

## POLICING IN TURKEY

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### ABSTRACT

This paper investigates, explains and discusses critically the policing exercised by the police in Turkish Society. The Republic of Turkey has a national police organization which is administered by a single and centralized department of the State, the General Directorate of Security (GDS). This highly centralistic model of hierarchy controls the organization from top to bottom. It is seen that 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.

**KEY WORDS:** Police, Policing, Turkish Police, Security Organization, Gendarme, Coast Guard

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Like any other country, the maintenance of both internal and external order and security is one of the most important, topical and enduring issues for the Republic of Turkey. In order to build a new and a proper public order, policing has rapidly developed as a key issue on the contemporary political agenda. 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. However police work is always in a sensitive balance between law enforcement and service to the public. These concerns and efforts need a fuller and a more realistic assessment of police work. But the size of this paper does not allow us to give a detail picture of policing operations and structure in Turkey. Instead, this paper aims to investigate, explain and discuss critically the policing system which is exercised by the police force, and to draw a picture of policing in a general way. It will also include an overall explanation of the General Directorate of Security (GDS), i.e. Turkish Police Organization.

Although the literature review shows that there are many studies on police, policing and related issues in other societies, particularly in Western societies, the police is unfortunately one of the least studied subjects in the Turkish social science literature. In other words, research on police organization, police officers and applications of policing policies has been neglected by social scientists, particularly by sociologists. In fact, review of the literature indicates that there has been almost no sociological research at either theoretical or empirical level conducted on the policing in Turkey. As a result, there is a paucity of research on this area in 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.

Another objective is to get acquainted with the Turkish police force from the sociological point of view. This is important because the police constitute the most critical and perhaps the most powerful subsystem in the enforcement and adjudication of the law. Besides that 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). They have more direct and closer relations with the public than the other members of the governmental institutions or organizations. They assume critical duties and crucial administrative tasks in daily social life. 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. These realities inevitably direct our attention to policing style and make it very important. In this context to investigate and discuss the policing system occupies an important place.

The Republic of Turkey has a national police organization, the General Directorate of Security (GDS), 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, the General Commandership of Gendarme (GCG) and the Commandership of Coast Guard (CCG) (see for more information Caglar 1993), and to ask help from the Army when it is needed. 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. However, in this paper, the GDS will be the main discussion point because of being the only police organization of country. Besides that the GDS is the main source of production of policing policies, strategies and operations. The GCG and the CCG practice exactly the same form of policing and therefore they will not be discussed in this paper.

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 71 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 countries such as Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France, U.S.A., 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.

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 71 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.

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 Act of Police Duties and Authorities (APDA, numbered 2559), Act of Security Organization (ASO, numbered 3201) 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 GDS is formed according to legal codes of the ASO and operates according to the articles of the APDA. 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 GDS 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 Caglar 1993).

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 GDS 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).

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 officers 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 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 (asayis), 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 GDS also provides education and training to new cadets after recruitment in police educational institutions, i.e. Police Schools, Police High Schools and Police Academy (See Caglar 1993:Ch.IV and VI). 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. They 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 monthly a certain amount of pocket money<sup>1</sup>. 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.

The GDS exercises its policing policies and serves to community through and by police stations which are located in urban residential districts. 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 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 (Caglar 1993). 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 (Caglar 1993; Ozcan and Caglar 1993). 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 relatively not have such problems with the police (Caglar 1993). It is, however, not possible to say that the goal of police accountability to public has been achieved in Turkey.

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 Caglar's (1994) study shows 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 be half of men.

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



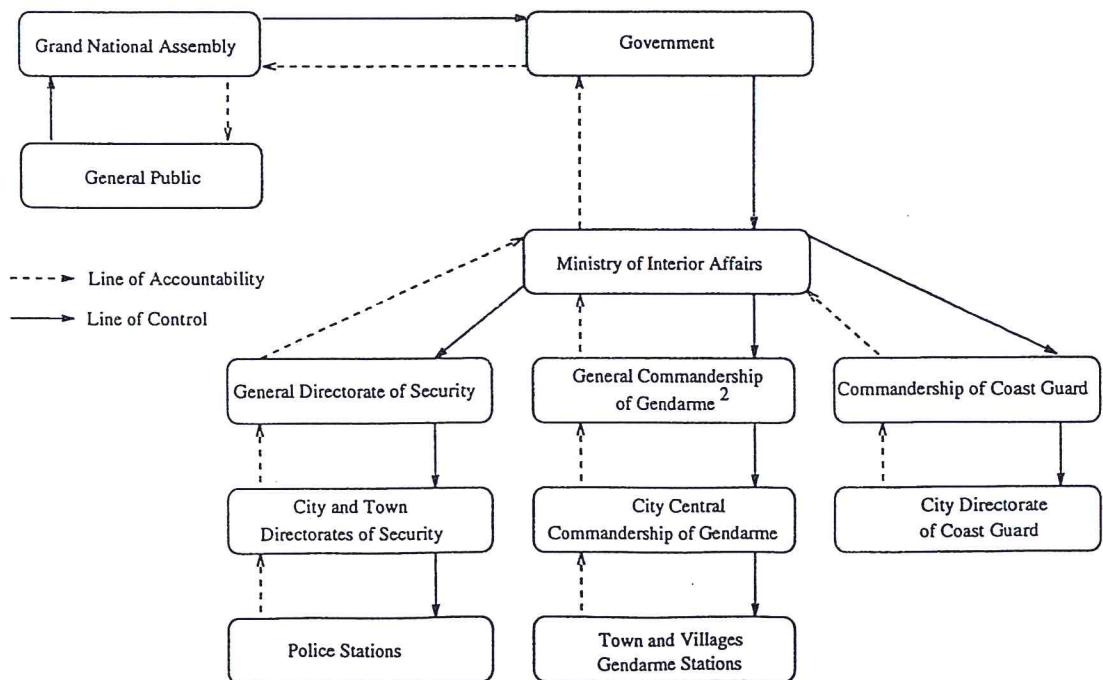
which amount to their militarisation. It is part of the duties and equipment of a multi-purpose force. Militarising the police in this way occurs in Turkey because of the preference for arming the police rather than using the Army in situations of public disorder and terrorist events, which 'sit more 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 some cities of the eastern part of the country because of terror and violence of the Kurdish separatist movements. 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. 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. The control and accountability in policing in Turkey can be diagrammed as follows:

Figure 1: The Flow Chart of Control and Accountability in Policing in Turkey.



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. Nightwatchmen work under the directions of head commissar, commissar and vice commissar along with police officers. They perform the police functions in the districts in the hours of darkness, and have the same power that plain police officers have except initiating criminal investigations.

The head commissar, commissar or vice commissar has to use his/her discretion in deciding how he/she deploys his/her staff to maintain law and order and there is the code of discipline within the organisation which allows him/her to exercise control over his/her 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/her 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/her superiors and ultimately to the courts for policing and management.

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 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, some studies (Ozcan and Caglar 1993; Caglar 1993) showed that the police are more likely to be unpopular than any other governmental officers or civil servants. On the other hand, 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 (MCA) 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, although the terrorist activities in the country makes such an effort difficult. 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/her or to change or replace his/her 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.

Consequently, when the general structure and operation of the policing style in Turkey are considered, it is possible to say that the policing style in Turkey provides 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 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 this 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.

#### Notes

1. This amount was TL258,000, which was equal to £9.9 in February 1994.
2. It is also accountable to the General Presidency of the Turkish Army (The Chief of General Staff).



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