of Turkish state. Additionally, this result shows that police officers in Turkey do not mostly know their occupational and professional values. They are not conscious enough about them.

Police officers were also asked to report whether they have the right to make an explanation about an incident they are dealing with as a police officer to press and TV or not. In Turkey, all public sector employees excluding the chairpersons of general organization or institution are

not allowed in any case, except in legal prosecution, to make an explanation which is related to his/her work to press or TV according to the Law of State Employee, numbered 657. In the police officers case, an explanation can only be made by either the general director of organization or Minister of Interior Affairs, namely by government. The police officers who were questioned on this issue mostly stated that they have no right to make an explanation about an event they are working on to press or TV (97.6%). However, 2.4 per cent of them said that they can make it. It is not natural to expect any professional in any institution or organization to be 100 per cent competent, but as law enforcers police officers are expected to be competent as much as possible because of the sensitivity and importance of their profession.

Another questioned issue was about the kinds of conditions needed in order to fulfil a command. According to the APDA, three conditions are needed by a police officer to fulfil a command which is given by a superior. These are (a) 'the command should be given by a superior', (b) 'the officer should have the capability to fulfil the command' and (c) 'the command should be legal'.

Only 18.7 per cent of police officers who made up the research sample gave the correct answer when the question directed to them. Some 35.5 per cent knew both first and third conditions, 9.6 per cent second and third conditions, 6.6 per cent first and second conditions only. Another 23.5 per cent knew the third condition, 3 per cent the first one, 0.6 per cent the second one alone. 2.4 per cent of them sated that they do not know which conditions are needed to fulfil an order from the superiors.



The result shows that 81.3 per cent of police officers in the Turkish Police Organization do not totally know in which situations they have to fulfil a command. Like previous discussions in the chapter, this reality causes an anarchy in policing practices. It is obvious that policing itself is a very sensitive profession, because there is a matter of violation of personal freedom and human rights in general. If the police officers who do not totally know how to perform their professional duties are on duty, a problem of policing police will be inevitable to deal with and to solve in addition to the ineffectiveness of policing in country in general.

**Table 7.1: Police Officers' Reactions to an Unlawful Command**

	No	%
Because it is given by superior I fulfil it	2	1.2
I say to the superior that the command is against the law so I cannot fulfil it, if he commands one more I have to fulfil it	6	3.6
Firstly I request the order in writing then fulfil it	50	30.1
I do not fulfil it in any way (case)	107	64.5
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
Do not know	1	0.6
Total	166	100.0

Table 7.1 illustrates the frequency distributions of a command which violates the law and results in crime and

police officers reactions to it. In other words, police officers were asked to state what they can do if a command which is given them violates the law and results in crime. According to the APDA, when a superior gives an order, a police officer has to obey and fulfil it. If the order violates any rule or regulation, the police officer has to inform his/her superior about the violation. If a superior insists on his/her command, police officer can request the order in writing then can fulfil it. However, no police officer is allowed to fulfil a command in any situation if it violates the law and results in crime regardless who commands.

The result of the table shows that more than half of the police officers who made up the research sample (64.5%) stated that they do not fulfil a command in any situation if it violates the law and results in crime. That is, they gave the correct answer which is expected from them. However, more than a third of them (35.5%) do not know the legal regulation on this issue. In fact, this percentage is a very high one for a profession like policing or law enforcement. This result also shows the absence of professional values among the police officers in Turkey. If they do not know which command should be obeyed and which one should not, they can easily be misused by their superiors and can easily violate laws that they have to enforce. The result, unfortunately, will be chaos in policing. This situation can also affect the police image in society in a very negative way vice verse.

A similar issue is also tested with police officers. They were asked to state whether they have to show their police identification card before requesting to see the identification card of a person or not. The APDA requires



all police officers to show their police ID card first and then to ask or check the ID card of a person regardless of whether they are uniformed or plain clothed. Some 86.1 per cent of police officers reported that they have to show their ID card first whereas 13.9 per cent said that they do not need and have not to show their ID card to anyone who is been asked to show his/her ID. There is again a problem that some police officers in the Turkish Police Organization either do not know their duties and authorities or have their own jungle law and regulations to enforce in society. In both cases, there are violation of law and policing problem in Turkey. Because, no one is over the law and is not allowed to use the law for his/her own wishes according to the Turkish Constitution. On the other side, obeying and enforcing law to everybody in society equally without regarding his/her social position or origin is an indispensable characteristic of a democratic society. In this case, it is also possible to criticize the level of democratic consciousness of the law enforcers in Turkey.

The table below gives the frequency distributions of police officers who were asked to report the maximum number of hours that a person can be held in police custody in order to establish proof of his/her identity. The 17th article of APDA determines the duty and gives the authority to police officers to make ID control of anyone when it is seen as necessary. If someone could not establish proof of his/her identity, a police officer has the right to take him/her to police patrol (station). However, police have the right to hold a person at most 24 hours in police custody to establish proof of her/his identity. If the identity of person is established by him/her, relatives and someone who knows her/him, the person is released. If it is not established in any form, his/her photographs and finger

prints are taken first, and then should be sent to other official institutions to establish proof of his/her identity. The time to detain a person in police custody for proofing his/her identity is not longer than 24 hours in any case.

**Table 7.2:** The Maximum Number of Hours a Person Can Be Held in Police Custody in order to Establish Proof of His/Her Identity.

	No	%
12 Hours	26	15.7
24 Hours	127	76.5
36 Hours	0	0.0
48 Hours	8	4.8
Do not Know	5	3.0
Total	166	100.0

The result of table shows that more than three quarters of police officers who made up the research sample (76.5%) know how long a person can be held in police custody in order to establish proof of his/her identity. However, almost a quarter of them (23.5%) gave different time periods that are wrong. Actually, this is not a small percentage that can be ignored or tolerated in a profession like police because of dealing with law enforcement which may result in human rights violations.

The Table 7.3 illustrates the results of police officers' responses to the question, 'what is the maximum numbers of days you can detain accused in police patrol



(station), if a crime was committed by 3 or more people?' APDA gives authority to police officers to detain accused people in police custody, if the number is 3 or more, in order to make needed search, to collect evidences and to complete other official requirements, etc. However, this period cannot exceed 15 days. At the end of the 15th day, accused people have to be sent to the related court.

**Table 7.3:** The Maximum Numbers of Days Police can Detain Accused in Police Custody, If the Number of Accused is 3 or More.

	No	%
3 Days	28	16.9
15 Days	45	27.1
30 Days	1	0.6
45 Days	1	0.6
Differs according to the type of crime committed	79	47.6
Do not know	6	3.6
Other (Please state)	6	3.6
Total	166	100.0

Although everything is clearly determined and explained in APDA, the table shows that only a little more than a quarter of police officers (27.1%) have right knowledge on the issue mentioned. In other words, almost a third of police officers who made up the research sample do not know or know wrongly how long accused people (3 or more) can be detained in police custody. Like previous explanations on similar issues, the Turkish police have a lack of occupational knowledge on their occupational applications. This means a confusion and disorder, which

leads to ineffectiveness in policing.

Police officers were also asked to state in what situations the police can conduct a search in order to prevent crimes and dangerous events without a Judge's permission. According to legal regulations on police duties and authorities, police can conduct a search in order to prevent crimes and dangerous events without a Judge's permission in the following conditions: (a) to protect the public order and constitutional rights and liberties, (b) in the preventive searches in the Social Association, the Labour Union and the Political Party Buildings, (c) in the preventive searches within the framework of the Law against smuggling. The law does not allow police in any other situation to make a search without a judge's permission.

It is surprisingly found that no police officer knew all conditions that the police can conduct a search in order to prevent crimes and dangerous events without a Judge's permission. The biggest group in the sample with a 39.8 per cent stated that police can conduct a search without a Judge's permission in situations where delay would be undesirable, although the situation where delay be undesirable is not clear enough and everybody can easily abuse it. Another 59 per cent also stated the same condition in addition to some other legal situations. The percentage of police officers who did not tick 'the situation where delay be undesirable' is only 1.2. These results mean that the Turkish police do not know in which conditions they can make a search without a Judge's permission at all. These also show that they apply their occupational practices in an illegal or a not totally legal way. In this case, the main problem is the policing of police. In other words, the police should first be policed



in order to make law enforcement practices meaningful and effective.

The Table 7.4 illustrates the frequency distributions of police officers' knowledge on what information a suspect required to give the police following arrest.

**Table 7.4:** The Information a Suspect Required to Give the Police Following Arrest.

	No	%
Only identity information	50	30.1
A required full statement including all information	97	58.5
No information if she/he wills	18	10.8
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
Do not know	1	0.6
Total	166	100.0

A suspect person in Turkey has to give his/her identity information only to police when he/she is arrested and questioned. Police have no power to force him/her to give additional information. This is actually a routine situation the police face daily. They were requested to give their knowledge about the issue. Unfortunately, the result shows that only 30.1 per cent of them know that they have power to ask only identity information of a suspect person. The more dangerous situation is the high percentage of police officers (58.5%) who stated that a suspect person has to give a full statement including all information. In other words, more than two thirds (69.9%) of police officers do not know the legal base of questioning a suspect person. That is, they use an authority that they have not been legally granted. This obviously means the

violation of law and human rights in country.

A similar issue was also directed to the police officers' knowledge, whether a person who has witnessed an offence or has information related to crime has to inform the police or not. The legal regulations on the issue explain that a witness has not to give information to police on an event which is under investigation, if he/she does not want. However, a person who has witnessed an offence or has information related to a crime has to explain what he/she knows to a prosecutor or a judge. To help prosecution is a public responsibility of a citizen. But police have no power to force a person in order to get information which is on an event under investigation.

More than half of the police officers who made up research sample (56.6%) stated that a person who has information on or has witnessed a criminal event has to give information he/she knows to the police. Although 3 per cent of them said that they have no idea on the issue, only 40.4 per cent reported that the police have no power to force a witness or a person who has information on an event to give information to police. That is, the majority of police officers again do not know their legal authority which they have to know, and there is an abuse of law and human rights.

According to APDA, if police invite a person to come to police patrol (station) in order to assist police with their enquiries, and if she/he does not come, police have no authority to take him/her to police patrol by force. Such an event is illegal. There is only one option that if there is a judge verdict on bringing him/her, then police can use force to take him/her to police patrol. Otherwise



police have no power in any other form. Almost half of police officers (50.6%) knew that they have no right to use force to take a person to police patrol (station). However, a similar percentage (45.2%) stated that they have such a right. Only 4.2 per cent said that they do not have any idea on the issue. The result shows that almost a half of police officers (49.4%) either do not know what kind of authority they have or claim a wrong, unwarranted authority on the issue. In other words, some police officers use an authority that they have not been granted. The result is inevitably the violation of law by law enforcers in society.

The police officers were also questioned about the knowledge on search issues. Firstly, they were asked to report who has the power to order a search of a house for a judicial duty if it is undesirable to delay. The table below shows the results of the issue.

**Table 7.5:** The Power to Order a Search of a House for a Judicial Duty If It is Undesirable to Delay

	No	%
Every police officer has	71	42.8
Only the police officer who has the rank of assistant prosecutor has	38	22.9
Only the police officers who have the rank of administrator have (e.g. Vice Commissar, Commissar, Head Commissar)	8	4.8
Judges have	43	25.9
Other (Please state)	4	2.4
Do not know	2	1.2
Total	166	100.0

According to the legal regulations on the issue, only the police officer who has the rank of assistant prosecutor has the power to order a search of a house for a judicial duty if it is undesirable to delay. Despite that reality, only 22.9 per cent of police officers knew who has the authority of a search order under the specified conditions in above. This result means that 77.1 per cent of the police officers do not know who has the authority to give a search order of a house for a judicial duty if it is undesirable to delay. It is obvious that many police officers have a lack of occupational knowledge on this issue. It is supposed that the occupational knowledge and consciousness of a member of a profession makes him/her professional. The result of the table inevitably directs attention to the level of professionalism that police officers have in the organization.

The same police officers were, secondly, questioned that whether they know a police officer who makes a search has to show the search warrant to the occupant or not. APDA requires police officers to show the search warrant to the occupant or residents in where the search takes place. This is a compulsory action according to the law. The right of Turkish citizens to be secure in their personal and private residents (places) against unreasonable searches by police officers is guaranteed by the related legal regulations. That's why, police has to obtain a search warrant in order for a proper (legal) policing activity. The result surprisingly showed that a very big majority of police officers (97.6%) stated that they have to show the warrant to the occupant before starting the search. Only 0.6 per cent of them said police have not to show, and 1.8 per cent said they have no idea on the issue.



A final issue on search was about the circumstances that police can search a house during the night. Police officers who made up the research sample were asked to report these circumstances. The legal regulations state that the police can make a search in a house during the night if the police deal with an arrest of escaped prisoner and an urgent situation where it would be undesirable to delay or working on one of them. Otherwise, police have no power to search a house during the night.

The Table 7.6 illustrates the frequency distributions of the circumstances that police can search a house during the night.

**Table 7.6: The Circumstances Police can Search a House During the Night**

	No	%
In any circumstances (1)	1	0.6
To arrest an escaped prisoner (2)	6	3.6
Police have no power to search a house at night (3)	3	1.8
To deal with an urgent situation where it would be undesirable to delay (4)	46	27.7
Both (2) and (4) together	107	64.5
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
Do not know	3	1.8
Total	166	100.0

Most of the police officers who were questioned on the issue specified in above (64.5%) gave the correct answer to the question on the circumstances that police can search a house during the night. However, other 35.5 per cent of them did answered question either partly true or totally false. This is not a percentage small enough to be ignored or tolerated. Therefore, it is possible to say that police officers do not also know the circumstances that police can search a house during the night.

Another issue that police officers were asked to report their occupational knowledge on is about the entrance of a young person under 18 to a bar even she/he is with her/his parents. Eighteen years old means a person is legally accepted as an adult in Turkey. Therefore he/she has all the rights and responsibilities of an adult person. According to APDA, police must not allow a child under 18 to enter a bar even s/he is with her/his parents. The results showed that a big majority of police officers (81.3%) knew that they have authority to not allow a child under 18 to enter a bar whatever the situation is. Some 15.7 per cent of them stated that they have no authority to stop a child to enter a bar when she/he is with her/his parents. Another small percentage (3%) of them said that they do not have any idea on the issue questioned. It is also possible to say that almost one in five of police officers does not know his duty and authority on this issue.

Police officers who made up the research sample were also questioned whether they have or have not the power to use force when a person who is to be arrested or a crowd resists or starts to attack. APDA gives power to police to use force if an event mentioned above happens.



Use of force covers a range from physical force to use of fireguns. The kind of force to be used depends on the condition that police face. Surprisingly, almost all of police officers whose occupational knowledge was questioned (99.6%) stated that police have power to use force if the conditions mentioned above happen. It seems that this result does not come from the idea that all police officers know what kind of duty and authority they were given by APDA. On the contrary, this can be accepted as a result of familiarity of police officers to use force in their operations at all times.

The Table 7.7 shows the results of police officers' responses on the question 'who or which institution pays the subsistence and transportation costs of an arrested person?'

**Table 7.7: The Person or Institution in Charge to Pay the Subsistence and Transportation Costs of An Arrested Person**

Person or Institution	No	%
Arrested person	35	21.1
Police patrol (station)	6	3.6
GDS	17	10.2
Ministry of Justice	62	37.4
In fact GDS but arrested person him/herself	32	19.3
Other (Please state)	4	2.4
Do not know	10	6.0
Total	166	100.0

According to the legal regulations on the issue, the GDS is in charge to pay all subsistence and transportation costs of an arrested person during his/her stay in police custody. However, some police officers who were also interviewed said that they first ask the person to pay, if he/she has no money to pay then the police patrol pays from a fund of the GDS. The results show that only 39.5 per cent of police officers know who or which institution pays the subsistence and transportation costs of an arrested person, when the third and the fifth options of responses are accepted as true. In other words, like many previous issues many police officers have not enough occupational knowledge on the duties and authorities which were given to them by the APDA.

In addition to their occupational knowledge, police officers were finally asked to state the attitude of people with whom they interact when they are on duty. As known, out of uniform a police officer is subject to exactly the same controls as any other citizen. S/he mixes with other citizens on an equal footing and soon hears what they think about the police. Additionally, it is clear that a police officer, because his/her work requires him/her to be occupied continually with potential violence, can easily develop a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people as potential assailants or non-helpful. Therefore, the main aim here was to learn the image of people in general in their mind. This can also help to make some comment on their occupational consciousness. Additionally, they were asked to state where they did learn most of their occupational skills and knowledge. Such an evaluation by police officers makes the researcher able to include some comments on police occupational education and training



programs. It also provides an opportunity to see where the police officers occupationally socialize.

The idea of socialization connotes the development of an individual from a prior state to a future one (Gray, 1975). That is, a police officer is taught, develops, and is transformed from an ordinary citizen to a member of a police profession. Although police officers are socialized in different cultures before joining the police force and are not taught exactly the same things, their occupational socialization starts with the recruitment process and ends when they get out of work (separation).

In fact, some aspects of occupational socialization of Turkish police officers are also discussed in Chapter V with the data gathered. Here, the data on where they learned most of their occupational skills and knowledge will be discussed. Table 7.8 illustrates the results of where the police officers get occupationally socialized.

Some 59.6 per cent of police officers who made up the research sample said few people, 20.5 per cent said most people like, support and help police when police perform their duty. Besides that 5.4 per cent of them stated that people like, support and help them in general when they are on duty. However, 13.9 per cent reported that people do not like, support and help them at all when they perform their policing activities.

It is possible to say that a big majority of police officers who made up the research sample (73.5%) feel that people do not like, support and help them in an expected level. This shows the people's image of police. The world seen through (with) the eyes of police officers is more or

less similar in the Western countries too, i.e. a hostile environment which is on the verge of chaos (Wilson, 1968; Westley, 1970; Holdaway, 1983; Cotterrell, 1992). The police officers are frequently a critic of government and society. It is clear that this negative image of people in police officers' minds is a product of lack of occupational knowledge and consciousness of police officers. In other words, it is expected that if police officers know their legal duties and authorities, they might have good or smooth relationships with the people they are in charge to serve. When they claim with a power that they are not granted, the people inevitably will keep their distance from the police. The result unfortunately leads to a gap between police and people, and to ineffective policing.

**Table 7.8:** Place Police Officers did Learn Most of Their Occupational Skills and Knowledge

	No	%
In police education institutions	31	18.7
In the field	134	80.7
From the fellow police officers or kin who were/are police officers	1	0.6
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
Total	166	100.0

A big majority of police officers (80.7%) reported that they have learned most of their occupational skills and knowledge in the field when they were working. That is, occupational socialization of police officers mostly took



place in the field. Although it is not natural to expect that a person can be taught all practical and operational skills and occupational knowledge of a profession in an educational institution, it is obvious that there is a problem with the education and training programs of the Turkish Police Organization. These results never justify the expenses done for education and training of police officers. In one sense, it can be said that their educational institutions and training programs are replaced by their work field. They learn their occupational skills and knowledge by experiences on the field where they have no chance to check whether it is true or wrong. This results also support and explain why police officers have a lack of occupational knowledge and consciousness which is found in this part of the research.

In order to provide some data on the occupational consciousness of Turkish Police , police officers were also interviewed about 'good' and 'bad' police officers. It is a fact that the police organization does not provide police officers with a clear or consistent guidelines on who a 'good police officer' is and how s/he should behave. In addition, the definition of good or bad police or policing is relative, and change from time to time and from society to society. However, there are some common points that explain who a good or a bad police officer is. In other words, as Muir (1977) and Klockars (1985) stated that some of police officers lead to a crude, violent, insensitive, and cruel style of policing. Others lead to good relations with citizens and minimize the actual use of coercive force, adopt the skilled, humane, and effective policing styles. The kind of policing exercised mostly depends on the personality of police officers.

According to police officers who have been interviewed, a good police officer should be honest, objective, non-corrupt, law obedient, respectful and loyal to his job, country and nation, exemplary with his/her behaviour and should have good relations with citizens. A bad police officer is described as dishonest, corrupt, subjective, cruel, disobedient to law, disloyal to country and nation and who uses police power for his/her own interest (benefit), i.e. morally corrupt. They also indicated a strong relationship between personal characters of officer and his/her policing activities and behaviours. It is clear that the description of a good or a bad police officer which is done by Turkish police officers is more or less similar to the explanation made by Muir and Klockars.

This chapter has been concerned with investigation of occupational consciousness, mainly based on occupational knowledge, of the Turkish Police. An analytical discussion of the occupational consciousness, particularly occupational knowledge, will be done in the conclusion of the study in order to keep the unity, and to make the whole discussion more meaningful. In the next chapter, the professionalism in the Turkish police will be examined according to the common criteria which were gathered from the literature.



## **-CHAPTER VIII**

### **-PROFESSIONALISM IN THE TURKISH POLICE ORGANIZATION**

The police have been the subject of much empirical research in terms of various issues such as changes and developments on police function, recruitment, training and education, organizational and management policies, etc. in the social science literature. However, professionalism is a relatively neglected issue. In this chapter, it is aimed to investigate and evaluate the professionalism in the Turkish Police Force via questioning police officers in terms of their adherence to the profession they exercise. This is also necessary to understand the Turkish police in terms of its function, structure and policing practices as a whole, with the help of findings of socio-economic background, recruitment and occupational consciousness.

It is actually very difficult to find a consensus in the literature on the criteria of professionalism. The qualities of what constitutes professionalism are not always constant and indeed not always clear. For example, according to Cotterrell 'professionalisation can be considered as an occupational group's successful claim,

based on the assertion of special knowledge or skills and effective self-regulation in the public interest, to a degree of monopolisation of practice in a particular field', (1992:278). For the police, 'professionalism depends upon the claim to expertise and efficiency in order-maintaining tasks and specifically in crime fighting; that is, the maintenance of social order as defined by the criminal law' (1992:278), and professionalism provides a justification for self-regulation rather than external control, and for the claim of the police to be heard in political debate, including especially debate on changes in the law they enforce (1992:278).

Moreover, professionalism is also seen as the process by which producers of special services sought to constitute and control a market for their expertise. 'The increase in literacy and urbanization, the spread of a money economy, the growth of organizational density, and most of all the emergence of a bourgeoisie (that) offered both individual and institutional markets for professional services' (Abel, 1979:83). Professionalism also 'appears as a collective assertion of special social status and as a collective process of upward mobility' (Larson, 1977:xvii). Walker makes another definition for professionalism that consists of several dimensions. According to him, the most important elements are those of professional knowledge, professional autonomy and the service ideal. However, he is aware that these attributes represent an abstract ideal type, and no single occupation fully achieves the ideal in actuality (1976:704).

Furthermore, in order to describe professionalism, later professionalism in the police, Farris (1989:532) makes the following explanation:



Professionalism is that state of mind, that standard of behaviour, that image of competency and sensitivity, and that constellation of attitudes that one equates with the finest persons who follow a calling; who practice the art and science of a vocation; and who perform the functions of a job.

Professionalism in police work reflects these attitudes and manner of performance in carrying out the awesome responsibility of protecting the lives and liberty of the public being served. It creates in the public mind the image of the agency and of each individual in the agency. It implies that an officer has reached a level of expertise through education, training and experience that separates him from others who are less qualified or less dedicated to public service. It also implies that a professional will strive to achieve the highest standards of a behaviour and performance. This effort distinguishes the professional from the nonprofessional, whose attitude is one of getting by with less than optimum standards of ethics, behaviour, and competence.

Professionalism would improve the practice and efficiency of policing. Holdaway (1984) gives three main principles that police professionalism based on. First, the acquisition of specialist knowledge of particular aspects of policing and the restructuring of the organization into specialist units, in order to provide a framework for practice. Secondly, to a significant extent specialist knowledge is based on the use of technology. Knowledge of vehicular policing, telecommunications and computerization became relevant to the development of systems of policing. Thirdly, although discretion has always been an integral feature of policing, the development of professionalization lead to the principle of 'informed discretion'. A stress was placed on the collection of evidence prior to, rather than after, arrest (1984:121).

As seen, there are different approaches and definitions on both professionalism and police professionalism. However, professionalism can be defined as having qualities, skills and standards that are expected of

a person to perform in a profession. It also means reaching a higher degree of perfection in performing the specific duties that the job requires. A professional is 'someone exercising skills resting upon an establish body of knowledge, and whose conduct is governed by norms deriving from a source independent of the employing organization' (Cain, 1972:218).

The police officers occupy a unique position in society as representatives of legal power (Regioli and Poole, 1980:241). Therefore, they are expected to manage a complex network of role relationship. (See for police role and functions in modern societies, Chapter III). Professionalism is also a key factor for solving of role conflict. Professionalism in the police is 'characterized by a concern for higher standards of education, selection, training organizational performance, and a recognition of existing inadequacies, while their less professional counterparts are not' (1980:241). Based on these premises, it is assumed that professionalised police will bring to their work a greater understanding of and more eclectic orientation toward their role in the criminal justice system. Police professionalization is also seen to promote an integrated and flexible police force, capable of dealing more efficiently and effectively with the many diverse studies imposed on modern police systems. In short, professionalization may help prepare the police to better handle competing or conflicting demands inherent in the performance of the police role, as well as reducing the heterogeneity and fictionalisation of the police organization (1980:242).

In one sense, the success of a police organization is dependent upon the way in which the organization is



organized. Wilson (1968a) studied police departments of two American cities and found that the nonprofessionalized department's members had no strong sense of urgency about police work and produced low rates of official actions on offenders. In the professionalised department, however, there is a greater tendency to detect violators and a higher arrest rate (Vago, 1991:99). Wilson (1968:74) also defined a professional police department as one governed by values derived from general, impersonal rules which bind all members of the organization, and whose relevance is independent of circumstances of time, place or personality. Briefly, professionalism brought to police and policing practices great improvements in personnel, education and training, technology, and organization (Cordner, 1989:6). Besides this the professionalism has a beneficial impact on morale, the accumulation of a body of intellectual (academic) knowledge, the development of an ethics code and acquisition of expertise, dedication to job, belief in service and standardization of policing practices which makes duties, authorities and responsibilities clear for both citizens and police officers. The concept of professionalism also emphasizes rationality, efficiency, and impersonality (Chackerian and Barrett, 1973:345).

Consequently, the developments on police and policing, along with others, have contributed to the belief among both police and public that the police are indeed professionals (Poole, Regoli and Lotz, 1978:526). However, the degree or level of professionalism may be assessed by measuring the employee's commitment to what have been identified as the core elements, or dimensions, of professionalism (1978:526-527). Therefore, in exploring issues related to professionalism in the Turkish police the core elements or dimensions of professionalism are used.

Although Hall's professionalism scale which was revised by Snizeck has mostly been used in the literature, some additional criteria such as opinion and knowledge have also been added to and used in this study. In other words, the professionalism of the Turkish police officers is mainly examined and evaluated on the basis of measurements and criteria which were gathered by the literature review on professionalism. (See Hall, 1968; Hickson and Thomas, 1969; Snizek, 1972; Chackerian and Barrett, 1973; Maniha, 1973; Haga, Graen and Dansereau, 1974; Miller and Fry, 1976; Walker, 1976; Poole, Regoli and Lotz, 1978; Hurd, 1978; Keil and Ekstrom, 1978; Poole and Regoli, 1979; Abel, 1979; Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981; Farris, 1989; Vago, 1991; Cotterrell, 1992). These can be given as follows: View or Opinion, Judgement about the Job, Autonomy, Believe in Service, Dedication to Job, Initiative, Personality, Using References or Reference Groups and Knowledge. In other words, police professionalism refers to the ideal formation of the above criteria. The analysis of data on professionalism in the Turkish police, therefore, will be done according to those criteria. Ideally, a measure should produce valid results across the entire range of variability on a concept (Miller and Fry, 1976:402). The professionalism of police officers cannot be understood without such an investigation and discussion. Since the literature suggests that professionalism is a combination of the criteria given above and can be measured by them, the purpose of this chapter is to provide an empirical test of this theoretical link on the Turkish Police.

### **1. View or Opinion on the Job**

The police officers who made up the research sample



were questioned in order to obtain their view or opinion about the different and various aspects of their profession. Firstly, they were asked to state their opinion on what the police and the most important police role are in society. The Table 8.1 illustrates the result of police officers' responses about their most important role in society.

**Table 8.1:** The Most Important Police Role in Society

	No	%
The representative and practitioner of a holy occupation	24	14.5
The protector of Law	39	23.5
The protector of social order	52	31.3
The protector of rich people's interests	6	3.6
The protector of poor people's interests	1	0.6
The protector of the whole society	20	12.0
An agency of the government	4	2.4
The preventer of crimes	19	11.4
Other (Please state)	1	0.6
Total	166	100.0

It is obviously known that the police is a governmental agency which is in charge to enforce laws of country. In other words, its operational activities are determined by the government policies on law enforcement. A police officer is a person who is called upon to do a certain kind of job. That is, it is an apparatus of the

state in order to provide internal security of country. It is expected that police officers as members of a profession should be aware of such a fact that their profession is a governmental agency which is primarily responsible for the law enforcement of country. However, the result of table shows that only 2.4 per cent of police officers have an opinion that their profession is a governmental agency. In addition to this, another 23.5 per cent said that police are the protector of law. In other words, only a quarter of them (25.9%) stated an opinion on what the police are and the most important police role in society as expected from them. The others reported various reasons as the most important role of police in society, i. e. they seem to have difficulties in defining a certain role of police. There is not an accumulation on a specific role. However, some interviews done with police officers showed that some police officers regard police as heroic figures, protector of the weak and innocent against cruel individuals (kimsesizlerin kimsesi). Therefore, it is possible to say that there is no consensus on the role of police officers in society according to their view. This also means that there is a lack of occupational-professional consciousness and knowledge on their professional role in the society.

The police officers who made up the research sample were secondly asked to state their opinion on the stratum in society police officers do usually come from. It is seen that police officers' opinion on the issue is in accordance with the data gathered by this research itself (See Chapter V). They know that the Turkish police mostly originate from both middle and lower strata. In other words, 21.1 per cent of police officers stated that police officers in Turkey usually come from lower stratum, 23.5 per cent said they come from middle stratum, another 42.8 per cent



explained that they come from both lower and middle strata of society. The percentage of police officers who reported that police officers usually come from upper stratum is only 1.2, from both middle and upper strata is 0.6. Some 8.4 per cent said that police officers come from all strata of society. Another 2.4 per cent stated that they do not have an opinion on the issue mentioned.

Thirdly, they were asked to give their opinion on the violation of law in society. The Table 8.2 illustrates the frequency distributions of police officers who explained their opinion on who violates the law most.

**Table 8.2: Who Does Violate the Law Most?**

	No	%
Poor people	18	10.8
Middle income people	3	1.8
Rich people	36	21.7
Both middle income and poor people	10	6.0
Both rich and middle income people	15	9.0
The people from all strata	80	48.3
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
No idea	4	2.4
Total	166	100.0

The findings show that almost half of the police officers who made up research sample (48.3%) think the people from all strata violate law. However, a little more than one in five (21.7%) said rich people violates law

most. Interviews which were done with some senior bureaucrats also supported these explanations. They said that it is not possible to make a clear-cut explanation about who violates law at most. People from all strata violate law. They, however, added that although the official statistics show many of convicted people come from lower stratum, the rich people always find a way to escape when they violate a rule. Because, first, they know many people who will be able to help them because of power they hold, such as politicians, police colleagues, etc. Secondly, they sometimes corrupt the system by giving bribe. Therefore, they are not seen in statistics, but they violate law. They also stated that poor people in Turkey get afraid to violate law, because they cannot escape from law. However, they generally agree that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. Many of them accept this as one of the facts of life without in any way approving it. These explanations suggest that police officers know who violates law in society at most. That is, they have a professional view on the operational policing activities of their profession.

The next issue that police officers were asked to report their opinion on is about the minimum education level of new police cadets and the administrators such as section, district security, and province security directors should have. Education is presented as the indispensable ingredient of professionalism (Harris, 1973:77). It is also found that there is a positive relationship between education and professionalism, i.e. higher level of education and higher level of professionalism (Keil and Ekstrom, 1978:482). The table below gives the results of police officers' opinion on the issue mentioned.



**Table 8.3:** The Minimum Level of Education that New Police Cadets and Police Administrators Should Have.

Education Level	New Cadets		Administr.	
	No	%	No	%
Primary school diploma	0	0.0	0	0.0
Secondary school diploma	2	1.2	1	0.6
High or vocational school diploma	78	47.0	14	8.4
Police college(high sch.) diploma	19	11.4	13	7.8
Police sch. (1 year training) dip.	18	10.8	3	1.8
Police Academy degree	21	12.7	98	59.1
University degree	24	14.5	29	17.5
Postgraduate (MSc or Ph.D) degree	0	0.0	5	3.0
Other (Please state)	0	0.0	0	0.0
No idea	4	2.4	3	1.8
Total	166	100.0	166	100.0

The findings show that new police cadets should have at least a high or vocational school diploma before being recruited to the police force. Even, more than a quarter of them (27.2%) stated that new recruits should have either police academy or university degree before joining the force. This shows that police officers are aware of new professional requirements for their profession because of developments in almost all aspects of life in society. They also stated in interviews that the educational level of police officers should not be under the general level of education of society. They are aware of the fact that a law enforcement which is policed by a low educated officer in a highly educated (at least more than him/her) society has to be ineffective.

In parallel to the suggested minimum level of education of new recruits, police officers stated that police administrators such as section, district security and province security directors should have at least either police academy (59.1%) or university (17.5%) degree. In other words, a big majority of them (79.6%) believe that an administrator should have at least a higher education degree. This result shows that they have a professional consciousness that the leading people of profession should have a high educational background. Formal education is accepted as a centrepiece of professionalization, and thus it can be interpreted as an organizational characteristic of professionalism. Briefly, a big majority of police officers know that high educational background is essential for professional activities of their occupation. They, therefore, suggested a relatively high educational level for both new recruits and administrators.

It was also intended to obtain the opinions of police officers who made up the research sample on the police institutions such as police solidarity associations and police union. A big majority of them (83.1%) said they believe that police should establish their own solidarity association. However, 7.2 per cent of officers explained that police profession does not need any solidarity association. Another 9.6 per cent stated that they do not have an idea about it. To have association is one of the characteristics of being a profession. Those associations help the members to be occupationally socialized, to defense and develop the professional rights, ethics, values, etc. of the occupation. In other words, 'police associations create and maintain formal disciplinary procedures. At the same time, the profession, maintains standards through the informal process of developing a



distinct subculture' (Walker, 1976:705). It is possible to say that Turkish police officers think professionally with regard to professional solidarity associations of police profession, when the findings are considered.

Besides that, a relatively small percentage of police officers (68.7%) gave a positive response to whether police should establish their own union or not. Some 10.2 per cent reported that police should not have a union, and another 21.1 per cent said that they have no an idea on whether police should establish their own union or not. Although some police forces, particularly in Western Countries, have their unions, having unions is not common for police profession over the world. The main idea is that unions mean to have the right of strike. If police have a strike, who is going to be in charge to enforce law and provide social peace and order in society? Although this idea seems reasonable, it is not strong enough to prevent police to establish their own union. 'Whatever changes the future holds for the development of the police as a separate occupational group, police unions may play an important role in the implementation of specific changes' (Feuille and Juris, 1976:110) in policing policies, particularly policies on work conditions and material gains. The interviews done with the police officers who are in favour of having a union revealed that they want to have a union especially for having a power of bargain on the decisions related to their income and working conditions. This is in parallel to the efforts of other unions to change working conditions and material gains of their work in the direction desired by their members. However, the police officers who do not want to have a police union in Turkey gave the bad experience of the past in which the police were divided into two opposite group as example. That is,

the reason of uncertainty and unwillingness in the Turkish police on the establishment of a police union may come from the unpleasant history of Pol-Der and Pol-Bir (See Chapter IV for more information).

To be conscious that their occupation is one of the essentials for society for a member of a profession does mean that s/he has a professional view on her/his occupation. Because, 'professionals believe their occupation is indispensable and beneficial to society' (Gross, 1958) even though some outsiders may not be convinced of the indispensability of services performed by the occupation (Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981:68). However, the police occupation is accepted as a profession in the literature. Its sensitive importance and role for both state and public are seen as essential. Therefore, a member of the police profession is expected to know that his/her occupation is essential for society. When the police officers were asked to report their opinion on this issue, a majority of them stated that they are strongly agree that the police occupation, more than any other, is essential for society. Another 26.5 per cent said they are agree, 4.2 per cent are undecided, and 6 per cent are disagree with this proposition. Only 0.6 per cent of them explained that they strongly disagree with the idea that police occupation is essential, more than any other, for society.

The same issue in a different statement is again directed to police officers. That is, police officers were presented with another statement which has the opposite aim: 'Other occupations are actually more vital to society than the police'. The reason to present the same statement in another form was to check and control the data, and to increase the reliability of the data. Although the



percentages are slightly different from the percentages of previous statement, they are in parallel to each other. In other words, almost half of the police officers (48.8%) strongly disagree, 28.9 per cent disagree, 7.2 per cent are undecided, 9.1 per cent are agreed and another 6 per cent are strongly agreed with the statement. According to the findings, it is possible to say that a big majority of Turkish police officers believe that their occupation is essential for society more than any other. Interviews done with police officers illustrated that they seek to define their tasks in ways that emphasise the vital necessity of police work and occupation to society and the unique qualifications of police to perform that work. In fact, it is clear that the police is one of the essential professions in society when its role on law enforcement and on providing social peace and order in society is considered. Therefore, their opinion on the issue should be accepted as a professional one.

The police officers who made up the research sample were also asked to express their opinion on the idea that society should not rely on the police to make good its mistakes. A majority of them (68.7%) are strongly agree with this idea. Some 19.3 per cent said they are agree, 2.4 per cent are undecided, 6 per cent are disagree, and only 3.6 per cent are strongly disagree with the statement given. It is obvious that the police profession alone is not able to make society's mistakes good. Therefore, police officers as professionals are expected to have such an opinion and consciousness. To make society's mistakes good is a general policy matter and it depends on efficiency of other professions in the area of education, health, welfare and equality in terms of rights, duties and income, etc. It is never seen that a society solved its problems by hard

policing. The findings show that the Turkish police officers mostly have such a professional opinion on the issue mentioned.

Similarly, police officers were asked to state their opinion whether police success is dependent upon public approval or not. Actually, this and the following two statements are derived from the 'Peelian Principles' which formed and framed the modern police in Britain. (See for 'Peelian Principles' Cordner, 1989:1-7). A big majority of them (73.5%) are strongly agreed and a little more than one in fifth of them (21.1%) are agreed with the idea that police success is dependent upon public approval. 1.8 per cent said they are undecided, 2.4 per cent disagreed, and 1.2 per cent strongly disagreed with the same idea. It is clear that a successful application of a profession is directly dependent on the approval of people who consume the service as well as the professional quality of its application in accordance with professional ethics, values, etc. If the people who consume the service do not approve the applications of profession, it will be impossible to achieve the goals of the profession. In other words, 'members of the community could affect the police officers' success in achieving their organizationally defined goals. They could also make police officers' life and work generally more or less pleasant' (Cain, 1972:227). The findings show that a very big majority of police officers (94.6%) at least agree with the idea that police success is dependent upon public approval, i.e. they produced an expected professional opinion on the matter discussed.

'Police strength should be deployed by time and area' was another statement that police officers were asked to explain their opinion on. The percentage of police officers



who said they strongly agree with this idea is 59.6, agree is 33.1, undecided is 1.2, disagree is 4.2, and strongly disagree is 1.2. To have a plan and to practise a profession according to this plan or strategy is a necessary situation in a modern society. Because of the highly complex division of labour, one has to make some research to determine the needs and sources available, and then decide what to do. This is an indispensable situation for a profession in a modern society. The results show that most of the police officers in the Turkish Police Organization are aware of such a professional necessity that police strength should be deployed by time and area in order to have an effective policing in country.

Furthermore, police officers were asked to make their opinion clear on the statement that police should employ only the minimum force necessary. Like the results of previous statements, a big majority of police officers (58.3 per cent strongly agree and 27.7 per cent agree) believe that police should employ the minimum force necessary. Some 6 per cent of them said they are undecided, 6.6 per cent disagree, and only 1.2 per cent strongly disagreed with this idea. It is obvious that to employ the minimum force necessary is a necessity for being more efficient. In other words, it is a matter of minimum input and maximum output. To produce maximum service with minimum input is an indispensable characteristic of a profession in a modern society. The determination of the size of the police force should be based directly upon the degree of efficiency, production, and the quality of service in policing which are so important to the citizenry rather than upon a value judgement as to what the tax structure can afford. It seems that most of the Turkish police officers have such a professional opinion on their

profession.

In addition, police officers who made up the research sample were requested to report their opinion on how much they are agreed or disagreed with idea of 'a police officer should attend panel discussions or seminars on police work'. More than half of the police officers (54.3%) strongly agree, 35.5 per cent agree, 7.2 per cent are undecided, 2.4 per cent disagree, and only 0.6 per cent strongly disagreed with the idea the statement proposes.

It is obvious that professionalism requires a dynamic structure in a profession. In order to provide such a development, members of professions have to re-educate and socialize themselves with the developments regarding their professional activities. Therefore, it is essential for a profession in our modern societies to use and benefit from scientific developments in order to be more efficient in its application and to achieve its professional goals and to develop a professional body of knowledge. As a result, it can be said that a big majority of Turkish police officers (89.8%) have such a professional opinion that police officers should attend panel discussions and seminars related to their occupational activities.

Police officers were finally asked to report their opinion on a statement related to the relationships between press and police. That is, they were given the statement, 'the press have conducted a vendetta against the police and this accounts for much contemporary suspicion of the police', and then their opinion were taken. It is seen that 43.4 per cent of them explained that they strongly agree, and 23.5 per cent agree with this idea. Some 21.7 per cent said they disagree, 2.4 per cent strongly disagree with the



statement, and only 9 per cent of them said they are undecided. As seen from the results that two thirds of police officers have a negative reaction to the press. This is not an acceptable professional reaction from the members of a profession like police to the press. It is known that the press are generally accepted as the fourth power in democracies, and are indispensable. Therefore, the negative opinion of police officers seems to conflict with the idea of professionalism. However, almost one in three of police officers (33.1%) are not so suspicious about the press. As Banton (1975:94) and Scuro (1989:317) state, British and American police officers also comment upon the way the press and the public fail to appreciate their problems and rush in with criticisms. That is, the police and media communications result in frequent misunderstandings, often because neither party fully appreciates the job the other has to do. Such a lack of comprehension breeds fear and mistrust (Scuro, 1989:317). Interviews conducted with police officers also confirmed that they tend to look upon journalists (news reporters) and newspapers as snoopers poking their noses into things that are none of their concern, and blame press with giving a negative image of police to public.

## **2. Judgement About the Job**

The judgement done by members of a profession about the job, as discussed in earlier chapters, is accepted as one of the measurements or criteria of professionalism which is practised in the application of profession. Although 'making a judgement in patrol work presents

officers with problems of cognition, perception and prediction' (Fielding, 1984:585), another dimension of professionalism is the belief that 'the person best able to judge the work of a professional is a fellow professional' (Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981:68). Because of the state of specialized occupational knowledge in the field, a police officer is expected to be able to judge the quality of his/her work. To judge the work is also conceptualized in professionalism literature as 'Belief in Self-Regulation'. (See Hall, 1968; Snizek, 1972; Maniha, 1973; Poole, Regoli and Lotz, 1978; Keil and Ekstrom, 1978; Poole and Regoli, 1979; Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981).

Actually, police officers have a significant power of discretion in the routine daily policing activities. The use of discretion may be on stopping, searching, investigating, arresting, using force, etc. Police officers may elect to ignore or to actively pursue a citizen's complaint, may arrest a suspect in some cases while in others, even though the act and circumstances may be similar - the person is released. Some people are "roughed up" by the police while others are handled with respect (Vago, 1991:96). All such decisions are likely made by the police officers in daily policing operations. An officer's decision is mostly made in seconds. S/he cannot afford an error in judgement, because all of her/his actions are subject to review by superiors, media, public, and the criminal law system (Farris, 1989:534). Therefore, in order to determine the appropriate or the best course of action in any particular policing case, a police officer must be able to separate the person or case does need to take an action against or does not need. A police officer meets many people and events he/she has never seen before, and it is harder for him/her to tell from their behaviour and



appearance what manner of people they are. He/she has mostly insufficient information about many of people and events he/she has to deal with. He/she should know that any of his/her decisions may later be judged in court against him/her or police in general. The fact is that a police officer derives much of his/her sense of judgement from his/her participation in the society he/she polices (Banton, 1975:94). Therefore, it is very important that she/he should have an appropriate -good- (professional) judgement in handling the people and their cases. It is obvious and inevitable that a lack of judgement creates problems for policing activities, police image of public, and for police administrators.

The judgement of the Turkish police officers about their job is taken in order to evaluate and determine their professionalism with the help of other criteria. Firstly, the police officers were asked to judge their organization in terms of success in carrying out their role in society. It is clear that police forcers are faced with internal problems of organization and motivation, and external problems of adaptation to the environment in which they exit. To continue to function, they must protect the social and political bases of their authority and the flow of resources upon which they depend (Cotterrell, 1992:272). To do this they must demonstrate an adequate degree of success in the tasks allotted to or assumed by them. These tasks constitute police work. The judgement on the success of their professional organization is, therefore, aimed to be obtained in order to be able to make comments on their professionalism.

A majority of police officers who made up the research sample (66.9%) see the Turkish police successful in

carrying out its role. Some 17.5 per cent of them said that they are very successful, and only 13.3 per cent of them stated the Turkish police is neither successful nor unsuccessful. The percentage of police officers who explained that the Turkish police is unsuccessful in carrying out its policing duty is only 1.2. Similarly, another 1.2 per cent see the Turkish police as very unsuccessful.

It is a reality that the number of unsolved criminal events is steadily increasing in Turkey (See Criminal Statistics of State Institute of Statistics). This is the best indicator to evaluate the success of the police. If so, it is not possible to say the police are successful or very successful in carrying out their function in society. Therefore, although the findings support an idea that the Turkish Police is successful in carrying out its role in society, it is possible to say that they are relatively uncritical when they evaluate their success as a profession. To not have a critical character is not an appropriate behaviour for a professional.

Secondly, they were asked to judge how much of the occupational knowledge they were taught during their education and training they use in practice. Almost half of them (45.2%) stated that they use very little of it, 38.6 per cent use most of it, and 12 per cent use all of it. However, 4.2 per cent of them explained that they do not use the occupational knowledge they were taught during their education and training in their practical work at all. In parallel to this evaluation, they were also asked to give their opinion of the standard of education and training in Police Education Institutions. Some 48.2 per cent of police officers who made up the research sample reported that the standard of education and training in



Police Education Institutions is good, 41 per cent said it is average, 6 per cent it is poor, 4.7 per cent it is very good, and only 0.6 per cent said it is very poor.

The findings show that although around half of the police officers (49.4%) stated that they use either very little or none of the occupational knowledge, they were taught during their training, in practice, a big majority of the same police officers (89.2%) judged the standard of training in Police Education Institutions as either good (48.2%) or average (41%). However, it seems that there is a contradiction between the judgements of police officers about the two issues. In other words, it is not clear enough that if the standard of training and education is good or average, why do half of the police officers use either very little (45.2%) or none (4.2%) of it ? This question can be answered in two ways; either the police officers have no capacity to learn well or the courses which will not applicable to practise are taught in Police Educational Institutions. It is actually a reality that most police officers learn policing skills via the occupational socialization on the street during their early years of service (Feuille and Juris, 1975:95). However, it is expected that police officers as members of a profession should be taught the professional principles, codes, ethics and values of their profession.

The next issue which was judged by the police officers is related to the work conditions and physical security level of their occupation. It is known that to have an ability to judge her/his profession in terms of different aspects is a characteristic of being a professional for a member of a profession. Therefore, it is aimed to learn how they evaluate their profession in terms of work and

security conditions.

The biggest group among the police officers (39.8%) who made up the research sample stated that the work conditions of their occupation is average. Some 24.1 per cent said they are poor, 11.4 per cent said they are very poor. However, 21.7 per cent of them explained that their work conditions are good. Only 3 per cent of them reported that they are very good. Very similar results were obtained when the police officers were asked to make a judgement on the physical security level of their work. That is, according to the 38.6 per cent of police officers the physical security of their work is average, to 25.3 per cent is poor, and to 13.9 per cent is very poor. Only 21.1 per cent of police officers said that the physical security of their work is good although 1.2 per cent of them said it is very good.

It is obvious that because of its operational nature policing has relatively hard working conditions and it is a high risky job particularly in terms of physical security. The findings show that the police officers in the Turkish Police Organization are aware of this situation, and the data related to both these issues support each other. Therefore, it is possible to say that police officers have a professional judgement on their work conditions and physical security level of their occupation.

Besides that police officers were asked to judge how effective their immediate supervision is. It is clear that not to be an apparatus only, to make judgements on the issues related to a profession is a characteristic of being a member of a profession. In other words, a member of a profession is expected to make an evaluation and judgement



on his/her profession if it is needed. The results show that according to the police officers who made up the research sample, the effectiveness of supervision in their profession (policing in Turkey) is neither very good (1.8%) nor very poor (7.8%). The biggest group among them (39.8%) stated that the effectiveness of supervision in their profession is good. The second biggest group (38.6%) said that it is average. However, another group with 12 per cent explained that the effectiveness of immediate supervision of them is poor. When the increasing number of unsolved criminal events in each year (See Criminal Statistics of SIS) is considered, it will easily be seen that there is something wrong with the supervision of policing profession. The data show that police officers are right in their judgement on the supervision of their profession. Therefore, their approaches to the issue mentioned can be accepted as a professional one.

The police officers were finally asked to make a judgement on the members of police force in Turkey. They were presented with a statement, 'the members of the police force are experts in their jobs', and asked to report how much they agree with this statement. Some 33.1 per cent of them said that they strongly agree, 32.5 per cent of them agree with this idea. The percentage of police officers who said that they are undecided is 10.2. However, 21.7 per cent of police officers explained that they disagree, 2.4 per cent said they strongly disagree with the statement presented.

### **3. Autonomy and Personality**

Autonomy and personality are also accepted as a

criterion of police professionalism in the literature (See for more information Hall, 1968; Snizek, 1972; Chackerian and Barrett, 1973; Maniha, 1973; Miller and Fry, 1976; Walker, 1976; Poole, Regoli and Lotz, 1978; Keil and Ekstrom, 1978; Poole and Regoli, 1979; Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981; Farris, 1989; Cotterrell, 1992). A member of a professional is expected to have an autonomy on his/her professional operations. That is, he/she should have capability to make and apply decisions related to his/her own work when is needed. In other words, 'autonomy involves a professional belief that individuals must make their own decisions regarding their work. Practitioners believe they should be free from external pressures in determining what or how work is to be done (Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981:68). However, the important point not to be ignored in any case is that the decisions done by a professional should not be in conflict with the ethical and operational values and codes of profession. In this subsection, the autonomy and personal characteristics of Turkish police officers will be evaluated by the questions and statements determined.

### **3.1. Autonomy**

The Turkish police officers were questioned in terms of autonomy and personality in order to be able to evaluate their professionalism in general. Firstly, they were asked to report what they do if they saw one of their colleagues on their rank breaking law. Secondly, they were requested to explain their reactions when a minister or a deputy (MP) breaks law. The Table 8.4 illustrates the frequency distributions of police officers on the issue mentioned.



**Table 8.4:** What Police Officers Do If They Saw One of Their Colleagues on Their Rank and A Minister or Deputy Breaking the Law.

	Colleagues		Minist. & Deputy	
	No	%	No	%
I do not care about it (it doesn't bother me)	0	0.0	4	2.4
I would ignore it in order to have no trouble	8	4.8	46	27.7
I would warn him/her not to violate the law	135	81.3	42	25.3
I would immediately arrest him	3	1.8	0	0.0
I would report the event to my chief (superior)	20	12.1	74	44.6
Other (Please state)	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	166	100.0	166	100.0

It is obvious that professional qualifications require a member of profession to obey the professional values and ethics of profession that define how to do the job. Therefore, in order to be able to label or judge the members of police profession in Turkey, it is aimed to obtain their approaches to two actions which happen in their daily professional operations. That is, what they do if they saw one of their colleagues on their rank and a minister or deputy (parlamentar) breaking law. It is clear that in a democratic - law society like Turkey to break law is a crime regardless who breaks it. Therefore, police officers are required by APDA to enforce law when they saw anyone, even their colleagues or people from government, breaks law or commits a crime. In other words, a policy of full law enforcement implies that the police are required and expected to enforce all criminal statutes at all times

against all offenders.

The findings show that there are important differences in terms of police officers' responses to the issues directed. First of all they know that they are not authorized to arrest a minister or deputy because of having untouchableness (inviolableness). However, more than a quarter of them (27.7%) said that they would ignore the law breaking of a minister or a deputy in order to have no trouble. This is obviously not a behaviour that a professional should have. Similarly, they are very tolerant to their colleagues (81.3%) in the case of law breaking. Such an approach is also against the logic of professionalism on the one hand, and violation of law by law enforcers on the other. Actually, literature shows (Chevigny, 1975) that this is not so only for Turkish police. The American police is also very tolerant to their fellow police officers. For example, Westly (1956) found that 11 out of 15 police officers said that they would not report a brother officer for taking money from a prisoner, and 10 out of 13 said they would not testify against the officer if he were accused by a prisoner. These kinds of practices encourage police officers to believe that if they are in an unlawful situations when they perform their policing duties, their colleagues can tolerate them. Such a behaviour shows that there is a strong solidarity or subculture between police officers. Skolnick (1975:219) who studied an American city police force states that 'norms located within police organization are more powerful than court decisions in shaping police behaviour'. This has been confirmed by Holdaway's study (1983) on the British Police. He accepts the occupational culture of lower rank police officers as central in defining what counts as appropriate behaviour in the job for them. Regoli, Poole and Hou's



study (1981:67) on Taiwan police also confirms that there is a high degree of occupational solidarity among police officers.

Another issue relating to the autonomy of police officers was about the personal decision making ability and the level of being affected by people. In other words, they were told that when they have arrested a suspected person, and if they are requested to release him/her very much by people, what do they do. As it is seen in Table 8.5, a majority of them (62.1%) gave their verdict as expected from a professional that they do not release him/her in any way. However, more than a third of them (34.9%) stated that they release him/her if the reason is not very important. As mentioned above, a professional is expected to have and perform his autonomy on his professional operations when it is needed. However, the Act of Police Duty and Authority does not give any power to an individual officer to decide whether a suspected person be released or not because of the desire (wish) of people around. In this case, it is difficult to accept those police officers (34.9%) as full professional member of the police profession.

**Table 8.5:** What Police Officers do When They Have Arrested A Suspected Person, and If They are Subject to Public Pressure to Release Him/Her.

	No	%
I release him/her if the reason is not very important	58	34.9
I do not release him/her in any way	103	62.1
I do not know what to do	5	3.0
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
Total	166	100.0

Besides that the police officers who made up the research sample were asked to report how much they are agree with the idea that 'I make my own decisions in regard to what is to be done in my work'. The biggest group of them (41.0%) said that they strongly agree, and the second biggest group (33.7%) said they agree with this statement. Only 3.6 per cent of them stated that they are undecided on the issue mentioned. On the other hand, 19.3 per cent of police officers explained that they disagree with the idea that 'I make my own decisions in regard to what is to be done in my work'. The rest of police officers (2.4%) reported that they strongly disagree with such a statement.

The findings show that a big majority of police officers who made up the research sample (74.7%) make their own decisions in regard to what is to be done in their work. This is also valid for the police officers of Western countries. In other words, the sociological literature on police shows that although the appearance of strong hierarchical control in police organizations, lower ranks have considerable autonomy in their daily occupational operations (Poole, Regoli and Lotz, 1978; Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981; Holdaway, 1983; Morgan, 1990; Cotterrell, 1992). A practitioner of a profession is required to use his/her own judgement to make nonroutine decisions about how the work is to be done to achieve the goals. Although it seems that police officers, especially in larger police departments, have relatively little discretion, police officers work alone or in pairs and any given moment are usually free of direct supervision. That is, 'the authority of a police officer is uniquely personal ...' (Walker, 1976:706). In addition, the complex nature of policing



makes it very difficult for a police organization to issue a set of standard operating procedures to govern on-the-job behaviour which it can guarantee will be followed. Briefly, police officers actions may be carefully scrutinized after the fact, but the discretion on the street is considerable (Feuille and Juris, 1976:97).

In fact, a professional is expected to have a capacity to use her/his autonomy when she/he performs her/his work, but this does not mean that she/he should make her/his all own decisions in her/his work by her/himself. Besides that a profession like policing requires a police officer to be very careful when he/she performs his/her professional activities, because a mistake can easily be ended with a law or human right violation. Therefore, police officers are not expected to make their all decisions in regard to what is to be done in their work. They may need their chiefs' or colleagues' views from time to time, from case to case. To use references and to have collaboration with colleagues are also from the criteria of professionalism. That's why, it is possible to say that a majority of police officers who made up the research sample use their autonomy in an improper way of operation.

The case of autonomy of police officers was also questioned in another way. That is, they were given a statement, 'I do not have much opportunity to exercise my own judgement', and were asked to explain how much they are agree with it. In addition to evaluate their autonomy, this was also necessary to learn how much opportunity they have to exercise their own judgement.

Some 29.5 per cent of police officers who made up research sample said that they strongly agree, 39.2 per

cent of them said they agree with the given statement, i.e. 'I do not have much opportunity to exercise my own judgement'. Only 9 per cent of them explained that they are undecided about the idea the statement has. On the other side, 17.5 per cent stated they disagree, 2.4 per cent said they strongly disagree. The findings show that a majority of them (68.7%) do not have much opportunity to exercise their own judgement when they are on duty. Although professionals are expected to exercise their own judgement from time to time and from case to case when they are on duty, police professionals may need some restriction because of the sensitivity of their operational activities. In other words, even a small mistake can be ended with a violation in police profession. In addition, a police officer can unconsciously play a role of a prosecutor or a judge when s/he exercises her/his own judgement by her/himself. Therefore, the results can be seen as normal (natural) when police professionalism is evaluated.

### 3.2. Personality

A police officer can be defined as a person who is called upon to do a certain kind of job. The elements of the job, as Skolnick and Gray (1975) state - the legal system (enforcing law, arresting criminals, doing investigations, providing evidences, etc.), the police administration, and the subculture of police - all combine to socialize and develop a working personality for police officers. In this subsection, it is, therefore, aimed to discuss the professional personality characteristic of the police officers rather than the psychological dimensions of their personality like authoritarianism, scepticism, etc.



This is necessary in order to be able to connect the data and findings on occupational consciousness to the findings on professionalism.

It is assumed that to accept the ethical and professional (work) values of an occupation and to practise them according to both written and unwritten rule and regulation of this occupation should be accepted as an important personality characteristic of a professional. In order to have an opinion about the professional personality characteristics in general, police officers who made up the research sample were directed a few questions. Firstly, they were asked to make clear whether they have been formally rewarded or disciplined by their superiors or not. This is very important to learn in order to be able to make some analytical comments on professional personalities of police officers. Because, a professional organization supposed to have internal control devices to regulate the practice of its members (Farris, 1989:533). The Turkish Police Organization has regulated these control devices as reward and discipline penalty. It is obvious that the number of reward or discipline and punishment which have been taken by a police officer is a very important measurement for his/her professional personality characteristics.

Almost a quarter of them (27.1%) reported that they were rewarded for their work. The 59.6 per cent of those who have been rewarded stated that they were rewarded once in their occupational life, 20.6 per cent twice, 18.4 per cent three times. Only 2.4 per cent said that they have been rewarded five times in their occupational life. The rewards consist of written acknowledgement of achievement (good service), money, on leave and promotion in the career

according to the work been done. The most taken reward by the police officers is written acknowledgement of good service (77.3%), money (11.4%) and both of them (11.4%). According to the data gathered from the Department of Research, Planning and Coordination (DRPC) of the GDS, the total number of police officers who have been rewarded in 1991 only is 3003 (1516 - written acknowledgement of achievement, 1487 - money award), which is the 3.26 per cent of all police officers employed by the GDS (GDS, 1991:75)

Almost a similar percentage (24.7) of rewarded officers have been formally disciplined by their superiors. 61.9 per cent of them said that they were disciplined once, 19 per cent twice, 14.3 per cent three times and 4.8 per cent four times in their occupational life. The data obtained from the DRPC showed that the total number of police officers who have been dismissed from their posts in 1991 only is 584, which is the 0.64 per cent of all police population in country. As mentioned, this percentage belongs only to the police officers who have been dismissed from their job in 1991 only. If the punishment or discipline penalties which have been taken like warning, salary deduction, suspension of payment, etc. are considered, this percentage will rise sharply. In fact, the high numbers of dismissed, punished or disciplined police officers is strong evidence that they do not exercise a proper - lawful policing activity. This also means that there is a lack of professional personality among the police officers.

Although the police officers were asked to report the type of penalty(ies) they got for not proper policing activities during their occupational operations in a clear



way, no one wrote down the name of discipline penalty(ies) they received. The penalties consist of warning, reproach (kinama), salary deduction or suspend payment for a certain time and suspension from the work. This may be a result of shame that they feel. However, it can also be accepted as a sign of having an un-self-critical personality. If so, this is a characteristic that can be accepted as a non-professional one. Being a professional who performs activities of a profession needs a person to has critical point of view in order to find and discover the insufficiency and ineffectiveness in operation of profession. This is inevitable for final achievement. Therefore the result shows that the police officers who perform policing activities do not have some needed professional characteristics of their profession. Inevitably, this will cause problems in application of policing in country.

Secondly, it is aimed to have their reaction on a rule which is put into practise. That is, they were told that if it were forbidden to go to public places such as cinema, theatre, concert, restaurant, cafe, etc. off duty wearing your uniform and carrying your revolver, would this stop you going to these places ? It is surprisingly seen that more than half of police officers (53%) said that such an action would not stop them to go to public places with their uniform and revolver. In other words, only 47 per cent of police officers who made up the research sample responded question in an expected way. That is, a professional has to accept new regulation which is related to his/her profession and to obey it even he/she is off duty. This is a must for professional ethical and official work values. Therefore, it is a fact that most of the Turkish police officers have a personality which is not

appropriate for a professional behaviour in policing business. They see themselves over the regulation of the profession.

Thirdly, it was aimed to learn their personal reaction to another issue in order to make an assessment about their professional personality characteristics. In other words, they were told that British police walk on the street without a revolver. If the same situation could be practised in Turkey, would you accept it ? A big majority of police officers who made up the research sample (74.7%) said that they would not accept if a regulation on disarmament of Turkish police like British police is practised in Turkey. Only the 25.3 per cent of them stated that they would accept it. Like the previous question, Turkish police officers do not show a professional personality, according to the findings. They seem to decide what to be obeyed and accepted or not to be obeyed and accepted. It is obvious that such a behaviour is totally against the logic of professionalism.

The police officers who said that they would not accept if they asked to practice the way of policing of British police, i.e. not to carry a revolver, were again asked to report why they do not accept it (to give the most important reason). The Table 8.6 shows the reasons police officers stated.



**Table 8.6: The Most Important Reason for Not Accepting An Unarmed Police Force**

Reasons	No	%
Due to the social consciousness of our society people are not able to understand such an event	86	69.4
The number of criminal cases increase when the police carry no weapons	7	5.6
It is impossible to carry out police duties in Turkey without carrying weapons	18	14.5
There are more violations of law in Turkey; therefore, it is necessary to carry weapons	13	10.5
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
Total	124	100.0

The findings show that according to police officers who said that they would not accept if a policing without revolver is practised, the most important reason for this is the absence of social consciousness of society. That is, they say that the Turkish people are not able to understand such a development. In other words, instead of their non-professional behaviour they prefer to blame the society.

Besides that, they were asked to report that whether they conform to the commands of their superiors when they are off duty or not. Almost half of police officers (48.2%) said that they conform, 29.5 per cent said they do not conform, and 22.3 per cent said they sometimes conform to the commands of their superiors when they are off duty. Actually, professional activities have certain work

principles. One of them is the working hours of profession, and professionals are expected to work only in these hours, if they are not top managers or administrators. The findings show that a majority of Turkish police officers (70.5%) conform to the commands of their superiors when they are off duty either always or sometimes. Briefly, it is possible to say that they do not have a strong enough personality to put forward that they are off duty.

Finally, the data relevant with whether being used for non-occupational duties, (i.e. to do private jobs of superiors), by their superiors (chiefs) in work hours or not are also aimed to be obtained. The reason for this is to question the degree of professional relationships between the officers and their superiors, colleagues and inferiors. It is seen that a big majority of police officers (86.7%) stated that they are not being used for non-occupational duties by their superiors when they are on duty. However, 13.3 per cent of them said that they are being used. Those who are being used for non-occupational duties by their superiors were again asked to report what kinds of non-occupational jobs they being used for. Almost half of them (47.6%) said that they being used for private official tasks, e.g. To deal with his/her children school affairs, to pay his/her electricity, water, etc. bills on be half him/his, etc. Another 33.4 per cent of them said they being used for servicing tea or coffee. The others with small percentages (4.8%) stated that they are being used in performing services for the wife and children of superior, or sometimes for both of them, sometimes for all of them.

It is obvious that being a professional means to practice professional activities in its own way, and a



professional can and must do what he/she is professionally expected to do. She/he is professionally not allowed to do somebody else's private jobs in his/her working hours. His/her working activities must be restricted with the professional work requirements. It is, therefore, possible to say that although the percentage is relatively low, being used for non-occupational duties by superiors is definitely against the professional way of acting. This means that some of the Turkish police officers do not have enough consciousness of professionalism, and they do not behave in a professional way when they are on duty. This may be the result of either strong hierarchical command chain or weak personality of officers.

#### **4. Belief in Service, Dedication to Job and Initiative**

In this section, it is aimed to learn the level of belief in service, dedication to job and initiative of the Turkish police officers by questioning a representative sample. This is necessary to discuss and evaluate the level of professionalism in the Turkish Police in general.

##### **4.1. Belief in Service**

For a police officer or a professional, belief in service may be accepted as a cornerstone of his/her occupational efficiency and achievement. If he/she does not believe in service of profession and in the professional system, which is responsible for enforcing the laws of country, she/he would have to go on living in a state of conflicting cognitions, a condition which will be painful and inevitably leads to an ineffective policing in country.

This will also result in a lack of professionalism among the practitioners of the police profession. To believe that the service of the profession is one of the essential to society is commonly accepted as a criterion of professionalism (See Hall, 1968; Snizek, 1972; Maniha, 1973; Walker, 1976; Poole, Regoli and Lotz, 1978; Keil and Ekstrom, 1978; Poole and Regoli, 1979; Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981).

In order to obtain the data on believing in the service of their profession, the police officers who made up the research sample were presented various statements and questions. They were firstly given a statement, 'a police officer is obliged to perform police duty even if it involves overtime or other interference with his/her private life', and then were asked to state how much they agree or disagree with it. Some 38.6 per cent of them said that they strongly agree, 33.1 per cent said they agree, 4.8 per cent are undecided, 18.7 per cent disagree, and only 4.8 per cent stated that they strongly disagree with the idea the statement proposes. In other words, a majority of them (71.7%) believe either strongly or in general that they should perform their professional duty even if it involves overtime or other interference with her/his private life. It is obviously seen that they mostly believe in service of their profession. This may also be accepted as a belief of dedication to job.

Secondly, another statement was presented to them: 'A police officer should not let his/her work interfere with his/her private life. They were asked to give their opinion on it. Again, a big majority of police officers (88.6%) stated that they either strongly agree (62.7%) or agree (25.9%) with the idea the statement has. Some 3 per cent of



them said that they are undecided, 4.8 per cent said they disagree, and only 3.6 per cent said they strongly disagree with the idea the statement proposes.

The findings show that the police officers mostly believe that they should not let their work interfere with their private life. To keep the private matters out of professional activities should be accepted as a professional characteristic. Therefore, it is possible to say that similar to the previous statement, most of the Turkish police officers believe in service of their profession.

Besides these, police officers were asked to report their opinion on whether they believe that women should be employed in police force or not. It is a reality that both industrialization and developments in equality of genders lead women to work almost in all professions with their male counterparts. That is, women transferred from traditional occupations to the all kinds of occupations in the market. However, the entrance of women into policing which is traditionally a male occupation has not been achieved without pain both to women and to men officers. Women continue to be victimized by social, cultural and political discrimination and prejudice. The degree of success in introducing women into police profession remains minimal (Fairchild, 1987:375). However, women are needed to deal with special areas of policing such as dealing with women criminals, juvenile delinquents, searching women, etc. In other words, the nature of policing today requires women to be employed in all aspects of law enforcement. It was, therefore, aimed to learn whether the police officers who made up the research sample believe such a need for their profession or not.

A majority of police officers (61.4%) stated that they believe that women should be employed in police force. However, 38.6 per cent of them said that women should not be employed in police force. Both groups, those who believe and do not believe that women should be employed in police force, were again questioned about the reasons they have. The table 8.7 shows the frequency distributions of the reasons which were given by police officers who do believe there is a need to employ women in police force.

**Table 8.7: The Reasons Given By Police Officers Who Believe There is a Need to Employ Women**

Reasons	No	%
A policewoman is needed in order to do a body search of females or to deal with woman suspects	57	56.3
Women have a right to work in all kinds of occupations	36	35.0
Where women work, work relations are more polite and refined	9	8.7
So that the occupational success of women can be observed	0	0.0
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
Total	102	100.0

More than half of police officers who believe that women should be employed in police force think that a policewoman is needed to do policing jobs related to women. However, the percentage of police officers who accept that women have a right to work in all kinds of occupations



cannot be ignored. It is therefore possible to say that the Turkish police officers are in favour of women employment in police force, although the reasons for it are various.

Similarly, police officers who do not believe that women should be employed in police force were also told to state the reasons they have. The table 8.8 illustrates the results of their responses.

**Table 8.8:** The Reasons Given By Police Officers Who do not Believe There is a Need to Employ Women

Reasons	No	%
It is not an occupation fit for women since the work hours are irregular	15	23.4
Although the pay is the same police-women are given easier and less dangerous duties	29	45.3
Work conditions are too heavy for women since they are physically less capable	7	10.9
There is a discrimination in the police force because of the special treatment women get	9	14.1
Women should never work	4	6.3
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
Total	64	100.0

The results show that most of the police officers who are not in favour of working of women in police force give the equality of pay as the most important reason although they do a harder job than policewomen do. Discrimination and special treatment to woman in terms of working place

are also accepted as a reason for being not in favour of women employment in police force. The interviews which have been done with police officers also support the first reason. They seem to be very sensitive on this issue. That is, women mostly are employed in offices and do not work during nights and at weekends although they get the same salary with their male counterparts. Therefore, they seem to be against the employment of women in police force. However, contemporary researches on women police officers in U.S.A. showed that they perform their work in much the same way as their male colleagues (Fairchild, 1987:376). Actually, the Turkish police force, like many others, are generally not hospitable to women even if good-faith efforts are made to integrate them, because of emphasizing male values of dominance, use of force, assertion of authority, etc.

The police officers who made up the research sample were finally requested to explain whether they would advise their child to join the police force or not. It was mainly aimed to obtain the data on the relationships between them and their profession, and whether they believe in service of their occupation as much as to advise to their children to join their profession or not. It is surprisingly seen that a majority of them (66.9%) stated that they would not advise their children to join the police force. Those officers were pursued to explain why they are not in favour. The interviews done with those officers showed that they are mostly proud of their profession, and they believe it is an essential profession for society. The problem they raised (mentioned) is related to low income of the profession. In other words, they said that although the life security is low and work conditions are very hard in comparison with other occupations, they get a similar



salary with those who work in other occupations in which employees work only week days and office hours. It was found that their income is really low (See Chapter V). Therefore, their objections to the joining of their children to police force can be accepted as natural.

#### 4.2. Dedication to Job and Initiative

A profession is not only a job which supplies an income for living for a professional. That is, although it is important, the material gains are not the main goals for a professional. They will perform their work even when few extrinsic rewards are available, doing it for physiological satisfaction (Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981:68). Dedication to job is also conceptualised as 'Sense of Calling to the Field' in the literature of professionalism. (See Hall, 1968; Snizek, 1972; Maniha, 1973; Poole, Regoli and Lotz, 1978; Keil and Ekstrom, 1978; Poole and Regoli, 1979; Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981).

In order to be able to evaluate the dedication of Turkish police officers to their job, a few statements were presented to them and their views were obtained. Firstly, they were given the following statement: 'A police officers should only be concerned to do what he must to earn a living'. Then, they were requested to explain how much they are agree or disagree with the statement given. The findings show that a big majority of police officers who made up the research sample (70.4%) either strongly disagree (18%) or disagree (52.4%) with the idea the statement proposes. Another 9 per cent of them said that they are undecided, 12.1 per cent said they agree, and 8.5 per cent said they strongly agree with the statement.

Besides that they were given another statement, and asked to report how much they agree or disagree with it. The statement is 'a police officer's behaviour off the job must be exemplary'. Again, a very big majority of police officers who made up the research sample (92.2%) said they either strongly agree (72.9%) or agree (19.3%) with the statement. However, 5.4 per cent of them stated that they are undecided, 1.8 per cent said they disagree and only 0.6 per cent of them said they strongly disagree with the statement. It is obvious that the Turkish police officers, with a very big percentage, believe that their behaviour outside of working hours should be exemplary to anyone from both profession or street. Furthermore, some police officers who have been interviewed also stated that police represents 'the good'. Therefore, they have no any excuse to behave in an inappropriate way, and their behaviours should always be exemplary. The results of both questionnaire and interviews show that they believe in service of their profession.

It is obvious that the Turkish police officers mostly see their profession as a profession that they believe in service of it and they are keen to dedicate themselves to it. In other words, their profession is not only a profession that they earn their living from. They believe that a police officer should only not be concerned to do what he/she must to earn a living. He/she should be more active for his/her profession, and should dedicate her/himself to her/his job. However, some interviews conducted with administrators showed that the dedication to job is mostly dependent to material gains of the profession.

Initiative is also accepted as one of the criteria which will be used in the evaluation or assessment of



professionalism. Therefore, Turkish police officers are also questioned in terms of their initiative. They were asked to report what they would do when they are off duty and wearing civilian clothes, if an event happens on the street that requires police action.

It is expected from police officers to use their initiative and to interfere to the event happened and to report it to the police station (patrol) as a professional. The Turkish police officers, because, are in charge 24 hours a day according to the explanations done by their superiors. However, their interference to event is finished when the police officers on duty arrive into the area the event happened. The table 8.9 illustrates the results of responses given by the police officers.

**Table 8.9:** What Would You Do If An Event Happens on the Street That Requires Police Action When You are Off Duty and Wearing Civilian Clothes ?

	No	%
Because I am off duty, I would not pay attention	3	1.8
I would immediately become involved in the incident and would report it to the police station	163	98.2
Other (Please state)	0	0.0
Total	166	100.0

The findings show that a very big majority of police officers who made up the research sample (98.2%) stated that they would use their initiative and interfere to events require police action. They are also conscious that they should report the event to the police station. Therefore, it is possible to say that the Turkish police

officers use their professional initiative when it is needed. However, the observations undertaken showed that some police officers do not always use their initiative when it is needed. The reasons given generally are (1) to not have a possible problem with superiors; and (2) to not meddle in everything. This situation also raises some question marks in mind that police officers, at least some, have a lack of professional values and characteristics.

## 5. Using References

This criterion is also seen as important in professional activities by scholars who study on the area. (See Hall, 1968; Snizek, 1972; Maniha, 1973; Poole, Regoli and Lotz, 1978; Keil and Ekstrom, 1978; Poole and Regoli, 1979; Regoli, Poole and Hou, 1981). It is accepted that in a very complex nature of professional operations, the members of profession need to use references in order to achieve their professional goals. This may be on the area of consultation and collaboration with colleagues and superiors. Therefore, in this section, it is aimed to learn whether the Turkish police officers use consultation and collaboration tools or not in their professional activities.

The police officers who made up the research sample were firstly asked to report whether they consult their colleagues or superiors when they have a job related problem or not. A very big majority of them (96.4%) stated that they consult their colleagues when they need it for their professional activities. It is possible from this result to say that they use references in terms of consultation when they have a job related problem. This



shows that they have a professional characteristic in terms of using reference groups.

Secondly, they were requested to report whether they collaborate with their colleagues when they are on duty or not. It is also surprisingly seen that a very big majority of them (97%) stated that they collaborate with their colleagues when they are on duty. Those who have collaboration with their colleagues were also asked to report their collaboration level. A majority of them (67.1%) said that they collaborate with their colleagues in all aspects of their professional operations. They added that they do this because they believe they are part of a team. Another 31.1 per cent of police officers who have collaboration with their colleagues said that they collaborate with their colleagues when it is needed. Only 1.8 per cent of them explained that they collaborate with their colleagues very rarely because they can handle most problems themselves. The situations they have collaboration with their colleagues were given in an order of importance as follows: In collecting evidence and clues of the incident they work on, in issues where team work is concerned, and in all issues related to their occupational operations.

However, only 3 per cent of all police officers who made up the research sample reported that they do not collaborate with their colleagues when they are on duty. The reason which was given for not having collaboration with colleagues is that they like to work alone when they perform their professional duties. It is clear that in performing a professional duty one can need to have collaboration with someone else from the profession. Therefore, although their percentage is very low, their

attitudes cannot be accepted as a professional one.

As a result, it is possible to say that the Turkish police officers use references when they perform their professional duties. The findings pointed out that behaviours of police officers are influenced by a set of informal rules and norms. That is, newcomers to the police force serve a kind of apprenticeship , and stay in the background while learning their jobs. Police officers avoid personal attacks on each other, and mostly support each other's proposals and thoughts on issue as a reference. This may be accepted as a professional character of police officers. In other words, it is possible to label them as professionals in terms of using references in their professional operations.

## 6. Knowledge

Knowledge, as mentioned at the beginning of the Chapter, is accepted as a criterion of professionalism in the literature (See Cain, 1972; Maniha, 1973; Feuille and Juris, 1976; Walker, 1976; Poole, Regoli and Lotz, 1978; Keil and Ekstrom, 1978; Poole and Regoli, 1979; Abel, 1979). Therefore, it is taken as a subtitle in this chapter. However, the occupational knowledge of the Turkish police officers is investigated as a separate chapter (Chapter VII) in this research. It will not be repeatedly discussed under this subtitle, but it will be used as a criterion in general discussion of professionalism in the Turkish Police.

However, it is possible to make further comments on a body of knowledge in professionalism. As Feuille and Juris



(1976:95) states this knowledge base has an intellectual rather than a manual focus, and it is transmitted to new recruits during lengthy and rigorous academic education and training programs. Recruits in training and education learn professional norms, values, regulations, etc. in the process of being educated and trained. The police history shows that there have been essential developments in police function, administration and management. Police education, training and administration programs have been operated in many schools for years. However, these developments are still at a beginning stage in many Third World countries. Typically, new recruits are required to have a certain level of education, mostly high school, and then are trained in a few weeks time to learn how to operate arms, to deal with armed and unarmed combat, and how to drive, etc. (1976:95). Actually, modern policing requires more than this. It is a reality that most police officers learn policing skills and socialize on the street during their early years of service. However, professional principles, codes, ethics and values should also be taught alongside the manual skills, and a police professional should be able to make judgements, to use his/her discretion in a right way, and should believe his/her professional service. The police cannot solve their both occupational and job related personal problems if they fail to identify these problems. They cannot win the public support if they fail to level with the public. Such an abstract knowledge on the formal principles of profession cannot be taught during the occupational socialization which occurs on the street. Briefly, 'professional knowledge, as distinct from a technical skill, consists of the mastery of an esoteric, abstract and codified body of principles. Mastery is achieved through prolonged study, usually in an isolated setting such as a university-based professional school.

Professional knowledge is applicable to practical problems and practitioners are given a monopoly on the right to deal with those problems' (Walker, 1976:704-705). Therefore, professional traits requires an intellectual body of knowledge which is taught in an academic way. It may not be all over the world but in many countries, schools dedicated to the teaching of acceptable policing practices and behaviour. Having schools or educational programs dedicated to the teaching of acceptable practices of policing makes the police occupation a profession. It is clear that professionals develop distinctive ways of perceiving and responding to their environment.

When the Turkish police case is considered, it is possible to mention an intellectual body of professional knowledge which is taught in four-year college education. The courses are specifically designed to meet the requirements of policing in the country. They are ranged from sociology to law, from practical policing work to human rights course. The curriculum is always under the scrutiny of the GDS and Higher Educational Board. But this education and training program is only for police administrators. Ordinary police officers are educated and trained for main practical policing requirements for one-year program.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to investigate the professionalism in the Turkish police force with the help of criteria or measurements gathered from the literature on professionalism. The analytical discussion of the chapter will be given in the conclusion part of the study in order to be able to draw a general picture on the Turkish Police Force.



## **- CHAPTER IX**

## **- CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The police is one of the main political institution which enacts the will of the state, the governments' will in particular, and sometimes their own organizational interests, for and against groups in society (Carter and Marenin, 1980:259), and they 'constitute one particularly important kind of enforcement agency, that which is typically most visible to citizens, has the largest personnel and is entrusted with the most general range of criminal law enforcement' (Cotterrell, 1992:272).

In one way or another, police contact all of us in society. The contact may be pleasant or unpleasant, direct or indirect, but the police is a permanent (constant) force in our lives. However, a police organization is highly complicated because of the multitude of functions performed by police officers. This inevitably brings difficulties in understanding the police as a whole. In addition, the investigation (research) of police organization, police officers and applications of policing policies in Turkey

has been neglected by social scientists, particularly by sociologists. As a result, there is a paucity of research on these areas in the sociological literature in Turkey. It is known that the police deal with an important sociological process, social order and control, which is a major concern in the study of social sciences, particularly in sociology.

For a whole sociological understanding of the police in society, it is needed to know about the bureaucratic organization of the police, the type of policing, socio-economic background of police officers involved in the legal process of law enforcement, recruitment process, occupational knowledge and professional characteristics of police officers who interpret and administer the law. Therefore, the purpose of this research was to examine the process of recruitment, occupational consciousness and professionalism of the Turkish Police Force as a whole in order to be able to draw a general picture of police and policing in Turkey.

Since there are no definitive related sociological studies on police and because social scientists have had limited intimate experience in this area, the fundamental source of data necessarily depend upon the research itself. The sample consists of male police officers who work in police stations (patrols) in Ankara.

Like many contemporary institutions, the origins of the Turkish police can be traced to the Ottoman history, i.e. the first police institution was established in 1845 in Istanbul. However, the police organization is totally reorganized with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. In 70 years of history of the Turkish Republic,



the most striking development in police organization has been the growth and multiplication of departments and the extension of police power and activities. The practice of policing has become much more organized, rational and efficient since the creation of the first organized police force in 1845. The law enforcement process has gone through a gradual development alongside urbanization. The professional approach has brought to policing great improvements in personnel, education and training, technology and organization. In other words, the Turkish Police Organization, the GDS, like some of its counterparts, U.S.A. and British police, has been involved in a massive attempt to improve efficiency and its image of public. Improvements have been sought in pay, organization, equipment, education and training. Interviews conducted with police administrators and senior bureaucrats also confirmed that they look for some new techniques and developments in which to organize and manage their professional operations.

Today, the police as an organization has a tremendous impact on the daily life of the Turkish people, and organizationally reach into every corner of life in urban residential areas. On the local level, the police are organized in all urban residential areas of provinces (cities) and towns. The police derive their power from APDA, ASO and Criminal Law which created them under the constitutional authority to enforce the law and to provide social peace, order and control in society. That is, the main functions of police organization are clearly set up by the APDA, ASO and Criminal Law of Turkey. The history of the Turkish police shows that structural change and developments in the organization occurred as a result of reactions to crisis situations in policing. However, these

changes mostly occurred in bureaucratic reorganization, not in renewing policing strategies because of the conservative nature of the police organization. This can be accepted as a general character of the Turkish bureaucracy.

The Turkish police organization is characterized by its central and hierarchical structure, i.e. there is only one central police force in the country. The structure of the organization is centralized and the police organization is structured along the lines of complex bureaucratic organizations. A variety of specific organization departments describe how the police divide up tasks. In every case, a formal and complex division of labour characterizes this system. In addition to its bureaucratic characteristics, the Turkish police is structured as a quasi-military organization. The Turkish system of law enforcement is built on a subordinating chain of command. Although all units of a particular department are indirectly related to a central command, the overall chain of command is divided into units or sections so that different precincts or squads immediately responsible to a localized authority. The functional divisions of the departments follow the kinds of activities they handle, such as uniformed patrol, traffic patrol, investigative work, undercover work, terrorism, foreign refugee, foreign affairs, prevention, data processing, archive, fiscal matters, smuggling and narcotics, etc. (See for more information organizational chart of the GDS on page 130).

Every police organization of some size is a complex social and political organization, with different lines of authority, duties and responsibilities. Like others, the Turkish police organization is hierarchically organized with a general director, who is accountable to the Minister



of Interior Affairs, at the top setting the priorities for the police officer at the bottom and all those in between. This highly centralistic model of hierarchy control the organization from top to bottom. It receives its fund from the general budget through the budget of Interior Affairs Ministry. Thus, the police force is centralized into one organization. There are both uniformed and plain clothes personnel who are in charge to police. The GDS provides all needed information for criminal justice procedure (system). It operates communications and computer services on national and international levels with its local offices. There are currently 76 (in 1993) province (city) directorates of security. The GDS provides education and training to new cadets after recruitment in police educational institutions, i.e. Police Schools, Police High Schools and Police Academy (See Chapter IV). It provides and operates forensic laboratories to conduct analysis of evidence through scientific means, and maintains a central records repository for records of criminal data, fingerprints, and background data. The police also provide some auxiliary services in the areas of forensic, communications, records, and training. The police use vehicles which are each painted black and white, which do not correspond to the uniform colour, which is dark green.

The GDS requires a minimum educational attainment which is high or equivalent school for police school (ordinary police officers) and for police academy students, and requires only secondary school degree for police high school students. Police schools provide one full year education and training. The length of education and training in both police high school and police academy is 4 academic years. The schools are boarding, and all expenses of students during their education and training

programs are paid (funded) by the GDS. Each student is also paid a certain amount of pocket money. Therefore, everyone has to either serve in the police force or to pay expenses done for him/her. The graduates of police schools are appointed to ordinary police officers' post, of police academy to the administrators' posts which start with vice commissar rank, and of police high schools to either ordinary police officers' post or they are accepted as students of police academy. It seems that there is an effort in education and training which gives a central identity to the entire population of police officers as an integrated occupational group.

Police stations are very bureaucratic, and each one serves different client population who resides in particular district or area. The personnel of a police station consists of four distinct rank of officers: ordinary police officer, vice commissar, commissar and head commissar. The last three are administrators. Nightwatchman (bekci) also serves in a police station, but he is not accepted as a police officer in terms of rank structure. These personnel, in turn, bring policing into practice according to policing policies of the country. Although there are few ranks in a police station, none has the prestige of a head commissar who is usually the head of station and is responsible for the administration of his/her own station, and for policing in the area.

The officers in the Turkish Police Force are mostly young, ranging from 25 to 40. They are physically above average, strong and athletic. The great majority have high school diploma or equivalent. All ordinary police officers are also educated and trained in police schools for one full year. Police administrators, head commissar, commissar



and vice commissar, have to graduate from police academy. Most of the police officers come from lower and middle class background. It is same with the class background of U.S.A. police (Jacob, 1986:156-157). For many, becoming a police officer is an opportunity for upward social mobility (See for U.S.A. police Vago, 1991:92). The most obvious fact about the occupations of fathers and mothers is that farmers and housewives are dominant. Most police officers are conscious that they have chosen to enter a quasi-military occupation that requires the use of force and lethal weapons. The most popular motivation for choosing the police occupation include public service, not finding another proper and permanent job, fight and arrest criminals, to make society better, the appeal of uniform, adventure, the authority it connotes, and to help somebody in one way or another. Interviews conducted with the police officers showed that they get little comfort and pleasure from being police officers in the organization. That is, they do not gain satisfaction from their job. To campaign publicly for political parties and their candidates is forbidden.

As a group, the Turkish police officers have a higher educational attainment than the general population (See educational statistics of the SIS). This high educational level can be accounted for by the recruitment requirements of police officers. The police officers from central Anatolia, Aegean and Marmara regions (the provinces where the rightist and extreme rightist votes are higher) are substantially overrepresented among police officers. Women are conspicuously underrepresented in comparison with other professions such as judge, teacher, medical doctor and academics.

The power of police is authorized and encouraged for the maintenance of law enforcement and social order, and preservation of the state authority. But whatever the functions assigned to police, whatever uses are made of them by the government, the police officers view their work in personal terms. The manner in which they work and the tactics and techniques they employ are greatly affected by the policies of the GDS.

It is obvious that police work is complex and various, and the police function in stopping, searching, questioning, arresting, preventing, detecting, investigating crime and criminals is clearly a major part of the criminal justice system. However, the status of police in the public eye is undoubtedly ambivalent, mostly negative. A high level of criticism and complaint are directed to police. In other words, the combination of functions sometimes conflicts with the interests of different groups or strata of society. Therefore, some interests groups and national civil rights groups seek to influence the policing policies in country. In Turkey, the police organization has sometimes been criticised by interest and pressure groups, who are generally leftist, in society as being violator of the law that threaten the civil liberties and rights of citizens and proper functioning of the policing system. However, the police see themselves as serving in a politically neutral way, serving all citizens neutrally. (See for British police, Reiner, 1991:210). Conservatives and rightist groups do not have such problems with the police. It is, however, not possible to say that the goal of police accountability to public has been achieved in Turkey.

The Turkish police also carry powerful weapons that



they may use to defend themselves, to defend citizens who are threatened physically, or to prevent the flight of persons known to be felons and impossible to halt in other manner. They are legally authorized to carry gun and to exercise judgement about their use. Although Rubenstein (1975) accepts guns as a reminder that each time a police officer knocks on a door, approaches a person, or answers a call, there is a potential trouble, and s/he must be alert for signs of danger and threat, the Turkish police see guns as an indispensable tool for a proper policing in Turkey.

It seems that the police officers are willing (keen) to struggle for gaining greater legitimacy in order to convince policy makers and public that they deserve more respectful recognition and rights, particularly material. They claim a higher professional status on the importance of the services they provide. To justify this, a police administrator stated that 'the police stations are the only institutions that are not locked and are always in operation 24 hours a day and 365 days in a year' (Intv. with Kml.). Police officers believe they do a work of great importance. They do not want to be known for doing work of other institutions. On the contrary, they assume a purely enforcer stance which is a necessity of division of labour in modern societies.

Although it is possible to see women officers in all aspects of law enforcement, the percentage of them in police organization is much smaller than that of the male officers. Besides that the findings show that police officers are generally not hospitable to women officers, the effort to recruit women to police force has been pushed forward by the constitutional principles for equal

opportunities for women as well as by the desire and need of policewomen for contemporary policing operations. Therefore, there has recently been some effort to recruit more women officers. However, they are still not recruited to the police high school and police academy. They are mostly not appointed to higher positions of power within the organization. This means that there is a considerable discrimination in recruitment process and promotion on behalf of men.

The observations undertaken in the police stations where the research took place proved that police officers, particularly administrators, play four different roles in a police stations. First, they exercise their policing role. They get statements, type them, make search, investigation and arrest, complete the official procedures, and send the case to the court, if it is needed. Second, they act as an intermediary between the two sides of clients (accuse and accused), working through negotiation and compromise to find best possible way to mediate the both sides. A determination not to arrest is most common at the level of petty offender, especially if the offender gives a good impression that s/he is a law-abiding citizen. A greater attention is ordinarily given to more serious crimes. That is, the police try to first settle disputes or mediate among conflicting claims. These mediations are handled informally in the police station or at the place the disputes happens. The third role is to act as a counsellor. They play a role of a big brother and explain the situation that will happen and give advice for the future to person or people come or brought into police station, if the problem is not a serious crime. The fourth role is to behave like a judge or a prosecutor, when they have received a person's statement. They evaluate and judge



the event, shout to person or people (sometimes), push the person away hardly, show a strong negative reaction and make speculations on the result.

Findings of the study provide support for Wilson's (1968) 'legalistic style of policing'. In other words, although it is possible to find some policing forms of other policing styles, watchman and service styles, the Turkish police mostly exercises the legalistic style of policing when the Wilson's terms are used. That is, police officers issue a high rate of traffic tickets, arrest a high rate of people who supposed to be offenders. A single standard of conduct is formally expected to be exercised in the every corner of the country rather than different standards for different groups. However, some groups, especially leftist people or union members, and some people from certain provinces such as Tunceli are more likely to be affected by law enforcement than others considered as 'not potential law violator' by the police. For example, the present President of Turkey, Mr. Suleyman Demirel, made a statement in a press conference in 1979 when he was the acting prime minister as 'you cannot make me to tell that the rightist groups commit crimes'. Although the legalistic style of policing or law enforcement is characterized by technical efficiency and high arrest rates, it also results in inequality in law enforcement with complaints of police harassment and brutality by groups or people who are most often subjected to police scrutiny.

Although it is very important to find out why the applicants prefer a career in the police organization (see for discussion Chapter V), the selection method which the organization used for the job candidates also occupies another important discussion point.

An analysis of the recruitment process provides several problems confronting the police and those who study the police. The first one is the lack of a job description for police, and the second is interference and control of government on the power. The police subcultural influence is also effective on the recruitment process. The criteria for recruiting applicants provide minimal information about the job being offered. As Gray (1975:46) states, the selection of employees for most occupations is ideally based on the minimum technical skills necessary to do work. Further, the applicants may be selected on personality traits that will allow them to fit into the existing social structure of the organization. Besides that if the recruitment 'is aimed at filling various positions within the police organization, definitive job description for these positions would be possible' (Gray, 1975:47). It is also evident that the criteria of recruitment are mostly subjective. Despite the fact that the police selection process of the organization has been sometimes criticised by politicians and some other intellectuals, the criteria and selection procedures have not been significantly altered. However, the Turkish Police Organization does not recognize that a set of rigid standards for police personnel selection eliminates many qualified applicants.

Police officers are required to have a special education and training before and after recruitment. To join the force, a police officer should have at least high school education before recruitment process. Education and training of ordinary police officers take place in 'police schools'. Administrators are educated and trained in police academy.

The applicants are subjected to rigorous intelligence,



psychological, medical, physical and background investigation tests prior to being accepted in the force. However, it seems that most of the police officers were recruited on the basis of their political preferences or connections, not only because they had passed written, physical, oral, medical tests and possessed certain objectively chosen traits. Recruitment decisions were and are made to benefit the political idea in power and to damage the opposition. It is a reality that no single social democrat or leftist political party has been in power alone since 1946. This means that the recruitment process are set up and exercised on behalf of the rightist (both central and extremist) applicants. In other words, from the selection process, it is seen that candidates from central Anatolia where the number of vote for rightist political parties (both central and extremist) are very high are mostly recruited.

Background investigation is essential for recruiting an applicant. The examining committee is particularly concerned with the past of its future employees. Background investigation for recruitment eliminates radicals (specifically left) and applicants with criminal records or whose first degree relatives have criminal records specified in recruitment requirements.

Not all individuals who apply to become police officers are selected equally for police work. There is a clear cut discrimination in recruitment of women to police force, particularly to police high school and police academy. The conception of masculinity becomes the cutting edge of selection when an applicant reaches the point of an oral interview. This can be best illustrated by interviews done with senior police bureaucrats and by the number of

women in the force. In other words, women are mostly not seen as potential members of either the formal police organization or the police subculture. The interviews done with senior police bureaucrats reinforce masculine identification as a part of the basis upon which the police subculture is built. Women have difficulties to overcome prejudice of examiners that women are physically not capable to fit with police work. Consequently, the division of labour within the police is usually ignored when selecting candidates.

Although selection standards do not completely cover the whole range of skills and abilities which all departments will require, the economic crisis in the country also affect the remuneration (salary -income) and recruiting needed numbers of officers and recruiting standards.

Furthermore, it is possible to make some remarks on the basic occupational knowledge and consciousness of the Turkish police officers.

It is clear that the police affect nationally the rights of citizens by exercising power of investigation, searching, stopping, questioning and arresting, because laws grant them the authority to use different methods to carry out their work. In addition, the job police officers do is not a simple one, and being conscious that the police work is one of the most important professions which directly affects people's daily lives occupies a significant place to be discussed. Besides this, police officers are educated and trained, and therefore expected to know the power (authority) they legally granted, and the duties they are charged with. This requires police officers



to have an occupational knowledge in order to perform an effective and public-supported smooth policing. If the police have a lack of occupational knowledge, the violation of law and human rights by law enforcers is inevitable.

The data gathered from observations, interviews and questionnaire confirmed that most of the police officers do not know the legal power and authority they are granted by the Law. Instead, they mostly use their common sense and personal values, rights and wrongs. They see their uniform as a source of authority to be exercised.

Although attending occupational meetings, seminars and panel discussions, reading journals help officers to refresh and improve their occupational knowledge, and develop an occupational and professional consciousness, the Turkish Police Organization has no such a tradition. Officers mostly learn the occupational knowledge they need on the street, i.e. the occupational socialization mostly takes place on the street. This naturally leads to a lack of legal occupational knowledge among the police officers.

Observations undertaken in police stations confirmed that police culture is mostly nurtured among the ordinary police officers. This culture provides the basis of solidarity and files police officers. They treat the criminal cases as central elements of their work. The world outside of them reflects their collective experience. That is, socialization into the police subculture seems to foster hostile attitudes towards certain groups in society. In other words, people are generally categorised in terms of their attitude to the police or to the social peace and order, which is formed by police officers' personal values, and their involvement into criminal activities. The Turkish

police have manifested a high degree of occupational solidarity. This solidarity drives the police as a group closer together.

The administrator rank officers, head commissar, commissar and vice commissar, are much more active and effective, and they play a greater role in building and deciding a case whether it should be sent to the court or not, they put evidence together, and they sometimes go far beyond the pure 'policing role' of a police administrator. They rely on their private judgements about the case by believing that they are doing what the law requires. It is sometimes possible to see that the litigants' decisions are influenced by the explanations and recommendations of police officers, particularly administrators. Briefly, police administrators play the key role in administering policing in police stations, ordinary police officers on the street.

Moreover, it is observed that in many cases the police officers have gone further and caused a situation which leads to a violation of law. People from lower and lower middle strata are the most likely to be subjected to a police demand for submission. Police officers mostly think that people who present a challenge to them are trouble makers. They are potential offenders, and so to arrest them is at least the ethical , if not legal, equivalent of arresting a criminal. Police officers also said that they must maintain their authority against those who challenge it in order to enforce laws effectively. Otherwise, their authority over others will be lost if they back down even with one person. The consensus among authorities who have studied police behaviours and arrest show that the police do sometimes provoke violence in order to make an arrest



(Chevigny, 1975:78). The observations undertaken illustrated that the Turkish police officers do not use such a way. If s/he thinks the person should be arrested, s/he arrests him/her and takes to the police station. This is an evidence for the use of autonomy and discretion. There is no important opposition or reaction from the arrested person to police officer, because s/he thinks if s/he challenges the officer, the result will be worse for her/him. People mostly obey and submit to police officers. Only people who know someone from top governmental posts sometimes challenge police officers as 'if you go further this may cause some problem to you. I am ...'. Such a situation is one of the most complained by police officers. Police officers, therefore, demand for an autonomy from external control and interference such as politicians and some high rank bureaucrats in governmental institutions, because the struggle for control is far from being decided in one direction or the another. The police, therefore, demand independence from outside influences in carrying out their mandate.

Besides that observations undertaken in police stations confirmed that some police officers do generally use force as a means of protecting their own perceived conceptions of authority. They use the power and authority they granted by APDA, ASO and Criminal Law as a way of covering up their own illegal activities, if it is necessary. Misuse of authority and violation of law also confirm that police officers do not know their legal authority and duty which are granted by Law. The question should be asked is that what can be done to make such police conduct unnecessary ? To review and deal with education and training programs of police educational institutions, police socialization in the street, controls

from within the police department and public are all seen as important issues to be focused on. Such an attempt, of course, needs a separate study in detail.

Furthermore, it is observed that at sometimes and in some districts, the police enforced legislation more strictly than the letter of the law allows. This was mostly dependent upon the understanding of policing and the personality of administrator who was in charge. In other words, the observations carried out in police stations confirmed that police treatment of a suspect person is sometimes influenced by the officer's , mostly administrator's, personal characteristics. Some citizens tried to obey the law because not only they believed they should, because they feared the police too. The law-abiding or self-controlled citizens also gained psychological rewards from the police officers for their good conduct, producing an image of good citizen.

Police officers sometimes draw the quarrelling people's attention to their mistake and spend effort for a mediation in police stations. The action police officers took in an event brought to the police station was often influenced by the demeanour of the people on both sides. If they adopt an abusive attitude, the case is more likely to be put in judicial procedure. Some citizens also received preferential treatment because of their special relation to the police, politicians, and police colleagues, etc. However, if the crime committed is a serious one, they can never be certain of preferential treatment. This view of relationships between police officers and people was particularly relevant to traffic offenses and small-size disputes, quarrels and tussles. While an effort can be made to prosecute in the name of the state (public), the case



cannot usually be prosecuted successfully without a complaint. The mediation efforts of police officers were seen reasonable to conduct such a way of policing in order to reduce the bureaucratic procedures of prosecution (criminal justice system).

Interviews conducted with police officers - both administrator and ordinary - also confirmed that they are conscious and aware of the necessity for their service in society. They know the demands of their services are constantly increasing. They, however, stated that they are not given a proportionate increase in the resources, particularly economic, with which to meet these demands. Even a police administrator (Commissar) made the following statement:

Our salary is very low. This creates many problems in our personal life. We cannot afford even our basic needs properly. How can you exercise a good policing when you have many problems in your mind? This also easily leads some of our friends to corruption. Everything is chained to each other. Less money means inefficient policing. To be honest, I cannot ask my officers to put themselves into danger, when they are on duty, for this salary. I tell them that first take care yourselves, then citizens. I know, I should say the opposite, but I think, I morally do not have right to ask this (K.A.).

It is obvious that police officers are in a defensive situation, and accept ineffective policing and justify their behaviour for not performing an expected policing. The police cannot make progress so long as they remain on the defensive (Goldstein, 1975:103).

Additionally, the Turkish police have some conceptions of the problems associated with their role such as less

cooperation from the public, organizational constraints, political interferences and influences on the police organization and dangerousness of the work. They feel isolated and distrusted by the public and specific groups within, which they know how to identify. Their ideology of organization stresses discipline, order and obedience to the commands of superiors. They are aware of the corruption in the organization, but they do not report it to outsiders, and strongly define and justify it as 'of course few stones can always be found in a sack of rice. Nobody can say all police officers are corrupted. You know the amount of our salary. With this money, it is not easy to manage the life. So, some dishonoured officers are being corrupted. But the people think, all police officers are corrupted, and they can buy an officer even with a small amount of money. This is not correct and fair. You can find corrupted people in all kinds of occupation'.

It is clear that the police work requires highly qualified employees who believe in their service, dedicate themselves to their job, and have an occupational and professional body of knowledge and consciousness. Briefly, the police job is worthy of a professional status. Acknowledging the professional status and role the police play in society will give impetus to the drive toward a higher degree of respect and recognition for the police. It is then likely that a new atmosphere will be created which will foster some new thinking and some new developments to aid in the improvement of the total system for administration of police and criminal justice. Actually, this is a big task. It is not a function for the police alone. The policing (enforcement of law) is a vital element in a democratic form of government. There is a need for a much greater body of knowledge and understanding of present



policing structure and operations. Such knowledge and understanding (consciousness) is essential if we are to develop intelligent solutions to present and future problems of policing in Turkey.

When the findings of professionalism are briefly reviewed, it is possible to say that the level of professionalism is generally high among the police officers. However, some components of professionalism such as having professional associations are not available in the Turkish Police Organization. In other words, it is clear that another sign of professionalism is to present professional values, ethics to members of the profession, and to represent them in a professional mode like Turkish Law Association or Turkish Medical Association. No one provides such a service for police officers in Turkey. That is, there are no cultural, social and political associations, which police officers joined for various reasons, and police union in Turkey. There is only an association of retired police officers.

On the other hand, interviews conducted with senior bureaucrats and police stations' administrators showed that they believe the professionalization of police service is essential. This view is also shared with the American police (Feuille and Juris, 1976:91). The professional police perception of them emphasizes impartiality (an apolitical law enforcement), loyalty to law and state, efficiency, non-corrupted service, loyalty to occupational ethics, codes and values, and a high standard (professional) education and training. Additionally, research indicated that in making judgements about their profession, police officers tend to presuppose that the values they adopt express a natural consensus of society

shared by all decent citizens.

Besides that an increasing number of police officers, particularly police administrators, are recently developing, along with the general rise in education and training, deeper and wider views of their function. Such a move will encourage the cooperation of the public at the same time as it improves the interest and morale of the force. Involving with the public gives police officers a chance to improve their image and to achieve a new status for themselves in the future.

Moreover, it seems that the Turkish Police Organization develops a body of professional knowledge, norms and a set of standards, governing policing application, at the police academy, but only a relatively small group of police population, police administrators, is professionalised. This may fit Cain's elitist model of professionalization (1972:222). However, the senior bureaucrats of the GDS makes an attempt to professionalize the whole hierarchy, which fits the 'universalist model'. The training and education period for ordinary police officers is therefore extended first from 6 months to 9 months, and then to 12 months. The observations done in police stations, however, showed that police administrators mostly define norms, values, standards and appropriate knowledge, which are not yet fully institutionalized, for their juniors. On the other hand, the police academy attempts to develop and systematize a body of knowledge and a set of standards about the theory and practices of policing in the country.

Finally, an attempt will be made to point out some major issues to be dealt with by both GDS and policing



policies makers.

First of all, it is necessary to point out that the Turkish police actually engage in an enormous variety of activities. That is, it has to practice (apply) the articles and verdicts of 271 laws, 51 rules-regulations (tuzuk), 168 bylaws (directions-yonetmelik), 87 Ministers Cabinet Orders and 62 codes (directions, instructions - yonerge) (TPTGV, 1983:19). It would be preferable to take all those matters that belong properly to other profession or specialists out of the hands of the police and turn them over to those to whom they belong. Not only would this relieve some of the pressures that presently impinge on the police, but it would also result in effective policing and better services.

Besides that all laws in society that police are in charge to enforce should regularly be examined to see if they are still necessary and valid, and new laws in particular should be scrutinized to consider their effect on both the police and public. The police should be governed by effective internal codes of ethics. Police officers must be familiar with laws which give authority and duty of the profession, be able to provide early basic medical assistance, be knowledgable in scientific investigative techniques, be prepared to use force and fire arms to overcome resistance and protect life, be knowledgable on police and court relationships, and know and practice a good, polite way of conduct to benefit all strata (people) of society. The police authorities should emphasize prevention of crime, accountability to public, and restrain in the use of force. They should also demonstrate that the police serve all the people and are not a tool of whichever political party in power, and

enforce law objectively and professionally, although it is sociologically necessary to accept that all laws are incapable of total enforcement, and while the police are a tool of the political party on power, they cannot be totally politically neutral. The police should gain a kind of independence from the political interference.

Moreover, the primary objective of a police organization is to protect life and property of citizens and to maintain the public order by enforcing the laws of the country. Therefore, the police authority (the GDS) must ensure that all policing activities (operations) contribute to achievement of the organization. Such an achievement inevitably requires the administrators to instill the organization with the sense of purpose that is shared by all or most employed police officers. The new developments should include the following: (1) additional training to achieve higher technical and ethical standards; (2) to produce 'academic administrators' who concern with theoretical and professional values; (3) increasing accountability of the police to public; (4) to decrease the gap (distance) between senior and subordinate officers and between the police and public, especially the criminal public. The police should also be charged to maintain respect for both the police profession and police officers. This is also a necessity of professional ethics.

In addition, there is almost no community control on the Turkish police, but the government has a strong control on the police force. It is obvious that 'when community control is reduced, police officers may operate according to peer group norms, which will cause anxiety about loss of control among senior officers and perhaps give rise to public question by groups which consider themselves to be



unfairly treated' (Cain, 1972:227). In order to have public support, the policing operations and policies should be capable of being called into question, as well as particular instances of law enforcement which could be dealt with adequately by a more open complaints procedures (1972:227). Police officers should also be made aware of what community norms are. They should construct from other sources such as academic studies, public relations institutions, etc. a model of what the community thinks, which will influence their behaviour and perhaps legitimate what they do.

Another point that should be taken into account is that in police work there is a wide range of street-level decision making that is simply not covered by the process of review of administrators (superiors). On this level, a police officer is her/his own boss even though any officially recorded decision s/he makes may be reviewed later by superiors. If a police officer is seen as incapable by his/her seniors, s/he should be sent for in-service training program.

An appeal must be made to the public to accept the best judgement and efforts of the police in their approach to the total problem of criminal law enforcement. Police should be relieved from non-police functions which deplete the effort devoted to criminal law enforcement. The police should be provided with more realistic legal guidance in how to fulfil their broad responsibilities, and they should be obliged to help build respect among all citizens law, order and police.

With the authority on the use of coercive force, the police must necessarily remain subject to public scrutiny

and control. Actually, the problems of police - public relations, police brutality, disrespect for constitutional rights and police corruption - are all problems of accountability. The police must be made more accountable to the public they serve. Therefore, the setting up an independent 'Police Complaints Board' will increase police accountability to public, and will change negative police image in the society in general. Besides that police associations and police unions should be allowed, because they may play an important role in future occupational developments in the area of policing.

There is also a need for a more rigorous process of recruitment and a more applicable programme of education and training. Because, the process of identifying and applying policies policing operations (activities) requires special education and training, which is generally provided by the police organization itself. The education and training of police officers should reflect the fact that much of the police work is concerned with all those people who for various reasons are not integrated into society. Therefore, there must be a concern for ethical and moral requirements in accepting an individual into the police force. The educational base by which concepts, knowledge, techniques, and equipments used in policing operations are learned must be strengthened to insure that individuals entering the service demonstrate a capacity to perform the awesome tasks of policing practices. Instead of regional and gender discrimination, and political preference, the all strata in society should be given an equal chance in recruitment process in order to gain full support and trust of those strata.

The professionalism in the Turkish police needs to be



developed, at least, around the following areas: positive attitudes toward the rule of law; more accountability to public; transformation of informal structures to formal structures; an efficiency in administration of the organization rather than partisan political concerns in the daily policing activities; an emphasis upon the development of individual officer's skills and abilities rather than internal and external political allegiances in the recruitment, deployment and promotion of officers; and the elimination of personal dishonesty. Because, professionalism is not merely obtaining new police cars, more sophisticated technical equipment or recruiting more highly educated cadets. As Regoli, Poole and Hou (1981:67-68) state that police professionalism will ensure a more sophisticated understanding of and a more eclectic approach toward police work. Further, professionalism will foster greater sensitivity, enhance communications, and instill greater dedication to duty. As a result, professionalism will prepare the police to better handle competing, contradictory, or ambiguous demands inherent in the performance of the police role.

Besides that the professionalism of police must pattern itself upon a legal model and take seriously the idea that police officers are mainly law enforcement officers, and they should also be charged with strengthening the rule of law in society. In addition, they must be directed to observe constitutional guarantees instead of regarding police solely as an enforcement organization. Professional values of legal authority, consistency, and fairness must become part of the police officers' approach to the outside world, and police organization must develop a tradition of inquiry into their own underlying assumptions and organizational mechanics. A

distance between police and public leads to defensiveness, rather than critical self-inquiry, to rigidity rather than experimentation and honest consideration of alternatives (Skolnick and Gray, 1975:xxviii). A full-fledged professionalism is an aspiration that may become a reality in the Turkish police. Such an achievement can only be realized through major changes in attitude, toward openness and away from defensiveness, toward a commitment to competence, and toward critical inquiry to achieve that competence.

However, it is a fact that the problem cannot be solved by blaming either police or people alone. As the 'human relations approach' to police administration emphasizes, 'police productivity is strictly a function of people productivity and that police management is almost totally people management' (Cordner, 1989:5). Therefore, in addition to making police professional, people should also be educated and informed, and their perception of democracy and policing must be improved. Because, to obey the legal rules and regulations is a necessity of democratic life. In order to make people respectful to the Law, the democratic consciousness of people must also be developed. Ultimately, the issue of policing is the other side of the coin of police control. It must continually be asked how far and how well we can control the police through the instruments of organization, and legal sanction, education and socialization, and community pressure.

It is finally possible to say that the findings and their interpretations of this research may be regarded as expressive (suggestive) rather than definitive. Nevertheless, future studies may benefit greatly by focusing on specific issues of police and policing in



attempts to identify the nature and consequences of police role and policing in Turkey, and extending the analysis here beyond the conclusion that this research reached.

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## **APPENDIX I**

## QUESTIONNAIRE SHEET

Dear Officer,

This research is for a Ph.D. study, and your answers to this questionnaire would be very much appreciated.

The questionnaire is designed to obtain your confidential opinions on various issues. It is divided into sections concerning general information, the occupation of policing and professionalism. It is completely confidential and is designed so that no respondent's identity will be revealed. The information will only be used for scientific research, and will not be given to any person or organization for any purpose.

You are requested to answer the following questions as accurately and carefully as possible.

Thank you very much in advance for your help and cooperation.

Respectfully yours,

Ali CAGLAR



**PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION**

- 1- How old are you? Please write it.....
- 2- Would you please tick your place of birth (Please state city)?  
☐ -Village    ☐ -Town    ☐ -City(Please state).....  
☐ -Abroad (Please state).....
- 3- Where did you live until you were 12 years old (or until you finished primary school) ?  
☐ -Village    ☐ -Town    ☐ -City(Please state).....  
☐ -Abroad (Please state).....
- 4- Your marital status:    ☐ -Single    ☐ -Engaged    ☐ -Married  
☐ -Divorced                      ☐ -Married but live separately  
☐ -Widow                      ☐ -Other(Please state).....
- 5- (If you are not single) Please tick whether your wife is (or was) literate or illiterate.    ☐ -Literate    ☐ -Illiterate
- 5a-If your wife is (or was) literate, please tick the highest level of education she achieved.  
☐ -She learned it by herself  
☐ -Literacy Courses provided by State  
☐ -Primary School  
☐ -Junior High (Secondary) School  
☐ -High School or Equivalent  
☐ -University  
☐ -Post-graduate
- 6- Please tick whether your father is (or was) literate or illiterate.    ☐ -Literate    ☐ Illiterate
- 6a-If your father is (or was) literate, please tick the highest level of education he achieved.  
☐ -He learned it by himself  
☐ -Literacy Courses provided by State  
☐ -Primary School  
☐ -Junior High (Secondary) School  
☐ -High School or Equivalent  
☐ -University  
☐ -Post-graduate
- 7- Please tick whether your mother is (or was) literate or illiterate.    ☐ -Literate    ☐ -Illiterate
- 7a-If your mother is (or was) literate, please tick the highest level of education she achieved.  
☐ -She learned by herself  
☐ -Literacy Courses provided by State  
☐ -Primary School  
☐ -Junior High (Secondary) School  
☐ -High School or Equivalent  
☐ -University  
☐ -Post-graduate

- 8- (If you are not single) What is your wife's job? (Please state the job that your wife is actually working at now such as doctor, policewoman, teacher, housewife, etc. and the organisation in which she is working). If she is retired or not alive, please state the job which she had the longest.  
-Organisation..... -Her own job.....
- 9- What is your father's job? (Please state the job that your father is actually working at now such as doctor, lawyer, policeman, teacher, etc. and the organisation in which he is working.) If he is retired or not alive, please state the job which he had the longest.  
-Organisation..... -His own job.....
- 10-What is your mother's job? (Please state the job that your mother is actually working at now such as doctor, teacher, housewife, etc. and the organisation in which she is working.) If she is retired or not alive, please state the job which she had the longest.-Organisation.....-Her own job.....
- 11-How many brothers and sisters do you have ?  
( )- 0      ( )- 1      ( )- 2      ( )- 3      ( )- 4      ( )- 5 +
- 12-The number of your family members:  
( )- 1      ( )- 2      ( )- 3      ( )- 4      ( )-5 +
- 13-(If you are not single or engaged) How many children do you have ? ( )- 0      ( )- 1      ( )- 2      ( )- 3      ( )- 4      ( )- 5 +
- 14-Does your father or mother or father in law or mother in law or any other extended family member live with you ?  
( )- Yes                                      ( )- No
- 14a-(If Yes) Please indicate who: ( )- Father ( )- Mother  
( )-Father and Mother ( )-Mother in Law ( )-Father in Law  
( )-Father and Mother in Law ( )-Other.....
- 15-What was the last school you graduated from ? (That is the school you graduated from before enrolling in the Police Force). ( )-Primary school ( )-Junior high school  
( )-High (Lycee) school or Vocational school  
( )-Police high(college) school ( )-Police School  
( )-Police Academy ( )-University ( )-Other(state).....
- 16-What is your current rank in the Police Force ?  
( )- Plain officer ( )- Vice Commissar ( )- Commissar  
( )- Head Commissar ( )- Other(Please state).....
- 17-When did you start to work in the Police Force? Please indicate the month and the year ...../...../.....
- 18-If you have been promoted since joining please write in your period of service at each rank you have held in the space provided:  
Rank :...../...../.....  
Period of service:...../...../.....



- 19-Where do you feel you learnt most of your occupational knowledge and skills ?  
☐ -In Police Education Institutions  
☐ -In the Field  
☐ -Fellow policemen or kin who are/were policemen  
☐ -Other (Please state).....
- 20-How much do you earn per month? Please write.....
- 20a-Do you have any other paid work apart from being a police officer ? ☐ -Yes ☐ -No -If yes, how much?.....
- 21-Do other members of your family contribute to the family budget ? ☐ -Yes ☐ -No
- 22-Have you your own car? ☐ -Yes ☐ -No
- 23-Who does the house that you live in belong to ?  
☐ -My own house ☐ -Rented house ☐ -My wife's house  
☐ -The house provided by the State ☐ -My parent's house  
☐ -My wife parent's house ☐ -Other(state).....
- 24-Do(did) you have any relatives in the Police Force?  
☐ -Yes ☐ -No
- 24a-(If yes) Please indicate the degree of your kinship:  
☐ -Father ☐ -Elder brother ☐ -Brother  
☐ -Uncle(F's brother) ☐ -Uncle(M's brother)  
☐ -Uncle's son(F) ☐ -Uncle's son(M) ☐ -Aunt's son(F)  
☐ -Other(Please state).....
- 25-Did you have any regular job before enrolling in the Police Force ? ☐ -Yes ☐ -No
- 25a-(If yes) What was your last job before enrolling in Police Force ?.....
- 25b-(If Yes) How does your present job compare with your former job ?  
☐ -My present job is much better  
☐ -My present job is slightly better  
☐ -My present job is about the same  
☐ -My present job is not as good  
☐ -Other(Please state).....
- 26-What was your most important reason in choosing to become a policeman ? Please number the three most important choices as 1, 2, 3 in the brackets provided.  
☐ -To acquire prestige and to have a position of respect  
☐ -To live an adventurous life  
☐ -To have a better income and opportunity  
☐ -There was no other work available  
☐ -It was the occupation of my father  
☐ -Because I always wanted to be a police officer  
☐ -Other (Please state).....  
☐ -No idea

27-Are you happy that you have chosen to work in the Police Force ?        ☐ - Yes                      ☐ - No

27a-(If Yes) Which rank would you like to attain in the Police Force ?    ☐ -I am happy in the position(rank) which I have  
☐ -Vice Commissar    ☐ -Commissar    ☐ -Head Commissar  
☐ -Town Security Director    ☐ -Province Security Director  
☐ -Governor        ☐ -Other(Please state).....

27b-(If No)Indicate the reasons why you are not happy with your occupation in an order of importance as 1, 2, 3.  
☐ -It has a low prestigious in the public eye  
☐ -It is an occupation that physically and psychologically wears one out  
☐ -There are no regular and organized working hours  
☐ -It's an occupation with no life security and with dangers  
☐ -Undeserving people are promoted to certain positions  
☐ -It is an occupation that the working conditions are very heavy  
☐ -It is an occupation with low income(salary)  
☐ -It is an unsatisfactory occupation in terms of emotional and material gains  
☐ -Other(Please state).....

27c-(If No) Which occupation would you like to work in ? Please write it.....

28-If you had a choice, would you like to work in another branch or department of the Police Force?  
☐ -Yes                      ☐ -No                      ☐ -No preference

28a-(If Yes)In which branch or department would you like to work?  
☐ -In the Police Educational Institutions  
☐ -2 nd Section  
☐ -1 st Section  
☐ -Homicide Department  
☐ -For the security of President, Assembly or Prime Minister  
☐ -Section of Intelligence  
☐ -Narcotics Section  
☐ -Section of Ethics  
☐ -Section of Finance Offenses  
☐ -Other(Please state).....

28b-(If Yes) Why ? Please state the reason.  
☐ -It is easier than the duty I have  
☐ -It is an adventurous one than the duty I have  
☐ -It is more prestigious than the duty I have  
☐ -Its salary is better than my present salary  
☐ -Other (Please state).....

29-Do you always carry your revolver with you ?  
☐ -Yes                      ☐ -No



29a-(If Yes) Why ? Please state the appropriate reason.

- ☐ -I have to, by Police Act
- ☐ -It makes me feel more confident
- ☐ -A revolver is the honour of a policeman, so it must always be with him
- ☐ -I like guns very much so I always carry it
- ☐ -Other(Please state).....

30-When you are off duty, do you prefer to wear;

- ☐ -Uniform
- ☐ -Civilian clothes

31-Are you being used for non-occupational duties by your superiors (chiefs) in work hours ? ☐ -Yes ☐ -No

31a-(If Yes) What kind of duty(ies) ? Please state it/them.

- ☐ -In servicing tea or coffee
- ☐ -In attending private official tasks
- ☐ -In servicing for wife and children
- ☐ -Other(Please state).....

32-Have you friendships with other Police People (superiors, colleagues, and inferiors) outside working hours ?

- ☐ -Yes
- ☐ -No

32a-(If Yes) Please tick with whom at most;

- ☐ -I have friendships only with my superiors
- ☐ -I have friendships only with my colleagues
- ☐ -I have friendships only with my inferiors
- ☐ -I have friendships with all of them(different ranks)
- ☐ -Other (Please state).....

33-Where would you like to work?

- ☐ -At an office desk
- ☐ -Foot patrol
- ☐ -Motor patrol
- ☐ -No preference
- ☐ -Other(state).....

34-All things considered, to what extent are you satisfied with your job ?

- ☐ -I am highly satisfied with my job
- ☐ -I obtain a medium degree of satisfaction from my job
- ☐ -I obtain a limited degree of satisfaction from my job
- ☐ -I obtain no satisfaction from my job
- ☐ -Other (Please state).....

34a-If you have any complaint about your job, Please tick the most important causes of your dissatisfaction as 1, 2, 3.

- ☐ -It is an occupation that physically and psychologically wears one out
- ☐ -Those that deserve aren't promoted to the proper positions
- ☐ -The working conditions are heavy
- ☐ -Working hours are irregular and inadequately organized
- ☐ -The material gains are inadequate
- ☐ -There are a lack of love, justice, respect and equality (there are discrimination and insult)
- ☐ -There is a pressure by the superiors
- ☐ -There is no concern for individual problems
- ☐ -Other(Please state).....

35-Do you ever attend panel discussions or seminars on Police Work ?        ☐ -Yes                      ☐ -No

35a-(If No) Please mark the most important reason of not attending the panel discussions and seminars.

- ☐ -I have no time to attend this types of meetings  
☐ -Such scientific and occupational panels are not held  
☐ -We are not informed about them  
☐ -The contents of these types of meetings are void and meaningless  
☐ -Other(Please state).....

36-Have you read any book in the last month?    ☐ -Yes        ☐ -No

36a-(If Yes) Please write the name(s) of it/them ?

.....

36b-(If No) When did you last read a book ?

- ☐ -Two months ago    ☐ -Six months ago    ☐ -One year ago  
☐ -Two years and more ago    ☐ -Other(state).....

37-Do you read a daily newspaper ?        ☐ -Yes        ☐ -No

37a-(If Yes) What is the frequency of your reading a newspaper?

- ☐ -Everyday                      ☐ -Two days in a week  
☐ -One day in a week        ☐ -Whenever I get hold of one

38-Do you read any weekly or monthly journal?    ☐ -Yes        ☐ -No

39-Did you go to cinema in the last month?        ☐ -Yes        ☐ -No

40-Did you go to theatre in the last month?        ☐ -Yes        ☐ -No

41-How many hours a day do you watch TV ?

- ☐ -0        ☐ -1        ☐ -2        ☐ -3        ☐ -4 and more

42-Do you know any language except Turkish?        ☐ -Yes        ☐ -No

42a-(If Yes) Please mark it/ them.

- ☐ -English    ☐ -French    ☐ -German    ☐ -Russian  
☐ -Arabic    ☐ -Kurdish    ☐ -Spanish    ☐ -Other.....



## PART II : OCCUPATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

1-When was the Police Force established ?

☐ -1453      ☐ -1845      ☐ -1909      ☐ -1923      ☐ -Don't know

2-Please write the name, number and date of the Act determines the authority (power) and duties of the Police:

☐ -Name:.....

☐ -Date:.....      ☐ -No:.....      ☐ -Don't know

3-Please state the number of occupational branches the Police Force has and name as many of them as you can: No:.....  
Occupational Branches:.....  
..... ☐ -Don't know

4-Which institution is the General Directorate of Security accountable to ?      ☐ -Premiership      ☐ -Presidency  
☐ -Ministry of National Defense  
☐ -Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
☐ -Ministry of Interior Affairs  
☐ -Other(Please state).....

5-Would you please tick the number of province security directorates in Turkey?  
☐ -67      ☐ -71      ☐ -73      ☐ -76      ☐ -Don't know

6-Is there any Police Association in Turkey ?  
☐ -Yes      ☐ -No      ☐ -Don't know

7-Is there any Police Union in Turkey ?  
☐ -Yes      ☐ -No      ☐ -Don't know

8-Is there any police journal which is published in Turkey ?  
☐ -Yes      ☐ -No      ☐ -Don't know

8a-(If Yes) Please write the name(s) of it/them ?  
.....  
..... ☐ -Don't know

9-What is Interpol?..... ☐ -Don't know

10-Who or which organization is ultimately paying your salary?  
☐ -State      ☐ -Government  
☐ -People by tax      ☐ -Ministry Of Finance  
☐ -Ministry of Interior Affairs  
☐ -General Directorate of Security  
☐ -Other(Please state).....

11-Have you ever received an award for your work ?  
☐ -Yes      ☐ -No

11a-(If Yes) Please write down the kind of award(s) you have received and also how many times:.....  
.....

12-Have you ever been formally disciplined by your superiors ?  
       ( )-Yes                               ( )-No

12b-(If Yes) Please write down the kind of penalty(ies) you have  
 received and also how many times:.....  
 .....

13-In which situations can you be dismissed from your work ?  
 You can tick more than one.  
 ( )-By being graded with negative reports by two superiors  
       in two promotion periods  
 ( )-Not coming to work for one week without permission  
 ( )-Coming to work drunk  
 ( )-By being imprisoned for six months or more for any kind  
       of crime  
 ( )-Not coming to work for three days without permission  
 ( )-Not conforming to commands  
 ( )-By being punished by not being promoted and not being  
       graded with positive reports by two superiors in the same  
       time period  
 ( )-Other(Please state).....  
 ( )-Don't know

14-Do you have the right to make an explanation about an incident  
 you are dealing with as a police officer to Press and TV ?  
       ( )- Yes                               ( )- No

15-What kinds of conditions are needed in order to fulfil a  
 command ? You can tick more than one.  
 ( )-The command should be given by superior  
 ( )-The command should be written  
 ( )-Officer should have the capability to fulfil the command  
 ( )-The command should be legal  
 ( )-Other(Please state).....  
 ( )-Don't know

16-If the command which is given you violates the Law and  
 results in crime, what can you do ?  
 ( )-Because it is given by superior I fulfil it  
 ( )-I say to the superior that the command is against the  
       Law so I can't fulfil it, if he commands one more I  
       have to fulfil it  
 ( )-Firstly I request the order in writing then fulfil it  
 ( )-I do not fulfil it in any way  
 ( )-Other(Please state).....  
 ( )-Don't know

17-Do you have to show your police identification card before  
 requesting to see the identification card of a person ?  
       ( )-Yes                               ( )-No                               ( )-Don't know

18-What is the maximum number of hours a person can be held in  
 police custody in order to establish proof of his/her iden-  
 tity?  
 ( )-12 Hours ( )-24 Hours ( )-36 Hrs ( )-48 Hrs ( )-Don't know



- 19-If a crime was committed by three or more persons, what is the maximum numbers of days you can detain them in the Police Station? ☐ - 3 Days ☐ - 15 Days ☐ - 30 Days ☐ -45 Days  
☐ -Differs according to the type of crime committed  
☐ -Don't know  
☐ -Other(Please state).....
- 20-In what situations can the police conduct a search in order to prevent crimes and dangerous events without a Judge's permission ? You can mark more than one choice.  
☐ -To protect the public order and constitutional rights and liberties  
☐ -In the preventive searches in the Social Association Buildings  
☐ -In the preventive searches in the Labour Union Buildings  
☐ -In the preventive searches in the Political Party Buildings  
☐ -In the preventive searches within the framework of the law against smuggling  
☐ -In situations where delay would be undesirable  
☐ -Other(Please state).....  
☐ -Don't know
- 21-What information is a suspect required to give the police following arrest ?  
☐ -Only identity information  
☐ -A required full statement including all information  
☐ -No information if he/she wills  
☐ -Other(Please state).....  
☐ -Don't know
- 22-Does a person who has witnessed an offence or has information related to crime have to inform the Police?  
☐ -Yes ☐ -No ☐ -Don't know
- 23-When you invite a person to come to Police Station in order to assist you with your enquiries, and if he/she doesn't come, have you the right to take him by force?  
☐ -Yes ☐ -No ☐ -Don't know
- 24-Who has the power to order a search of a house for a judicial duty if it is undesirable to delay ?  
☐ -Every police officer has  
☐ -Only the police officer who has the rank of assistant prosecutor has  
☐ -Only the police officers who have the rank of administrator (e.g.Vice Commissar, Commissar, Head Commissar) have  
☐ -Judges  
☐ -Other(Please state).....  
☐ -Don't know
- 25-Does the police officer who makes a search have to show the search warrant to the occupant?  
☐ -Yes ☐ -No ☐ -Don't know

- 26-In what circumstances can police search a house during the night ?  
☐ -In any circumstance(1)  
☐ -To rearrest an escaped prisoner(2)  
☐ -Police have no power to search at night(3)  
☐ -To deal with an urgent situation where it would be undesirable to delay(4)  
☐ -Both 2 and 4 together  
☐ -Other (Please state).....  
☐ -Don't know
- 27-Can non-uniformed police (plain clothes) work in all the branches of the security services ?  
☐ -Yes                      ☐ -No                      ☐ -Don't know
- 28-Can a police officer who is on leave be accepted as on duty if he wears his uniform within the municipal boundaries ?  
☐ -Yes                      ☐ -No                      ☐ -Don't know
- 29-Can a police officer who is on leave wear his uniform when he has left the municipality where he is posted ?  
☐ -Yes                      ☐ -No                      ☐ -Don't know
- 30-Should the police allow a child under 18 to enter a bar even if s/he is with her/his parents? ☐ -Yes ☐ -No ☐ -Don't know
- 31-Which organization has the responsibility of carrying out security services in and around countryside ?  
 ..... ☐ -Don't know
- 32-Who or which institution pays the subsistence and transportation costs of an arrested person ?  
☐ -Arrested person              ☐ -Police Station  
☐ -General Directorate of Security    ☐ -Ministry of Justice  
☐ -In fact General Directorate of Security but arrested person himself  
☐ -Other(state)..... ☐ -Don't know
- 33-Do the police have the right(power) to use force when a person who is to be arrested or a crowd resists or starts to attack or attacks ?  
☐ -Yes                      ☐ -No                      ☐ -Don't know
- 34-Are the Police administratively divided into uniformed and plain clothes police? ☐ -Yes    ☐ -No    ☐ -Don't know
- 35-Are uniformed police administratively subdivided into those with cars and those without? ☐ -Yes ☐ -No ☐ -Don't know
- 36-How is the attitude of people with whom you interact when you are on duty ? Please tick the most appropriate choice.  
☐ -People like, support and help the Police  
☐ -Most people like, support and help the Police  
☐ -Few people like, support and help the Police  
☐ -People do not like, support and help the Police  
☐ -Other(Please state).....



### PART III : PROFESSIONALISM

This section consists of a number of statements which cover many different points of view and were chosen in such a way that most people are likely to agree with some and disagree with others. There is no best answer to the statements, except that of your completely frank personal opinion. Mark your answer in the parenthesis provided by each statement.

Please REMEMBER to give your own opinion. Do not leave any blank spaces, if you can avoid doing so.

- 1-In your opinion, what is the police and the most important police role in society ? Please tick the appropriate choice.
  - ☐ -the representative and practitioner of a holy occupation
  - ☐ -the protector of law
  - ☐ -the protector of social order
  - ☐ -the protector of rich people's interests
  - ☐ -the protector of poor people's interests
  - ☐ -the protector of the whole society
  - ☐ -an agency of the government
  - ☐ -the preventer of crimes
  - ☐ -Other(Please state).....
- 2-How would you evaluate the Turkish Police in terms of their success in carrying out their role? Please tick the appropriate choice.
  - ☐ -Very successful                      ☐ -Successful
  - ☐ -Neither successful nor unsuccessful
  - ☐ -Unsuccessful                      ☐ -Very unsuccessful
- 3-What is your opinion of the standard of training in police Education Institutions.
  - ☐ -Very good   ☐ -Good   ☐ -Average   ☐ -Poor   ☐ -Very poor
- 4-How do you rate your conditions of work? Please tick appropriate choice.
  - ☐ -Very good   ☐ -Good   ☐ -Average   ☐ -Poor   ☐ -Very poor
- 5-Please tick the appropriate choice about the physical security level of your work.
  - ☐ -Very good   ☐ -Good   ☐ -Average   ☐ -Poor   ☐ -Very poor
- 6-Would you tick the appropriate choice about how good (effective) your immediate supervision is ?
  - ☐ -Very good   ☐ -Good   ☐ -Average   ☐ -Poor   ☐ -Very poor
- 7-What would you do if you saw one of your colleagues on your own rank breaking the law ?
  - ☐ -I don't care about it (it doesn't bother me)
  - ☐ -I would ignore it in order to have no trouble
  - ☐ -I would warn him/her not to violate the law
  - ☐ -I would immediately arrest him
  - ☐ -I would report the event to my chief(superior)
  - ☐ -Other (Please state).....

8-What would you do if you saw a minister or a deputy breaking the law ?

- ☐ -I don't care about it (it doesn't bother me)
- ☐ -I would ignore it in order to have no trouble
- ☐ -I would warn him not to violate the law
- ☐ -I would immediately arrest him
- ☐ -I would report the event to my chief(superior)
- ☐ -Other (Please state).....

9-You are off duty and wearing civilian clothes. If an event happens on the street that requires police action, what would you do?

- ☐ -Because I am off duty, I would not pay attention
- ☐ -I would immediately become involved in the incident and would report it to the police station
- ☐ -Other(Please state).....

10-When you are on duty, do you collaborate with your colleagues?

- ☐ -Yes
- ☐ -No

10a-(If Yes) Would you tick the appropriate choice about your collaboration level ?

- ☐ -I collaborate with my colleagues in all aspects because I am part of a team
- ☐ -I collaborate with my colleagues very rarely because I can handle most problems myself
- ☐ -When it is needed I collaborate with my colleagues
- ☐ -Other (Please state).....

10b-(If Yes) On what sort of work do you have collaboration ? Please give the 3 most important examples as 1, 2, 3.

- ☐ -In collecting evidence and clues of the incident we work on
- ☐ -In issues where I don't want to take responsibility alone
- ☐ -In issues where team work is concerned
- ☐ -In all issues related to my occupation
- ☐ -Other(Please state).....

10c-(If No) Would you tick the appropriate choice ?

- ☐ -I like to work alone
- ☐ -I don't like to take commands from others
- ☐ -My work does not necessitate collaboration
- ☐ -Other(Please state).....

11-In your opinion, from which stratum in society do police officers usually come ?

- ☐ -Lower stratum
- ☐ -Middle stratum
- ☐ -Upper stratum
- ☐ -Both middle and lower strata
- ☐ -Both middle and upper strata
- ☐ -All strata in society
- ☐ -Other(Please state).....
- ☐ -No idea



12-In your opinion, who violates the law most ?

- ( )-Poor people  
( )-Middle income people  
( )-Rich people  
( )-Both middle income and poor people  
( )-Both rich and middle income people  
( )-The people from all strata  
( )-Other(Please state).....  
( )-No idea

13-In your opinion, new Police cadets should have at least;

- ( )-Primary school diploma  
( )-Secondary school diploma  
( )-High(lycee) or vocational school diploma  
( )-Police College ( high school ) diploma  
( )-Police School ( 1 year training ) diploma  
( )-Police Academy degree  
( )-University degree  
( )-Other (Please state).....  
( )-No idea

14-In your opinion, the administrators such as section, district security and province security directors of Police Force should have at least;

- ( )-Primary school diploma  
( )-Secondary school diploma  
( )-High(lycee) or vocational school diploma  
( )-Police College ( high school ) diploma  
( )-Police School ( 1 year training ) diploma  
( )-Police Academy degree  
( )-University degree  
( )-Post-graduate ( MSc or Ph.D. ) degree  
( )-Other (Please state).....  
( )-No idea

15-How much of the occupational knowledge you were taught during your training do you use in practice ?    ( )-All of it

- ( )-Most of it      ( )-Very little of it      ( )-None of it

16-Would you advise your child to join the Police Force ?

- ( )-Yes ( )-No

17-Do you believe that women should be employed in the Police Force?           ( )-Yes                                 ( )-No

- ( )-Yes ( )-No

17a-(If Yes) Please indicate why it is necessary.

- ( )-A policewoman is needed in order to do a body search of females or to deal with women suspects
- ( )-Women have a right to work in all kinds of occupations
- ( )-Where women work, work relations are more polite and refined
- ( )-So that the occupational success of women can be observed
- ( )-Other(Please state).....

17b-(If No) Please indicate why it is not necessary.

- ☐ -It is not an occupation fit for women since the work hours are irregular
- ☐ -Although the pay is the same policewomen are given easier and less dangerous duties
- ☐ -Work conditions are too heavy for women since they are physically less capable
- ☐ -There is a discrimination in the Police Force because of the special treatment women get
- ☐ -Women should never work
- ☐ -Other(Please state).....

18-Do you believe that police should establish their own solidarity association ?

- ☐ -Yes
- ☐ -No
- ☐ -No idea

18a-Do you believe that police should establish their own union?

- ☐ -Yes
- ☐ -No
- ☐ -No idea

19-British police walk on the street without a revolver. If the same situation could be practised in Turkey, would you accept it ?

- ☐ -Yes
- ☐ -No

19a-(If No) Please indicate the most important reason.

- ☐ -Due to the social consciousness of our society people are not able to understand such an event
- ☐ -The number of criminal cases increase when the Police carry no weapons
- ☐ -It is impossible to carry out police duties in Turkey without carrying weapons
- ☐ -There are more violations of the law in Turkey; therefore, it is necessary to carry weapons
- ☐ -Other(Please state).....

20-If it were forbidden to go to public places such as cinema, theatre, concert, restaurant, cafe etc. off duty wearing your uniform and carrying your revolver, would this stop you going to these places ?

- ☐ -Yes
- ☐ -No

21-Do you conform to the commands of your superiors when you are off duty ?

- ☐ -Yes
- ☐ -No
- ☐ -Sometimes

22-Do you consult your colleagues or superiors when you have a job related problem ?

- ☐ -Yes
- ☐ -No

23-When you have arrested a suspected person, and if you are requested to release him/her very much by people, what can you do ?

- ☐ - I release him if the reason is not very important
- ☐ - I don't release him in any way
- ☐ - I don't know what to do
- ☐ - Other(Please state).....



-Please use this scale to answer the following list of questions.

( )-a Strongly Agree  
 ( )-b Agree  
 ( )-c Undecided

( )- d Disagree  
 ( )- e Strongly Disagree

24-I think that the police occupation, more than any other, is essential for society.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

25-I make my own decisions in regard to what is to be done in my work.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

26-The members of the Police Force are experts in their jobs.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

27-The police officer should only be concerned to do what s/he must to earn a living.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

28-The police officer should not let his work interfere with his/her private life.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

29-The police officer is obliged to perform police duty even if it involves overtime or other interference with his/her private life.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

30-A police officer's behaviour off the job must be exemplary.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

31-Society should not rely on the police to make good its mistakes.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

32-Police success is dependent upon public approval.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

33-Police strength should be deployed by time and area.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

34-Police should employ only the minimum force necessary.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

35-A police officer should attend panel discussions or seminars on police work.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

36-The Press have conducted a vendetta against the Police and this accounts for much contemporary suspicion of the Police.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

37-I don't have much opportunity to exercise my own judgement.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

38-Other occupations are actually more vital to society than the police.

( )-a ( )-b ( )-c ( )-d ( )-e

## INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

**Part 1:** Sub-sample:~20 ( 5 admint., 15 plain police officers),  
Length:~25 minutes, tape or hand-written recording

- 1- How is a major decision made in your family (give example) ?
- 2- In your opinion, who are the Police ?
- 3- If you had power, how would you select or recruit new cadets?
- 4- In your opinion, what are the most important characteristics of a good and a bad police officer (Definition of a good and a bad police officer).
- 5- What do you think is the main contribution(thing) the police make (do) to (for) society ?
- 6- Did you know any police officer before applying to be an officer? (Have you any friends in the Police Force ?)
- 7- What are your feelings about working with a partner of the opposite sex ? (What about a superior of the opposite sex ?)

**Part 2:** Factual Questions (They will be asked to senior bureaucrats).

- 8- Ranks(stars) and duties of them, organizational diagram.
- 9- The job process of a police officer did from the beginning to end.
- 10-The apparatus which a police officer has.
- 11-The apparatus which a police car has and the number of a team.