

A STUDY OF PUBLIC IMAGERY OF POLICE WORK FROM THE
PERSPECTIVE OF GENDER: THE CASE OF ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

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Police – public relations and image of the police are fields of study that are dealt with more and more recently in the disciplines of criminology and sociology. These subjects are also partially the matter of this study. The purpose of our study is to find out how the image of the police is influenced by the gender; that is what kind of a role the gender plays in the police – society relations. In brief, this study seeks answers for the questions such as whether the level of relationship that the people establishes with the female police officers and male officers is the same; whether the perception of the public changes towards female and male police officers; and the role of the gender in the formation of such relation, in other words, whether men and women have a different perception of the police officers in general terms and whether they perceive the female and

male police officers in different way in specific terms by means of surveys and questionnaires.

When the data from the questionnaire conducted with 313 respondents in the sample of Ankara and the information obtained from the interview data carried out with 16 people in this study are interpreted, it has been found out that the police and public relationship is never static and routine and uniform; on the contrary this relationship is rather dynamic and heterogeneous. In short, the police – public relation is fit on a complex equation rather than a simple one. One of the most notable reasons of this complexity lies at the identities of the actors; that means the heterogeneity of the identities. Gender is a significant variable determining (elaborating) the relation of the police – public and constitutes an important part of the identity. In this study, the gender has the role and task of both independent variable, and dependent variable representing the perception of female and male police officer since when we have a look with the gender axis, we happen to see the cross equation in the police – public relation: male police officer – female police officer, male citizens – female citizens. A considerable contribution of this study is its investigation of the above mentioned cross relation along with the public dimension.

Keywords: Gender, Police Image, Female Police Officer, Male Police Officer

ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET AÇISINDAN POLİSLİĞİN İMAJİ ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

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Polis – toplum ilişkisi ve polisin imajı, kriminoloji ve sosyoloji disiplinlerinde son zamanlarda oldukça üzerine değinilen bir çalışma alanıdır. Bu çalışma da kısmen bu konuyu kendisine mesele yapmıştır. Çalışmamızın amacı polis imajının toplumsal cinsiyetten nasıl etkilendiği yani polis – toplum ilişkilerinde toplumsal cinsiyetin nasıl bir rol oynadığıdır. Bu çalışmada insanların, kadın ve erkek polislerle kurduğu ilişki aynı düzeyde mi; onların, kadın ve erkek polislerle yönelik algıları değişmekte mi ve kendi toplumsal cinsiyetleri, bu ilişkinin kurulmasında nasıl bir rol oynuyor? Yani erkek ve kadınlar genelde polisi özelde ise erkek ve kadın polisi farklı şekilde mi değerlendiriyor gibi sorulara anket ve mülakat tekniği ile cevap aranmıştır.

Bu çalışma, Ankara örneğinde 313 kişiye uygulanan anket verileri ile 16 kişiye uygulanan mülakat verilerinden elde edilen bilgilere dayanır. Bu bilgiler yorumlandığında polis vatandaş ilişkisinin hiçbir zaman tekdüze ve statik yapısı olmadığı; aksine oldukça dinamik ve heterojen görünümlü olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Kısaca, polis vatandaş ilişkisi basit değil karmaşık bir denkleme oturur. Bu karmaşıklığın en önemli nedenlerinden birisi de aktörlerin kimliklerinde, başka bir deyişle kimliklerin heterojenliğinde yatar. Toplumsal cinsiyet, polis - vatandaş ilişkisini belirleyen (karmaşıklıştıran) önemli bir değişkendir ve kimliğin önemli bir parçasını oluşturur. Bu çalışmada toplumsal cinsiyet, hem bağımsız değişken hem de kadın ve erkek polis algısını temsil eden bağımlı değişken görevini üstlenmiştir. Çünkü toplumsal cinsiyet eksenini ile baktığımızda polis - toplum ilişkisinde çapraz denklemi görürüz: Erkek polis- kadın polis, erkek vatandaş – kadın vatandaş. Çalışmanın önemli bir katkısı bu çapraz ilişkiyi vatandaş boyutu ile incelemiş olmasıdır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Polis İmajı, Kadın Polis, Erkek Polis

*To Nilguncan,
Ekin Can, Ecem Nil
and My Family*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA: Anadolu Agency

AEM: Ankara Police Department

AKP: Justice and Development Party

EGM: General Directorate of Security

IHA: İhlas News Agency

LAPD: Los Angeles Police Department

MHP: Nationalist Movement Party

POL – BİR: Police Union

POL – DER: Police Association

PMYO: Police Vocational High School

SDP: Socialist Democracy Party

YTL: New Turkish Lira

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The public – police relationship is a subject that draws attention from and is covered mostly in the studies on the police recently. This subject in question is partially dealt with across this study. The purpose of our study is the role of the gender in the police – public relations. The corresponding meaning of this variable is that the public has different attitudes towards policewomen and policemen; likewise the police officers have different attitudes towards the men and women. These attitudes formed by the interaction between the people may take various shapes in the historical course. To illustrate, while policewomen was an object of suspicion 20 years ago, now such negativity has almost disappeared because the police organization has been transformed from force-based organization into a service-based one. Today, the service concept and perception of the organization has changed, and the roles attributed to the actors of the police organization have transformed. Therefore, I will attempt to investigate the police – public relations in the context of social gender relations.

What is equivalence of the information summarized above in our country? Does the relation that the people have with the policewomen resemble the relationship with the policemen? What are the perceptions towards the policewomen and policemen, and do such perceptions change according to the gender? What is the role of the gender of the

citizens in establishing such a relationship; that is today, do the male and female citizens have a different consideration of the police in general and specifically of the policemen and policewomen? This study will seek answers to these questions.

Gender is a significant variable in interpreting the relations between the police and the public, but there is not sufficient literature on this topic. Recently, ethnic identity, cultural differentiation, gender, etc. are some of the mostly employed concepts and points of reference in the studies on the police. Our study is similar to the ones done recently; at this point the cross-relations between the policewomen and policemen and female and male citizens have been investigated in this study.

While examining this topic, we focus on the effect of gender differentiation of people on their perception of policing and their attitudes towards policewomen and policemen. Both perception and attitude are basic concepts psychology in general and social psychology in particular. Attitude is someone's positive or negative behaviors towards any object with intellectual, behavioral or emotional dimensions. One may or may not like the police; may find policemen more reliable compared to the policewomen. These questions may be addressed only with the contributions of social psychology. What determines the answers is the nature of the relations with the object. One of the important determinants of the nature of this relation is behavioral codes that policing, as an

occupation, imposes upon its members. This fact, which is described as occupational socialization, starts with the police when they for the first time start the job. Foster describes this socialization as follows:

New recruits learn very quickly that policing can be difficult and stressful involving unpredictable, emotionally challenging and traumatic tasks (for example, dealing with sudden deaths and fatal accidents, pub fights and public disorder). These incidents have a powerful, though often unacknowledged, impact in shaping officers' approaches to their work and may in part explain both the power culture and the emphasis of on the dangers of the job (Foster, 2005: 202).

The shaping effect of any occupation requires those who perform the job play some roles. Shapland identifies these roles as:

Residents and business people in both urban and rural areas saw the police as fulfilling several different roles, most of which built on the weaknesses of the attempts at informal social control. Four roles were identified: three of which (to respond to "real crime", to deal with problems and nuisances which were proving otherwise intractable, and to note and collate information about problems) had the function of extending and making more effective people's own ideas about what should be happening in their areas. The fourth was to provide a visible symbol of order and normality (Shapland, 1987: 58).

The roles that are played in a heterogenic organizational way are understood and interpreted in terms of the identities of the members. In the police organization women are thought as passive actors of the organization which is considered as a masculine job in nature. For Jennett, there are three parts of the policing. "Physical force, internal usage and collective authorization are not characteristics of women" (Jennett, 1996: 4). Women are considered as the agents that cannot

achieve to perform the requirements of being a police officer both in and outside the organization. According to the traditional approach, if women want to be police, then they should choose branches or units that deal with children or servicing. This ideological pressure has created two types of woman profile at the police departments. In his study, Martin summarizes these types as:

POLICEwomen and policeWOMEN; the former assume many of trapping of male behavior and culture in an effort to gain Professional recognition from policemen, while the latter continue to emphasize femininity and seek out service oriented duties in policing away from confrontative crime fighting (quoted by Warren, 1996: 3).

However, the use of new technologies; increase in the rate of contacting people; power of public inspection; and new philosophical and democratic expansion have caused a serious transformation in the structure of the police organization and have softened the dominant masculine discourse nature. In brief, perception towards policewomen has been transformed to the favor of the policewomen in terms of historical sense. Nonetheless, interpreting this transformation as an absolute advantage of women would be a mistake due to the fact that the masculine voice is still higher in the police organization.

Social demonstrations and patrolling services are organizational practices that reflect most the dominant masculine voice. The public usually face the hard and tough face of the police in these practices. The obvious interpretation of this hard face is to decrease the society's

tendency towards crimes and negative behaviors. And the latent interpretation contains quite many meanings within itself. This matter is expressed by policewomen in a study about the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) as follows:

The comparative lack of women in the LAPD reinforces and exaggerates a workplace culture that condones authoritarian personalities, where men with common backgrounds and values participate in misconduct with no fear of scrutiny by their like-minded peers or detection by supervisors (Gale, 2001: 727).

When we concentrate on the public aspect of the police – public relations rather than the police’s aspect, we will see that diversity is a significant property. Shortly, these are diverse age, sex, religious and ideological groups and income level groups and so forth. This diversity is reflected on the relations between the police and public in terms of sociology. It causes us to see different levels and tendencies in these relations. One of the important factors that determine many matters in the relations between the police and the public is the fact about the heterogeneity. Sklansky states that:

When people think about issues of equality in policing, they usually think about how the police treat suspects, victims, complainants, and witnesses of different races, ethnicities, genders, sexual orientations, and socioeconomic statuses. They focus on what we can call external equality, not on equality of treatment inside police departments—equal treatment of police personnel themselves. But the two dimensions of equality are closely intertwined (Sklansky, 2008: 142).

Our thesis is mostly about how men and women perceive the police through their gendered positions. In short, to what extent the gender of the

citizens determines the type of relation when ordinary people are in contact with the police? Which types of police are more effective on the public; policemen or policewomen? Which type of police officers come to the minds of people when they think of the police; male or female? Do the thoughts or the perceptions of the men on the police differ from those of women? There is a complex equation that is based on occupation, gender and interaction.

The relationship between the police and the public is one of the major subjects in police studies. Citizens' active participation in the police affairs, strong police – public relations, and social support are the desired features in the organization. In the eyes of people, the most significant factor that undermines these desired features is the negative attitude of the police towards civilians. People who face with such practices as physical violence, bribery, subjective judgment, prejudice, discrimination, and so forth develop a negative attitude towards both the occupation and its actors. They just leave a place where the police are, they share their negative thoughts among themselves, and they do not share with and give information to the police. Therefore, a gap between the police and public occurs. When we pay attention to the recent developments about police studies, we can see that most of the recent approaches about policing attempt to bridge this gap. For instance, community policing is one of them.

The foundations of a successful community policing strategy are the close, mutually beneficial ties between police and community

members. Community policing consists of two complementary core components, community partnership and problem solving. To develop community partnership, police must develop positive relationships with the community, must involve the community in the quest for better crime control and prevention, and must pool their resources with those of the community to address the most urgent concerns of community members. Problem solving is the processes through which the specific concerns of communities are identified and through which the most appropriate remedies to abate these problems are found (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994:13).

The heterogenic nature of a society causes actors to face with the police at various levels. For example, a white person's perception may be different than that of a color person and likewise a woman's perception may be different than that of a man. At the same time, perceptions on black, white, male and policewomen. According to some studies, the role of policemen is valued more than those of women police officers. People generally perceived that the male officers are the sole actors of this occupation. For example,

Hiring female officers suggested that female officers would not be able to handle aggressive situations and would ultimately create an officer safety problem. Furthermore, they argued that female officers would act more like social workers and not actively enforce the law (Law Library: 2009).

However, the role of the policewomen is acknowledged by individuals in some other studies. For example, according to Sichel et. al (1978), "A 1975-76 study of the New York City police department found that female officers were as competent as male officers and "civilians rated

female officers more competent, pleasant, and respectful” (Do et. al, 2005: 8). We learn from Do et. al. that a similar study was conducted in 2000:

“The National Center for Women and Policing released an extensive report in which it said female officers are less likely to use excessive force and less likely to engage in destructive behavior that results in expensive lawsuits and damage awards” (Do et. al. 2005: 8).

Some studies about the Police misconduct shows that police misconduct is usually affiliated with policemen. For example, Lonsway et. Al (2001) claims that “The average male officer is two to three times more likely than the average female officer to have a citizen name him in a complaint of excessive force” (Quoted in Do et. al. 2005:8).

Some negative and positive accounts of the public towards policewomen and policemen have been noted in many studies. The most common perception is that policemen treat the people ruder and with more prejudice compared to policewomen. Horne (2006) says:

“Regarding violence, it is essential to note that numerous studies have shown that policewomen rely on a policing style that uses less physical force and is less confrontational than that used by many policemen. Policewomen are much less likely to use excessive violence or police brutality while satisfactorily performing their jobs” (Horne, 2006:9).

In some studies, it is said that policewomen are not as competent as policemen regarding policing. Price (2009) explains the reasons of this statement referring to a number of studies as:

“These include family responsibilities (Brookshire 1980, Martin 1980), role strain and role conflict (Martin 1980, Jacobs 1983) doubts about competence and self-worth (Glaser and Saxe 1982) sexual harassment (Wong 1984) and a concomitant fear of complaining about abuse (The Council of the City of New York, Committee on Women 1986) and, lastly, equipment and facilities inadequacies--including material conditions of such items as locker rooms (Horne 1980, Washington 1974), uniforms (Brookshire 1980), and patrol car seats (Horne 1980). Black women face additional obstacles, such as conflicts engendered by being both a black woman and a police officer, a type of stress which is currently unstudied. Thus there are many hurdles--both organizational and role-related--confronting women who choose police work as their career”.

Based on these studies, my thesis aims to contribute to explore to what extent gender affects police – public relationship and how policewomen are perceived by the members of the community. In order to reach this aim, a survey was conducted among the predetermined respondents in Ankara after a pilot study in the same city. When we have understood that we could not have reached some information, we have tried to fill the gap with in-depth interviews. Thus, the study tried to capture its object in a holistic fashion. This research will contribute to some of the fields with its findings through exploring the fact that the nature of social interaction is a complex one; one of the most significant variables that makes the interaction complex is gender, and this variable makes the occupation more dynamic. With these findings this research will contribute to sociology. It will contribute to social psychology through realizing that even the micro-level relations are complex ones. It will also contribute to criminology by showing that the police organization, which is seen as a

crime control mechanism, needs to perform new strategies that is suitable for the social texture in order to make this effect stronger. Finally, it will contribute to women and gender studies through showing that women experience some advantages in some cases and some disadvantages in others relatively in an occupation that is seen as a masculine occupation and men also share similar experiences.

Second Chapter of the thesis explains the methodology of the thesis. This research has been conducted in Ankara. The sample group has been chosen using convenient sampling technique, and the information which was collected from this sample has been tested with the basic hypotheses of the research. The hypotheses of the research have been established based on theoretical sources and our observations in the field. In all hypotheses, gender has been an independent variable. With these hypotheses, the significance of gender will be tested in police – public relations. In this section of the thesis, contribution of the thesis to the academic literature is also explained.

In the third chapter of the thesis, the historical aspect of the police organization, which has been emerged as an occupation, is elaborated and what sociological theories have said about this organization is conceptualized. The historical development of the organization is summarized in the contexts of both Turkey and the world. The organizational history of female police officers is not neglected. The

historical development of the organization is dealt with a functionalist perspective. The emergence and transformation of the police organization, employment of the policewomen and periodical development of the policy of the organization can only be understood with a functionalist point of view. The location of the organization in sociological theory is summarized in the contexts of Marxist, post-Marxist, Durkheimian, Weberian and post-modernist theories.

In Chapter 4, policing is taken into account in the context of sociology of work. At the bottom line, policing is an occupation. All occupations transmit their basic characteristics through occupational socialization. We can call these characteristics, which actors gain, occupational culture. Through this culture, individuals learn about what kind of patterns of behavior is expected from them while they are performing the occupations. These patterns are the basic structures of the occupation, which are socially acceptable. One may wonder how much these patterns are carried over by the actors. Which police officers have these characteristics more, men or women? In order to address these questions in this section of the thesis, we have conducted in-depth interviews.

The fifth chapter of the thesis may be considered as a feminist reading. In this section, occupational positions of policewomen are dealt with mostly based on feminist theories. Specifically, this section tackles

with the occupational life of the policewomen and the occupational negative experiences that they face. This section is enriched with the examples of practices that female police officers both in Turkey and in the world experienced.

In Chapter 6, we are concerned about the relationship between the police and the society. It explains the interaction styles that create the world of perception in police-public relations. The nature of this world of perception has been shaped by the heterogeneity of the groups and the relations. Attitudes such as stereotyping, prejudices, inclusion and exclusion are all caused by this structure. In this section of the thesis, a contribution to the thesis has been made by looking at to what extent gender is a determining factor in this process.

In Chapters 7 and 8, the quantitative data are used. The private lives of the respondents that have been reflected in the survey and enabled us to explore the people's world of perception of the police are attempted to be revealed. What do the people think of the police? What do they think about female police officers? Facing with police and the level of this confrontation, and similar issues regarding these subjects have been discussed in this section. The basic hypotheses of the thesis are tested in this chapter. With these hypotheses, we have tried to understand how the people in general and men and women in particular perceive the police and what their attitudes towards the police are. And we have also wanted

to explore whether or not their attitudes towards the policewomen and policemen change.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The methodology of the research will briefly be summarized in these parts where the philosophical background plan covering the hypothesis of the research, its design, implementation and evaluation of the results will be discussed. Methodology is a systematic set of information that shows us how a fact will be disclosed in the philosophy of science. This set of information seeks for answers for such questions: Which data and information will be collected? Why? How? How will such data and information will be analyzed?

The main goal of this research, which I conducted in Ankara, is to discover the world of perception of the public towards the female and male police officers. As a known fact, all the features of interaction (form, duration and its changing nature), will influence the thoughts of the subjects towards the police. Besides this, we need to add the features and properties that we could not observe or will not be able to observe that each social phenomenon contains as well. Bhaskar (1978), the founder of “development of a systematic realist account of science,” included this special situation as I specified in the sample of police studies in the following way in the discussion of methodology: “From the fact that science can explain the world although there is so much which we do not know follows that the world must be stratified: its regularities are not

anchored in one basic level (elementary particle physics), but it has many levels each of which generates its own regularities. Chemistry cannot explain why dogs bark. Psychology cannot explain why capital must accumulate. Therefore, a concept of *emergence* is necessary: how can new things happen in the world? Emergence must be happening, but nobody has ever satisfactorily explained a single instance of it” (Ehrbar, 1998: 1).

Considering the above-stated limitations, when we get back to our study, we can make this summary: the set of information that we try to discover by means of this study, in fact, is to categorize the thoughts and perceptions of the public towards policewomen and policemen. Most of these categories emerging as a result of an interaction will be tested under the information acquisition tools of the sociology and social psychology. The goal of the study has been clarified after the composition of a formation in our mind as a result of comprehensive literature review. Both domestic and foreign scientific articles and organizational publications have been reviewed to this end.

2.1. Hypothesis for analyzing the perception of Public towards the Policemen and policewomen

Although this study includes quite a lot many variables, the main item here is the variable of gender in line with the principle of the fact that a doctoral thesis must have a point of focus. Both theoretical and

observational contributions show us that this variable is an important element in the perception of the public towards the policemen and policewomen. Indeed, there are numerous theoretical resources indicating that the gender of one person affect his/her opinions of the police, especially of the policewomen and policemen. We can list the hypotheses of our study as the following:

— The attitudes towards the police officers working in Ankara will vary based on the gender.

— The attitudes towards the policewomen working in Ankara will vary based on the gender.

— There will be differences between the policewomen and policemen in terms of having the traits and qualities regarding the policing profession.

— There will be differences between the policewomen and policemen in terms of having the traits and qualities regarding the policing profession based on the gender of the respondents.

— The effectiveness of the police will vary based on the policemen and policewomen.

— According to the gender of the respondents, the effectiveness of the police varies based on the policemen and policewomen.

— The policemen and policewomen experience the negativities and difficulties in relation to the working conditions at different degrees.

- According to the gender of respondents, the policemen and policewomen experience the negativities and difficulties in relation to the working conditions at different degrees.
- There will be a relation between gender and stereotypes about the policewomen.
- There will be a relation between gender and stereotypes about the policemen.

2.2. Type of the Study

In this study, first of all, I will try to explore and describe the opinions of the public towards to the policewomen and policemen. By using explorative and descriptive types of study, we may bring many relations in regard to the field to the light. Already, one of the most significant issues to be done in a scientific study is to know the setting/area that comprises the problem together with the actors. However, upon the realization of this knowing, the casual models can be established and tested. I am well aware of the fact that by a descriptive study, it may not be possible to exactly test any theoretical argument, yet we can seriously criticize the theory and make references to it by means of the findings obtained. Such data obtained by descriptive way will be put under certain theoretic discussions passing thorough some statistical processes in the context of hypotheses in the second chapter of the study.

2.3. Data Collection

We tried to understand the perception and opinions of the public towards the policemen and policewomen, and the properties that form such opinions visible by three data collection tools. At the first stage of our research, we carried out a quantitative study. This way, we brought out the general features of the sampling related to the problem. “Quantitative techniques involve the use of standardized and scheduled questionnaires, rather than the more open methods...” (Browne, 2005: 96). The respondents were mainly asked closed-end questions, and very little part of it consists of open-ended questions. The fact that the closed-end questions have that great place in the study points at the descriptive perspective limited with the categories of the research. Prior to the questionnaire phase, we applied pilot test to 40 subjects, thus the questions in the questionnaire were assessed, and parts requiring correction and improvement were altered. After the pilot test application, considering the confidentiality principle, the questionnaire was applied anonymously. However, we saw that we were not able to obtain certain information by such categorical data (most of which is ordinal) that we obtained utilizing the questionnaire. In this sense, we tried to fill in this gap resulting from the questionnaire with in-depth interviews. “In-depth interviewing explores the attitudes and experiences of individuals” (Green, 2005: 46). The gap caused by numeric data was completed with non-

numerical data obtained this way. We asked semi-structured questions in in-depth interview.

2.4. Sampling

Before talking about the sampling defining process, I render it compulsory to talk about some of the difficulties that I encountered with while carrying out this study since all these difficulties and obstacles were the determinant factors affecting the selection of sampling. At the beginning of my thesis, I was planning to conduct this study by considering the perception of policewomen and policemen towards each other and to the public; however I was not able to do so due to the legal and official obstacles I faced with because of the fact that the General Directorate of Security (EGM) did not approve my studies with the police officers working in this organization. In fact, prior to starting this study, some authorized officers had verbally notified me that I could implement my study with the police officers working at the Ankara Police Department (AEM). I waited for about 1.5 years for the legal permission to be granted by the organization for such a study due to both ethical and organizational concerns, but finally, I met just the opposite result. Therefore, the police dimension of my study is missing. Following this, I had to keep my study in the public dimension. The basic concern of my research is how the public perceive the female and police officers, and the degree of significance of the gender on this perception. The change in the object of the study resulted in the changes in the format of the surveys and questionnaire as

well. I was back in the field with a new questionnaire, yet I experienced some risks and problems that the questionnaires and interviews bear in this area. Such problems are of kinds and nature generally most researchers encounter in their studies on the police in our country. The members of the society have a general idea that talking about the police has a price to pay, and this price generally includes negative connotations. Thus, people abstain from expressing their opinions for the studies on the police due to numerous reasons. Likewise, such problems were frequently in front of me during the pilot implementations, and put me under difficult circumstances in the selection of the sampling. Although at the beginning I was thinking of carrying out this study by means of purposive sampling over certain groups, I understood that I would not be able to do this based on the field experience. I applied one-to-one questionnaire to 313 respondents that I identified by convenient sampling method as well as using my network relations instead of purposive sampling method. We can cite the following regarding the convenient sampling method: "This is the least rigorous technique, involving the selection of the most accessible subjects. It is the least costly to the researcher, in terms of time, effort and money, but may result in poor quality data and lacks intellectual credibility. There is an element of convenience sampling in many qualitative studies, but a more thoughtful approach to selection of a sample is usually justified." (Marshall, 1996: 522). In addition to the questionnaire, I conducted 16 interviews with the people in Ankara. Actually, I was able to get in touch with 20 people in total; however, additional four interviews

could not be completed because the potential respondents found the interview longer than they expected. The following is a summary of the information regarding the respondents participating in the questionnaire.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents (*Continued with next page*)

AGE GROUPS	Frequency	Percent
< 20	29	9,4
20-30	185	59,9
30-40	66	21,4
40-50	21	6,8
>50	8	2,6
GENDER		
Female	183	58,7
Male	129	41,3
BIRTHPLACE		
City	221	70,8
Town	49	15,7
Village	37	11,9
Abroad	5	1,6
EDUCATIONAL STATUS		
Primary School 1	7	2,2
Primary School 2	5	1,6
High School	70	22,4
University Graduates	157	50,2
Students of University	74	23,6
MARITAL STATUS		
Married	120	38,3
Living alone	4	1,3
Engaged	10	3,2
Single	175	55,9
Divorced	4	1,3
OCCUPATION		
Academic	17	5,7
Self-employed	17	5,7
Student	82	27,7
Bank employee	3	1,0
Teacher	13	4,4
Operator	7	2,4
Lawyer	1	,3
Doctor	21	7,1
Secretary	6	2,0

Assistant chemist	6	2,0
Clerk	31	10,5
Nurse	49	16,6
Midwife	2	,7
Bookkeeper	14	4,7
Worker	16	5,4
Health Technician	2	,7
Housewife	7	2,4
Engineer	1	,3
Administrative Director	1	,3
INCOME (over YTL [New Turkish Lira])		
<1000	104	46,2
1000-2000	92	40,9
2000-3000	20	8,9
>3000	9	4,0
TOTAL	313	100

In respect to the age of the respondents the majority of the subjects participating in our survey were at the stages of young adulthood (20 - 30) and adulthood (30-50). This rate is about 89 per cent. The rate of the subjects below the age of 20 is approximately 9 per cent. The rate of the subjects above the age of 50 is about 3 per cent. Average age of respondents is about 28, median of age is 27 and standard deviation of age is about 8. Average age of respondents is corresponded to reality of Turkey.

According to the table; about 59 per cent of the subjects participating in our research were female and about 41 per cent of the subjects were male. That the number of females is more than the male in the sampling is meaning in terms of the degree that the female sensitivity is reflected in the responses in a gender-centered study. Another reason

that makes the gender variable significant for us is that it plays a central role in this study.

When looked at the places of birth, the majority of our subjects were born in cities. This rate is about 79 per cent. About 16 percent of respondents were born in towns and about 12 percent of respondents were born in villages. Only few of the respondents are born abroad. The duration of the migration from rural areas to the cities in Turkey is around the 1950s. The fact that the average age of the people in our sample is 28 shows that this high number of city-born people is rather understandable.

In respect to the educational status of the respondents, educational level of the majority of the subjects participating in our survey is university. This rate is about 50 percent. About 50 percent of subjects have got secondary school diploma. Approximately 4 percent of respondents have got primary school diploma. About 27 percent of respondents are still university students.

In respect to the marital status of the respondents, the majority of our subjects are single. This rate is about 56 per cent. About 38 percent of respondents are married. Rate of divorced and living alone women / men is about 1 per cent. These groups are lowest rate of marital status in our study.

There are numerous studies in relation to the fact that the professional sensitivity; in other words, that the profession a person has an effect on the world view of those people in terms of science. Each profession forces certain unique attitudes and mentality to the ones who have them. The importance of the profession one has and the professional positions is quite high. According to Table 1; most of the subjects responding our research is student (approx. 28), about 17 % nurse, 11 % clerk, 7 % doctor, 6 % self – employed and academics, 4 % teacher and so on. The smallest group within the subjects consists of lawyers, engineers and administrative directors. When we categorize the subjects as administrative, production, office, health and education in professional terms, we can say the following: we can include the people in various lines of business in private sector (hairdresser, fashion model, plumber, plasterer, secretary, etc.) and housewives who work without pay in the worker (production) group. The ratio of this group is about 8 per cent. The health sector comprises doctors, nurses, midwives, health technicians and assistant chemists. The ratio of this group is about 26 per cent. The clerks, bank employees, bookkeeper, doctors, lawyers and engineers are included in the office employees. The ratio of this group is 27 per cent. The education sector consists of students and teachers and its total ratio is approximately 32 per cent. The administrative group comprises 6 per cent of the entire sampling. There are self-employed and administrative directors fall into this group.

Analyzing the subjects participating in our research in terms of their income, the lowest income level is found as about 46 per cent out of the total numbers of the respondents. However, this group is the majority of the population. The second high rate of income (1000 – 2000) is in the rate of about 41 percent. The section with the highest level of income (3.000 YTL and above) is in the rate of 4 per cent. According to table, average income of respondents is about 1.355 YTL, median of income is 1.200 YTL and standard deviation of income is about 895 YTL. The maximum income of the respondents in our study is YTL 5.000, and the minimum income is 100 YTL.

2.5. Measurement of variables

Questionnaires are developed to measure public perception of policewomen and policeman. Our questionnaire consists generally of 6 main chapters. Demographics are the first part that questions the data such as age, gender, education status and profession. The part has been summarized in the sampling chapter. The second part covers some subjective experience and information of the citizens related to the police. The questions between 8 (incl.) and 17 (incl.) in the questionnaire are in this part. These questions examine both the subjective experience in related to police and attitudes. The third part contains the questions between 18 and 30 (incl.). This part provides us with the data on the police occupational culture and whether policewomen or policemen better represent this culture. In fact, the data covered in this part have the quality

of answering the question of “opinions for how to be policing.” While creating these questions, we greatly benefited from the works and studies of Skolnick(1975), Bittner (1980), Chan (1997), Banton (1964), Bayley (1985), Mannig (1977) and Reinner (2000), etc. The part 4 deals with the working conditions of the police. This part covers the questions between 31 and 38 (incl.) in the questionnaire. The working conditions affect the police officers in many ways. This part is oriented at testing both the opinions regarding the police and the negative environmental conditions affecting the police professions, and the formations damaging the spiritual and physical pattern of a police officer by the questions covered. The majority of these questions are based on the study in which the negative working conditions that result in stress in the police officers are explored by the psychologist Jenefier Brown (1994). The items in that part are included in our study by adjusting accordingly. The questions between 39 and 45 (incl.) in the questionnaire comprise the fifth part. The fifth part is about the police effectiveness. The principle aim here is to understand whether female or policemen are successful at certain cases. The master theses done with Prof. De Carmen at the Texas University (titled as Police use of force: Does gender make a difference by Sandifer in 2006) helped to a great extent during this study. The aim of the questions between 46 and 52 (incl.) is to find out the opinions regarding the policewomen. These questions, in fact, aim at understanding to what degree the stereotypes about the policewomen are valid. In the preparation stage of the questions, some feminist resources on mostly policewomen were reviewed

in the literature. We formed our scale by examining and reviewing the fundamental texts such as Balkin (1988), Garcia (2003), Heidensohn (2002), Hunt (1984), Martin (1980 and 1990) and Austin (1996), etc. The questions between 53 and 59 (incl.) list the basic characteristics put forward in the literature in relation to the policemen. In deciphering such characteristics, the resources shedding light on the inequality have been taken as references because of the reason that the real police characters claimed so point at the male; however these are the stereotypes pertaining to the male. When these stereotypes have been analyzed, it will be seen that the static nature of the police organization coded does not reflect the truth. The questions between 60 and 68 (incl.) have been used in order to measure what policing concept makes one think. This thinking phenomenon gives us information about the relation occurring between the police and the public. In this sense, most of the resources examining the relationship between the police and the community, and our observations contributed to the creation of these questions. While creating these questions, we paid special attention and provided significant place for the variable of police misconduct. In the coming parts of the thesis, the required literature will be provided on this variable in the relevant chapters.

2.6. Contribution of the Research

Recently, the policing studies appear more both within the organization, in the academy as well as in the media. We see that the

media deals mostly with the news aspect of the phenomenon. Notably, making an interview with a person of specialization is the short-cut of explaining the existing situation in an economical way. The studies carried out both within the organization and academy on the relation among the police in general and on the relation between the public and the police are richer and of quality data. Some of the academic studies related to our thesis are Aksoy (1995), Genç (1995), İçli (1995), Aydın 2000, Öztürk (2000a and 2000b), Arslan (2000) and Bahar (2002). The studies on the policemen and policewomen that are included in a significant part of our subject in our country are rather new. Demir and Özcan (2004), and Demir (2004) can be given as examples of such studies. But these studies did not explore the opinions and perceptions of the citizens towards the policewomen and policemen, and commentary explanations over these studies are not available. This study contributes to and becomes a resource for the ones who will study this topic by making some new associations and establishing connections in the context of fulfilling the gap and completing this lack of data and interpretation.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF POLICE AND POLICING

We can consider this chapter within two main frames. The first part consists of the theoretical frame that briefly includes the sociological theories on the police. We directly or indirectly encounter with quite much information on the police in the sociological literature. When we systematize and process this information by theories, it becomes apparent that the organization of policing is a phenomenon pertaining to the modern world like sociology. The organization contains all the advantages and problems of modernity. The second frame is the summarization of the historical course. First of all, the historical course of this modern organization is reviewed, and the history of policewomen, which is closely related to our subject, is briefly summarized; later on, the overall course of historicity is explored in general aspects and in terms of policewomen.

3.1. How Do Grand Sociological Theories Explain the Policing System and the Police in the Society?

In this chapter, an “interval” has been examined, which we can explain the policing in organizational terms in the works of the prominent thinkers of the history of sociology. As is known, almost all of the classic sociology theories are macro theories (large size), and these theories have become micro by branching out of the modernization. The macro

theories have explained many related events within the framework of a fundamental assertion. In this sense, the police can also be understood from this fundamental assertion. The relation between the doyens (and doyennes) of the sociology and the policing has been examined in this context. The micro theorists, on the other hand, have tried to understand the social phenomenon by making explanations over the individuality of the event rather than that of a more general perspective. These theorists have studied the policing as an individual element or an original field on the power relationality. Below, the ideas of some primary thinkers whose basic arguments we can provide in both approaches are summarized.

Our first platform of thought is Marxism led by Karl Marx. Almost all of the claims put forward by the Marxism and its theorists on the police are based on the state theory that are dealt with them about class and class relations. The police itself are seen as a functional part of a developed instrument (the state). Briefly, according to the Marxists, "The state is a special organ that appears at a certain moment in the historical evolution of mankind and that is condemned to disappear in the course of this same evolution. It is born from the division of society into classes and will disappear at the same time that this division disappears. It is born as an instrument in the hands of the possessing class for the purpose of maintaining the domination of this class over society, and it will disappear along with this class domination" (Mandel, 1969).

All historical societies are divided into antagonistic classes, Marx believed. The state does not represent the interests of 'the people' or a common 'general will' (Rousseau). Nor is it a force which stands above or beyond the clash of class interests, as liberal philosophers like Hobbes and Locke maintain. For Marx, the state is essentially an instrument of class rule. The state in capitalist society is a bourgeois state: it is nothing but 'a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie' (Marx, 1962:223).

The state, which is the pressure instrument of the dominant class (1962:223) and its manifestation (primitive, communal, feudal and bourgeoisie) apply, at any period, to the forcing means that will justify their formation grounds. The police are one of those forcing means. The police organization, from its most primitive form to the most modern form, is dependent on the class relations and the laws which established and formed it. As will be seen from this point, the changing nature of the relations transforms the structure of the organization. For example, in the feudal order, "This feudal lord is the absolute master of his realm. He is the only one who has the right to bear arms at all times; he is the only policeman, the only constable; he is the sole judge; he is the only one who has the right to coin money; he is the sole minister of finance. He exercises throughout his domain all the classic functions performed by a state as we know it today" (Mandel, 1969).

However, the Police organization gains their more institutionalized and specialized structure in the modern – capitalist world. In this sense, in fact the Marxist theories and Reinner’s theories are in accord with each other. The capitalist state employs forcing mechanisms in more different formation compared to other state forms. The distinctive natures of using force in this state form are hierarchic organization manner in a different form, new class form and class relations, observation practices and continuous use of this in daily life - Mandel (1969) calls these practices as “the Watch dog of the state”- the power influencing everywhere and the centralized structure of it. The use of force in this new form is seen as the intervention of a legal body at the case in the event that the law is violated. However, this is nothing more than an illusion because all the forcing means and instruments are just the tools used within the framework of the needs and requirement of the dominant class, that is dependent on the class relations. Considering this context, “The police are the first line of the “bodies of armed men” that are intended to defend the interest of the ruling class. If their real function was to stop crime, they would arrest every capitalist on the planet, as these are the true criminals and their regime the real source of all crime. *However* ...the existence of the police is directly tied to the maintenance of the State and capitalist property relations” (IBRP: 2002).

The philosopher who covers the state in a more complicated structure and places the police on a different position in the Marxist theory is Althusser. According to the structuralist thought of Althuser who was

influenced by Gramsci (1994, 33), the ideological state apparatus (ISA) is not the same with the repressive state apparatuses (RSA). The police are the repressive state apparatus, yet not the ideological state apparatus; they can be perceived and evaluated in the same platform with the government, administration, army, court and prison. In the end, all these organizations are the ones that authorize for force use / that apply force when deemed appropriate. According to Althusser (1994:34), although there are some differences between the ISA and RSA (If the state has one single repressive apparatus, there are many other ISAs; while the RSAs are within the public, significant number of the ISAs are in the private area), one of these differences is the most basic difference (1994: 35). *“The RSAs function by using force and the ISAs function by using the ideology”*. That is to say, while the repression is the primary concern at the RSA, the ideology is the second function. The police example of the Althusser at this point is quite explanatory: The police and the army function by simultaneously using the ideology both in order to ensure their civilizations and re-production and by the values they provide to the outside. On the contrary, while the ideology is priority at the ISAs, at the same time, a secondary function is attached at the repression, even if at the last stage..., the pressure which is moderated, concealed even symbolic (1994:35), As will be deducted here, not only the Orthodox current but also the modern Marxist current read the police over a structural relation. While the classics make the policing understandable directly over the class with a class reductionist approach, the late Marxism

explains the policing over a relative autonomy, a more autonomous system of relation.

Though influenced by the clashing school, the person whom we can consider in the post modern thought is Foucault, one of the prominent figures of the French sociology, rather than being in this school more because of his unique ideas. He developed the thoughts of Althusser, who was his teacher, and theorized some new ideas by emphasizing the power relations that the Marxist theory ignores and reduces to the class. Foucault, in this context, calls the disciplinary societies that started to emerge in the 18th and 19th centuries as wider and more common closing and blockade spaces different from the structures of former societies. Here “the individual continually passes from one blockade space to the other, each of which has its own laws; first the family, then school, later the barracks and eventually the factory, sometimes hospital, possibly prison” (Deleuze: 1992). According to Foucault, the concept – police – refers to a phenomenon which can be considered within the governmentality. In Foucault’s work (1991) “governmentality’ marks the emergence of a distinctly new form of thinking about and exercising of power in certain societies” (Jaschke, 2007:35). The governmentality is established during its historical course and flow and each structure established, like itself, is shaped by the traits of its period.

The phrase put forward by Foucault (1982) while evaluating a study by Von Justi is significant in terms of development of the critical criminology. He describes as the ““paradox of police2: that is, the police must foster citizen’s lives – understood as improved living – in such a way that their development also fosters the state’s strength. Thus do police engage in techniques or ways of intervening in the common activities of individuals to enhance their lives so that the state is also strengthened” (Jaschke, 2007, 35). Foucault attempts to get the connection between the right of the state to use power and the happy citizen in one of his studies on the work of Delamare named Treaty on Police. According to Foucault, “happiness of individuals is a requirement for the survival and development of the state. It is a condition; it is an instrument, and not simply a consequence. People’s happiness becomes an instrument of state strength” (Jaschke, 2007.38).

According to him (1982, 155) “the police, happiness ensuring power of the state, was perceived at the time as a whole set of techniques and strategies by which a government in the framework of the state was able to govern people as individuals, which was significantly useful for the world” (Jaschke, 2007:35).

One other great thinker in the traditional sociology is Durkheim. He lays emphasis on the fact that each social phenomenon in which the police can be thought of should be dealt with like a subject from an

unbiased, fair perspective in order for the social research to be scientific and subjective. On the other hand, according to Parsons who is trying to read the sociology over his theoretical inferences, the core and basic task is to make the functional analysis of the social organizations. There should be established such a general theory that the conceptual schemas obtained through it would be possible to apply on not only the sociology but all the social sciences. Yet according to Parsons, though in different fields, economics and political sciences, for instance, dealt with particular, specialized sub – systems like sociology (Worsley,1987:474).

There are 4 basic requirements of any social system according to the General Action theory of Parsons, which are Adaptive Function, Goal Attainment, Integrative Function and Latency (AGIL). Since giving further details about this theory of Parsons is out of this subject, it is sufficient to talk about the Integrative function of a social system, which is quite relevant to our topic. At this part of Parsons' work, there appears some information pertaining to the police. Parsons thought of the police within a functional context in his work. According to him, "In many societies, religion plays a major role in holding the society together by endowing its argued values and beliefs with sacredness and, through rituals, impressing them upon society members and renewing and reinforcing their attachment to them. In addition, agencies of social controls, such as police and the courts, detect and constrain the activities of those who would

deviate from the rules organizationalized in the society” (Worsley,1987: 475).

Bourdieu, a major and distinctive follower of Durkheim, on the other hand, conceptualizes the policing as a field. Each field explains a flowing structure, incorporating certain hierarchic positions within itself, where the actors are interrelated with each other in terms of power relations depending on the type of capital they possess. For illustration, whereas a police officer graduated from an academy can be promoted up to the top of the system because of his/her cultural capital, another police officer who has less cultural capital but strong in terms of social capital is able to have others assign him/her for a night shift. Each field is in struggle with the actors in itself and with the other neighboring fields. In the correlation of the relation, while a field is at peak in terms of hierarchy, the others can be at the bottom. When the correlation changes, the ones at the bottom may go up to the top; and the one at the top may decrease to the most bottom. The conclusion we can deduct from the Bourdieu sociology is valid for policing regarding to legal field. An example provided in a unique study for the legal field by Bourdieu clarifies this case: “A judge at the lowest degree (or a police officer or a prison guard, if to take this relation to his last correlation) is dependent on an abstract legal doctrinarian and an expert in constitutional law by a chain of legitimization which takes him/her out of the category of arbitrary violence” (Bourdieu, 2005:20).

The place where we can see the police is the state, peak of the bureaucratic organization, in the sociological inferences of Weber who attaches much more importance to operational examination of the social actors in the traditional sociology and who attempts at semantically analyzing the actions. According to Weber (1946:77), “state is a human community that (successfully) claims the *monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force* within a given territory. Note that 'territory' is one of the characteristics of the state. Specifically, at the present time, the right to use physical force is ascribed to other organizations or to individuals only to the extent to which the state permits it. The state is considered the sole source of the 'right' to use violence. Hence, 'politics' for us means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state.” According to the Weberian thought, the police are one of the instruments that use the legitimate physical force of the state in the name of the state. However, according to Weber, since the state is not a class instrument as considered by Marx, likewise the police are not a means of repression as well; it is an entirely bureaucratic establishment.

Briefly, the fact coming out in an express and clear way in this chapter in which we summarized both the theorists of the macro and their followers, micro sociology is this: just as the sociology is the child of modernity, it considers all the organization that it deals with like police organization as modern establishments. Each theory attempts at

explaining these modern establishments by a modernization perspective peculiar to itself.

3.2. A Brief Review of History of Police and Policing

In a limited definition done by Bayley (1985:7), “(*Police*) include those individuals authorized by the group of which they are members to use physical force in order to regulate relations among group members” (Bell, 2004:135). In another definition attempt parallel to this yet more emphasizing the historical perspective, Skolnick points at this: “The police as we know them – with uniforms and nightsticks, out patrolling to street – are we noted earlier, a relatively new invention” (Skolnick, 1993: 116). Pigeon (1927) makes a summarization relating to the historical evolution of the policing: “primitive man first realized the blessings of a public "peace" and demanded its preservation; and when crime was declared a common enemy and its prevention a necessity. These functions are broad and they have not been hampered by exact definitions. As they have been developed in modern police practice, both rural and urban, they place the officers at the narrow pass through which the tide of inebriates, mental defectives, unemployed and socially unadjusted are surging on to the prisons, the insane asylums and poor farms” (Pigeon,1997:373). Skolnick’s definition above indicates that the police is a modern organization; and Pigeon shows how this organization was organizationalized like the other modern organizations and how they were

divided into functional parts. We can examine the history of the police organization in two periods based on the date which it emerged as a modern organization in 1829.

3.2.1. A Brief Review of History of Policing Before 1829

The information and knowledge provided by anthropology take us deeper down. When looked in this sense, it is seen that the job of policing is not done in a separated organizational structure, yet is determined by the dynamics of kinship, religious system and division as in the case of other practices. There is quite much anthropological data which tell us that the religious authority, the political authority and inheritance are interrelated. In this meaning, the policing services have become functional busy with guaranteeing the existence of the authority at the most top.

Çağlar's (1999:122) emphasis on the nature of the primitive communities in one of his articles in which he summarizes the anthropologic studies on policing is rather important. " ... It was considered rather important possessing properties and estates in most of the primitive communities, and there was a requirement for some mechanisms to settle down the disputes on such as proprietorship, heritage, sharing, etc. Upon this point, the policing started to appear as a natural consequence of this and similar mechanisms." In the same way, a citation by the author from Hoebel (1976:114) has an explanatory role in

the development of legal organizations including policing. “The clashes between tribes and kin groups were handled from official side. These mediators were called *monakalun*. The emergence of monakalun is thought as the first step towards the establishment of legal organizations” (Çağlar: 1999:122).

Even a brief reading of history of policing enables us to see the preliminary examples of the civilization where history, politics, economy, sociology, anthropology and philosophy reach out for an origin for itself. In this sense, we will need to divert our face, like other studies, to the Sumer, Egypt, Greece, Rome, even to the Central Asia, that is to the city structures in those places.

In this framework, when we look at the Egypt example, we are able to track down some of the basic characteristics of the policing in their early periods. “The police function has been somewhat inseparable from the military function as ancient rulers almost always kept elite, select units (bodyguards) close at hand to protect them from threats and assassination attempts, and although it was more theocratic than militaristic, the argument could be made that *the first known civilization (Egypt) was a police state.*” (Real Police:2008)

Another example is from the area of Mesopotamia, on which Sumer, Babylonia and Assyria were founded. The security and safety of the cities of Uruk, Umma, Eridu, Lagash and Ur; the first settlement places in Sumer, represented also the security of the king. The most striking feature in Sumer, having resembling characteristics with Egypt, was that the ones in the policing job were mostly the slaves. "... *Nubian slaves were the first police force*. This group was often put to work as marketplace guards, Praetorian guards, or in other mercenary-like positions. As a police force, their different color, stature, and manner of dress made them quite visible among the Mesopotamians. The idea of visibility could then be regarded as the first principle of crime control" (Real Police:2008). The fact that the domestic security was left in the hands of the slaves has some traces and cues for the historians who are attempting to find out and explain the collapse period of those states.

When we look at Rome, we come across with a newer phenomenon. "It's widely recognized that *the first organized police force were the Roman vigiles*, the first group of non-military and non-mercenary police "(Real Police:2008). That the etymology of the police notion of today corresponds to the Greek city-state enables us to examine the Greek civilization as the last part in the first period. The ancient Greek city-states are called POLIS. "In Greek language, the term police that derived from polis meaning site has been used

gradually in a wide denotation indicating the role of the modern state.”
(Glezial, 2000; 7).

A view at policing in the Medieval Europe makes it possible for us to imagine a more complex and more difficult to comprehend picture. The Medieval Europe refers a chaotic era when the political unities were not exactly formed, the fights and conflicts among the states were intense, the religion interfered with every aspect of life, and the holy wars took place both within the countries and between the continents like the Crusades. It would be logical to think that the Magna Carta issued in 1215 aimed at ending this chaotic situation. The policing, in this period, are rather seen as watching system.

We see a new implementation manner of the present police system in a different way especially from the beginning of the modern times. This period, which we can name colonial period, spans mostly the years 1600 and 1800. Here it is observed that the colony continues its function within the structuring in conformity with the police system of the center. However it should be noted that none of the systems received from the center is implemented in the exact way, yet they are implemented by changing and modifying them taking into account the circumstances and human relations of that area. To illustrate, “For the most part (some would say wholesale), the U.S. adopted the English version of the watch system, which eventually became an unorganized American watch system. Shire-reeves became sheriffs, towns had constables who organized groups of

watchmen who in turn helped organize citizen volunteers, and mayors usually had a high constable or marshal as their right-hand man. It is important to note that *primarily because of adoption of the English system*, the U.S. system is characterized by: (1) limited authority (legitimacy problems); (2) decentralization (local control and variation); and (3) fragmentation (one hand doesn't know what the other is doing)” (Real Police:2008).

3.2.2. A Brief Review of History of Policing After 1829

England is the first place where the modern police organization was established. England is the center of the world in terms of industrial development in those years. To state briefly, intense industrialization, dense migration from rural areas to urban settlement areas resulting from the intense industrialization, economic crisis caused by excessive production and alienation that the human-beings experience during this cycle of change are the symptoms observed both in England and in other countries of industrial movements. If sociology is the branch of science of which subject is observing the events and phenomena, one of the modern instruments to control these events is the police organization.

Conley (1989) discusses the conditions enabling the emergence of modern police organization we try to summarize above within the framework of four approaches. The first one of these approaches is “crime

rose to such unprecedented levels that the constable-watch system collapsed and was incapable of adjusting to pressures of industrialization and urbanization” (Çağlar, 1999:127). Indeed, the extreme increases in the crime rates in the big cities where there is much industrialization and that certain types of crime occur heavily are observed facts pertaining to that period. For example, property crime and social actions are commonly seen in those periods.

Conley’s (1989) second approach that supplements/completes this description is the following: “the riots of the early nineteenth century created such fears among populace that alternative means of riot suppression were sought” (Çağlar, 1999:127). As a matter of fact, the 19th century bears witness to the years when the extraordinary mobility occurred in the cities. Numerous worker actions and the poor rebellions as well as the political remonstrations are quite visible in this period. To provide an example for this, quite many writers mention the worker actions and protests and strikes conducted in order to decrease the daily working hours down to 12 hours. Even, Marx thinks of this development as a significant victory. To understand the 8 hours of daily working today, it is quite notable to perceive the value of the attempts and fights did for 12 hours at that time. The novels of that period are considerably guiding to clarify the social structure of the period, such as *A Tale of Two Cities* by Charles Dickens and Zola’s *Pot Luck (Pot-Bouille)*.

Conley's (1989) third approach where he explains the modern police formation is as the following: "The elites feared the rising number of and threat from the poor immigrants" (Çağlar, 1999:127). Not only the bureaucratic elites but also the economic ones perceive the migration wave into the cities as a threat since the migration waves will also desire for the limited opportunities and facilities that they possess. At the same time, the poor and unqualified majority who will struggle to take part in the administration constitutes a complete source of fear for the aristocracy. Therefore, the police in a way mean an organization fighting for easing this fear to some extent.

The last approach Conley (1989) points at is "the police represented just one many urban government agencies created to provide services to meet the changing demands of city governments..." (Çağlar, 1999: 128). As we stated before, in this era when the city dominates the country patterns, most of the fields are left to the hands of the specialized individuals. One of the sectors that employ specialized persons is the police. It would be a mistake to examine the four approaches referred by Conley without associating with each other. In our opinion, these four approaches are complementary for each other.

We can briefly mention the first police organization in the modern sense following the study of the approaches. The Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 introduced by Sir Robert Peel and Colonel Charles Rowan and

passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom established the Metropolitan Police Service of London, which is often considered as the first modern police force and first example of its type. London, one of the biggest and most important industrial cities of that period, had quite a lot of problems arising out of this fast development. The primary and basic ones of these problems were reaction and alternative demands of the working class resulting from bad living conditions and increase in the crime rates under the deteriorating city circumstances in terms of economy. As specified shortly by Mawby, the core responsibilities of the police are “prevention of crime, the protection of life and property, and the preservation of public tranquility” (Mawby, 2000:107). We can say the following about the basic characteristics of this organization under which around 3000 people work and perform their duties for 24 hours¹:

“During this period, citizens had a fear of the presence or creation of a repressive police force that would use fear and violence to control the population, as seen throughout Europe with occupying military/police forces... (Really) the agency had strong organizational hierarchies based on the military model of authority and responsibility... Police agencies are composed of full-time professionals who give their time and attention to maintaining order and protecting the citizenry.”

In another explanation that clarifies the phrases above, Sir Richard Maybe states that "The primary object of an efficient police is the prevention of crime: the next that of detection and punishment of offenders

¹ www.jus.state.nc.us/NCJA/module-one.pdf (28-04-2008).

if crime is committed. To these ends all the efforts of police must be directed. The protection of life and property, the preservation of public tranquility, and the absence of crime, will alone prove whether those efforts have been successful and whether the objects for which the police were appointed have been attained" (Metropolitan Police: 2008).

The establishment of the police department in England served as a model for the other countries in order to ensure domestic security. Following this date, numerous countries began to establish their national police systems similar to the ones in England and by taking into account the national order and properties. To enrich this with a few examples, we can say these: "Several years later the Royal Irish Constabulary was formed, and Australia, India, and Canada soon established similar organizations. Other countries, impressed by the success of the plan, followed suit until nations throughout the world had adopted police systems based on the British model...In the U.S., the first full-time organized police departments were formed in New York City in 1845 and shortly thereafter in Boston, not only in response to crime but also to control unrest. The American police adopted many British methods, but at times they became involved in local partisan politics..." (Encyclopedia: 2008).

However, after a certain time following the establishment of the police system in England, a new different police system started to organize in the

continental Europe. While the countries connected with England take the English system as an example, in the same way, the countries connected with the continental Europe (such as the Ottomans and Republic of Turkey) transferred the features of this structures to greater extent. We can consider the French influence on the Turkish police system in this way. The main differences between the continental Europe and the Island system can be summarized as follows based on a summary study by Ergut (2001) on police theory:

1. Whereas the English police system has a perspective focusing on social dynamics, that is to say; a more society-oriented system, the police system of the Continental European police system shows a more state centered perspective.
2. While the Police in the English system respond to the potential or committed law violations, the fundamental duty of the police in the French police system is to protect and maintain the perfect order of the society. The most significant result of this is that while the main concern of the English police is fighting with crime (incident-oriented policing), protecting the order is the overall characteristic of the French police system.
3. In connection with the above, while the political processes are at the foreground during the establishment of the police system of the Continental Europe, social processes are seen at the foreground to a greater extent.

3.3. A Brief Review of Policewomen in the World

As stated by Miller, today's police organization took its shape in the actual sense, like most of the other organizations, at the period after the industrial revolution (Karakaş 2002, 17). Briefly summarizing the impacts of the Industrial Revolution, emergence of new fields of business and work and increase of expertise in a job related to this, rapid increase in the population of the cities and accompanying social problems (poverty, deprivation, behaviors of crime and deviation properties, etc.) are seen at the first place. It is quite clear that city life has not been of such significance in any era of the history. We see in this depressing period that there are policewomen though employed in relatively few numbers.

The sectors that women mostly prefer working are mainly the ones that the society considers appropriate for them in harmony with their bodies. Office works, secretariat, nursing, teaching, etc. are generally the professions that the society deems suitable for women. From a sociological point of view, there are two most prominent reasons for the fact that the women play the principal roles in such professions: the physical power spent for the work is appropriate for the female body, and their capability to perform their household / domestic roles that are in harmony with their roles at work after completing it. In fact, this causal image constitutes the basic postulates of the sexist production manner. The sexist production manner, naturally, enabled female employment in the relatively weak and inefficient fields. Release from passive tasks, on

the other hand, was realized when it was necessary for them to fill in the positions what the men did not fill in the main employment fields as a back-up power. We see that only this way the women take the roles of the men. One of the most apparent examples is the wars. The wars refer to a period when the men leave for the front lines to fight and many branches of profession lack competent and skillful workers. One of these branches of profession is policing. The World War I has a significant place in the history of policewoman. For the first time in this period, “well in excess of 5000 women found themselves engaged in law and order duties on the streets of the major cities” (Woodeson,1993:217).

However, we insistently have to state that there is not much difference between the role appraised for the policewoman in the past and the policing paradigm that was dominant until 70s. “Although women have been involved in policing since the 19th century, their presence went relatively unnoticed until the 1970s, when they began to be assigned to uniformed patrol duties. Expansion of their traditional policewomen’s responsibilities, which primarily involved the handling of women and children, was fostered by a series of events that culminated in 1972 with Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which extended the prohibitions of discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in employment to public agencies, including police departments” (Schulz, 2003:331). From this perspective, the policing vision and imagination of the tradition refer to the male body that is fighting against the crimes, picking up the criminals and punishing if necessary.

Heidensohn (1992) made one of the major explanations that enables us to understand the phrase above based on the opinions of most academicians as follows. There are some historical steps that shape the career of policewomen. They can be listed like this: “First, women served to guide moral reform, rescuing female inmates, prostitutes, juvenile delinquents, and the homeless Women served as prison and police matrons (1840 to 1910/15). Women’s duties centered on issues better handled by women, such as children, female victims of sex offenses, women criminals, missing persons, and clerical work. Following the moral reform movement, women came to be seen as specialists and pioneers (1910/15-30) Seeking more to protect women and children and decent men, separate women’s precincts were established. The third stage reflected latency and depression (1930 to 1945), when women’s movement into the organization became stagnant during the Great Depression. Martin (1980) placed the latency stage at 1930 to 1970 because of the fact that policewomen made only minor inroads into policing. However, after World War II, the history of women in policing reflected an informal expansion (1945 to 1970). By the early 1970s, women accomplished integration (1972 to present) into the mainstream police organization” (Garcia 2003:335). Pagan argues the underlying factor behind the importance of the 70s for the history of policewoman; “substantive improvement was achieved in the United States in the sixties

and early seventies when equal opportunity laws declared discrimination based on gender” (1996:1).

The mindset prevailing over the policing is male mindset as briefly summarized in the USA example above. The most significant result of this mentality is that positions in policing are kept by men, but that it makes it possible for women to have soft occupation in certain necessary fields (these fields are appropriate for traditional female nature). It was only possible by means of the legal intervention that fields of work filled by the white and males in the USA example was to some extent left to the other. It should be regarded that the sufferers of this discrimination is not only women. Discrimination is like a dirty hand to touch everybody who is different in a heterogeneous society like the USA. Therefore, we see that the African – Americans as well as the women are exposed to the discrimination to an extent that can be easily noticed. We can even state a sociologic formula like this in such as a heterogonous society: “If the actor is both African – American origin and female, then she experiences double discrimination”. A quotation from Terry (1988) depicts the state of mind of the African – Americans as follows: “On the job, a black partner may be seen as "a brother in blue," but if blacks speak forcefully against what they perceive to be racist slurs, behaviors, and policies in the department, they are often accused of not being "blue enough" (Price:1996).

The case in America is similar to the ones experienced and observed in other parts of the worlds. Hazenberg (1996) summarizes the fact that similar cases are seen in Europe with the following sentences of his: “The policy of the police services in Europe is made by man. Men make a dominant group. Women are by far a minority. The percentage of women in operational work in Europe in 1996 varies from 1.9% to 16%. There are practically no women taking part in the governing and managing bodies. Women within the European police services find themselves mainly in the lowest, supporting, operational ranks and positions.”

The picture will be completed if we provide an example from England within Europe. That England is one of the examples of a place where society centered policing concept is developed, and that it has qualities and powers of being influenced (influence them) by both the continent and America are different outlooks and perspectives of this country. Nonetheless, despite this originality of England, it is not a paradisiacal place of residence for the policewomen. According to the data of 1997 from the Home Office, “In the UK, for example, in September 1997 only 1 per cent of chief constables were women, and 4 per cent of 151 assistant chief constables” (Amos Wilson,1999: 128).

To give a different example other than the West, we can illustrate the male paradigm that is dominant over policing in the world. The most prominent of these examples is Pakistan. Amos Wilson (1999: 130) “there had been women wearing the police uniform of the blue *shalwar-kameez*

in the various state police forces for 21 years. The first women officers were appointed in the state of Sindh in 1976... At first the roles were clerical and it is still not uncommon to see policewomen in Pakistan used as computer data entry clerks". An improvement for the policewomen in Pakistan falls in Butto's term of office. Pakistan was ruled by a female prime minister once, as was the case in Turkey then. The country gained valuable gains in terms of women rights and equality in the period of government of Benazir Bhutto. That the policemen were not successful dealing with female victims and criminals resulted in the fact that the employment of policewomen increased. Numerous legal regulations have been enacted and some professional disadvantages of women have been eliminated.

3.4. A Brief Review of the Historical Development of Turkish Police Organizations

When we review at the historical course of the Turks, we witness the Turkish communities living in tribes, their wars with the other foreign and cognate tribes, and their migration from certain places due to continuous warfare, climate, etc. The role of the security in the public affairs for such large and dynamic masses of people has a certain and significant function. According to a definition, the person who is responsible for such affairs is called *Subaşı*, a military commander. "Su means soldier, commander, army, and subaşı means chief of the army." As the tribes came together and the community grew larger, the office of

Kağan emerged. The *Subaşı* began leading certain units in the wars, and they ensured the security and safety of the places they lived during the time of peace. Therefore, the roles of the *subaşı*s were limited to a smaller scope and they became the administrators of certain duties. The oldest *Subaşı* known is İNALKAĞAN, whose name is written on the TONYUKUK epigraph of the 8th century (İsbmyo:2008). According to another explanation that is in parallel to this yet with different terms, “Police officers and chiefs in the old Turks are called Yargan. Yargans were generally working under the governors called “tarhan” and “tigin” who were in charge of public order and security. In the time of Gokturks, there were some other people responsible for security affairs called “Sad,” “Tudun” and “Subaşes” in smaller centers in addition to *Tigins*” (Bilgiç,2002:172).

As it is clear from this point, policing in the old Turks refers to an aspect that can be considered within the task of army. Customary law, i.e. law based on the customs, is quite significant in the old Turks. The most competent person enforcing this law is the ruler, that is *kagan*. Custom itself is representative of *kagan*. The officials make the power of *kagan*² permanent by enforcing the customs or in other terms, by punishing the ones who violate the customs.

The history of police in the Ottomans, the most magnificent and central empire of the Turks in the history starts almost with the history of

² The relation between *Kagan* and customs is such complex that it cannot be explained by the strict nature of the determinism because, as seen above, if one infers that kagan is an upper authority over customs, that is a misunderstanding. The studies conducted by Hassan (2000), (2001) and Divitçioğlu (2000) suggest that customs is a reality over the kagan. That is to say, kagan also has to comply with the customs.

the empire itself. “When Osman Beg captured the town of Karahisar, he assigned his son, Orhan Beg, as the governor of the city, and assigned Gündüz Alp, his close friend, as *Subaşı*³.” This person is the first Police Chief in today’s context. The *subaşı*s were responsible for disciplining and training the soldiers during the peacetime that would be needed during the wartime, and ensuring the peace and order of the city. They also commanded the troops during the war time that they trained” (EGM: 2008). We also see that there is *Asas Bashi* together with the *Subaşes*. In general terms, “Two police officers closest to civil population to capital were the *Asas Bashi* and the *Subashi*. They went on raunt of inspection, arresting person apperanhented in the act of committing a crime, an inflicting punishment as degreed of authorities” (Swansoon, 1972: 249).

Until the *Tanzimat* period, we see that the Ottoman citizens formed a method called “Surety system” to ensure the security among them. According to this system, “if an offence such as theft, murder, is committed in any neighborhood and the offender cannot be found, the entire neighborhood becomes responsible for that and the damage caused is eliminated with solidarity by means of this method” (Bilgiç, 2002: 172). This, in one sense, refers to the phenomenon called as collective responsibility by Ergut. “The policing practice, as most frequently applied across the indirect administration of the empire, was in the nature of imposing collective fine upon the locality in which the offender assumed to

³ Tunç (2006: 426), by citing Okçaboldan, emphasizes the fact that *subaşes* are important figures in assuring the public order in the Turkish history since the Central Asia. According to him, therefore, it will not be a wrong approach to start the history of Turkish police by *Subaşes*.

be in the event that that person cannot be caught and sent to the relevant authorities” (2004: 86).

It is a known fact that abolishing the Guild of Janissaries in 1826 resulted in apparent security problems and gang formations and crime attempts in various regions of the Anatolia increased. The army called *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* [Victorious Soldiers of Mohammed] that was established in lieu of the Guild of Janissaries (*Yeniçeri*) focused more often on the external security, and again the domestic security remained as a problematic area.

It is quite meaningful that the *Gülhaneyi Hattı Humayun* was proclaimed in this period. The articles related to life, property and honor of the rescript paved the way for the requirement that the domestic security should critically and seriously be dealt with and new approaches and actions should be taken. To this end, the first police assembly is established in the Galata Beyoğlu area. It is not coincident that this area was chosen for the assembly. This area is the center of trade, and where most of the embassies and foreign merchants resided. For this reason, the establishment of the assembly who would be in charge of security of “Galata - Beyoğlu” area was decided on in early 1845. The assembly that would work under the supervision of the Office of Marshall of Tophane, headed by Mehmet Ali Pasha would comprise total 7 people. All the works and activities of the assembly regarding the security would be submitted to the Higher Assembly via Marshall of Tophane, and later after revisions,

would be submitted to the Sublime Porte, that is Grand Vizier. Any of the works and actions would enter into force if approved by the Padishah. First of all, a detailed ordinance that covers the working principles, activities and powers of the Policy Assembly was drafted. The ordinance that was sent to the Higher Assembly via the Marshall of Tophane, and revised there once again came into force on 21 March 1845 (Sönmez, 262). Today we celebrate April 10 as the Police Festival every year, but the original date to be celebrated is March 21. The work by Sönmez is a significant source for the discussion regarding this date.

The police ordinance consisting of 17 articles that came into force on the date stated above assigned certain powers to the police and specified the limits of their responsibilities. This ordinance, in which we see the concept of police for the first time in official language, was prepared based on the “Governmental Decree that regulated the duties of the Security Directorate of Paris dated July 1, 1800” (Selçuk. Pol: 2008).

The police organization was re-organized upon the proclamation of the Republic based on the needs and requirements of the new (national) state. According to Çufalı (2007: 14), “The roots of the Police Organization, which was altered in various terms during the Ottoman State, within the Republican period is based on the ‘Directorate of Security General’ that was established on 24 June 1920 in Ankara during the War of Independence.” The First Director General of the police organization, of

which the reorganization was initiated by Durak Bey, the Congressman from Erzurum is A. Naci Bey.” The first Director General of the Republic of Turkey is İsmail Hamit OKTAY (Oskay), who took the office between 24 October 1923 and 6 February 1924 (Ansiklopedi: 2008).

When we have an overall look at the Police system in Turkey in the republic period, we see that it has a strong and dynamic in terms of central structure and organization like other components of the bureaucracy. The Director General of Security, who is responsible to Minister of Interior Affairs, is at the top office within the central structure. The primary responsibility of the Director General of Security is to ensure the domestic security. As it is clear from this point, security organization is one of the primary organizations responding to the security needs of the country. Mentioning the domestic security, the other organizations that come to mind are Coast Guard Command and Gendarmerie. “The total number of the personnel of the Gendarmerie General Command, which was established in 1839 as a military organization, is 280.000 according to the official figures, 80 per cent of which consist of the personnel who are performing their compulsory military service, and this number is around 300.000 according to the unofficial figures. The area of responsibility of the Gendarmerie General Command is the locations that are outside the provincial and district municipality borders (rural areas) that are not covered by the police, or the residential areas where there are not any police stations. The area of responsibility of the Gendarmerie for ensuring

public order covers 91 percent of the total area of Turkey. While the Gendarmerie serves a population of 44 million corresponding to 65 percent of the total population of country in summer months, which is tourism season, they serve one third of the population (27 million) during the remaining period of the year.” (Sariibrahimoğlu, 2006: 97). Coast Guard Command, on the other hand, refers to an organization that is responsible for domestic security problem related to sea as its name suggests. “The maritime boundaries of Turkey are about three times longer than the land border. While the land border of Turkey is 2573 kilometers, total length of coast line is 8333 kilometers including islands” (Sariibrahimoğlu, 2006: 109). The Coast Guard Command that performs surveillance and control services is attached to the Turkish General Staff as opposed to the Gendarmerie and Directorate of Security General. “The personnel of the Coast Guard, the number of which is 2200 according to the official figures (including 460 civilian personnel) mainly comprises obligors who are doing their compulsory military service (Sariibrahimoğlu, 2006:111).

This organization that is responsible to the Director of Security General can be examined in two parts as Center and Field Service. The center is organized by formation of 34 departments to perform different tasks, and the field service carries out its tasks and duties in 81 provinces under the control of provincial security directors. The personnel regime of the organization is based on two types of categories; police (Class of

Security Services) and civilian Servants. Total number of the police is approximately 175.058 and number of civilian servants is 17715. There is 1 police officer for 251 citizens considering the city population compared to number of the organization of average 175.000 people, whose duty is to ensure the public order and security within urban areas (44.000.000 people). Considering the urban population of 44 million corresponding to the 66 percent of the total country population, and when this number is divided by the number of the police, it is seen that this number of the police is quite insufficient compared to the Gendarmerie, the law enforcement responsible for rural areas” (Cerrah,2006,84).

3.5. A Brief Review of Policewomen in Turkey

In a study on the Proto-Turks (Ögel: 2003, Sümer: 1999) social statuses of women are identified. Such studies briefly suggest that women were more free and enjoyed equality until the Islamic period and by the introduction of Islam, they gradually lost their advantages in social terms. To what extent this crude history reading has credentials. There are also some works and studies that argue the women in the old Turks did not live in equal and free environment as men did (*for examples* Türköne: 1995). Shortly, not having comprehensive knowledge on the Chinese, Turkish, Mongol and Arabic documents regarding history results in the fact that we have limited information on the historical structure of the Proto – Turks.

Therefore, any type of encoding process and procedure on the Proto Turks is missing in one aspect.

The underlying reason of extending until the old Turks in this chapter is the fact that the basic pattern into which the policewomen can be placed is the history of Turkish women. Yet, it is not possible for us to exactly find the policewoman as a historical subject both in the old Turks and in the post-Islamic period. In the history of police, we see the policewomen as historical figures in the post-republican period. However, it should be noted that just as in the case of the pre-republican period, organizational texts on the policewomen in the post-republican period is rather less. Despite this fact, if we summarize this image briefly; “The first policewomen is Betül Diker; the first female chief of police station is Nevlan Kulak, and the first Security Director is Feriha Sanerk.” (Ntvmsnbc:2008). When we have a brief look at the life of the first policewomen director; Feriha Sanerk, we in fact understand the demanding historical course of the policewomen in our country. “Ms. Feriha Sanerk, who started working in 1945, was the only female student of the Department of Political Sciences. However, since the laws in effect then did not permit the assignment of women as district governor to the office, she started working as a civil servant in the Ministry of Interior Affairs when she graduated. She was closely dealing with the 27 May 1960 coup and was involved in the street fights prior to the 12 March 1971 memorandum as a civil servant. In those years, Ms. Sanerk was working

as an intelligence officer, and she was successful at being appointed as a security director after long efforts and struggles” (Samsunmübadele: 2008). That is to say; for a status to reach at, the women have to fight with both the males and the laws. It is generally observed that the women face with such double standards in the work life.

The main factor in determining the employment of the policewomen in our country is the policy of the police organization. Within that policy, the number of the policewomen is determined to be employed in the organization. This policy is defined by the needs. Whereas, in fact it is not the need of the organization that determines the employment of the policewomen, but it is the masculine structure that dominates the organization. Such structure does not require hiring women. The underlying element showing the policy of the organization in the best way is the subjective mentality of the policemen. Generally the majority of the policemen do not like / lean to working with policewomen, and they even request that less number from the current employed policewomen be hired to the organization.

When we analyze the current policy of the organization regarding the female personnel, “there are 9.833 policewomen as of 2006 in the Security Organization; 87 of which are security director, 32 are police chiefs, 10 are chief inspectors, 216 are inspectors, 88 are deputy inspectors, and 9.030 are police officers.” (İHA -*İhlas News Agency*-, 03

February 2007). The number of policewomen comprises 5,5 % of the total number of police force. Now let us provide answers to the following questions over these figures.

Why is the number of policewomen is so low? In our country, the police officers are trained at certain police organizations. These training organizations are: Police College, Police training schools, Police vocational higher school and Police academy. The academy, which trains and educates the police elites, accepted women for the first time, in 1992; while the Police College started admitting female students after an amendment on the Admission Regulation of the Police College in 2002. The result arising from this fact is that in legal terms, the employment regime of the Turkish police organization was at the hands of the male monopoly until 1990s. Post-1990s, a limited quota for women to become police officers was allowed. For example, the number of female students at the police academy is not more than 5 % of the total number of students. The main reason for this legal delay and obstacle for employment of policewomen is the sexist organizational policy as specified above. This policy only allows less number of women to be employed in certain fields of police organization. This policy will be analyzed in detail in the coming chapter of our thesis.

The attention and concern of both the media and the academicians to the policewoman in our country is rather less. The studies on the

problems of the policewomen is so scarce in our media. Most of such studies are oriented at uncovering the discrimination against policewomen (Avcı: 2004, Çelikkan, 2005). In addition to these, limited number of academic researches is mainly on the organizational problems of the policewomen. One of these studies was carried out by Gülsen Demir (2004). In this study conducted by interview method, the goal was to collect information on the personal, family and working life of the policewomen, and their opinions regarding the social values were detected. Another study was done by Demir (2003), Özcan and Demir (2004). In these studies, it was aimed to find out the professional obstacles that policewomen face with during their practices on promotion, appointment, reward, etc., and the sexual oriented practices (utterances, attitudes and glances) that the women are exposed to.

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL BUILDING STONES OF POLICE OCCUPATION

It would be more appropriate to review the police organization within the sociology of occupations considering its function, interior discipline, human relations within the organization and outside and its unique and specific rules. The historical trend described by the sociology of professions regarding the occupation takes its ground on the modernism paradigma towards its evolution from single dimension to multi-dimensions. That is to say, although there was not an intense division in the work branches prior to the industrial evolution, in the period following the industrial revolution, most of the branches of work were divided and even new working areas emerged. As Reinner ⁴ said, the policing is a field of activity dating back to old ages, yet the emergence of policing as a modern organization in the history is meaningful in this sense.

As sociological terms; work may be defined as the carrying out of task requiring the expenditure of mental and physical effort, which has its objective the production of goods and services that cater to human needs. "An Occupation (as police = attached and emphasized by me), or Job, is

⁴According to Reinner, "it is important to distinguish between the ideas of 'police' and 'policing'. 'Police' refers to a particular kind of social institution, while policing implies a set of process with specific social functions. 'Police' are not found ever society, and police organizations and personnel can have a variety of shifting forms. 'Policing,' however, is arguably is a necessity in any social order, which may be carried out by a number of different processes and institutional arrangements. A state – organized specialist 'police' organization of the modern kind is only one example of policing (Reiner,2000: 2)

work that is done exchange for a regular wage, or salary” (Giddens 1996: 243). Even though the base definition by Giddens shows the work as something routine, Guattari recommends us to look at the work from a dynamic perspective. “Even though it seems paradoxical, working can be made free since the work itself in fact is the only single existence form that includes both collective and rational and mutual commitment, and it further covers solidarity.” (Guattari, 2006: 13). Apart from the modern interpretations of the structuration theory and post modern theory on the profession, the most comprehensive definition in the conventional theory is the one made by the functionalist theory. A functionalist perspective towards the police organization leads us to the fact that policing meets certain needs of and within the society like any other organization and that policing is function in that context.

There are quite many tasks and duties to be expected from a police officer. The following is a general, but disregarding some details, statement on the tasks of a police as cited from Souyel S: “Policing is one of the noblest functions in society. In addition to crime-fighting, the police are expected to aid those who are sick, injured, lost, abused, mentally ill, or abandoned. In some earlier periods of history, police developed a negative image by associating themselves with oppressive governments. Today, police are generally regarded as semiautonomous organizations of social order – legalistic and utilitarian” (McCafferty, 2003:78). When we emphasize the detail in the above stated definition, we can say this: as a

reflection of the modernisation practise, the police who used to have the potential to do everything in the past have gradually transferred some of its functions to other organizations (judiciary system, hospital, social support and aid agency, etc.).

Any organization like the police requires that each individual working under its structure act in a certain way and not show other certain behaviours. Indeed such behavioral codes are dictated to the individuals from the very beginning of the employment explicitly or implicitly, and those individuals are expected to internalize such behaviors throughout the working life by certain means of monitoring. Each code internalized by the individual will be reflected at the personnel records of efficiency as a positive evaluation. Any misconduct and negligence, any task not carried out will be seen as formal or information exclusion and discrimination. This is the cultural atmosphere that every police officer is exposed to. This is the environment in which any police officer invigorates or becomes weary of life. We will try to examine this cultural geography and human features under the sub-heading of Occupational Police Culture.

4.1. Occupational Police Culture

One of the most discussed concepts of the social sciences is culture. Though numerous definitions so far, the most cited and referenced person by the anthropologists is Taylor. According to Taylor (1871), "Culture is the entire knowledge, art, conventions and customs including

similar competencies, skills and habits that the human being learn throughout the history as a member of society” (Güvenç 1984: 102). When we apply this comprehensive definition to any organization, we need to be flexible on this term.

We can consider the definition done by Schein within this sense. Schein (1985) defined organizational culture as the ‘deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared members of an organization that operate uncsciously and define in a basic taken- for- granted fasion and organization’s view of itself and its enviroment’ (Foster,2005: 197).

At the first view, although it seems that the police culture is in monolithic and routine structure, in fact policing is also of multi-dimensional and variable structure like all the other cultural forms. This variable structure is vulnerable to crises that allow its renewal, too. In addition, its actors experience such crises. As we attempted to state above, according to Sato, who tries to explain the cultural dynamism in a simple language; “the organisational environment including police culture has become more complex and contingent. Under such a condition, recruits have been facing socialisation problems caused not only by shock at the gap between pre-entry expectation and reality but also by the diversity and shift of police culture” (Sato, 2003:289).

The study conducted by Chan in understanding this dynamic structure covering the policing culture is a considerable step. Chan (1997), in his study, unfolds the relationship between the Australian police and the minorities, the most important problem of Australia, and the changing nature of the Australian police system, the resistance arising while the reforms are implemented. Chan, in his attempt to understand this changing police nature, used the concept sets of Bourdieu. At this point, two concepts become prominent; one of them is Field. We can consider the police institutions as a Field. According to Bourdieu, a field can be thought as 'the area where the influence and impact of the field is seen, such that things that are experienced by any object entering this area can be explained not by the immanent features of the object, but by the fundamental and primary features of the area. The limits of the area are the borders where the influence of the area ends' (2003:85). The second concept is habitus. "It is a system of disposition which agents acquire either individually, through family and the education system, or as a group, through organisational socialisation" (Chan,2005:664). It will not be incorrect to interpret *habitus* as a socialisation practise. The actor of habitus is one that includes dynamic and conflicting elements being different from the rough definition of socialisation of society. Although the network theory of Morrison slightly touches this dynamic characteristic, he suggests a description, which we need to attach importance, stating that the organizational socialization has two functions; which are learning and social assimilation. "Learning requires recruits to acquire new information:

organisational information facilitates 'organisational knowledge' (knowledge about the larger organisational context such as norms, ethics, policies, goals and history; job information which facilitates 'task mastery' (how to perform the specific job); and role information which facilitates 'role clarity' (knowing the responsibilities and constraints concerning one's role) Social assimilation means social integration by friendship networks which affect organisational commitment. According to her research (ibid.), higher-density, higher-status, stronger-tied and more diverse friendship networks encourage social integration and organisational commitment." (Sato,2003: 296).

Lastly, one other point to be added to the police occupational culture and socialization practise is this: not every cultural formation reflects one single type of socialization condition. To give more on this; we say that the police occupational culture has two different levels: formal and informal police occupational culture. The most prominent bearer of formal occupational culture is professional socialization. "Professional socialisation is the process of training and induction into police culture whereby the formal procedural rules and informal practices are acquired" (Brown, 2000: 252). Any cultural formation has some sub-characteristics in addition to general appearance. We can, in brief, call this informal nature as sub-culture. According to Rothman (1997: 3), "The concept of subculture is in some instances not limited to people who physically work together but extends to all members of an occupation. Police officers,

musicians, coal miners, accountants, scientists, and physicians everywhere tend to identify themselves as members of distinctive and select groups, distinguished by a unique language, a configuration of values and beliefs, special symbols, and codes of conduct." According to him, every work subculture has some features that they have to bear. There are:

Language: Forms of verbal and non verbal communication.

Examples: Argot, gestures and posture.

Artifacts: Objects having functional/symbolic or symbolic meaning.

Examples: Tools, uniforms and grooming.

Beliefs: Definitions of social or physical reality. Examples: Knowledge, myths and stereotypes.

Values (Norms): Abstract priorities, expectations of appropriate behavior. Examples: technical norms and social norms.

Rituals: Standardized ceremonies. Examples: Rite of passage, naming and expulsion rituals (Rothman, 1997: 49).

In terms of Occupational Sociology, we can list some basic features of the sub-culture when the functional analysis is done. The pages in Rothman's (1997: 46-47) book named *Sociological Perspectives* are guiding us in this sense: "Sub-culture are first and foremost instrumental, providing members with means of accomplishing the technical and social aspects of work... from the perspectives of the groups, the presence of shared work patterns assures predictability and reliability of

behaviour... subculture is a protective dimension, helping to shelter members and their collective interests from the external world... subcultures are integrative with common perspectives and shared meanings linking members together and helping to foster feelings of group solidarity... Finally subcultures serve as a form of social placement, both within the subgroup and the larger society.”

As is associated above, police culture and police sub-culture (canteen, patrolling, police station, etc.) are both formative and of dynamic structure. Each actor acquires certain behaviour patterns by means of this formation; each new input, social relation or each new member participating in the group cause some changes in the group procedures. This chapter will mainly deal with the formative nature and quality of the police culture since the socialization practice is the act of creating a specific type of person on more general terms. This act, more often, is related to and works on the creation of the ideal. “It contains the typical values, norms, attitudes, and material paraphernalia of an occupational groups” (Manning, 2005: 195).

This type of socialization act earned the police certain strategies. Manning (2005: 195) briefly mentions these strategies as follows:

1. People cannot be trusted, they are dangerous
2. Experience is better than abstract rules
3. You must make people respect you

4. Everyone hates a cop
5. The legal system is untrustworthy; policemen make the best decisions about guilt or innocence
6. People who are not controlled will break laws
7. Policemen must appear respectable and be efficient
8. Policemen can most accurately identify crime and criminals
9. The major job of the policeman is to prevent crime and to enforce laws
10. Stronger punishment will deter criminals from repeating their errors

When we look at the occupational character of the person who materializes these strategies as the result of socialization, some features can be listed as the following.

4.1.1. Authority

Skolnick made one of the most basic studies on the Policemen's working personality. Skolnick suggests that any member of each occupational group is in a process of perceiving his environment and of creating a unique and specific personality because of the work they are doing. According to him, three basic characteristics can be attributed to the police culture. These are "Danger, authority and efficiency" (Skolnick, 2005; 264).

When we mean Authority, we can talk about two type of appearances within the framework of inner function of the police organization and human relations. In the sense of the inner relations of the police, as is the case in all the bureucratic organizations, the police organization has also a hierarchical structure as such “Police organisations are commonly structured in a pyramidal manner, and managers above the rank of sergeant are frequently found to be resistant to the structural transformation of shared decision-making” (Wang 2006; 69).

This hierarchy necessarily results in the formation of a kind of habit within the personnel. As a result of this, the personnel generally resists to the change and transformation within the organization. According to Goltz and Hietapelto (2002), who try to explain this situation in a plain way, “Change efforts thus must consider and address the resistance that comes from power leaders and workers in the integrated organization” (Wang 2006; 69). However, we can argue that whether a strict hierarchical structure or a culture of habit or routin to the authority, the police organization, like any other organization, is open to change and clash of superiors and inferiors.

While authority contains a message that is transmitted to the inferior by the superior via command and order mechanism, it also includes a message for the public from the organization since it drives the disciplined

individuals to the daily life. A police officer is, in most cases, regarded as an influential and well-esteemed individual, as someone who orders something not to be done; and it is not done, and as an individual who has the capability of overshadowing other social agents by his manner of interference to any event. If he has this characteristics, he immediately interferes with a crime act, imposes a punishment and can easily eliminate counter-acts, which have the potential of decreasing its efficiency.

However, authoritativeness has another feature in addition to the advantages for a police officer, that is the nature of increasing the distance between the public / society and the police. "Skolnick finds out that this segregative and isolative factor of authority is supported by the police. As an example, we can request from the police that they apply the laws representing the ethics and moral values. While the police do this, they oppress the citizens, and as a counter-reaction, the citizen shows the typical reflex of not-recognizing the authority of the police, which in turn, increases the risk of threat and danger to be encountered by the police. The type of person who reacts to the danger is not defined in terms of principled ethics law. Therefore, the police is generally accused of being double-faced and ambidexter. Yet the truth is that the citizens witness only the police acts, in other terms; solidarity, resulting in the segregation of the police. In the end, the danger affects the discreet and prudent manner and attitude of the authority," (Buckner: 2009).

4.1.2. Cynicism

Scepticism of the police and that the police have to be sceptic, in fact, refer to the existence of some pattern judgements regarding the policing. Due to the fact that this occupation is naturally face to face with the dangers, it will include scepticism in itself. However, the degree and extent of scepticism is always a problem for the police organization. If the scepticism affects the attitude and behaviour of the police to a greater extent, then the relation that the police creates and builds between the citizens and himself becomes weak and get loose.

According to Graves (1996); "cynicism is broadly defined as a pessimistic and suspicious outlook on the part of police officers towards their job, the public and society as a whole. A cynic expects nothing but the worst in human behaviour" (Caplan 2003: 304). As it is clear from this definition above, how come that such negative traits become one of the principal characteristics of this structure, which forms a great deal of the work, the face to face relations between the police and citizens? Albanese (1999) and Skolnick (1966) point at a significant detail on this issue. According to them, "Cynicism is not a personal characteristic of people who choose to become police officers. Research has shown that police officers do not differ from the general population in personality traits. Instead, occupational stagnation, conditions on the street and loss of

respect for the law and the public are primarily responsible for police cynicism” (Caplan, 2003: 305).

The perception of danger of the occupation as Skolnick notes necessarily leads way to the fact that the police become sceptic. This conditional parameter that deteriorates the ideal envision and description of police will unaoidably harm “doctrine of minumum force” upon which Mckenzie (2000:176) lay stress.

4.1.3. Physical Strength

One of the most important features of the police is, as the requirement of the profession, the fact that they have to possess certain strenght in physical terms. It is the strenght factor that the police sometimes highlight and bring to forefront both inside the organization and outside. To illustrate, if any police of Rapid Deployment Force gets beaten up by demonstrators in a social event or demonstration or if a few police officers become incapable during an event of grab-and-run, this is generally rendered as the weakness of the police in terms of physical strength. In other words, the policing includes the phrase “some kind of clossnes,” which Messner (1989) uses for athleticism. That is to say, it is compulsory to qualify for certain pre-requisites and conditons prior to enter into this profession. Within this context, the physical strength of the candidate police offiers are tested by some variables such as push-ups,

sit-ups, running, etc. It is observed in the organization that the police officers mostly spend their time at the fitness and form gyms and centers and shooting ranges. Namely, physical strength is a positive and desired trait in policing. The underlying reason of this is the mentality that emphasizes the operational aspect of policing.

For most of the policemen, this feature is one of most dominant characters of the police. It is criticized that most of the policewomen do not have such characteristics as much as the policemen do. "Traditional view that policewomen, for the most part do not belong on patrol because of their lack of physical strength and their inability to maintain an authoritarian presence in the face of challenges that the public can present to the police... and that female officers may create a danger to other officers and to the public during violent situation" (French and Waugh 2005: 253). Numerous studies conducted in related to this point lay emphasis on this criticism. The study by Johns (1979) can be given as an example of the above: "An investigation shows that they considered women to be part of police force, but in limited duties, such as young offender or crime prevention sectors. Men tend to view patrol duties as basically a man's job requiring more physical strength than they have" (LeBeuf, 1996:5). A similar study, male criminal justice and male non criminal justice underclass/upper class students, was done by Austin and his colleagues (1994). According to them, the fundamental elements attaching importance and stress on the difference between man and woman in

policing are “dealing with dangerousness, being too emotional, and physical skills and strength.” This study shows that females have less physical skills and strength than men to do police work. 20 % of the under class students said that women are strong enough in terms of physical strength. This ratio increased up to 40 % in the upper classes, yet the statistics are always against the females in terms of having physical strength.

4.1.4. Self Confidence

No matter what work or job is conducted or done, the fact that the people who do that work have certain belief patterns facilitates and eases the work. One of the most significant patterns is having self-confidence. According to Corsini (1999:876), The socio-psychological concept of self-confidence relates to “self-assurance; trust in personal abilities, capacities and judgments”. The self confidence of the police must be high, so that they can stand behind their decisions and actions because self confidence both earns one a character of actor and makes the influence and impact of the person on the events and other people. Straughn (2009) specifies the following features regarding the confidence: “Self-confident people trust their own abilities, have a general sense of control in their lives and believe that, they will be able to do what they wish, plan and expect. Accepting themselves and their limitations, trusting their own abilities, realistic expectations help them to keep a positive attitude. Those who

continuously expect perfection may become disillusioned and unable to produce perfect outcomes. Being overly self-critical not only feels terrible, but it". If the self confidence of a police officer is lower, the situation will reveal two negative dimensions. One of them is related to the subjective world of the actuator. The actuator does not enjoy what he does and cannot stand behind and support his decisions. There is one other organizational dimension that the efficiency of such personnel impoverishes the organization and weakens the accountability. If paid attention here, not having this type of characteristics is accompanied by a double-discrimination. A police officer of insufficient self confidence will be unsuccessful and fail in the occupation, and for the women, since the self confidence is already not sufficient, failure will be natural. If looked at this point carefully, steps taken by women to become police officer is obstructed by such sexist evaluations. Koenig (1978:272) makes an observation in his study titled "An overview of attitudes toward Women in law enforcement" as follows: "Police official thought women to be weak, hard to supervise and discipline, slow to learn, undependable lacking in confidence ... and poor drivers." In some other studies as well, similar results are always put into words.

In our study, there was a quite different comment on the self confidence in the response of a person, named M, of academician roots to a question. M briefly said like this:

"This occupation is a male-specific and masculine profession. No matter if a women become a police captain or security chief, she will not be able to execute his duty or office as good as a male. One of the most significant reasons and result of this is self confidence. Policing a profession for men, when you say police, the citizens always think of males, they support and butter up the males, but they do not value or appreciate policewomen. Do you think in such an environment the women can keep her self confidence? Policing is a profession that requires people of self confidence."

4.1.5. Rationality

Another point that we can say about police that the police should act on their reasoning / mind rather than emotions and feelings. Almost all the affective behaviors are subjective, that means that are biased. A group like the police whose behaviour procedures are set forth and specified by the laws should act and behave based on the laws and in a rational manner. In most of the interviews we have conducted, the respondents said that the police should act rationally, otherwise he/she will harm both the organization and him/herself. A civil servant named "B" summarized an incident he experienced in a demonstration in Sihhiye, a demonstration area of Ankara, with the participation of 100.000 people in this context: "A group of friends from Halkevleri [People's House] and SDP (a member of Socialist Democracy Party) quarrelled with the police at the search post before entering the demonstration area because of their banners, and they attacked the police throwing stones at them. If the police had acted on their emotions rather than reason and logic and had bludgeoned the demonstrators or had used his

gun, they would get reaction of 100.000 people and cause worse and bigger events. This rational behavior resulted in being damned and reaction of that group of 50 people by 100.000 people. On the other hand, the police was not criticized by this type of attitude, rather he was appreciated.”

There are quite many studies indicating that emotionality and sentimentality negatively affect the rationalism. The leading one is lethal force. “Police’s use of lethal force must start with the proposition that there is an absolute necessity for police to be able to use lethal force. It is unfortunate that not everyone can accept that starting point... The use of lethal force remains a personal responsibility of each individual officer and it is that officer who has ultimately to account for and justify his or her actions” (Wood 2004: 55). In short, emotionality is not something much desired in police occupation.

A prejudice and preconception that the police must be rational and that the policewomen act more emotionally is in fact comprise a part of the stereotype against women. Within this sense, have the women become emotional because of the dominant nature of the motherhood and womanhood roles? Is being emotional and sentimental is a female-specific and immanent feature for women? At this point, we see that such types of simple social psychological categories do not deem women suitable / worthy of this occupation. It is a known fact in psychology that gender roles are learnt; any learnt thing can be changed but anyhow, this organization, which employs 90 % of the police officers within the service

sector and having its predominating color from the patrolling services of 10 percent, accuses the women of being emotional and not being rational.

An academician named Z makes this explanation on being rational:

“Being rational is a compulsory component in any profession. If you mix your job with emotionalism, you cannot properly fulfill what is required by that job. Being rational does not change or depend on both man and women; but if you ask me to choose between policeman and policewoman, I would say here policeman based on the directional aspect of the question because when I observe woman as either mother or sister or female friend, I see that they more emotional, helpful, kind and humanitarian.” What Z says here is quite meaningful”.

4.1.6. Cognitive Nature

Cognition is a concept that includes all the activities of encoding the stimulus around and of identifying and recognizing the environment by this means. It covers memory, processes such as forgetting, remembering and thinking. The cognitive structure is both active in arranging the ambient of the individual and has the features of the potential of being transformed by the ambient conditions. In this sense, the occupational activity transforms the cognitive structure to some extent, and at the same time, expects it to bear some features suitable for its own nature. The entire educational activities and practises are oriented at earning such features to the individual up to certain degrees. Blumberg and Niederhoffer (1985) says the following in one their studies on education and professionalism: Educated police professionals should have:

1. more support for a service function;
2. independence from supervision and more discretion;
3. autonomy in decision making;
4. greater value on ethical conduct;
5. greater support for lateral entry;
6. less support for maintaining organizational secrets;
7. value placed on efficiency (Krimmel,1996:87).

Both the capability of the nature of cognitive structure that can be transformed by means of education and practice and immanent characteristic of the individual become more significant when it comes to an profession. When we have a look at the question of what should be included in a police officer's composition of thought, we can easily infer the following determinations. Rapid and alternative thinking, taking risks when necessary and ability of persuasion.

A police officer is always face to face with risks. The price they pay for serving the public is continuous risk. Risk refers to a situation in which the person compete with time. If the police officer loses time, risk captures him. The best way to fight against risk is being to think fast and alternatively since, in a way, while risk points at an exit door, if you think that there are or exit doors available, that means you are free from risk. A study done by Hickman based on numerous sources briefly explains this situation that we mentioned roughly by an example of patrol officer.

In order to achieve a higher level of analytic clarity, these kinds of decisions can be cast within a decision framework of goals, alternatives, and information (Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1988; Lannone, 1994; Melnicoe and Mennig, 1978). First, just as the patrol officer may have the traditional goals of criminal law in mind when addressing a citizen's behavior (i.e. deterrence, incapacitation, just desserts), the line supervisor may have these goals in mind when addressing a patrol officer's behavior. Second, just as the patrol officer has a variety of options available for "dealing" with the citizen's behavior (e.g. formal arrest, informal mediation, ignore), the police supervisor has many options for dealing with the patrol officer's behavior (e.g. oral reprimand, counsel, formal disciplinary action, ignore). Third, just as the patrol officer uses information to select among alternative courses of action (e.g. seriousness of the offense, prior contact), the supervisor uses information to select among alternative courses of action (e.g. seriousness of the conduct, prior behavior). Finally, just as some additional (perhaps "extralegal") factors beyond the common decision correlates (Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1988) may influence the patrol officer's decision making in certain circumstances (e.g. citizen demeanor in dealing with otherwise marginal incidents), similar factors may influence the line supervisor's decision making in certain circumstances (e.g. officer gender in dealing with various incidents). (Hickman, 2000: 107).

Another characteristic of the police is his being able to take risk where necessary in the same way as he get away from a risk threatening his existence. If a police officer cannot perform risky behaviours in some essential cases, in very general sense, and cannot tip the situation in his favor, the new situation of his that will be faced with will be worse than the former. In short, the cognitive structure should tend to both eliminate the risk and when necessary, take it.

One other cognitive products of the police is his ability to persuade the citizens. The position of the police that he has to be sceptic as described above is an notable hurdle preventing the establishment of any kind of relation between the police and the citizens. However, despite this, one of the features desired is persuading and convincing the citizen. The persuasion method can be applied by a variety of techniques. For example, this can done by using body and physical force or applying verbal communication and certain procedures. “That the hegemonic masculinity involves practices characterizing dominance, control and independence” (Messerschmidt,1993: 93) as existing in the police generally results in using the persuasion ability over suppression and pressure. On the other hand, the increasing number of the policewomen within the organization leads way to using the verbal technique of persuasion to greater extents. In this sense, the policewomen have a prominent role in understanding the changing police structure. Lemberg (2004) suggests that the reason some women have been appointed to chief positions is “corruption and allegations of policemen brutality, state public safety initiatives and a recent spike in the number of violent crimes” (Scarborough, 2006: 97).

A citizen named R, who is a tea maker in a private company argues that men have advantages over women in terms of persuasion technique. According to him;

“people make no account of policewoman, who cares about women? But a policeman slaps when necessary. How come you can

ignore him? Take the example of female traffic police officers, nobody cares her existence in the flow of traffic. What about policemen officer, is it the same?"

By saying this, R considers the persuasion capability and applying physical violence as the same category. However, another man, V, says that "everybody respects a policewoman, nobody wants to be rude to her, that is why the ability of persuasion of policewomen is stronger than policemen. But there is difference from one police officer to the other, when it comes to the traffic police, the ability of persuasion of the policeman is better than women." It is clear in V's saying that women have better ability of persuasion in social places (ability to communicate, kindness, understanding, etc.) but that women loses their ability to persuade in the circumstances of tasks requiring physical force is the indicator of the fact that the citizens experience serious paradoxes regarding the policewomen.

4.1.7. Conservatism

The police is an peace and order keeping organization. The purpose of establishing the order is rooted in the conventions and customs and it is far from being changed. In fact, change is considered something equivalent to degeneration and corruption. The conservatism take life in this way, that is interprets it over the traditions. Religion, politics, history and culture that all comprise and bear the traditions in the societal places

are the conservatist chains of the individual. The police understands and construes the life within these limitations. That is to say; the police have to comply with and be compatible with the social values, all of them whether religion, culture, politics, history. The words uttered by Ahmet Kaya, the signer who lived in Turkey and spent his time abroad just before he died, are meaningful. *“Rightist cannot become artist, leftists cannot become police officer.”*

In short, the police is protector of of the law. He looks and perceives the events and incidences from the points of view of the large mass of public because they live and breath in the same ambient. Fielding (1991: 39) applies this interpretation to special cases as follows: “Police attitudes concerning crime and punishment are conventionally seen as harsh and conservative.”

The conservatism of the police arises out of both the conventions and occupational environment. As it is a known fact, the conventional area in Turkey is fed from and rooted in Sunni religious tendency and Turkist origins. This type of perception can be seen in almost all points of of the social environment. The police organization, as a result of being a campus of the social place has been influenced by this structure of Turkey. The police seems and shows a closer appearance to the average citizen category. The police category that I generally view and observe (I can readily say that I am stereotyping) displays a kind of apperance, which can

be attributed with the fact that if a male officer goes to Friday praying, his wife would wear headscarf, and that covers a general patriarchal structure that is loyal to the police hierarchy. The biggest objection may come at this point. So if it is the fact that the police, in terms of personality, is in compliance with the values of the social places traditionally, why cannot we witness and see that community policing, which requires cooperation between the police and citizens, and more democratic formations develop in our country? Numerous reasons to explain this can be listed but first of all, I can say the following. That the police and citizens have the same conservatist pattern from many perspectives is not sufficient enough for the realization and formation of the contemporary composition as mentioned above. Different positions and status perceives the same environment by different ways and manners. For example, while the police considers a situation in terms of security and law, a conservatist grocery shop owner has a view of how to minimize tax and loss and to maximize the profit, and when appropriate, refers to nonsense and criminal issues. One other issue to be specified is that the critical thinking is not included and given place sufficient enough to represent democracy within itself and social contexts, which is one of the most significant reasons in the policing to that point.

A liberal activist, L, who is about forty years old, commented as exactly the following in relation to the conservatism of the police:

“Now any and every position and office is filled with religionist. Especially the AKP [Justice and Development Party] furthered and carried this trend to the last point since the time when Özal, former president. Now we almost have to enter any governmental organizations by first saying *Selamünaleyküm* [Peace be with you]. Currently the police do not have any police of MHP [Nationalist Movement Party] origins.”

There is a movement that could represent the conservative structure as an example. This action was named as POL – BİR (*Police Union*). Nurhan Varlı as a member of POL– DER (*Police Association*) sums up the process: “However, after a while, things started to go haywire. Its direction was changed and it took on a political content. This was mostly due to the attitude of the rightist structure within the police organization. After their failed attempt to get hold of the POL-DER, rightist cops founded POL-BİR. Thus the organization, which had been founded to protect the social rights of the police, took on political character” (Gürel, 2004:7).

According to Bayley (1985), there are three basic contents of the modern policing. These three features will also determine our modern police systems. These are public, specialized and professional. Police public relations have to be transparent, natural and professional. Police for this purpose must be compatible with social value. What it is like to say here, in fact secretly, thinkers has confirmed conservatism.

4.1.8. Solidarity

Durkheim mostly deals with concept of solidarity in history of sociology. According to him, solidarity is derived from relationship between individual and community. There are two basic form of solidarity. First form is Mechanical solidarity. "The social molecules that cohere in this way can act together only in so far as they have no action of their own, as with the molecules of inorganic bodies. That is why we propose to call this form of solidarity 'mechanical'" (Giddens, 1972:139). Second form is Organic solidarity. "There is then, a social structure of determined nature to which mechanical solidarity corresponds. What characterizes it is a system of segments homogeneous and similar to each other. Quite different is the structure of societies where organic solidarity is preponderant. They are constituted, not by a repetition of similar, homogeneous segments, but by a system of different organs each of which has a special role, and which are themselves formed of differentiated parts" (Durkheim, 1933: 181). Durkheim established an important link with between solidarity and work.

According to Albanese (1999) and Skolnick (1966), police have a high degree of occupational solidarity (Caplan 2003:308). According to Ford (2003:99) Force, cynicism and police Solidarity is there basics characteristics of police subculture. Skolnick (1966) also indicated the most important reason of solidarity is the danger. Remington (1983: 118)

tell us some things about a working system with the U.S. police. “Traditionally the American public has perceived law enforcement as involving aggressive behavior, physical strength and solidarity. The stereotypic female sex role and temperament, on the other hand, portrays women as passive and weak both physically and emotionally”. This is very important data because there are two types of solidarity in Police system. One of them is general police solidarity; the other is sex solidarity in police.

Reason of women solidarity is male danger. As danger cause to solidarity among police, male danger cause to women solidarity. There are few reasons about these issues. These are: Female officers still face bias from male officers.

- Many departments lack strategies for recruiting women.

- Female officers may face gender discrimination and a so-called "brass ceiling" that inhibits promotion.

- Sexual harassment still occurs in many departments (Virginia: 1998, quated by Horne:2006).

S who is a lawyer has transferred us anything about the police solidarity.

”When we make investigations about our clients, we saw police they protect each other”.

Caplan (2003:309) will bring more clarity to this issue. Police solidarity also stems from public criticism for commonplace activities that are viewed as unprofessional if done by a police officer.

CHAPTER V

POLICING AND WOMEN

One other actor appearing in the front as much as the policemen in the society – police relations is policewomen. The policewomen are regarded as the soft components of a rigid masculine structure by their colleagues. Indeed such an emphasis presents two types of negative position: great pressure within the organization and suspicion outside. Actually this crass phrase shows itself in all the other practices of the conservative society. This status is the injured consciousness state of the women. The utterance of Jessop that he says over the state regarding the women is quite meaningful. “A key question here is whether the social basis is also the principal beneficiary of state power. It is a well-known psychological fact, for example, that women tend to vote for conservative parties; but this does not ensure they benefit from the latter other. Patriarchal, maternalist, and nationalist discourses all have key mystificatory roles in this regard. For these shape the identities and interests that provide the material and symbolic substratum for gender contracts, for the recruitment and stabilization of supporting classes, for the stakes to be negotiated in temporary alliances, and for the roles of different sex/gender categories in private and public life. Together with material structures of power, they also shape the forms of social inclusion and exclusion. In all cases there are clear links to the structural aspects of the gendered selectivity of the state” (Jessop 2007, 173).

This chapter will examine the policewomen as an important enforcer of the policing. Some discriminative practices that the policewomen face with will be dealt with at this point. Thus, gender level of the nature of the police will be shed light and hard life conditions of the women will be examined to some extent. These are, in brief, hiring practices, training, curriculum, promotion practices and cultural codes, etc. This chapter, in short, can be regarded as an attempt of feminist reading. However, such a reading will enable to recognize and know the other within the police organization better. This reading will cover at some points some examples from Turkey and the world. This chapter consists of two basic sub-parts: perception of police organization from a feminist theory framework, and negative practices towards the women that the theory tries to explain.

5. 1. Feminist perspective and policewomen

This sub-part will give an introduction to the feminist theory in general terms; mention various approaches within the feminist theory, and include possible explanation of these approaches regarding the police. In the next parts, the concept sets of the theory and the police organization will be dealt with and the masculine nature of the organization will be deciphered.

5.1.1. An Overview of Feminist Theory

Feminist theory has gained an explanatory role in the basic issues of the sociology following the 1960s. The 1960s is the second period that provided the greatest contribution to the sociology after the industrial revolution. The difference in the style of interpreting the social practices emerging in this period forms the basis of numerous contemporary theories. One of these is the feminist theory. The most significant feature of the feminist theory is its attack to the dichotomy. The theory focused on the concept of gender. "The term of gender developed to suggest that the social roles allocated to individuals identified as biologically male or female are not natural in any way but socially constructed. The extent to which biology constrains us to act in certain ways is seen as extremely limited and certainly cannot explain all aspects of differential treatment and inequality" (Kirby, 1999:118).

This definition, in fact, has been made to understand the inequality and the difference. Different approaches in the feminist theory have conceptualized the inequality and difference within the social context. Here the domestic relations and workplace gains importance, that is in short the thing equal biologically turns into inequality with its social dimension. Gender is the term that explains this. We can utter the following as a summary of the discrimination, difference and discussing the women theoretically according to the feminist approach.

First explanations in the feminist discipline are rough biological theories. According to Andersen (2002: 22-23), the biological approach pointing at the classical tradition more considers that the main reason of the inequality are the chromosomes, hormones, biologic structure and fertility. As an inference from this point for the policing, it can be said that most probably the body of the woman is not suitable to do policing. The body of the woman is not as strong as the man's in physical terms; the activities such as childbirth harms the woman both in biological and psychological terms and leaves the woman behind the man.

On the other hand, the liberal feminists think that the reason of the inequality is the law within the framework of possessing equal legal rights for the men and women. "Liberal feminism claims that gender differences are not based in biology and therefore that women and men are not all that different: Their common humanity supersedes their procreative differences. If women and men are not so different, then they should not be treated differently under the law. Women should have the same legal rights as men and the same educational and work opportunities. Liberal feminism accepts and works with the gender system, with the goal of purging it of its discriminatory effects on women. Today this goal is termed *undoing gender*. A parallel current goal is *mainstreaming gender* — ensuring that government or organizational policies address women's needs" (Roxbury.net, 2009: 28). If a person of liberal approach thought on

policing, it is quite possible that he would focus on how the laws prevent the women from becoming a police officer. The legal regulation in our country that restrains the admission of women to the police academy can be an example of this case.

Marxist feminists, on the other hand, link the discrimination to the infrastructure, and say that the problems of the women can be solved as a result of class struggle. According to Marxist Feminist, “the notion of the division between men and women was used by capitalists to divide the working class. So women workers were defined as part of the reserve army of labor without paid employment, and the existence of which was used to keep down the wages of those in work. But more importantly, a theory of the domestic sphere was integrated into this by arguing that the unpaid nature of housework and childcare, almost universally under taken by women, was useful for capitalism since it meant that the labor force was reproduced very cheaply. This provided a theory that linked the position of women in the workplace with their position in the family, and therefore widened the scope of gender the theory of gender inequality” (Kirby, 1999: 111). A Marxist feminist will possibly explain the women over the state, class and family equation in the police organization. How women are excluded in the family and they are seen as a passive actor; in the same way they will be exposed to such attitudes in the workplace.

Radical and postmodern feminists regard that the center of the inequality is the patriarchal and masculine ideology. This ideology is prevalent in all grounds of the society. "Patriarchy is an authoritative male system that is both oppressive and discriminatory. It is oppressive in social, political, economic, and cultural environments. It is discriminatory in its control of access to power, management of resources and benefits, and manipulation of public and private power structures. Patriarchy is grounded in the assumption that the individual European male is a universal reference point and the source of defining visions of the cosmos, society, citizenship, the individual self within hierarchical concepts of gender, race, and class relations" (Ferreira, 2004: 396). According to this ideology, "there is a cluster of one single personality that generally characterizes the men and therefore defines the men. Likewise, there is also a cluster of one personality that characterizes the women and defines the femininity. This modular model on the sexual character is a known piece of the gender ideology. This model can be seen in the phrases like 'exactly like a woman' and 'exactly like a man'" (Connell, 1998: 226). If paid attention, this model emphasizes more the ideology, discourse and socialization. A feminist, advocate of this model, explains any kind of discrimination that the policewoman experiences with Patriarchy.

Indeed all the feminist theories generally see the workplace and family as mentioned above as the basic units of the masculine ideology. Inequality is produced in these units and internalized there. The phrase

“gender factory” by Berk (1985) for household is meaningful in this sense. Bradley (1989) “The segregation of work into men’s and women’s job has been a prevailing feature in most societies, constituting a major source of male social dominance and men in different occupations” (2000: 76). Dominance is more realized thanks to the socialization practices. These practices present an approach that considers the men playing the central and major role and that deems soft roles appropriate for women.

5.1.2. An Overview of Police from Feminist Perspectives

Looking at the gender structure within the police using the facilities of the feminist theory, we can say that the following on the masculine nature of the traditional police system:

”It remains the case that many policemen still hold highly negative views of policewomen, such as that they are physically incapable, insufficiently aggressive, too emotional, mentally weak, overly naive, and incapable of gaining the respect of citizens. Because of persistent paternalistic and protective attitudes toward women, police work for women traditionally consisted mostly of social service activities in which women had to meet high standards for police employment but received lower wages, were restricted to a special unit or bureau, and were assigned primarily to clerical, juvenile, or guarding duties. Policewomen were not promoted except within their own special women’s unit, nor were they permitted to take the same promotion test as men or perform basic patrol duties. They could be promoted only within their own bureaus because, as they were told by their police superiors, they had not had the full “police experience” of being on general street patrol, notwithstanding the fact that the same policemen administration had refused over the

years to assign women to general patrol and had blocked policewomen of officers' access to the required experience" (Kakar, 2002:241)⁵

As stated here, we can see the male dominance in both formal and informal level as a natural result of such a structure. We can provide certain examples referring to the conversion power of a masculine dominance. According to Berg and Budnick (1986), "many female officers attempt to compete with and emulate male officers by accepting pseudo-masculinity. By taking on male characteristics, female officers believe that they gain both the trust and acceptance of their male co-workers" (Braund, 1996: 3). Another example in parallel with this is in the communication language of the organization. The woman is considered as the other within the organization, and a policewoman is generally called as "abla [elder sister]" or "bayan [Mrs.]." These cultural ways of addressing, as Saktander (2000) says, include many connotations, which are created in time as a result of inner-organization existing power relations. If paid attention, even the phrase "bayan [Mrs.]" itself has been determined by the "male" [bay]. Van Maanen (1983) wrote that '... police agencies resemble symbolic or mock bureaucracies where only the appearance of control, not the reality, is of managerial concern' (Cockcroft, 2005: 370). The males use the masculine discourse modes in many ways both within the organization and outside. For instance, Waddington (1999: 291) says as follows in a study carried out on the police canteen subculture: "Mission, cynicism, solidarity and so forth are aspects of police – subculture because these

⁵ Kakar (2002) introduced this statement by benefiting from the works of numerous researchers.

are defining attributes of police officers when compared to others... However there is the danger that just because a group like the police exhibit a common trait, which is too readily interpreted as a distinctive characteristic attributable to their culture when the focus is exclusively on the group in isolation. For example, the widespread sexism found amongst police officers is often assumed to be an expression of their peculiarly 'macho subculture' (Martin 1979; Brown and Campbell 1991 et al. 1992; Brown 1995). Yet, it seems clear that sexism is not restricted to the police by any means (see, for example, Burke 1994) that in this regard the police are probably influenced mainly by patriarchal beliefs embedded in the wider culture and shared by many occupations."

In addition to the informal practices, it can be said that the women are more disadvantageous compared to men in certain formal practices (recruitments, selection, training, assignments, promotion, etc.). Many studies done regarding the policewomen provide us with the data showing that few policewomen are recruited for the police organization. "According to the National Center for Women and Policing (2002), women are only about 11% of all state, municipal and county police officers" (Burlingame, 2005: 391). A more apparent example of this issue can be seen in the study carried out by Gaston and Alexander (1997). This study done on the factors affecting the managerial advancement of the policewomen has specified 4 basic factor groups classified as patterns of deployment, promotion processes, indirect discrimination and external factors. The

example given for the promotion among other factors is quite striking. “When officers who were eligible to sit for promotion were asked whether in fact they had done so, a similar picture of disparity emerges. Almost half (47.6 per cent) of males had sat the promotion examination, whereas under one fifth (17.9 per cent) of females had done so” (Gaston, 1997: 50). We can categorize the processes that make women subaltern in the profession in both formal and informal level in two groups. “One could safely describe disparate outcomes as artifacts of macro-social processes (e.g. gender discrimination in popular culture or police agencies generally). On a micro-social level, however, disparate outcomes in many of these areas can be more accurately described as products of decisions made by police supervisors” (Hickman, 2000: 105).

We will have had a more evident tone if we make an addition in relation to the discourse dimension of the phenomenon to this general picture. Dick and Cassell briefly summarized how the discourse determines the gender-based power relations and how the masculine discourse creates the occupational identity in the study titled “The position of policewomen: a discourse analytic study” in reference to Fairclough and Foucault. “We can understand the police occupational identity as an effect of the webs of power in which the organization of policing is located. The police as an organization are scrutinized in a way that few other organizations are, not only from the designated formal government bodies... but most especially from the media. Being a police officer is not

easy. However, emphasizing the crime related and, hence, moral aspects of the role enables the constitution of a creditable identity, and provides a subjective resistance to discourses that constitute the police officer in negative and dishonorable ways” (Dick, 2004: 68).

5.2. Some Discriminatory Practices towards Policewomen

This sub-part of our research covers some discriminatory practices towards the policewomen. These practices are the application ways of the masculine ideology. Due to these practices, while the males play the dominant role, the females stay in the background, and they perform their tasks as dim and dependent actors in the organization.

5.2.1. Recruitment and Selection

Many researches conducted with the female officers express the problems that will arise out of less existence of the females in the organization. In fact, there are fewer women in the organization compared to the men. The fact that fewer women are employed in the organization results in the exposure of the much negative treatment towards minority. These, in summary, are discrimination, sexual harassment and stress burden, which all are the obstacles in front of the career development of the subjects.

Two figures come forward in the studies done on the lack of employment within the organization and its results. The first of these is the study of Kanter in 1977. “Kanter referred to people making up less than 15% of a group as tokens. She predicted that token* as more visible, that they are excluded from informal peer networks, that they experience strong stereotyping with an inhibiting effect and that they suffer more from stress. He assumed that people, who are part of a larger minority, will suffer less from such phenomena” (Ott, 1989; 42). According to Kanter; “minority is less than 15 % (skewed groups), and settings where the minority is between 15 – 35 % (tilted groups)” (Ott, 1989; 42). Adding to the above mentioned realities, “policewomen have a higher turnover rate than policemen” (Martin, 1989 cited by Garcia 2003: 337).

When we analyze the relation between the minority and stereotyping, we see that what establish the nature of the relation are the features of the minority. If the minority possessed the characteristics accepted by the society, then the view of the majority would be softer. One of the most significant studies done relation to this is the ‘Policewomen and Male Nurses’ by Ott. This study found out that the male nurses, a minority, face with the very few of the problems experienced by the minority policewomen. Ott says the following in the example given for the

* According to Lord and Saenz (1985); a token is an individual who is the only member of a particular social category in a group or social setting. Research demonstrates that minority status in a group context has negative implications for cognitive performance. This relationship is postulated to be mediated by the anxiety and evaluation apprehension an individual associates with a particular social situation (Osowski, 2005:9).

changing nature of the nursing in the Netherlands: “The field of nursing used to be one of the most stereotypically feminine occupations ... Technical knowledge is stressed, though care-giving is still an important component of the job in the Netherlands men entered the profession in the 1960s their arrival did not cause any protests and their numbers have been growing fast. During the data collection the percentage male nurses in general hospitals was approaching 20 %. In general in the Netherlands, the number of men in traditionally female occupations is increasing much faster than the number of women in traditionally male occupations” (Ott, 1989; 42).

The second emphasis on the lack of employment, in other words, the quantitative reality is the “concept of critical mass.” If in a social organization the minorities get close to the critical mass in terms of number - according to Ott (1989; 42), a critical mass is reached when the minority grows to 20-40% of the work unit - , such a situation causes a problem for the majority. The most known ways of resistance are rejection, assignment to undesired tasks and positions, continued pressure over them and dictation what they have to the inferior status.

When we look at the theoretical picture above, we confront with this dual composition. First of all, employment of females in the policing is less compared to men, and in relation with this phenomenon, the number of the male supervisors is more than the number of female supervisors. In any

organization, less number of a group generally results in relative deprivation of that group and more leaving job (turn over) of the members of the same group. In a study done by Martin (1989: 34), it is seen that although there are fewer women in the police organization, turn over rate is more than the males (even if the pregnancy and family duties are neglected).

The number of the policewomen and policemen in Turkey shows us the following. Total number of the police officers in the urban areas is 175000 (Cerrah, 2006: 84), 165524 of which are male and 9534 are policewomen. The ratio of the policewomen to the total population is 5.4 %. Since this corresponds to a ratio less than 15 % of the group, they can be considered as a token. The most important reason of this fewer number of the policewomen performing this job is the organizational policy because still the organization is to a great extent regarded as a force and its service aspect is generally neglected. If we perceive the organization as a force, the most capable sex to fulfill the requirements of this profession is the males. That is already the dominant idea inside the organization. The most significant result of this is working will fewer number of policewomen, and naturally there are very few females in the higher ranks. According to Cerrah (2006: 84), 9017 of the policewomen are gradeless (no rank); number of female officers with a rank is 518, and there is only one single policewomen chief in the Class 1.

5.2.2. Training

Education is the process of gaining the individual the desired behavior. If this process is carried out in a planned way within the framework of a program prepared beforehand in accordance with the purpose, and if such carried out in a controlled manner, then this is called formal education. The education given at schools is an example of this. If the behavior change occurs in the individual arbitrarily rather than over a plan and with a purpose throughout the life, then this is informal education. At this point, the best way of learning is to imitate and observation. To illustrate, a child in a village learns the skills related to agriculture by observing the daily life, and imitating his elders and applying what he learns when he has the chance to do so.

The education, in general sense, has 4 fundamental goals.

- Transfer of general cultural values
- Socialization of the individual
- Increasing the productivity
- Revealing the hidden hereditary skills and powers and development of them (Fidan: 1998).

The education organization that embodies such a wide spectrum can also be naturally seen as the origin of many problems faced with in the social media. We all know that whenever the police apply excessive force,

people talk about the inadequate education of the police and the need to increase the quality of the education and training.

Under this sub-title, we will mention the general characteristics of the police training and education in Turkey and discuss the relation of policewomen with this organization. When the police training is the subject point, there are three organizations that come to forward in formal meaning. These are the Police College, the Police Vocational Higher School and Police Academy. These organizations admit students through a standard examination. In order to be eligible to apply for these examinations, one should have certain qualities. For example, in the case of both Police Academy and Police Vocational Higher School, the individual applying for admission to these organizations must be minimum 165 cm for women and 167 cm for men in terms of height, and the difference between the last two digits of the height and the weight must not be more than 15 kilograms or less than such (PMYO: 2008). At this point, however, we should state this fact. Even if any woman who qualifies this criterion meets all the conditions as well, they will not be evaluated as equal because of the amendment in the relevant regulations proclaimed in the Official Gazette numbered 25214 and dated 29.08.2003, stating that “the quota allocated for the women cannot be more than 10 % of the number of students to be admitted to the vocational higher schools in that year” (Official Gazette; 2003). In addition to this, this criterion is strictly applied in the entrance to the training & education organization. For

example, “the number of students to be admitted to 23 Police Vocational Higher Schools for the 2007-2008 education term is total 6420, 6100 of which are males and 320 females” (PMYO; 2008), that is to say, this ratio has been decreased to 5 % from 10 %.

In plain words, the policewomen are disadvantageous from the beginning. The candidate policewomen and policemen sit on a three-stage examination including interview, physical training and written examination. In these examinations, the individuals are expected to show five features, which are:

1. Level of Knowledge on the Subject
2. Comprehension of what is asked from him/her
3. Self-Confidence
4. Verbal Expression Skill
5. Physical Capability

In fact, all these features can be interpreted as the pre-conditions of a masculine profession because the training offered in either colleges, vocational higher schools or academy is only the reinforcement of the features sought at the stage of admission. The courses such as physical education and Close Defense, Weapon Knowledge and Firing, Discipline Law, Psychology of Society and Police tactics offered in these organizations are corroborative of the above.

If we bring forward a truth again that we have to emphasize in every point of our thesis, let us say that an occupation based on discipline like policing has many restrictive qualities for men as much as women. The occupational characteristics seen in the previous chapter have a strict disciplinary nature in the same way for both men and women, which are clearly seen in the regulation on disciplinary acts. For instance, Article 7 of the Hygiene Principles is about the haircut style of the students. According to this provision:

a) Haircut of male students will be in a way that when they wear their caps, their hair will not be excessive of the end line of their caps and the length of the hair on top of the head will be possible to comb.

b) Hair of the female students will be bun hair or blunt, and black or dark blue hairpins will be used” (Official Gazette: 09.08.2004).

However, despite this, we can read the restrictive and formative views of the organizational mentality towards the women in-between the lines of the regulation. The principles of the uniform (clothes) for the police officer in the same regulation write as follows: “Skirt: the skirt of the female students other than the winter types is made of winter jacket fabric. Backside is in two pieces. Deep in the middle of the front is a *pilikaşe*. The length of skirt is lower than the knee.”

A general opinion frequently in the Police literature is that policemen do not much appreciate the policewomen in the training and education environment. Even “some policemen treated women recruits as “sex objects” and tried to form of sexual relationships with them or invented stories about them” (Banks, 2009: 45). Acceptance of the women to the training, the curriculum and the problems experienced with the student friends are added to the masculine structure of the training environment and the instructor-student relations, the negative dimension of the training towards the women will be clearly seen to us. The relationship of the instructors with the female students is generally problematic. A similar situation that the women face with within the occupation is seen in the training environment. Cited from Banks (2009: 44) “The instructors often punished all women for one women’s mistake ...for *example*, driving instruction was denied to women and this remains an issue most males do not approve of women driving police vehicles.”

5.2.3. Assignments

When thought that the policing is male dominant occupation, it will be seen that a good deal of males work in the units giving the profession it color, such as patrolling, fight against terrorism, etc. Yet females are mostly placed other suitable units in the context of the characteristics they belong to.

The corresponding feature of the jobs done by women and men and their genders has been examined in detail by both the sociologists and psychologists. When policing is the point in question, the general opinion is the fact that the men are in the forefront. Key elements of Police job are danger, violence, aggression, isolation, and authority. These characteristics are masculine job. Whilst “women are more compassionate, less aggressive, and less competitive... women adopt different policing styles than do men (Worden, 1993: 210).”

I need to mention the study I carried out regarding the policewomen in 2003 in order to make the reflection of gender in the Assignment. The first question I asked myself in the field was that where I could find the policewomen. When I asked this question to a friend, who is a police officer, he told me ‘Go directly to the General Directorate of Security because there is much office work there and the women are more productive and beneficial for such works.’ When I went to the General Directorate, someone there told me that there are a lot many policewomen working there, and that almost all the of the employees at the department of archive were women.

Certain criteria are sought when any Assignment is realized. These are shortly “Essential and important duties, peripheral duties, knowledge, skills and abilities, tools and equipment used, physical demands and working conditions, etc.” (Half Moon Bay: 2005: 25). In this context,

policewomen are designated in mostly female duties. Generally, essential and important duties of female officer are clerical and supporting positions. Also, computer, communication and telecommunication, persuasion, etc. skills are basic knowledge, and abilities of policewomen. Telephone, radio, wireless and computer are primary tools. When looking to the above peculiarity, we immediately recognize “gender labeling perspective”. According to the gender labeling perspective, “gender socialization includes learning the definitions of jobs as well as learning gender roles. Occupations are labeled as “masculine” and “feminine,” according to the tasks that are thought to define them and comprise a majority of the work. Previous research suggests that jobs labeled as “feminine” are traditionally given lower ratings in the Occupational Title Handbook. Feminine occupations are those that consist of care-giving, emotionality, clerical skills, and subservience. Masculine occupations, on the other hand, require high levels of competency, competition, assertiveness, managerial skills, and technological proficiency. When women or men attempt to cross boundaries of what is considered appropriate for her or his gender, a conflict may arise” (Sims, 2003: 280).

5.2.4. Promotion

Promotion is one of the most important discriminatory areas in the police organization. The promotion defined as “A promotion may be defined as an upward advancement of an employee in an a organization

to another job, which commands better pay/wages, better status/prestige, and higher opportunities/challenges, responsibility, authority, better working environment, hours of work and facilitates, and a higher rank” (Sharma,2002:266).

Nepotism and favoritism are two of the most important reasons of non-legal promotions system. There are many of studies about Nepotism and favoritism in police literature abroad. But, few studies (Mutlu-2000, Gültekin -1999 etc.) are done in Turkey. Gender and ethnic identity are the most of reasons of favoritism and nepotism. Looking from this perspective, the least representation of women in promoted ranks can be explained from structural factors. However, we usually hear that women’s lack of ambitions cause to promote senior ranks.

5.2.5. Control

According to Das and Teng (1998), Simons (1995) modern control systems are multi-faceted, comprising both formal and informal control mechanisms that influence decisions. Formal mechanisms, such as policies, procedures, audits, performance standards, and financial reporting, serve to safeguard assets and provide explicit incentives to exert effort and refrain from opportunistic activities. Informal controls, on the other hand, include corporate culture and values, informal and interactive information exchange, and interpersonal trust. These informal

controls complement and support formal controls (Christ, 2006: 1). Both informal and formal controls are used in policing.

Both women and men pressed form formal mechanisms, such as policies, procedures and rules etc. We essentially say that all mechanisms about policing restrict all polices. Restricted practices include three elements (scrutiny, intrusion and recordation).

For example, if one person disturbs dress and finery code,

- Firstly, he is scruned by current mental sets
- Subsequently, he is intruded by current mental sets
- Finally, his negative acts are recorded by current mental sets

All of restricts practices in police organization control both sexes. But effects of them are observed policewomen than men because Police organization is sensitive over women more than men. Negative acts of men can be ameliorated or inhibited than policewomen.

Women are generally pressed from men in informal control. There are many studies about informal controls. One of them is Martin's "power / control discourses". Martin presents us with a tautology—the exclusion of women within the police workforce is absolute evidence of their wider exclusion within a society, and women's wider exclusion within a society is absolute evidence of their exclusion within the police (Holdaway, 1998:

41). One of the most important reasons of women exclusion is numerically domination of men, yet domination of men as numerical does not mean passive agent of women. According to Holdaway (1998: 42) “female officers are not part of a zero-sum power game within the police. We agree that studies of the police that have dwelt upon the occupational culture have under-emphasized wider structures of power”

5.2.6. Cultural Code

What we mention as Cultural code is in fact the internal and external perception of the policewomen, on which we insistently referred in the other chapters. The policewomen are always seen as a woman, and she is accepted together with the domestic roles that the traditions attach to her. Some of the policemen we interviewed criticize that the policewomen spend more time for their house works, and the requirements of the policing are not met by the policewomen. This can only be an occupational conflict. Polachek touches upon this conflict. Polachek’s segregation theory starts from the fact that women’s employment is intermittent because of domestic responsibilities (the fact that women rather than men take responsibility for childbearing and housework, as well as the fact that these tasks are performed outside of what we usually call markets, must be explained outside of the model he proposes) (England, 359: 1982).

Saying both 'play the role of woman' and 'she does not act like a man' points at the unconscious world of the organizational codes. According to Morrison (2004: 2), "*Policewomen* face overt hostility from men as well as experiencing double standards of performance in the job environment. These double standards are that women have to work twice as hard as the men in order to be accepted."

The standard police perception of the police organization is, in brief, an authoritarian figure, which embraces rigid and hard rules, attaches importance to discipline, and is not more open to communication. In short this job is one that is compatible with the male nature; on the other hand, women cannot fulfill the requirements of this job because of their sex. Women transform the rigid military climate of police agencies. Passive subject status of the woman expressed in this paragraph in fact is not a reality in practice. As an example to this, we can refer to the work by Sean Grennan "She studied the 3,515 complaints filed against the New York City Police Department in 1989. Women officers received fewer complaints, were less inclined to use deadly force and were involved in fewer shooting; incidents, even though they were involved in just as many violent confrontations as their male counterparts" (Spillar, 1993: 46).

In general terms if we summarize this chapter; the organizational mentality and behaviors towards the women are of masculine nature. Therefore, even if the women are as successful as man in many cases,

they are exposed to segregation by typical masculine codes. This inequality has many views: promotion, assignment, segregation, deprivation, etc. However, as a result of the fact that women movement in recent periods influence the police organization, most legal regulations were replaced with favorable ones for women, and the personnel policy of the organization and changing definition of task began to observe the rights of the other.

CHAPTER VI
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLICE AND COMMUNITY AND THE
GENDER EFFECT

This chapter examines the public – police relationship in the light of the data obtained from the theoretical resources. Furthermore, how determinant the gender is on the police – public relationship has been discussed. According to the basic assumptions of this chapter, there are two dimensions (police - public) in the police – public relations and a cross plane. Policewomen, policeman, female citizen and male citizen are the fundamental subjects of this plane. The coordinates drawn on the plane comprises the relations among these subjects. In brief, this chapter is an attempt to comprehend how this dynamic structure is formed by the police and public relationship (and images). In addition, this chapter covers some recommendations to ease the tension in the police and public relationship.

There numerous studies carried out in order to understand the nature of the relationship between the public and police, a relationship which is from time to time tense. These functional patterns of the police, who consider the social control, social integration and prevention of crime as its main activities, can only be understood within a social context. The study done by Cumming and his colleagues (1965) titled “policeman as philosopher, guide and friend” provides us the characteristics that a police officer should possess with examples. Why does a police officer play the

different roles? The reason is that the entirety he is in interaction with is complex and dynamic. Indeed, the police have various patterns of behaviors, different organizational positions, functions and a different history for each period. Robinson and his colleagues attempts at understanding this changing nature of the police by referring to anthropologic and historical texts. Maybe Robinson's (1987: 23) study is considered as rough history writing, yet it is quite significant since it explains the changes in the tasks of the police with the history of class change across the society and reveals the fact that the police are a dynamic organization. Since the police organization has a flowing history and a social surface. Likewise, its tasks are social as well and it just fits on this fluid society. For illustration, we can say as follows on the task of social control of the police: "the policeman's role in an integrative system is, by definition and by law, explicitly concerned with control in the course of controlling one member of society, moreover, the policeman often provides indirect support to another" (Cumming, 1965: 277). However the police do not only have a social task. As stated above, we can easily say that the police perform a good deal of tasks in different periods of the history and within the pluralistic structure of the society in today's world. So, why do the police perform such duties and tasks? For the "order maintenance," or for the "happiness of the public," or of "law enforcement?" Even this point is frequently verbalized in academic discussions and not yet fixed though there is a common acceptance in the academic environment that the police is transforming into a more service

oriented rather than a force centered structure as the years pass. The most important reason behind this transformation is the changing quality of the social expectations, crime and the police itself. "The community is increasingly demanding that law enforcement agencies operate as police services rather than police forces and that they become more problem oriented and focused on people and partnership" (Vanstone, 2001: 120).

The police are a legal security organization that employs many people. The nature of this organization has a hierarchic order. Everybody in the hierarchic plane tries to perform their roles designated by the organization for them. In this sense, it has a kind of quasi-military feature. The most notable distinction between the police, which we think that have a systematic operation, and other security organization is its capability to contact with the citizens. For example, the army never gets in touch with the citizens as much as the police do. This situation has been examined in detail in Ergut's (2004) study. In short, the police – citizen relations poses a sophisticated image, not a simple one. Earle has named his book, which he wrote in 1970 called "Police – Community Relations," as Crisis in our time as a sub-title. According to him, "A major sociological problem all too prevalent in police work is the isolation of the peace officer from the community which he serves... This isolation is a root cause of many problems in achieving effective police – community relations... While there are many complex and nebulous reasons for this isolation, perhaps one of

the most frequent and underlying causes is the “cross – fires” between the government and the public...” (1970: 114).

So what kind of a theoretical plane should be formed to make the police – public relationship understandable? It may be more plausible and logical to make an ideal type based on Weber to make numerous problems in the police – citizen relations including isolation. An example of such an attempt may be Friedmann. According to Friedmann (1992: 14), there are five ways of looking at the concept of police and community:

1. The two as mutually exclusive,
2. The two as completely
3. Police as completely incorporating the community.
4. Community as completely incorporating the police.
5. The two as partially overlapping

The two as mutually exclusive, in general, accompanied with an undesirable image in the police and public relations. When we examine this image in detail, we can emphasize the following points. There is a pattern incompatibility between the police and the public. The main reason of this incompatibility is the border infringement. This border violation is caused by the subjects who are outside the norms accepted as normal. If the police do not act in line with the expectations of the society, becomes a coarse follower and agent of the political will, and falls into the position of the suppresser of the social aspirations; then they cannot receive the

social support and at least the pattern incompatibility continues. This pattern incompatibility is more apparent in the sections of the society where the population structure has heterogeneous characteristics since the expectations of these sections of the society from the center are more than the other; they have an autonomous life strategy and the conscious and feeling of deprivation. For the police, this section of the public is equal to the sense of an enemy. Such a place is called “anti-police area” in the criminology literature. It may be stated that the police should always be alert; that they can be exposed to attack at any time, and more than this, if a person want to a police officer, he should work in such an area. Where are these places? Back streets of the New York City, Northern Ireland of England, the lands occupied by Israel. A special example can be given from Israel to better understand the police practice. “Israel border police was founded to the task of providing security in rural areas and along the borders in 1949. Israel border police is responsible for Kafr Qasim massacre. In the course of two hours, border-patrol guards murdered nineteen men, six women, ten teenage boys (aged 14–17), six girls (aged 12–15), and seven young boys (aged 8–13)” (Robinson, 2003: 395). For the citizens under such a plane, the police are seen as the pressure power of the state, implementer of the discriminative practices and limiting tool of the freedom. Such a situation is one that the police support on the public is in minimum level; that the trust relation between the parties is down at the bottom, and the suspicion is highest. In short, the image of the police within the society is rather negative.

The example given above is, in fact, a special statement of a general rule. Bercal (1970) examined the confrontation practice of the police and the public in two basic categories. According to him, "Police – citizen encounters are usually classified as either "voluntary" (e.g. service calls) or "involuntary" (e.g. traffic stops" (Reisig and Correia, 1997: 311). From this point view, the most problematic moment in the police and public encounter is the involuntary one, and as uttered by Friedmann above, encounters are quite common in mutually exclusive cases. We can categorize the demographic appearance of the subject of such an encounter is 4 main groups according to the deductions and inferences from numerous studies. There are:

a-) The others (ethnic, gender-based and political groups): in our opinion, the police has the most difficulty in the human relations with this section. There are many examples of this situation both from our country and different parts of the world. For example, in our country, the lack of trust between the Gypsies and the police is a clear example of such a situation. A brief mention of foreign studies can be given from Du Bois and his study done in 1899 in Philadelphia. "Arrests in the area were tainted by pervasive discrimination and unwarranted arrests by the police" (Gabbidon 2009: 102). In another similar study, whether there is a difference between the police perception of the other and perception of the dominant section was questioned. Reisig and Correia (1997: 312) note the following difference in the citation based on numerous researchers. "In general,

whites tend to perceive police more positively than do their nonwhite counterparts at the city level. Further, African-American citizens appear to be more concerned with different types of police behavior (e.g. brutality) and express higher levels of discontent with other facets of the legal system”.

b-) Certain age groups (e.g., children, teenagers and young people). According to Finnane (2006), “Police have historically been assigned tasks of monitoring and controlling young people that were both unrelated to the prevention or detection of crime, and more extensive than those applicable to adults. The extent of surveillance and control of young people entailed in the informal roles assigned to police as welfare agents, truant officers and moral guardians is largely unrecorded. Contemporary records of the volume of formal processing of youth, such as apprehensions, cautions, conferences and appearances in court testify to the extensive contact between police and young people” (Hinds,2007:196). So, is the police perception of the age groups changing? Do the young and the old consider the police in different ways? What is the place of the age in police perception? The following passage given by Reisig and Correia (1997: 313) cited from certain authors is quite meaningful. “Mature citizens value security and safety, while younger citizens place greater importance on freedom. Accordingly, younger individuals perceive police as attempting to restrict their independence and, as a result, evaluate them less favorably than their elders.”

c-) Organized groups (mafia, terrorist groups, etc.). Harfield gives a definition of organized crime as follows based on numerous academicians: "Organized crime is variously characterized in terms of nationwide conspiracy; ethnic grouping; socio political elites and state-organized crime; professional or white collar crime; ongoing illicit business enterprises; a global phenomenon; a core threat to democracy; and, increasingly, as having a terrorist nexus" (2008: 484). It is clear from the above passage that these groups have a heterogeneous structure. Any activity of these groups is also seen as damaging the state authority. They can manipulate many sections of the society with the power and pressure they have, and change the political atmosphere. The legal force of the government, on the other hand, is either insufficient, desperate against them or attempts to weaken the hegemony of these groups.

d-) Economically poor people; lower classes. The lower classes are more exposed to the suppressing power of the state compared to the other groups. Being under the limit of subsistence in economic terms has turned their lives into an expectation and uprising spiral. This group who has lower quality housing, insufficient and bad health facilities and limited nutrition necessarily wants to close the gap with the privileged section of the population. When the legal remedies and ways are not applicable, or do not allow, they refer to illegal solutions. The areas where the police use the vulgar force most in the city life is generally the suburbs of the poor.

It is only possible with the support given by the public that the police will be successful in their activities in the challenging situations above. A reality pointed at by many studies is this: "The relationship between the public and the police, particularly in neighborhoods with a high crime rate, a large proportion of ethnic minorities or substantial numbers of impoverished families, has been a traditional theme of criminological research and police administration" (Gamer: 2002).

The expectation related to this reality is the existence of a "pro-police area" where the police is accepted and adopted by the public. However, what lie underneath of this acceptance and adoption are the democratic principles and demands replacing the conservative bonds. If the police organization achieves to provide services to the entire population in an equal manner observing the democratic principles; that is to say, if the police establish a certain procedure and code of behavior based on the features of any social unit considering the heterogeneity of the population, the relationship with the public will be healthier since a few studies done show that the police generally spend most of his time in settling the events, and that they do not allocate much time for the public. In parallel with this, it is inferred from the studies that the citizens apply at the police only when they experience an infringement or violation. But if the police spare some time of the public, get in touch with them better; they will solve the problems easily and quickly and also the relations with

the public will be improved. Most of the time, the citizens do not inform the police about any incident since they are afraid of and refrain from the police as well as threats of the criminals. In addition to these, the police should be careful in well establishing the situations of the people applying to them because of their problems. The citizens should see the impression that they are being well cared (Küçük: 2006, 86). In brief, a serious and comprehensive change is required in the police strategy to facilitate a pro-police area; which is called Proactive Policing. According to Hemmens and Levin (2000), "Proactive policing not only perpetuates and exacerbates the social distance rift between the police and their community, but it also increases the likelihood that an officer may abuse his or her authority" (Jackson, 2005: 51).

So, what are the main criteria in order to establish a mutual and warm plane for the police – citizen relation? In other words, what kinds of sources does the theory provide us? First of all, we should acknowledge this fact: the relationship between the police and citizen is not a routine one; it is not that one party is active, and the other is passive. This situation is explained by the "police – citizen reciprocity" put forward by Skolnick and Bayley (1986). According to them, "reciprocity means that police must genuinely feel and genuinely communicate a feeling, that the public they are serving has something to contribute to the enterprise of policing" (Toach, 2005: 271). We should keep in mind that the citizens play the role of observer and transformer as well as being an object of the

police activity. We witness that the public shapes both the existing political atmosphere and application patterns of the police in organized planes and daily practices. In this sense, the concept of public opinion, as Outhwaite (1994) says, “becomes a social – psychological variable” (Mawby, 2002:70) and “this corresponds to control and criticism” (Habermans, 1989).

The fact that the police have a conservative judgment towards the citizens has been mentioned earlier. The main reason of this judgment is the psychological factors shaped by the sub-culture. These factors greatly widen the gap between the police and public. As Worden (1993: 211) notes; “Police officers are commonly reported to believe that citizens are disrespectful or even hostile. To the extent that this view is fostered by the police subculture, one should again expect that “outsiders” are less likely to subscribe to these perceptions. Further, if it is true that women are less confrontational than men, it may be the case that they are also less likely to have experienced negative reactions from citizens as consequences of routine encounters.” A softening in the conservative nature of the police is a significant factor that facilitates this relationship to be healthier. At the same time, this transformation increases the social awareness and sensitivity as well. For example, the most problematic moment in the police and public relationship is the social demonstration acts. Examples of such notable acts in Turkey, as observed, are social rallies, demolition of illegal shanty houses and some other spontaneous activities. In these cases, the police have to use excessive force to suppress the events and

such results in great criticism. This extent of the events, in fact, is related to the complete structure of the police organization and their perception of the events. "The Police as conservative organizations largely composed of conservative – thinking individuals, were generally antipathetic to protest, whether or not they, as individuals, agreed with protesters. The main aim of policing these events was to prevent crime and disorder, and this often led to very tight police control of marches (Edwards, 2005: 76). This conservative pattern of the police affects both male and policewomen. Most of the does and offenders are subjected to the same treatment by both the male and policewomen. To put it in the opposite way, we can say that the conservative pattern creates a double impact on the females. There is a serious and notable relationship between the conservatism and patriarchy, and the reflection of such is the less number of policewomen within the organization and exposure of the females to certain discriminatory practices. For example, the police organization of our country displays such conservative characteristics quite a lot. This is especially seen in all of the behavior patterns of the policemen towards the female ones. Most of these behavior patterns are the positive reaction towards the policewomen in the point view of the policemen. In short, these conservative traits prevent the policewomen from numerous negativities. To illustrate, generally policewomen do not sent to the guard duty, they do not work at the weekends; they do not complete their working hours when necessary due to family issues. But this does not mean that this socio-political climate across the organization serves to

female – male equality because of the above mentioned soft patterns. On the contrary, this type of behavior of the policemen towards the female officers does points at a type of discrimination called Benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism, different from the hostile sexism that aims at controlling and disciplining the women, is defined as the following by Glick (2000) and his colleagues; “subjectively positive orientation of protection, idealization and affection directed toward women” (Kristensson: 2006). Less appearance of the women and male dominancy generally lead to negative results in favor of the females in the relations with the public. This negativity can be stated like this: “Increased cynicism and distrust of the public and their behavior is abrupt with un sympathetic demeanor. Conversely, women police officers have not been accepted equally capable as policemen... women as passive and weak both physically and emotionally” (Remmington, 1983: 118).

A significant indicator variable in the police – citizen relationship is the media (press). The manner of reflection of this relationship in the media, in fact, reveals itself within the borders drawn by the ideological fiction as a whole. A detective TV serial about this point in almost all channels in Turkey both forces the ratings and provides us with short summarizing data in this research. When we focus on the domestic TV serials rather than the ideological fictions of the police news, we can say that some of the serials are literally strong – for example, the “*Devil is Hidden in the Detail*” adopted by Ahmet Ümit for the state TV, and its hero

“Police Chief Nevzat” – some of them are weak – such as *“Back Streets”* which is strong in terms of action but weak in terms of fiction and scenario. What we can mostly observe in these TV serials is that the Turkish cinema sector has little knowledge regarding the life of the police. In this sense, that Leisman says on this representation is quite sensible: “Representations of policing are relative to the individuals producing and consuming them. There is no neutral, objective representation of the police in fiction; hence notions of ‘reality’ and ‘authenticity’ are relative” (Leishman, 2003: 3). What we expect from the media power is that they should help and facilitate the police – public relations and work with the aim of supporting each other. The representation of the police and gender in the media is another point to be dealt with and discussed. The entire fiction of the masculine ideology is that the policewomen is passive and policeman is active. The police image of the masculine fiction can be summarized like this: “Crime fighting became the police image of choice as popular television shows...highlighted the tough, masculine police image with fast-paced violence and drama and a clear line between good and bad. Women police were often excluded from this image despite the fact that research of this decade emphatically confirmed that female officers were as capable as men in the highly prized position of patrol officer” (quoted by Rape- Hemp, 2008:3). It is not a different situation in our local TV serials. The policewomen is the helpful partner of the policeman; a passive subject; a role of caring, helpful women who has a motherly character.

What is the place of gender in the relationship between the police and public? Focusing on the gender of the police at the first stage, we can say the following. The traditional police approach that puts more the policeman on the stage sees the society as an object of suspicion. The police itself are the legal force of the state in the relationship established with the society. Anyone violating the law is punished by the legal pressure tool of the state. If paid attention, such a suspicion has made the police force centered. It is the male bodies that will apply the power. The locations where the police and citizens confront each other are mostly the places where the policemen and the citizens encounter. In these localities, instead of verbal communication, mostly operational techniques are utilized, which do not solve the problem, but only postpones it and puts under pressure. The policewomen, on the other hand, is a significant subject that softens the rigid nature. Employment of policewomen points at the historical transformation of the police organization. The policewomen is both as effective as the male counterparts in the relations with the public and undertakes certain tasks to fill in the gaps left by the policeman. Melchionne (1967: 258) explains this emphasis like this: "Incidentally, you will find that policewomen function with equal competence in police – community relations work – and perhaps, much for the same reasons. As a female representative, of the police agency, she is less burdened by public resentment of her authority, and, as a women, she tends to project the social consciousness so essential to police – community dialogue and

understanding”. The second duty as a gap filling function can be interpreted as follows: “Women officers reported more involvement than men in work with all victims of sex offences, victims of violence, work involving children and babies, alarm calls and domestic disputes” (Holdaway, 1998: 46). The studies conducted have shown and revealed the importance of the policewomen as much as the males in the course of the police organization from traditional policing to modern policing, from forced centered structure to service oriented one or community policing.

From the point of view of the citizens, the policing activity is assessed in different manners due to the heterogeneity of the public. Morris (1981: 39) puts emphasis on these different types of assessment as the following: “The public may assess the police either according to their ability to deal with crime, or their civility in dealing with the public and their fairness towards different sections of society, or simply on basis of their existence as a legal entity” (quoted by Karakaya, 2002: 50).

A significant criterion that the public employs in assessing the police is the ability of the police to prevent the crime since most of the people have a perspective of looking at the issue from the window of the victim. There are four major ways of attempting crime Prevention:

1. Removal of the causes of crime
2. Removal of the opportunity for crime
3. Preventing the offender from committing further crime

4. Target hardening, or making the commission of the crime more difficult or less attractive. (Edwards, 2005: 61).

However, while it is an object of discussion as to which of these activities are valuable in terms of politics, what is important for the public is the minimization of the crime no matter what procedure is used or what road is taken. There are 3 main conclusions to be inferred from this point. First of all, all the techniques used in the fight against the crime and the criminal in a strong manner are oriented at the minimization of the crime with zero tolerance. Yet, zero tolerance is followed by a concept that harms the public – police relations. For the beginning, we should note that no matter how much we struggle to prevent the crime, it is not possible to get close to the zero crime rate. In historical sense, this hidden desire that the police models want is actually a fantasy. Zero crime rate is a myth as well as being a target that will not be achieved. This is a mirage in the minds of both the policing policy and the public. Now, a fundamental change in the policies of the modern police models (democratic policing) shapes the new goals. According to Das (2000), new reforms are “intended to lower crime rates, diminish bribery and corruption, end brutality, and maximize community satisfaction with organizational reforms such as problem-oriented and community-oriented policing. These scholars have identified basic tenets of democratic policing, such as an emphasis on the rule of law, public accountability, open and public decision-making, minimal use of force, public involvement, respect for

human rights, and internal organizational democracy” (Can et. al., 2009: 70). The second conclusion to be drawn from here is if the goal is to prevent the crime, then who will going to do that, which subject? In terms of socialization, this subject is the policemen that the people think of. Once you reduce the policing job to crime, naturally it requires a masculine structure. But numerous studies have shown that very few of the policing activities are related to crime. Briefly, the majority of the citizens think that policeman is more effective than policewomen in preventing the crime. However, the transforming quality and nature of the police and active participation of the policewomen in the fight against the crime is changing this judgment. The women is not passive, but active, and as successful as the men in the struggle with the crime. For example, the work of Brecci, *“Female officers on patrol: Public perceptions in the 1990s,”* has a justifying quality for the above statement. According to them “over half (52%) thought males and females were equally effective handling armed robberies, however, 40 percent of the respondents felt males were more effective than females. For bar fights, sixty percent of the sample felt males were more effective while only one out of three(%32) thought they were equally effective” (Brecci,2000:90). since the crime has turned into various forms within the modernization practice. Few types of crime include physical violence. In the third conclusion, we see the social reflection of the conservative consciousness. In relation with the above, the most of the people are not aware of the changing paradigm of the organization. Transformation of the police systems to service perspective,

emphasis given to warm and kind relations with the citizens, and soft components instead of the hard image have all increased the importance of the policewomen. Although most male citizens underline the physical power when listing the characteristics that a police officer should possess, policewomen refer more to this soft nature. But it should be kept in mind that a major determinant in the relationship between the police and public is the politics itself since any attempt by the police is at the same time a political activity, that is to say, the implementation of the current politics. Who are the dominant subjects of this politics? The main implementer is the male bodies. In other words, the interference of the politics to these areas by means of the police is, in a way, the interference of the males. Softening of the existing political atmosphere will lead to the organizational transformation of the police. The police will be function on a procedure that is service oriented rather than force centered, and preventive policy rather than interfering one. In this policy, the steering wheel is actively controlled by both of the subjects (citizen - police). If carefully reviewed, a simple summary of the above paragraph is that the most significant factor requiring that the police should be a democratic actor in the social relations is the democratic characteristic of the stage, which is the political regime; that we frequently see in the discussions on the state. If the aquarium is clean, likewise the fish is clean, or it can survive there. The more democratic is the political regime, the more democratic is the police. This democratic image of the police is expressed in the following way in the work of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs called

“Mechanisms for Accountability and Community Policing”: “One of the most important features of the modern democratic state is the tacit agreement between the government and citizens: in exchange for surrendering some of their personal liberty to allow government to develop a binding legal framework for society, citizens are given protection by the government. This public protection is provided by police, who maintain order and enforce laws. Police in democratic countries are generally civilians, even if the organization of police organizations bears many similarities to military forces. Most developed democracies have limited the authority of their militaries to responsibility for protecting the state from foreign invasion and/or actions in a very limited range of internal crises — there is no role for the military in policing a democracy” (2005: 6). This democratization practice will equalize the policewomen and female citizens in the equation; that is, a transformation to the favor of women will realize.

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF POLICE IN ANKARA

This chapter will deal with the perception world of the public regarding the policing profession and the police officers. The questions such as whether the respondents want to be a police officer, why they want so or not, and what their personal experience is comprise the basic data of this chapter. The numerical outcome of this data is the descriptive tools for us in decoding the mentality of the respondents. The findings obtained in Ankara, the core world of the police bureaucracy, are quite valuable in understanding the public dimension of the police – public relations. This dimension of the phenomenon will be analyzed by the tables formed based on certain questions below:

Table 2: Have you ever thought of becoming a police?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	66	21,3
No	244	78,7
Total	313	100

Have you ever thought of becoming police? One of the significant indicators of social perspectives, the research provided us with the following figures and percentages are about 21 per cent of citizens indicated to be police. About 78 percent of respondents answer to that question as No. According to Table 2, most of respondents do not aim to be police. Reasons for those answers are given in the table below.

Table 3: What are your reasons if you wanted to be a police officer?

	Frequency	Percent
Pretensions to Turkish movies	1	2,0
Due to lack of employment	6	12,0
My psychology is not strong enough	1	2,0
I like policing	15	30,0
Attraction of the uniform/official dress	4	8,0
It was my only and single dream, yet did not come true	1	2,0
I like guns	3	6,0
To be fair and just with people	1	2,0
To be financially comfortable	5	10,0
Because it is an easy job	4	8,0
Because of love of humanity	1	2,0
A prestigious and respected occupation	2	4,0
Because of absolute power	1	2,0
An active and dynamic occupation	1	2,0
Because my father is a police officer, too	2	4,0
For the safety of the public	1	2,0
Just to have a job	1	2,0
Total	50	100,0

* Missing 263, Not Respondent:16, General Total: 313

Choice of occupation is a phenomenon, which gains importance in the modern world. The historical course regarding the choice of occupation is summarized by Ginzberg and colleagues as follows: "There are societies in which there is no occupational choice. This is true of a primitive society where the division of labor is based solely on sex, and status in the political and religious organizations is determined by inheritance or age. In more complex societies, a stable caste

system provides another example. Here not only religious but social sanctions may compel the sons to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. The estate system of the Middle Ages is another example. The serfs had little freedom of occupational choice, but they did have some; a few were able to enter the Church, become soldiers, or run away to the towns” (Ginzberg, 1951: 3). According to Ginzberg, a prominent figure in the occupation guidance, choice of an occupation is not an instantaneous event, but it is a process. This process follows a course from childhood to puberty and then to adulthood. The beginning of this process is the fantasy period observed in children. In this period, the child takes certain role occupations as a model for himself such as postman, firefighter, army officer, nurse, taxi driver. Police is also one of these occupations. In the later stages of this process, such models are generally replaced with the occupations much appreciated by the society such as physician, lawyer and engineer.

Following briefly talking on the occupational development theories, we can interpret Table 3. 30 % of the respondents stated that they thought of being a police officer because they like policing. This ratio represents the highest share among all the respondents. However, in our opinion this does not correspond to an expected ratio. One other point requires discussion here is that 12 % of the respondents consider being a police officer due to unemployment and 10 % of them think so because of economic reasons. Especially the economic instability experienced in the

last years in our country is accompanied by the deterioration in the employment conditions. The policing is a guaranteed option of occupation for the many. A police chief (T) said the following in an interview:

“Now being a police officer is not that easy; in the past nobody wanted to wear that uniform for a lifetime, and there happened to be many people who quitted the job after working for some years. Today policing is a profession that is preferable over teaching profession. Recently, I participated in the interviews for police officer candidates, and saw that there are many lawyers, engineers, chemists who want to be a police officer.”

A piece of news from a newspaper from 2008 is corroborative of what this police chief said. According to the news “while about 100 thousand people apply at the police vocational higher school to be a police officer, only 6000 is able to become a police officer.”⁶ In addition to economic reasons, another factor for choosing policing as a profession is passion for uniform and weapons. It would be more appropriate to explain this by means of social value judgments. Other reasons, on the other hand, do not have typical characteristics.

⁶ <http://www.haberler.com/polis-olmak-isteyenler-myo-larin-onunde-uzun-haberi> (25 July 2008)

Table 4: If you did not want to be a police officer, what are your reasons?

	Frequency	Percent
I do not like enforcing violence	9	5,7
This job has pressure on the police officers	3	1,9
I do not like using guns	5	3,2
I do not like police officers	14	8,9
I did not want	50	31,6
I like the production-oriented works more	1	,6
It is a tough job	16	10,1
It is not a job appropriate for women	2	1,3
I did not want to guard of the establishment	1	,6
No reason	6	3,8
Due to health problems	1	,6
Not appropriate for my character	13	8,2
It is a safe job	2	1,3
It is a dangerous job	4	2,5
I have other plans	5	3,2
I do not like receiving orders	2	1,3
Policing is unattractive for me	7	4,4
This profession changes and makes psychology of one bad	1	,6
I do not qualify the physical conditions	6	3,8
Due to political reasons	1	,6
This job has no aesthetic side	1	,6
Because it needs discipline	1	,6
It is difficult to deal with people	2	1,3
It is s stressful job	1	,6
It does not pay good	2	1,3
It is not a safe job	1	,6
They would not employ me	1	,6
Total	158	100,0

* Missing: 155, Not Respondent:89 General Total: 313

The reasons that the people do not want to be police officer are mostly based on psychological grounds. As it is known, the vocational

guidance studies agree on the fact that two basic concepts are significant in choice of occupation. These concepts are interest and talent. Interest is the set of concepts that pay attention to the signs of liking or disliking regarding the psychological (affective) specifications of an occupation. Talent, on the other hand, is the level of ability to do a specific job. According to Table 4, about 32 % of the subjects participating in the research stated that they do not want to be a police officer. Other options emphasizing the affective specifications are as follows: 8,9 % do not like the police officers; 5,7 % do not like using violence; 3,2 % do not like using guns, etc. About 1 % of the respondents point at economic reasons, that is the salary of the police officers. That this ratio is low is, in a way, confirmation of the statements in the previous table. Other reasons for not being a police officer are indicated in the table.

Table 5: For you, which decision is more influential in choosing to be a police officer?

	Frequency	Percent
My own decision	193	81,8
Desire of my family members	43	18,2
Total	236	100,0

* Missing: 77, General Total: 313

The subject question of the Table 5, in fact, underlines the importance of autonomy during the decision – making process. Erikson, the American psychologist (1963), defines the puberty as the period for identity achievement. The period for identity achievement is an important step in the occupation. According to Marcia, the American psychologist,

affected by Erikson, the selection of occupation is a preference of ideological living area. Each adolescent faces with this choice situation during the process of taking an occupation decision. The important thing here is that whether the person does its choice with his own free will or in line with the demands of other authorities (family, teacher, etc.). According to Marcia, this is an identity crisis. Marcia states that (1987: 162), "The identity statuses are four outcomes of the identity crisis period". Based on this, Marcia talks about 4 types of identity status. "These stages have been named diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and identity achievement statuses. Diffusion persons do not profess commitment to any specific occupation or ideology. Foreclosure persons have made a commitment, but in the absence of crisis. These individuals are thought to have assumed the commitments of others without a self-imposed crisis prior to the commitment decision. Moratorium persons are in a state of self-perceived crisis and are searching for commitment, while identity achievement individuals report having experienced a crisis and indicate a strong personal commitment" (Adams, 1978: 224). If the information mentioned in the identity status of Marcia is reflected at the opinion of the respondents, according to the respondents, most of the police officers (about 82 %) choose to be a police officer by themselves; that is to say the choice belongs to them. The situation, according to Marcia, refers to the identity achievement identity status. About 18 % of the citizens hold their families or other authorities responsible for being a police officer. In short,

few of the people make an occupation choice adhering to the foreclosure identity status.

Table 6: Do you think the number of police is enough in Turkey?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	142	47,2
No	159	52,8
Total	301	100,0

* Missing: 12, General Total: 313

The question in Table 6 has been asked in order to find out a subjective attitude on the sufficiency of the number of police in Turkey. If paid attention, one of the first solution strategies regarding the efficiency of the police in many arguments is that the increase in the number of the police officers will contribute to the solution of most of the problems under the coverage area of the police. We hear such arguments mostly from the news reporters or administrative or security chiefs. What happens in our country especially in Istanbul is the most striking proof of this argument. More than half of the subjects (about 53 %) in our study think that the number of the police officers in our country is enough, and about 47 percent of them think that the number of the police officers in Turkey is insufficient. This numerical information can be explained either by the excess number of the police officers or suspicion to the existence of the police.

Table 6-1: Do you think the number of policewomen is enough?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	65	21,5
No	237	78,5
Total	302	100,0

* Missing: 11, General Total: 313

Another table associated with Table 6 is Table 6-1. We have tried to describe the proportional gap related to the policewomen, missing part in the previous table. According to Table 6, the majority of our subjects (about 79 %) consider that the number of the policewomen in Turkey is not enough. This evaluation is quite meaningful. As we stated in the previous chapters, the fact that there are less number of policewomen within the police organization is one of the most significant variables resulting in the exposure of policewomen to certain negative applications and practices. Furthermore, low level of representation decreased the contact between the public and the policewomen. Negativities to arise during contact turned into stereotypes against the policewomen. Very few of the subjects (about 11 %) think that the number of the policewomen is sufficient.

Table 7: Have you been to police station in last ten years for any reason?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	102	33,8
No	200	66,2
Total	302	100,0

* Missing: 11, General Total: 313

Table 7 will mention the police experiences of the subjects. People meet the police in many locations and places in different circumstances. However, police station is the micro unit where the police services are provided in an organized way. In one way, the police station is the home of the police in the street of the public. But the perception of the police station is generally not a characteristic of positive quality from the side of the community. People are generally suspicious of a person who has been to

the police station. When we interpret the table, the police station in the experience in the last 10 years of 33,8 % of the respondents has a significant place. This is a quite significant finding since the use of the police organization, which is the law enforcement body in a country where the legal mechanisms have not truly and completely taken a root for the social relations and disputes. About 62 % of the subjects have not any experience regarding the police station.

Table 8: How did the police officers treat you?

	Frequency	Percent
Positive	72	70,6
Negative	30	29,4
Total	102	100,0

* Missing: 211, General Total: 313

According to Table 8, approximately 71 % 102 people who have experience of police station said that the police treated positively towards them. Such case is a rather desired situation for a country with many problems in the field of human rights and democracy. About 29 % of the subjects, on the other hand, stated that they were exposed to negative practices in the police station by the police officers.

Table 9: What made you feel that they were negative to you?

	Frequency	Percent
They did not care about me adequate enough	9	27,3
They were rude to me	12	36,4
They had prejudices towards me	1	3,0
They were impatient	1	3,0
The police treat badly to the politicians	2	6,1
They treated badly because I had drunk alcohol	1	3,0
They were rather suspicious of me	1	3,0
The event I experience looked very normal for them	2	6,1
They were not helpful stating that their authority is limited	1	3,0
They were disrespectful and arrogant	3	9,1
Total	30	100,0

* Missing: 283, General Total: 313

The negative events experienced by the individuals in the police stations are given in Table 9. A great majority of the subjects (about 36 %) stated that the police were rude towards them. An ambiguous phrase like rude behavior includes physical, verbal and social violence; in other words, it is discriminative and pressuring attitude. A group corresponding to a significant ratio like about 27 % said that the police did not address to them adequate enough at the police station. Most of the other statements of the subjects in fact are the percentages in line with and similar to the ones stated above. However, one of the options is little but a striking detail since it draws attention to the voice of the police, which is “They were not helpful stating that their authority is limited.”

Table 10: What is your opinion on attitude of Turkish public toward police?

	Frequency	Percent
Positive	137	47,2
Negative	153	52,8
Total	290	100,0

* Missing: 23, General Total: 313

Table 10 includes numerical data associated with an important issue. Most of the subjects participating in the research (about 53 %) agree on the fact that the Turkish public keeps a negative attitude towards the police. This table is associated with the previous table in terms of this consideration. Rude behavior, indifference, and prejudice are most probably under the category of reasons that damages the bond between the police and the community. About 47 % of the subjects consider the attitude of the Turkish community towards the police as positive.

Table 11: If the attitude of the Turkish community towards the police is negative, what do you think are the reasons of this?

	Frequency	Percent
Representative of violence and pressure	40	36,7
Negative behavior of the police such as bribery, etc.	12	11,0
Disrespectful to the civilian individuals	11	10,1
Lack of authority	2	1,8
Due to fear	6	5,5
The police make generalizations and have a one-way, uniform thinking	1	,9
Police do not perform its duties well enough	4	3,7
Police is not trustworthy	11	10,1
Most police officers malpractice and misconduct	2	1,8
All of them are rightist and conservative	1	,9
Police have a tendency of approaching negatively to events	4	3,7
Education level of the police is low	6	5,5
Police is indifferent to the citizens	3	2,8
Police are regarded psychopath	1	,9
Police think they are superior	2	1,8
Lack and insufficiency of the laws	1	,9
Because of the media	1	,9
Degenerated organization	1	,9
Total	109	100

* Missing: 204, Not Respondent:44, General Total: 313

Table 11 examines the reasons behind the negative attitude of the Turkish public towards the police. According to the Table, the most striking reason for regarding the police as negative is the fact that the police represent violence and pressure (about 37 %). An individual who experiences at the first hand or witnesses by means of the media the violence of the police, thus, is afraid of the police, does not trust in the police and does not respect the organization. If paid attention, it is seen that identification of the police with the violence and pressure resulted in

the association of the other comments with this. For example, the opinion that people do not have confidence in the police (10,1 %); that the police do not respect the civilians in the same ratio; fear of police (5,5 %), negative approach of the police to the events (3,7 %), etc. Involvement of the police in some illegal incidents such as bribery puts the police in a negative role from the perspective of the subjects; the ratio of which is approximately 11 %. Another significant numerical variable is the statement that the level of education of the police is low with a ratio of about 6 %. As we mentioned in the previous chapter, education is the fundamental reason of the deformities in the society and individual mistakes in the perception world of the individuals. However, this ratio has been found as lower than we expected. Other low ratio reasons will be dealt with here.

Table 12: What is your opinion on attitude of Turkish public toward policewomen?

	Frequency	Percent
Positive	214	70,9
Negative	88	29,1
Total	302	100,0

* Missing: 11, General Total: 313

According to Table 12, the majority of the subjects in our research (about 71 %) have a positive impression towards the policewomen; and in the opinion of the subjects, the concept of policewomen is warmer and softer than the concept of police. Indeed, the tough and hard image of the police is in transformation with the soft existence of the policewomen. This finding is considerably significant in terms of our study since there are, in

our opinion, two prominent conclusions to be drawn from this point. The first one is that there is a need to increase the number of the policewomen within the organization, and the second one is that policewomen should be more in contact with the public.

Table 13: If the attitude of the Turkish community towards the policewomen is negative, what do you think are the reasons of this?

	Frequency	Percent
Policewomen are not strong enough	2	3,4
They are not good at practicing this job	12	20,7
Dominant opinion in the public that women are doing a man's job	6	10,3
Working women are not favorable	1	1,7
Women cannot be police	9	15,5
Policewomen are not trustworthy	3	5,2
Public is uneducated	1	1,7
Police is disrespectful to the public	3	5,2
Negative opinion towards the police	2	3,4
Turkish society has always been negative to the women	13	22,4
Due to mentality	1	1,7
Priority is given to the respect for the policemen	2	3,4
They are indifferent to the public	1	1,7
Women are underestimated	2	3,4
Total	58	100,0

* Missing: 255, Not Respondent:30, General Total: 313

According to Table 13, about 29 % of the respondents argue that policewomen are negatively perceived by the society. When the reasons behind this negativity are examined, we can see that they are the masculine nature of the occupation and the dominance of the masculine ideology within the organization. We see the traces of the males in most of the basic explanations. For example; negative attitude of the Turkish society to the women (22,4 %), the idea that the policewomen cannot do this job well enough (20,7 %), the idea that women cannot be police officer (15,5 %), the opinion that women are doing a man's job (10,3 %), the opinion that the policewomen are not trustworthy (5,2 %), the idea that the policewomen are not strong enough (3,4 %). All these, in fact, are the reflections of the male point of view at the occupation.

Table 14: In which groups do you think the police face with problems during work?

	Frequency	Percent
With women	14	4,6
With men	130	42,3
With both of them	157	51,1
With none of them	6	2,0
Total	307	100,0

* Missing: 6, General Total: 313

According to Table 14, when the subjects are asked to learn about the fact that in which groups the police face with more problems; the subjects agree on the idea that both sexes equally cause problems for the police. About 51 % of the respondents support this idea, but when the other options are examined, it is seen that about 42 % of the subjects think

that males cause much more problems to the police compared to the females. The fact that most of the audience in the football stadiums is male, that the majority of the drivers are male; the dominance of the males in the social demonstrations and all and all, the problems occurring in such situations when in contact with the police may support this idea; however this prevents us from perceiving the transforming structure of the society. Today there are more women who go to watch the matches, more women participate in the demonstrations and there are many female drivers. Therefore, they can be the victim or agent of any event. Very small percentage of the subjects thinks that women cause difficulties for the police. That the women face with double deprivation during the negative contact with police is, in our opinion, the most significant reason of this. When the cultural codes of the society are combined with the effect of the punishment, the negativity to be experienced by the women will be more than that of the men. The sociological and psychological impacts caused by this prevent the women get in touch with the police.

CHAPTER VIII
DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In this chapter, the basic hypotheses of our study will be put through testing. The field data already collected will be utilized for such tests. As it is known, the raw data obtained from the field is more understandable and interpretable only by means of some statistical methods. We tried to obtain information from the field by getting use of the scale types composed of different items resulting from the literature review. Perhaps, the first thing to do is to say that these scales revealed the existing information of the field by containing the least error as possible. To speak in the statistician language, this is called reliability. The reliability results of our scales are provided in Table 15.

Table 15: Reliability of variables

Variables	Reliability (alpha Cronbach)
How to be Police Officer	0,8082
Unfavorable working conditions	0,8176
Police effectiveness	0,8185
Stereotype judgment against policewomen	0,8132
Stereotype judgment against policemen	0,8410

As a statistical concept, "Cronbach's alpha is the most common form of internal consistency reliability coefficient. Alpha equals zero when the true score is not measured at all, and there is only an error

component. Alpha equals 1.0 when all items measure only the true score and there is no error component... By convention, a lenient cut-off of .60 is common in exploratory research; alpha should be at least .70 or higher to retain an item in an "adequate" scale; and many researchers require a cut-off of .80 for a "good scale" (Garson: 2009). If paid attention, all the reliability values in our study are above 0,80. In Dr. Garson's saying, it is "good scale."

This chapter is based upon the analysis of our hypotheses together with the descriptive features of five scales that are associated with each other. The first of these scales includes the basic properties of the occupational culture of policing, and covers the items answering the question of "how to be policing." By means of this scale, the occupational properties required by policing will be determined, and the opinions of the public will be found out at the point of whether the policewomen or the male have these properties more than the other.

The second scale, on the other hand, is the undesired environmental conditions that the police officers face with. So, who is negatively affected mostly by such environmental conditions, the females or males? Our third scale is the police effectiveness; that is in which situations the police must be effective, and which police officers, females

or male ones, display more dominant features in those situations? In these three scales, while the general characteristics to be generally attributed to the police are analyzed, the remaining two scales analyze the stereotypes regarding the gender. In the fourth scale, the stereotype against the policewomen and in the fifth one, the stereotypes for the policemen are the subjects of the relevant chapters. The purpose of all these scale based analyses is to find out how the public characterize this pattern pertaining to the policing and how the policewomen and policemen are placed within this pattern. In addition to this, does the gender of one person have a role in such an attempt of understanding?

8.1. Analysis of “How to be a Police Officer”

Table 16: Opinions for “How to be Police Officer”

Variables	Agree %	Disagree %
Authority	75,6	24,4
Cynicism	84,4	15,6
Strength	81,8	18,2
Self Confidence	97,1	2,9
Rationally	93,8	6,2
Persuasive ability	96,4	3,6
Alternative Thinking	98,4	1,6
Ability to take Risk	94,5	5,5
Tolerance and being moderate	94,8	5,2
Conservative	93,2	6,8
Secretly	77,5	22,5
Solidarity	87,3	12,7

When both male and female respondents are asked for their opinion about the characteristics that a police officer should have in its order, it is seen that the respondents have a common idea for these

characteristics. Indeed, numerous fundamental arguments related to the traditional policing comprise the set of criteria that is acceptance for the public in modern life. Should the police be authoritarian? Yes. About 76 percent of the subjects in the questionnaire said Yes, and 24 percent No. That is to say, being authoritarian is one of the distinguishing properties of the police. About 84 percent of our subjects stated that the police should be suspicious and skeptical. Although it is thought that the skepticism causes a distance between the police and the public, in fact being skeptic creates a chain effect which in turn increases the interaction and solidarity in small groups. Approximately 84 percent of the subjects think that the police should be skeptical, and 16 percent of them say that the police should not be skeptical. When the physical strength of the police, which is apparent especially in the demonstrations, is questioned as a variable of existence, 82 percent of the subjects hold the view that this is a desired characteristic for the police; on the other hand, 18 percent of the respondents does not mention the physical strength as one of the most important characteristics of the police. Self confidence, which enables the police to eliminate the risk factor, emerges as a positive variable in the opinion of the almost all the subjects. About 97 percent of the subjects state that the police should be self confident while performing their job and 3 percent of them think that this characteristic is not necessary. One of most problematic and annoying thing for the police in social demonstrations and events is their impulsive behavior, and most thinkers consider that this is related to the being distant from the rationality. About

94 percent of the subjects participating in the field study accept that rationality is a positive trait for the police while about 6 percent of the respondents think that rationality is a required characteristic for the police. One other important problem in the relationship between the police and community is the persuasive ability of the police. The persuasive ability of the police is a significant factor that determines the level of satisfaction from the security services in terms of citizens as well. While 96 percent of the subjects express that the police should have the ability to persuade, about 4 percent of them say that this is not a valid trait. The police should have an open mind to the alternatives as much as they are rational. The ratio of the respondents who embrace this fact is about 98 and the ones who support the opposite idea are about 2 percent of the respondents. At certain incidences, the police give way to mistakes by only using the procedures or routine activities; instead of this, the police should take risks when necessary and should have saving acts. The percentage of the respondents who keep this opinion is too much to underestimate. Approximately 95 percent of the respondents say yes to risk whereas 5 percent of them say no. The police should persuade the citizens on certain issues, be tolerant and moderate towards them. That is to say, one of the most important reasons of the harmony and balance in any event between the police and the public is the way of perception of the parties towards each other. If the parties have hostile feelings towards the other, behave in a rude, cold and discriminative ways, such acts and attitudes push one of the parties away from the other; this in turn convulses and appalls the

confidence and trust among the police and the public to the greatest extent. About 95 percent of the respondents in our study support the idea that the police should be stoic, tolerant and moderate, on the other hand, 5 percent of the subjects think that such traits are not necessary for a police officer. It is one of the quite common opinions among the subjects that the police should be in harmony with the social values, namely they should be conservative. Approximately 93 percent of the subjects state that the police should be conservative while only 7 percent of them do not think so. In the opinion of the public, any event or incidence happening within the police organization should not be disclosed to the public and remain secret. The percentage of the ones who have this idea is about 78 percent. If paid attention, there is a proportional decrease at this point compared to the other occupational characteristics. In our opinion, the principal reason behind this decrease is the fact that democratic developments render the organizational transparency more visible. That the personnel of the organization act with solidarity and supportive of each other within the organization is the last variable of our scale. While 87 percent of the respondents of the questionnaire attach importance to the intra-organizational solidarity, 13 percent say that intra-organizational solidarity is not necessary. When the scale is carefully examined in its entirety, it is seen that the characteristics that, according to the citizens, any police officer should have are in fact the leading traits in both the traditional and modern policing paradigm. The public observations of the Turkish police are in harmony with the foreign resources examined in detail in the

theoretical level of the study, and supportive of each other. These data are in harmony with the studies carried out in both the European Union and the USA. All these studies show us that a mentality dominated by the male disciplines the police organization.

The statement that there are differences between the male and policewomen in terms of having the characteristics pertaining to the policing profession is one of our hypotheses. The responses given by the people to a question of ‘Which police officers, the policewomen or male officers have the characteristics provided above more’ are examined in detail in the table17 below.

Table 17: Which police officers; female or male ones, have these properties most considering the properties that must be vested in the police?

	Frequency	Percent
Male	86	28,7
Female	57	19,0
Both (M and F)	157	52,3

* Missing 13, General Total: 313

The majority of the citizens think that both male and policewomen have the above mentioned traits. This ratio is approximately 52 %. About 29 % and 19 % of the respondents state that male and policewomen possess such traits respectively. Within this context, we can say the following based on the testing of our hypothesis designed as “Is there a difference between the policewomen and policemen in terms of having these characteristics,” which is one of the fundamental hypotheses of our

thesis. According to the respondents, there is not any difference statistically in terms of having these traits between the policewomen and policemen. This is shown in Table 18 where the $P=0,792 >0,005$ according to the variance analysis.

Table 18: ANOVA: Differences between policemen and policewomen

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	,007	2	,003	,233	,792
Within Groups	4,039	285	,014		
Total	4,046	287			

So, to what extent is the gender of the respondents is determinant in regard to these characteristics that we think the police should have? The field study has data about this. Table 19 gives a summary of such data.

Table 19: How a police should be based on the gender of the respondents

Variables	Agree %		Disagree %		P Value
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Authority	78	72,1	22	27,9	0,14
Cynicism	82,0	87,6	18,0	12,4	0,12
Strength	80,4	83,5	19,6	16,5	0,30
Self Confidence	97,2	96,9	2,8	3,1	0,56
Rationally	93,8	93,8	6,2	6,2	0,58
Persuasion ability	96,6	96,1	3,4	3,9	0,52
Alternative Thinking	98,9	97,7	1,1	2,3	0,35
Ability to take risk	97,2	90,6	2,8	9,4	0,014
Tolerant and moderate	97,2	91,5	2,8	8,5	0,026
Conservative	95,5	89,9	4,5	10,1	0,048
Confidentiality	88,7	61,7	11,3	38,3	0,001
Solidarity	91,5	81,4	8,5	18,6	0,007

According to Table 19, 78 % of women and 72.1% of men defended police must be authoritarian. This ratio ($P = 0,14 > 0,05$) is not a statistically significant difference between men and women according to the police authority should be. Likewise, the majority of the male and females state that the police should be cynic. 82 percent of the females and about 88 percent of the males think that the police should be skeptical and suspicious. It is seen that this ratio is a very close to each other figure in both male and females. This naturally indicates that the notion that the police should be skeptical is a shared one by both females and males. This opinion is statistically accepted ($P=0,12>0,005$). A similar situation to this is seen in strength. The male subjects also argue that the policewomen should be physically strong. There is not a dissention among the males and females in terms of the opinion that the police should have physical strength ($P=0,30>0,005$). Both male and female subjects say that the police should be self confident. This ratio is approximately 97 percent in females and males. Self confidence in the police is a common police variable accepted by both males and females ($P=0,56>0,005$). In the same way, males and females defend the fact that the police should be rational. The police should show rational reaction towards the events and incidences rather than emotional. Both males and females (about 94 percent) share the same opinion that the police should be rational ($P=0,58>0,005$). In addition to the fact that the police should approach the events in a rational manner, the persuasive ability of the police is considered as a significant variable by the female and male citizens. About

97 percent of the females and about 96 percent of the males argue that the police should have the ability of persuasion. Females and males have a consensus on the fact that the police should have the ability of persuasion. This similarity has statistically been confirmed. That the police should possess the ability to think fast and in alternative terms is accepted by both female and male respondents with great majority. About 98 percent of the males and about 99 percent of the females say yes to this opinion. Namely, there is not any difference in statistical sense on what they think among the females and males. In the study, the first variable in which the difference of opinion becomes more apparent between the females and males is that the police should be able to take risks at certain cases. This ratio is more visible in females compared to the males. About 97 percent of the females and 91 percent of the males express that the police should take risks. This small difference corresponds to a meaningful difference in terms of statistics. The females defend more compared to males the opinion that the police should take risks ($P=0,01 <0,005$). The police officers should be tolerant of many negative and undesired cases that they face with in their occupation, and be moderate. This opinion is accepted by both females and males. About 97 percent of the females and 92 percent of the males have a common opinion on this, and this shared opinion has statistically been proved. Statistically speaking, the female respondents appropriate more this opinion compared to males ($P=0,02 <0,005$). A similar situation is observed in the belief that the police should be conservative. Although the majority of both the females (95,5 %)

and males (89,9 %) state that the police should be conservative, the superiority of the females has statistically been proved ($P=0,04>0,005$). The opinion that the things experienced and happening inside the police organization in the policing should remain secret is accepted by both the females (about 89 %) and males (about 62 %). However, as different from other variables, the difference in the ratio of acceptance between the females and males is quite open. The females support this opinion greatly in comparison to the males ($P=0,01>0,05$). The intra-organization solidarity in the policing is one of the most fundamental principles according to both females (91,5%) and males (81,4). However, the females believe in this principle more than the males ($P=0,007<0,05$). If paid attention, these fundamental characteristics pertaining to the police culture are argued so by both the females and males. Yet it is seen that the females are more supportive of these principal characteristics and more loyal to them compared to males. That these characteristics highlight on the masculine structure of the police more has been reviewed in detail in the theoretical chapter. Yet, the data obtained from the questionnaire show us that this masculine structure is embraced by the females different than the interviews.

Table 20: Chi-Square Tests

	Chi-Square Tests	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2,906	2	,234
N of Valid Cases	299		

That there are differences between male and policewomen in terms of having the qualities of the policing profession depending on the gender of the respondents is our another hypothesis. The majority of both females and males state that all the police should have the characteristics mentioned above. In this sense, these characteristics are not the ones only policemen should or only female officers should. Our hypothesis has been rejected in statistical sense. According to the gender of the respondents, there is not a difference between policemen and policewomen in terms of having the traits pertaining to the policing occupation ($P=0,23 < 0,005$). This case has been found to be in harmony with some studies done abroad.

8.2. Analysis of unfavorable working conditions of the Police

This chapter will deal with the unfavorable environmental conditions that directly affect the police officers. Such conditions, at the same time, can be considered as stimuli triggering the occupational stress in the policing. Quite many police officers either quit the profession or lost their ability and psychological power to perform policing due to the undesired and negative conditions. Most of the police officers perceive these negative factors as their destiny because of both the ambiguous definition of the civil service post and the structure of the occupation, and submit themselves to their destiny. What do the public think about the negative conditions that the police officers are exposed to? According to the

respondents, which police officers, females or male experience such negativities in greater degrees? Is the gender a practical and convenient variable to interpret and comment on type? These kinds of questions will be answered below.

Table 21: Unfavorable working conditions of the Police

Variables	Agree %	Disagree %
Hard and bad working conditions	65,4	34,6
Excessive dense working	57	43
Overtime	61,6	38,4
Frequent night shifts	56,7	43,3
Low salary	55,9	44,1
Lack of social support and benefits	13,3	86,7
Inadequate support from the seniors and superiors	41,9	58,1

As seen in Table21'e, the majority of the subjects (65,4 %) participating in the questionnaire think that the working conditions of the police is hard and bad. About 1/3 of them, on the other hand, do not think that the working conditions of the police are hard and bad. It is also clear from this part of the study that even in a city where the interaction between the police and the public is not in the desired level, the respondents mostly agree with the police that their working conditions are not favorable. Similarly, according to the most subjects, the police has excessive work load. The ration on this is 57 percent. A roughly close ration to this (43 %) says that the police are not exposed to an intensive tempo of work. Overtime is the second variable in consistency with this situation though being less.

According to the table, most of the people say that the police work overtime. Generally, since the overtime is reflected as a contribution and addition to the monthly salary for the police, this is considered as a positive variable. Yet in such an occupation in which restrains the people, overtime is not a desired thing, but an unwanted one. Policing, as we mentioned earlier, is indeed has characteristics subject to working hours from 8 in the morning until 8 in the evening. However, most of the police officers have to work overtime because there are called for duty at any during the night or at holiday and off days. The majority of the police (except for the ones working at the General Directorate of Security; they work 8 hours a day) work 12 hours a day and they have only a couple of hours remaining for them to spend with family and take some rest, and they have to go back to work without any social life. This situation is, in fact, an informal rule for a long time in policing occupation. The majority of the respondents state that the police work in intensive working tempo and are frequently on call. Yes, this occupation, in which working during day and night, is assumed as a rule requires being on call most of the time. Generally policemen are preferred for night duties; in fact this is not a desired type of working for both females and males. This displeasure seems to be reflected at the public because most the of the respondents (approximately 57 %) say that the police on duty on frequent terms. So how are such intensive tempo, frequent duties and calls, overtime and hard working conditions are included in the salary policy of the organization? Most of the subjects (about 56 %) think that the salary of the

police is not sufficient taking into account all the afore-mentioned undesirable conditions. At this point, we have a question that attempts to measure the social support to understand the effect of the people on the police. The majority of the respondents think that they are performing their social support job that includes them. Despite other negative conditions at this point, the police officers seem to have advantageous quite much according to the opinion of the citizens. The majority of the people (approximately 86 %) does not support the idea that the police is alone and left behind in terms of social support. In a similar ratio yet not less assertive one comes to the front in the question about receiving the support of the superior ranks. Most of the people agree on the fact that the police get support from the superiors (chiefs, etc.). The ration in relation to this fact is approximately 58 percent.

Table 22: Which police officers, males or females, experience the negativities stated above more?

	Frequency	Percent
Male	45	15,4
Female	43	14,7
Both (M and F)	205	70

* Missing 20, General Total: 313

According to the Table 22, most of the respondents say that both male and policewomen are exposed to and affected by the negative environmental and working conditions. 70 percent of the people take a stand for this idea. This ratio shows that the negative working conditions do not change based on the gender, and supports the idea that this affects both genders in a negative way. About 15 percent of the citizens argue

that both policewomen and policemen are affected by the negative working conditions on almost equal terms.

Table 23: Which police officers, females or males, are affected more by the negative working conditions? Analyses of Variances.

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	,342	2	,171	,583	,559
Within Groups	75,721	258	,293		
Total	76,063	260			

One hypothesis of ours has been formulized as “many negativities pertaining to the working conditions of the police reflect at different levels and terms to the male and policewomen.” When Table 22 is carefully reviewed, the ratio of being affected from the negative conditions for policewomen and policemen is quite close to each other. The citizens share the opinion that both female and male officers are affected by the undesired working conditions on equal terms. This numerical equality comes to the front of us statistically as well. For the opinion of the respondents, there is not a statistical difference in terms of level of being affected by the unfavorable working conditions between policewomen and policemen. The variance analysis in Table 23 shows that $P=0,559 > 0,005$. This ratio, in overall terms, is in harmony with the studies done in the USA and Europe.

So what does the female and male subjects think about the negative working conditions of the police? Is gender a significant variable

in assessing such opinions? The data regarding this is available in our field study. Table 24 summarizes these data.

Table 24: Negative working conditions according to the gender of respondents.

Variables	Agree %		Disagree %		P Value
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Hard and bad working conditions	63,3	68,0	36,7	32,0	0,23
Excessive work load	57,5	55,9	42,5	44,1	0,43
Overtime	63,7	58,5	36,3	41,5	0,22
Intense duties	61,5	49,6	38,5	50,4	0,02
Low salary	56,3	54,8	43,7	45,2	0,44
Lack of social support	13,9	12,7	86,1	87,3	0,45
Insufficient support from the superior ranks	45,0	37,9	55,0	62,1	0,13

According to Table 24, about 63 percent of the females and 68 percent of males state that the police face with and have to work under difficult and bad working conditions. Males and females have accord of viewpoints at this point ($P=0,23 > 0,005$). Close ratio on excessive working has also been found out. About 58 percent of the females and 56 percent of males express that the police are working on an intensive schedule. Both gender share the same opinion on the fact that the working schedule of the police too heavy ($P=0,43 > 0,005$). Likewise, the police have to work overtime as well as working so much. Both female and male respondents accept this opinion. There is not a statistical difference between the females and males at this point ($P=0,22 > 0,05$). We do not see the closeness of opinion on intensive duties as observed above. Female subjects , in contrast to males, think that being on intensive call affect

negatively the police more. 61,5 percent of the females and 49,5 percent of the males express this opinion. This difference is meaningful in statistical terms ($P=0,02 < 0,02$). Insufficient salary is one of the most significant problems of the police officers. About 56 percent of the subjects participating in the questionnaire and about 55 percent of the male subjects are in the opinion that the salaries of the police are not adequate. This proportional similarity indicates that these both women and men agree on the fact that the salaries of the police are not adequate. ($P=0,44 < 0,005$). As mentioned earlier, that the police do not receive social support is an opinion not shared by the community. Therefore, this ratio will be rather low in both female and male subjects. About 14 percent of the female citizens express their opinion in favor of the fact that the police have enough social support. On the other hand, about 13 percent of the males seize upon the same on this matter. This proportional similarity leads us the conclusion that the police have social support, which is the common opinion shared by females and males ($P=0,45 > 0,05$). Are the police able to get adequate support from their superiors? That is to say, do the police chiefs, inspectors or directors understand the police adequately and help when they are in difficult situations? Regarding this issue, the female and male respondents express a similar idea. 45 percent of the females and 38 percent of the male respondents are in the opinion that the police are not understood and supported well by their superiors. That is, the opinions of the females and males on this issue are parallel to each other ($P=0,13 > 0,05$).

Table 25: Chi-Square Tests

	Chi-Square Tests	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,051	2	,591
N of Valid Cases	292		

Based on the gender of the respondents, most of the negativities pertaining to the working conditions of the police are reflected at the policewomen and policemen in different levels. This is one of the hypotheses that is subject of this study. Male and female respondents have assessed both male and policewomen on equal terms regarding the working conditions of the police, and both genders have jointly experienced this negative situation. In other words, according to the gender of the respondents, most of the negativities of the working conditions of the police are experienced on equal levels, not on different terms; there are not any difference between the females and males on this point ($P=0,59>0,05$).

8.3. Analysis of Police Effectiveness

In this chapter, the subjects were asked some questions on the police effectiveness and by means of these questions, whether policewomen or male one have more of this effectiveness on fighting with the crime, which comprises a significant portion of the task of the police have been sought.

Table 26: Police effectiveness

Variables	Agree %	Disagree %
The police should do ID check in potential cases	88,2	11,8
The police should take suspects into custody in potential cases and be able to interrogate them	60,2	39,8
The police should perform traffic control in potential cases	86,4	13,6
The police should apply traffic tickets in potential cases	72,5	27,5
The police should use physical force in potential cases	40,7	59,3
The police should use fire arms in potential cases	48,9	51,1

There are certain acts to be performed by the police in prevention of crime and fight against the crime. One of such acts is ID check in potential cases, which enables easy access to the suspect. The majority of the respondents have the opinion that the police should ask for and do ID check in potential incidents. This ratio is approximately 88 percent. A very little proportion of the citizens (about 12 percent) do not appreciate ID check in such potential cases, which is necessary. Another situation similar to this is taking the suspects into custody and being able to interrogate them, which serve as a significant function in fight against crimes. Most of the respondents (about 60 percent) think this function must be compulsory; on the other hand, about 40 percent of them do not lean towards this function. Traffic control plays an important role in a country like Turkey where car is a primary means of transportation, more

crimes occurs including traffic accidents, and the suspects flee the crime scene by cars. "According the information compiled from the data of the Directorate of General Security, total 459.941 traffic accidents occurred, 408.272 of which occurred in the police jurisdiction and 51.669 of which in the Gendarmerie jurisdiction across Turkey. 2.940 people in the police jurisdiction and 1.288 died in the Gendarmerie jurisdiction died in the accidents" (A.A.-*Anatolia Agency*- 10 February 2009). The majority of the respondents (about 86 percent) is sensitive to such problem, and thinks that the police should check the IDs of the public in potential cases for traffic control purposes. In relation to this, the opinion that the police should ticket in potential cases is mostly agreed on by the citizens. About 73 percent of the respondents share this opinion while 27 of them do not. The break point in this scale is provided by two fundamental variables. These are use of physical force and fire arms. In a heterogeneous society like Turkey where there happen transition crises resulting in the fact that the police and the public experience conflicts in many occasions, the use of physical force and fire arms draw the reaction of the public. About 40,7 percent of the citizens do not approve the use of physical force. In the same way, about 49 percent of the respondents do not support the use of fire arms by the police. This shows that both use of physical force and fire arms are not appreciated by the citizens with a democratic perception.

Table27: Which police officers, females or male, are more effective in potential cases?

	Frequency	Percent
Male	125	42,5
Female	13	4,4
Both (M and F)	156	53,1

* Missing 19, General Total: 313

According to Table 27, the majority of the respondents agree on the fact that in certain potential situations where the police should be effective, both policewomen and male ones should display the same qualities. Both policewomen and male officers should perform their duties such as ID checks, use of physical force, traffic tickets and use of fire arms. The ratio of the subjects who agree on the above is approximately 53 percent. If carefully seen, the remaining ratio of the citizens is in the opinion that the policemen should be working on more in such tasks. The ratio of the ones who think that the males should be responsible for such tasks and duties is about 43 percent. The ratio of the subjects who say policewomen should perform such tasks is about 4 percent. According to the Table 28, this numerical difference has been statistically tested. In the opinion of the citizens, the tendency to display such activities does not change in policewomen and policemen. That is to say, there is not any difference between policewomen and policemen ($P= 0,25 > 0,05$). Considering all the above and the relevant ratios, our hypothesis "There is difference in the effectiveness of the male and policewomen" has been rejected. This finding is in line with the studies done in the USA and Europe as stated in the theory chapter.

Table 28: Analyses of Variances

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1,017	2	,509	1,394	,250
Within Groups	103,969	285	,365		
Total	104,986	287			

Does the gender of the respondents have any influence on how the police should act at potential cases? The opinions passed on this issue are detailed in Table 29. According to Table 29, about 89 percent of the female respondents and 86 percent of male respondents say that the police should do ID checks. There is not a meaningful disaccord on the necessity that the police should do ID checks between male and female respondents ($P=0,29>0,05$). As for the whether the police should take the suspects into custody and interrogate them in potential situations, about 56 percent of the females and 62 percent of the males hold a positive view regarding this point. The female and male respondents agree on this issue ($P=0,30>0,05$). That the police perform/should perform traffic control in potential cases is argued by both female (approximately 86 %) and male respondents (approximately 87 %). The males and females share the same opinion on this issue ($P=0,46>0,05$). 70,1 percent of the females and 76,4 percent of the males agree with the idea that the police should ticket and apply fines onto the drivers in potential situations. There is not any difference regarding whether the police should ticket the drivers between the females and males. As another question, should the police use physical force in potential cases? About 36 percent of the females say yes to the use of physical force by the police while the ratio on this

corresponds to about 54 percent increasing a little in males. If paid attention, it is seen that the females do not approve the violence inclinations as found out above as well. There is radical gap between the females and males considering the perspectives of violence. While males have a high opinion of violence, the females prefer keeping violence away. The statistical equivalence of this case is that the difference is meaningful ($0,01 < 0,05$). Another symbolic means of violence is the fire arms. The females overall have a tendency not to support the use of fire arms by the police in potential cases (approximately 42 %), on the other hand, the males embraces this idea more than females (57,5 %). Yet the difference on use of fire arms by the police in potential cases between the females and males is not statistically significant ($P=0,06 > 0,005$).

Table 29: The situations where the police should be effective based on the gender of the respondents

Variables	Agree %		Disagree %		P Value
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
The police should do ID check in potential cases	89,3	86,6	10,7%	13,4	0,29
The police should take suspects into custody in potential cases and be able to interrogate them	58,5%	62,2	41,5%	37,8	0,30
The police should perform traffic control in potential cases	86,3%	87,3	13,7%	12,7	0,46
The police should apply traffic tickets in potential cases	70,1%	76,4	29,9%	23,6	0,14
The police should use physical force in potential cases	31,6%	53,5	68,4%	46,5	0,01
The police should use fire arms in potential cases	42,4%	57,5	57,6%	42,5	0,06

One other hypothesis of ours is that the effectiveness of the police is different in policewomen and policemen according to the gender of the respondents. The Chi-Square Tests conducted to measure this hypothesis are given in Table 30. According to this table, the gender of the citizens does not reveal much data on which police officers, females and males, are more effective since the Pearson Chi-Square value reached at is not meaningful ($P=0,127 > 0,05$). This finding of the tests is in compliance with the studies conducted in the USA and Europe that have been explained in the theory chapter.

Table 30: Chi-Square Tests

	Chi-Square Tests	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,129	2	,127
N of Valid Cases	293		

8.4. Analysis of Stereotypes

This chapter deals with the relationship between the stereotypes of policewomen and policemen and gender. As we have discussed in the theoretical chapter, that the policewomen and policemen do standard works and duties, that the females are not fully able to adjust and adapt themselves to the profession, and that they become stuck and fixed within the profession as a result of the prejudices are to a great extent due to the stereotypes. These stereotypes emerge sometimes as the role of policewomen working in secretarial works, and sometimes seen in the role of the policemen who run after the criminals. Namely, the stereotypes present the female and male in isolated codes. Thus, the dynamism within the organization is lost and one cannot understand the changing nature of the policing. Ordinary people attempt to see what is behind the human relations within the police organization and the type of the organization by only a few dominant elements. To illustrate; policing profession and policewomen. In fact, all types of relations have been established in structural sense, and the types of the relations will change when the conditions do. We, indeed, deprive of this dynamic by attaching ourselves onto the stereotypes, which results in not understanding the changing

nature of the profession. Table 31 provides a review of whether the stereotypes, which function as an interpreter for the policewomen, are based on and change according to the gender of the respondents considering the fact that stereotypes of the females and males are affected by the gender. The stereotypes against the females in our study are given in Table 31. The expected outcome of this table is that the stereotypes towards the policewomen are generally born by the males. It will, in fact, be seen that the ratio of accepting these stereotypes is higher in males. To mention these stereotypes briefly; according to Table 31, about 50 percent of the males think that the policewomen should be working more in office type tasks; yet this ratio is found as 40 percent in females. About 56 percent of the males state that policewomen should be performing services oriented at training, etc. more while 50 percent of the females support this opinion. About 68 percent of the males and 59 percent of the females express that the policewomen should be doing tasks mostly on social services. One of the variables observed mostly in the stereotypes against the policewomen is to limit the working life of a woman with only family and children. The results of the interviews conducted with the policemen and the opinion of the respondents on this issue are in accord with each other. While 72 percent of the males say yes to a statement like when the domestic conflicts are in question, the policewomen should be responsible for such issues, on the other hand, about 66 percent of the females agree on such a statement. That the males are more sensitive to this subject than the females is apparent in

the statistics ($P=0,03<0,05$). About 70 percent of the females and about 72 percent of the males think that policewomen should be more active in the fight with the crime against women. So how does this reflect at the crimes committed by the females? About 62 percent of the females and 72 percent of the males state that policewomen should be dealing with the crimes committed by the females more. This small difference is on the statistical border in terms of meaningfulness ($P=0,05$). Another area of work in which priority given to the females is the child crimes. The majority of the citizens express their opinion in favor of the fact that policewomen should take up the tasks related to the child crime and child abuse. When this ratio is distributed according to the gender, it is seen that about 64 percent of the females and 68 percent of the males fall into this slice of statistics.

Table 31: Stereotypes towards Policewomen

Variables	Agree %		Disagree %		P Value
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Policewomen should be working in office type works more.	40,1	49,6	59,9	50,4	0,10
Policewomen should be taking up duties related to the training more.	49,6	56,3	50,4	43,7	0,29
Policewomen should be taking up duties in services of social oriented more.	59,1	67,7	40,9	32,3	0,12
When it is a problem of family affairs, policewomen should be more active in duty.	65,9	77,2	34,1	22,8	0,03
Policewomen should be taking up in fight with crime committed against women.	69,7	72,4	30,3	27,6	0,60
Policewomen should be working in fighting against crime committed by women more.	61,9	71,7	38,1	28,3	0,05
Policewomen should be in events related to the child crime and abuse	64,2	68,3	35,8	31,7	0,27

Table 32 analyzes the phrase, one of the hypotheses of our study, that there is a relation between the gender and stereotypes towards the policewomen. The female citizens do not like to attach these stereotypes onto the policewomen; do not embrace them and they think differently

from the males. According the female respondents, such stereotypes are not functional. The opinion of the females on the non-functionality of the stereotypes towards the policewomen makes them different from the males. This difference of opinion is statistically meaning ($P=0,023<0,05$). This finding is in consistency with the studies carried out in the USA and Europe as discussed in the theory chapter.

Table 32: Analyses of Stereotypes of Policewomen

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Stereotype	Female	173	2,3452	,57164	,04346
	Male	125	2,1931	,56104	,05018

Table 33 includes the stereotypes towards the policemen. These stereotypes are actually descriptive statements that we easily get answers when asked to the respondents ‘who is a police officer.’ The existing male culture is necessarily brought the male dominant nature to the surface in this occupation. However it should be noted that this nature and structure is not natural but established. The stereotypes of this established nature unique to the policemen are as the following:

1. Patrolling services: about 67 percent of the female subjects and 73 percent of the males argue that the policemen should be more duty of operation tasks such as patrolling.
2. Fight against crime: about 70 percent of female respondents and 78 percent of the males think that the policemen should be working more on fighting against elements (theft, burglary, gambling, disseisin, etc.).

3. Social uprising: about 62 percent of both male and female respondents express the opinion that the policemen should be more on duty for the social protestation demonstrations.
4. Fighting against crime of violence: about 66 percent of female respondents and 72 percent of the males assert that policemen should be more on duty in fighting against the crime of violence nature.
5. Traffic offences: About 44 percent of male subjects and 46 percent of female subjects think that the policemen should be more on duty of regulating the traffic and prevention of traffic crimes. In fact, this ratio is in favor of no's because the people mostly see policewomen are working in the positions related to the traffic rather than other policing tasks.
6. Crimes committed by males: about 55 percent of female respondents and 63 percent of males state that the policemen should be more on duty in fighting against the crime committed by the males.
7. Night and weekend shift: the majority of the females (60,2 %), and 39,8 percent of the males defend the opinion that policemen should be working more at nights and weekend shifts. According to us, the fact that this ratio is observed more in males rather than females gives us the conclusion that the males are more sensitive about this issue.

Table 33: Stereotypes against policemen

Variables	Agree %		Disagree %		P Value
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Policemen should be working more on operational duties like patrolling	68,6	73,2	31,4	26,8	0,23
Policemen should be in charge of fighting against theft, gambling, disseisin, etc. more.	69,5	77,9	30,5	22,1	0,07
Policemen should be on duty for social protests and demonstrations more	61,9	61,8	38,1	38,2	0,53
Policemen should be on duty for prevention of crimes of violence	66,3	71,5	33,7	28,5	0,20
Policemen should be on duty more for regulating the traffic and prevention of traffic offenses	45,7	43,9	44,3	56,1	0,75
Policemen should be on duty more for fighting against the crime committed by men	54,5%	63,1	45,5	36,9	0,14
Policemen should be more on duty during the night time and at the weekends	60,2	39,8	53,3	46,7	0,23

One other hypothesis that ‘there is relation between the stereotype judgment against the policemen and the gender’ has not been statistically

supported. According to Table 34, the average of female and male in terms of stereotype judgment is equal. That is to say, gender is not an appropriate variable to understand the stereotype judgment against the policemen ($P= 0,62 > 0,005$).

Table 34: Analyses of Stereotypes of Policemen

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Stereotype	Female	172	2,2608	,71008	,05414
	Male	121	2,2208	,65517	,05956

As seen above, the basic hypotheses of the thesis have been tested in the analysis part. From the perspective of the public, the policewomen and policemen are not separated from each other on general terms, and they have been considered as the subjects experiencing the same patterns. According to the respondents, the differentiations life female or policemen give way to a general police identity when the entire policing are taken into account. When it is thought that whether this similarity turns into a difference by the gender of the citizens, the perception of the male and female citizens are similar to each other. Both genders do not discriminate between policewomen and policemen. While a profession is examined in this study carried out by the scales, of which the reliability has been tested, it is observed that the unique nature of that profession curtains the differences possibly to be observed regarding the gender.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The relationship between the public and the police, which is a prominent subject of attention in both the media and academic environment, has recently been examined in various forms and manners in line with the perspectives of the experts. Most of these studies mention quite many obstacles that interrupt the police – public relations, and emphasis has been attached to the fact that this relation is not in the desired level yet. However, in an open society, the high number of participation in the administration, accountability, ability for direct contact and being a result-yielding one are important elements for any organization. The considerations that are expressed as obstacles are generally associated with such properties.

So what is the role of the gender in the relation between the police and the public? This study has been carried out with an aim to understand the significance of gender in the police – public relation. The study has both qualitative and quantitative aspects. When the data of this study conducted in Ankara is examined, it has been found out that the relation between the police and the citizens is not routine and does not have a static structure, on the contrary; it is rather dynamic with a heterogeneous appearance. In short, the police – public relation is placed on a complicated equation, not a simple one. One of the underlying reasons behind this complexity is the heterogeneity in the identities of the actors;

that is to say, the heterogeneity of the identities. Having analyzed the demographic particulars of the respondents, who comprise some of the agents in the methodological chapter of the thesis, this heterogeneity is quite apparent. The gender factor is also another significant variable that determines (complicates) the police – public relation. In this study, the gender has taken the role of dependent variable representing both the independent variable and policewomen – policemen perception because we see the cross equation in the police – community relation from a gender perspective: policeman, policewomen – male citizen – female citizen. The significant contribution of the study is that it has examined this cross relation from the dimension of people.

This study supports the findings of the theory in that the policing is a modern organization, that the sociology, a modern science, examined the modernism paradigm in its preliminary studies, that this organization transformed in line with the changing demands of the government and the society, that the employment of women in this masculine dominant structure has been increasing, the reason of which is that the organization is in transition from force centered to service centered in its policies. However, it is seen that there are not sufficient number of female officers within the organization, and that quite many positive programs have not transformed the necessary regulations in favor of the females. The study points also at the fact that the current theories do not concentrate much on the actors and interaction. In other words, paradigm of modernism is weak

in shedding light on the police – community relation, in its capability of comprehending and directing it.

This study points at the fact that the cultural nature of the policing occupation indicates a male dominant structure. Certain traits and characteristics (authority, solidarity, physical strength, cynicism, self – confidence, rationality, etc.) that are expected from an individual are in fact the indications of a discourse of male dominant. This discourse is a dual resistance element in terms of developmental sense. The first resistance element, in our opinion, has formed itself within and around the psychological ground and basis. For example, “the police should be skeptical; the social life is easily exposed to danger and threats.” Therefore the police should have the above mentioned characteristics. Yet the social demands have changed, the policy and following this, the structure of the policing organization have been seriously gone under transformation, the necessity to get in touch with the suspicious object (public) more frequently has increased. The existing cultural code structure of the organization, on the other hand, poses an obstacle in front of this transformation of the organization. The second resistance element associated with the above one is that the female employment within the organization is hindered, and limited, and on broader terms, it is the legitimization of the discrimination. The cultural paradigm disregards the females in the organization and at the same time, prevents the contact with the community. The wide spectrum put forward by the organization,

indeed, confines the organization within itself, decreases the level of interaction, and results in a certain distance with all the others. This other may be inside (policewomen, black police officer, etc.) or outside (the public).

Having examined the policewomen and the negative practices that women are exposed to, this study shows the facts that the females are represented within the organization to a very little extent, that they are mostly employed at certain areas, that they are excluded from some tasks, that they become the subjects of negative stereotypes and prejudices. The relation of these characteristics with the male dominant ideology has been revealed by deciphering the discursive (organizational texts, spoken language, etc.) and actual practices (recruitment, selection, assignments, promotion, training, etc.). The discrimination that the policewomen face within the organization negatively influences the police – public relations as well since the majority of the actors of the dominant masculine ideology are males, the male dominant discourse; and these show cultural characteristics that weakens the interaction with the public in any place and level.

The thesis has shown that the relation between the police and the public does, to a great extent, not fit on a symmetric plane, and that the hierarchy is mostly in favor of the police. However, it is quite apparent that such a relation does not fully meet the expectation of the society. So what

is the role and place of gender on this plane? The society perceives the policewomen as a significant figure disrupting and changing this adverse media in that sense. It becomes rather easy to establish relations with the policewomen compared to the male one. The people mostly confront with and contact the policemen during patrolling, social demonstrations, at police stations, etc. and the subjects of the negativities experienced mostly arise from the males. The subjective lives and police experience of the citizens are supportive of these findings. In our study, likewise, the majority of the citizens attribute positive references and senses to the policewomen, yet on the other hand, the social support extended to the policemen is relatively limited.

The analytical corresponding point of the theoretical deductions and inferences summarized above are given in the analysis chapter of the thesis. However, here we are face to face with the situation of non-overlapping to a great ratio. When looked both from the perspective of the respondents and considering the gender of the respondents, the policewomen – policeman awareness is not observed in performing the policing, and the characteristics of the occupation are generally distributed to both policewomen and males on equal levels in terms of policing perception. This statement has also one explicit and one implicit meaning. The explicit meaning is that the policewomen carries out this job in the same manner with the male officers, that they experience the same difficulties and toughness as the males, and that they share the success

and achievements. Yet, the implicit meaning tells us this: to whom do the criteria enabling such assessment belong? That is to say; what is the psychological and sociological background of this dominance? To illustrate, a statement like “the police should be authoritarian and skeptical,” is a component of the masculine ideology, and the most significant reason that brings this implicit meaning forward is the fact that the codes of the masculine ideology are determinative factors in getting acquittance with this occupation such as “this is a male profession, women cannot be police officers, this profession requires brute force and overpower.” As we have seen in the police example, this ideology is so powerful that every woman bears a man in her mind.

However, it would be wrong to say that this man interferes with the cognitive functions of the women at all times. The women adopt a particular attitude to the male centered evaluations in an attack position at certain cases where her identity is emphasized. For example, when we go over certain stereotype of the policewomen, the females did not like such stereotypes on the policewomen, but the males were found to embrace such stereotypes. The content of these stereotypes have been determined by the activities that regard the women as inactive, unproductive and dependents confined in a certain work field, therefore, with limited capability of movement and action. These stereotypes of policewomen were rejected with a big no by the female respondents, and this way, they were differentiated from the males. It is another point and attitude that

need to be examined that the female respondents agree with the males in the stereotypes of the policemen. The indirect interpretation of this might be as the following. While the women object to the assessments that directly target the policewomen, they find the evaluations regarding the males reasonable. Yet each consideration regarding the males describes the male as dominant, and the female as inactive. Here the women can politically stick to various opinions from pragmatism to obedience; the reason of which requires an in-depth sociological research.

The result obtained by means of this thesis on the working conditions of the police is that the both male and policewomen are affected from such condition on equal terms. Neither the male subjects nor the female ones are found in tendency to make a categorization based on the gender in this sense. However, it is generally said in such type of occupations according to certain theoretical approaches that minorities are more affected by the negativities. Our findings points at the opposite of this statement. We think regarding this fact that the psychological factors are as affective as the sociological factors. In our opinion, the most important reason of this is that the police occupation is generally considered and encoded as an easy occupation in the minds of the public.

Some of the findings resulting from our study have been examined as inequality in work in feminist theories. Yet very few of the studies have covered the perceptions in the environment other than their occupation of

the subjects restraining each other within the occupation. That is to say, how are female and male actors of the policing, an occupation considered as belonging to the males, perceived by the society; where is the gender placed in this perception? Very few studies have compared the occupations similar to policing with each other. In the end, this study fits on the occupation and perception of occupation. While the work is comprehensively dealt with in the theories of sociology, the functionality of the work and its relation with the other organizations on macro level are emphasized. Generally micro-relations are disregarded in the studies carried out. This thesis mentions the micro-relations in that regard as well. Policing is not a simple crime control mechanism in contrast to the perception of the criminology; it has a multi-dimensioned and heterogeneous structure. Its function of preventing the crime the crime in daily life is rather little. This thesis, in one sense, brought this fact to the forward. Social psychology, on the other hand, is more based on the cognitive strategies of the actors in terms of its assessments, and weakens its capability of analyses by disregarding the structural elements, which are supportive of these strategies. This study, is a way, highlights this fact as well.

We are aware this study has lots of missing components. The most notable of these is that only the perceptions of the citizens were taken into consideration in the police – public relation, and the police officers have been excluded from the study. In other words, the opinions of the police

have not been included throughout the research. What do the police think about their relation with the society, and what kind of problems do they experience? Do the opinions expressed vary between policewomen and policemen? In fact, we wanted to investigate such issues under the study, yet since no permission was granted by the General Directorate of Security, this step remained incomplete in the study. It would not be correct to argue that this study have had influence on anti and pro police areas. Actually, there are not many areas that can be examples of anti and pro-police areas in Ankara (the suburbs of Çiğir, Tuzluçayır, etc.). In our opinion, if we had any chance to compare the relation between the public and fire fighters, municipals police, army members, etc. with the one of policing occupation, then our study would, to a great extent, fill a gap in this field. We think that the researchers in the future will definitely complete the missing stones of our study.

If we state some utterances on the social policy taking into account the findings of these studies, the first to be specified is that the number of the policewomen is increasing in both higher ranks and normal civil servants of EGM (the General Directorate of Security). The policy of employment leads to being moderate of the police climate and citizen regime. This strategy is defined by Kim (2008: 25) as follows: “Affirmative Action was designed to expand the equality notion from ‘equality of opportunities’ to ‘equality of outcomes.’ Regarding the equality vs. difference debate on women, it is based on the equality side”. The second

point to be stated is that the deepening and continuity of the police – citizen relations strictly depends on the transformation of the existing policy and structure of the police organization. In the perception of the police by the citizens, the violence image of the police is still valid and common. It is necessary that the force-oriented characteristics of the police change and transform in order for this image to be erased. The third one is the heterogeneity of the police in a political inference. The existing police organization seems more like a homogenous unit; for the police to get the support of the different fractions of the society, and to help them in their problems, the demographic structure of the police should be more heterogeneous, and if necessary be decentralized. Another initiative in relation with the above, in our opinion, is that the community policing strategies, which are based on the democratic policing principles, should be internalized and embraced. A healthy communication between the police and media and democratic mass organizations contributes positively in terms of both image and social support. Some of the aforementioned recommendations are expansion already in effect commenced by the Turkish police organization. This data is a quite promising development in terms of the normalization of the police – society relations.

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APPENDIX A. ANKET

Bu çalışmada sizlerin erkek polisler ile kadın polislere yönelik düşünceleriniz incelenecektir. Bu anket sorularına vereceğiniz cevaplar bir doktora tez konusu olarak değerlendirilecektir. Bu nedenle anket sorularına vereceğiniz cevaplar ile şahsınız veya kurum gözetilerek değerlendirmeler yapılmayacaktır. Doğru ya da yanlış cevap söz konusu değildir. Bu anket ile ilgili bilgi almak isterseniz aşağıda verilen telefonu kullanabilirsiniz. Yardımlarınız için teşekkürler

*Araş.Gör Murat Cem DEMİR
Tel: 210-31-37
İş: (0312)210-31-24*

1. Doğum yılınız nedir?
2. Doğum yeriniz?
 - 1.() İl
 - 2.() İlçe
 - 3.() Köy
 - 4.() Yurtdışı
3. Cinsiyet
 - 1.() Kadın
 - 2.() Erkek
4. Eğitim seviyeniz nedir?
 - 1.() İlkokul
 - 2.() Ortaokul
 - 3.() Lise
 - 4.() Üniversite
5. Medeni durumuz
 - 1.() Evli
 - 2.() Evli ama ayrı yaşıyor
 - 3.() Nişanlı
 - 4.() Bekar
 - 5.() Dul / Boşanmış
6. Mesleğiniz nedir?
7. Ortalama aylık geliriniz ne kadardır?
8. Polis olmayı hiç düşündünüz mü veya düşünüyor musunuz?
 - 1.() Evet (**Neden**).....
 - 2.() Hayır (**Neden**).....

9. Sizce bir insanın polis olmak istemesinde hangi karar daha belirleyicidir?

- 1.() Kendi isteđi
- 2.() Aile fertlerinin talebi
- 3.() Diđer.....

10. Sizce bir insanın polis olmayı istemesinde ařađıda belirtilen nedenlerden en önemli **üç (3)** tanesini önem sırasına göre **1-3** arası belirtiniz?

- 1.() Mesleđe duyulan saygı
- 2.() İnsanlara yardım etme isteđi
- 3.() İşin doğası geređi yeniliđe açık olması
- 4.() Bireyin kendisini gerçekleştirme imkanına sahip olması
- 5.() Güvenilir (garantili) bir iş olması
- 6.() Maaş
- 7.() Bireyin meslek içerisinde karar alma süreçlerine katılıyor olması
- 8.() İş saatlerinin düzenli oluşu
- 9.() Sosyal haklarının yeterli oluşu
- 10.() Üniformanın cazibesi
- 11.() Tehlikeyi seviyor olması
- 12.() Silah taşımayı seviyor olması
- 13.() Diđer.....

11. Sizce ülkemizde mevcut polis sayısı yeterli mi?

- 1.() Evet
- 2.() Hayır

12. Sizce ülkemizde mevcut kadın polis sayısı yeterli mi?

- 1.() Evet
- 2.() Hayır

13. Son 10 yıl içerisinde herhangi bir nedenden dolayı karakola (polise) gittiniz mi?

- 1.() Evet
- 2.() Hayır (**15. soruya geçiniz**)

14. Eğer karakola gittiyseniz polisin size tutumu nasıl?

- 1.() Olumlu
- 2.() Olumsuz (**Neden**)

15. Türk toplumunun polise karşı tutumu sizce nasıldır?

- 1.() Olumlu
- 2.() Olumsuz (**Neden**)

16. Türk toplumunun kadın polise karşı tutumu sizce nasıldır?

- 1.() Olumlu
- 2.() Olumsuz (**Neden**)

17. Sizce Polisler, görev esnasında hangi grupla **daha çok** problem yaşıyor?

- 1.() Kadın vatandaşlarla
- 2.() Erkek vatandaşlarla
- 3.() Her ikisiyle
- 4.() Hiçbiriyle

Aşağıda yerlan polis mesleği ile ilgili cümlelerden size uygun olan ifadeyi işaretleyiniz.

<u>İFADELER</u>	<u>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul etmiyorum</u>	<u>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</u>
18. Polis mesleği gereği otoriter olmak zorundadır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
19. Polis mesleği gereği kuşkucu olmak zorundadır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
20. Polis mesleği gereği fiziksel anlamda güçlü olmak durumundadır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
21. Polis mesleği gereği yaptığı işte kendine güvenmelidir	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
22. Polis mesleği gereği olaylara duygusal değil mantıklı yaklaşmalıdır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
23. Polis mesleği gereği birçok durumda vatandaşları ikna edebilmelidir	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>

24. Polis mesleği gereği hızlı ve alternatif düşünme yeteneğine sahip olabilmeli	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
25. Polis mesleği gereği gerektiğinde risk alabilmelidir	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
26. Polis mesleği gereği karşılaştığı olumsuz birçok duruma tahammül etmeli ve ılımlı yaklaşmalıdır.	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
27. Polis mesleği gereği toplumsal değerlerle uyumlu, olmak durumundadır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
28. Polis mesleğinde kurum içinde yaşananlar gizli kalmalıdır.	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
29. Polis mesleğinde kurum içi dayanışma en önemli temel ilkelere biridir	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>

30. Yukarıda ifade edilen, bir poliste olması gereken özellikler dikkate alındığında, sizce bu özelliklere kimler daha çok sahiptir.

1. () Erkek Polisler
2. () Kadın Polisler
3. () Her ikisi de

Aşağıda polis mesleği ile ilişkili bazı olumsuz durumlara işaret edilmiştir. Buna göre; sizin için uygun seçeneği işaretleyiniz.

<u>İFADELER</u>	<u>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul etmiyorum</u>	<u>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</u>
31. Polislerin çalışma koşulları oldukça zor ve kötüdür	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
32. Polisler aşırı yoğun çalışmaktadır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
33. Polisler çok sık fazla mesaiye kalmaktadır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
34. Polisler çok yoğun nöbete kalmaktadır.	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
35. Polislerin aldıkları maaş yetersizdir	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
36. Bir polise kendisinden başka kimse yardım edemez	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
37. Polisler üstlerinin ve siyasi yöneticilerinin desteğini gerektiği kadar alamamaktadır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>

38. Yukarıda ifade edilen olumsuzlukları kim daha çok yaşar?

- 1.() Erkek Polisler
- 2.() Kadın Polisler
- 3.() Her ikisinde

Aşağıda, polisin mesleği gereği etkin olması beklenen bazı durumlar sıralanmıştır. Size uygun olan ifadeyi işaretleyiniz.

<u>İFADELER</u>	<u>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul etmiyorum</u>	<u>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</u>
39. Polis olası durumlarda kimlik kontrolü yapmalıdır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
40. Polis olası durumlarda şüpheli gördüğü kişileri gözaltına almalı ve sorgulaya bilmelidir	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
41. Polis olası durumlarda trafik kontrolü yapmalıdır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
42. Polis olası durumlarda sürücülere trafik cezası kesmelidir	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
43. Polis olası durumlarda fiziksel güç kullanmalıdır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
44. Polis olası durumlarda ateşli silah kullanmalıdır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>

45. Yukarıda ifade edilen bazı durumlarda, polisin etkinliğini sađlayan özellikler düşünöldüğünde, Sizce bu özelliklere kimler daha çok sahiptir.

- 1.() Erkek Polisler
- 2.() Kadın Polisler
- 3.() Her ikisi de

Aşağıda, KADIN polislerin bazı alanlarda çalışmasının daha verimli olabileceğine dair ifadelere yer verilmiştir. Buna göre; sizin için uygun olan ifadeyi işaretleyiniz.

<u>İFADELER</u>	<u>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul etmiyorum</u>	<u>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</u>
46. Kadın polisler daha çok büro tipi (masabaşı) işlerde çalışmalı	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
47. Kadın polisler, daha çok eğitim amaçlı hizmetlerde görev almalı	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
48. Kadın polisler daha çok sosyal amaçlı hizmetlerde görev almalı	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
49. Aile içi çatışmalar (şiddet) söz konusu olduğunda kadın polis daha çok görev almalı	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
50. Kadına yönelik suçlarla mücadelede kadın polis daha çok görev almalı	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
51. Kadınların işlediği suçlarla mücadelede kadın polis daha çok görev almalı	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
52. Çocuk suçluluğu ve istismarı ile ilgili olaylarda kadın polis daha çok görev almalı	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>

Aşağıda, ERKEK polislerin bazı alanlarda çalışmasının daha verimli olabileceğine dair ifadelere yer verilmiştir. Buna göre; sizin için uygun olan ifadeyi işaretleyiniz.

<u>İFADELER</u>	<u>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul ediyorum</u>	<u>Kabul etmiyorum</u>	<u>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</u>
53. Erkek polisler daha çok devriye gibi operasyonel görevlerde yer almalıdır.	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
54. Asayiş bozucu unsurlarla (hırsızlık, kumar, uyuşturucu, fuhuş, gasp vb.) mücadelede erkek polis daha çok görev almalıdır.	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
55. Toplumsal protesto gösterilerinde, erkek polisler daha çok görev almalıdır	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
56. Şiddet içeren suçların önlenmesinde erkek polis daha çok görev almalıdır.	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
57. Trafik düzenlenmesi ve trafik suçlarının önlenmesinde erkek polis daha çok görev almalıdır.	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
58. Erkeklerin işlediği suçlarla mücadelede erkek polis daha çok görev almalı	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>
59. Geceleri ve hafta sonları erkek polis daha çok görev yapmalıdır.	<i>Tamamen kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul ediyorum</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Hiç kabul etmiyorum</i>

Aşağıda bazı ifadelere yer verilmiştir. İfadelerde boş bırakılan yerlere sizin için uygun olan sözcüğü yerleştirin .

<u>İFADELER</u>	<u>ERKEK</u>	<u>KADIN</u>	<u>HERİKİSİ</u>	<u>HİÇBİRİ</u>
60. Genellikle, ben polis deyince polisi anlarım	ERKEK	KADIN	HERİKİSİ	HİÇBİRİ
61. Genellikle, ben polislere daha çok saygı duyarım	ERKEK	KADIN	HERİKİSİ	HİÇBİRİ
62. Genellikle, kendimi polislerin yanında daha güvende hissederim	ERKEK	KADIN	HERİKİSİ	HİÇBİRİ
63. Genellikle, polisler vatandaşa daha sıcak davranır.	ERKEK	KADIN	HERİKİSİ	HİÇBİRİ
64. Polis mesleğinde en çok iş yapan ve daha zor şartlarda çalışan genellikle ,..... polislerdir.	ERKEK	KADIN	HERİKİSİ	HİÇBİRİ
65. Polis mesleğinde en çok yıprananlar genellikle, polislerdir.	ERKEK	KADIN	HERİKİSİ	HİÇBİRİ
66. Genellikle polisler yasal yetkilerini daha çok ihlal ederler	ERKEK	KADIN	HERİKİSİ	HİÇBİRİ
67. Polislik mesleğini yıpratın etkilikler (adam kayırma, rüşvet, kontrolsüz güç vb.) genellikle, polislerde daha yagındır	ERKEK	KADIN	HERİKİSİ	HİÇBİRİ
68. Genellikle, polisler, vatandaşın kim olduğuna (ekonomik durumuna, sosyal konumuna vb.) dikkat eder ve buna göre davranırlar	ERKEK	KADIN	HERİKİSİ	HİÇBİRİ

APPENDIX B. THE SURVEY

1. What is your year of birth?
2. What is your place of birth?
 1. () Province
 2. () District
 3. () Village
 4. () Abroad
3. Sex
 1. () Female
 2. () Male
4. What is your education level?
 1. () Primary School
 2. () Secondary School
 3. () High School
 4. () University
5. Your marital status
 1. () Married
 2. () Married, but living separate
 3. () Engaged
 4. () Single
 5. () Widow* / Divorced
6. What is your occupation?
7. What is your average monthly income?
8. Have you ever thought of becoming a police officer or are you thinking of becoming a police officer?
 1. () Yes (**Why**).....
 2. () No (**Why**).....
9. Which of the following do you think is more determinant* when a person wants to be a police officer?
 1. () One's own wish
 2. () Demand of family members
 3. () Other
10. Please specify **three (3)** most important reasons that a person wants to be a police officer according to your priority level from **1 to 3**.

1. () Respect for occupation
2. () Want to be helpful to people
3. () Openness to innovations
4. () Possibility for self-fulfilling and realization
5. () Guaranteed occupation
6. () Salary
7. () Participation in the decision making processes at the work
8. () Regular working hours
9. () Adequate social rights
10. () Attraction to the occupational uniform
11. () Attraction to danger
12. () Liking for weapons
13. () Other

11. Do you think is the number of the police officers in our country enough?

1. () Yes
2. () No

12. Do you think is the number of the female police officers in our country enough?

1. () Yes
2. () No

13. Have you ever been to a police station in the last 10 years for any reason?

1. () Yes
2. () No (*Go to question 15*)

14. If you have been to a police station, how was the attitude of the police towards you?

- 1.() Positive
- 2.() Negative (*Why*)

15. How do you think is the attitude of the Turkish society towards the police?

1. () Positive
2. () Negative (*Why*)

16. How do you think is the attitude of the Turkish society towards the female police officers?

1. () Positive
2. () Negative (*Why*)

17. Which of the following groups do you think the police **more** have problems with?

- 1.() Female citizens
- 2.() Male citizens
- 3.() Both
- 4.() None of them

Please mark the best option that applies to you regarding the policing given below.

<u>STATEMENTS</u>	<u>Totally agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Do not agree</u>	<u>Do not agree at all</u>
18. Police must be authoritarian as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
19. Police must be suspicious as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
20. Police must be physically strong as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Kabul etmiyorum</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
21. Police must have confidence in himself/herself as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
22. Police must rationally approach the events rather than being emotional as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>

23. Police must be able to convince and persuade the public as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
24. Police must be able to think fast and in alternative ways as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
25. Police must be able to take risks when necessary as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
26. Police must tolerate numerous negative situations and be moderate as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
27. Police must be in harmony with the social values as a requirement of the occupation	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
28. What happens within the police institution should not be disclosed outside	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>

<p>29. Intra-organizational solidarity within the policing is one of the most significant principles</p>	<p><i>Totally agree</i></p>	<p><i>Agree</i></p>	<p><i>Do not agree</i></p>	<p><i>Do not agree at all</i></p>
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<p>30. Who do you think have the qualities and traits more based on the criteria that the police should have?</p> <p>4. () Male Police Officers</p> <p>5. () Female Police Officers</p> <p>6. () Both</p>

There are some negativities relating to the policing. Based on this, please mark the best option that applies to you

<u>STATEMENTS</u>	<u>Totally agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Do not agree</u>	<u>Do not agree at all</u>
31. Working conditions of the police quite difficult and hard	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
32. Police are under a heavy workload	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
33. Police frequently work overtime	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
34. Police are most of the time on dense duty	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
35. Salary of the police is not adequate	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
36. Nobody can help a police officer but a police officer	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
37. Police do not receive enough support from their superiors and political administrators	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>

38. Who do you think experience the above-mentioned negativities most?

1. () Male Police Officers
2. () Female Police Officers

The following lists some of the cases where the police effectiveness is expected. Please mark the best choice that applies to you.

<u>STATEMENTS</u>	<u>Totally agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Do not agree</u>	<u>Do not agree at all</u>
39. Police must perform ID checks in potential cases.	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
40. Police must be able to take suspects into custody in potential cases and be able to interrogate them	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
41. Police must perform traffic control in potential cases	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
42. Police must apply traffic tickets in potential cases	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
43. Police should use physical force in potential cases	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
44. Police should use fire arms in potential cases	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>

45. Considering the characteristics providing the effectiveness of the police in the cases stated above, who do you think have the above most?

1. () Male Police Officers
2. () Female Police Officers
3. () Both

The following are some statements arguing that the FEMALE police officers can be more productive. Please mark the best option in your opinion.

<u>STATEMENTS</u>	<u>Totally agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Do not agree</u>	<u>Do not agree at all</u>
46. Female police officers should work more at office type works	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
47. Female police officers should be assigned more to training oriented services	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
48. Female police officers should performs tasks mostly on social services	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
49. Female police officers should be performing more active regarding the domestic violence and conflicts	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
50. Female police officers should be active more in the fight with the crime against women	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
51. Female police officers should be dealing with the crimes committed by the females more.	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
52. Female police officers should take up the tasks related to the child crime and child abuse more.	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>

The following are some statements arguing that the MALE police officers can be more productive in certain working areas. Please mark the best option in your opinion.

<u>STATEMENTS</u>	<u>Totally agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Do not agree</u>	<u>Do not agree at all</u>
53. Male police officers should be working more on operational duties like patrolling.	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
54. Male police officers should be in charge of fighting against theft, drugs, gambling, prostitution, disseisin, etc. more..	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
55. Male police officers should be on duty for social protests and demonstrations more.	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
56. Male police officers should be on duty for prevention of crimes of violence.	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
57. Male police officers should be on duty more for regulating the traffic and prevention of traffic offenses.	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
58. Male police officers should be on duty more for fighting against the crime committed by men	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
59. Male police officers should be more on duty during the night time and at the weekends.	<i>Totally agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>

Please fill in the blanks below in the given statements with appropriate phrase that applies to you.

<i>Statements</i>	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>
60. When police is considered, I generally think of police officer	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>
61. I generally respectpolice officers more	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>
62. I generally feel more safe and secure within the presence of police officers	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>
63. Generally police officers are more welcome to the citizens.	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>
64. police officers are the ones who work more and work under more difficult and hard.	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>
65. police officers get more tired and worn-out in policing.	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>
66. Generally police officers violate the legal powers more.	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>
67. Cases such as favoring someone over other, bribery, uncontrolled force, etc. which corrode the policing are more common in police officers	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>
68. Generally police officers pay attention to who the citizens is (such as economic and social status) and act according to that	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>BOTH</i>	<i>NONE</i>

ÖZET

Polis – toplum ilişkileri son zamanlarda polis çalışmalarında üzerine oldukça değinilen bir konudur. Bu çalışma da kısmen bu konuyu kendisine mesele yapmıştır. Çalışmamızın amacı; polis –toplum ilişkisinde toplumsal cinsiyetin nasıl bir rol oynadığıdır. Acaba insan kadın ve erkek polisler için farklı davranışlar mı sergiliyor, aynı şekilde polisler de farklı tutumları erkek ve kadın vatandaşlara mı gösteriyor. Bu gibi sorulara yurt dışındaki akademik dünyada çok sayıda akademisyen cevap aramasına rağmen ülkemizde bu konuda yapılan çalışma sayısı oldukça kısıtlıdır. Bizim çalışmamız böyle bir eksikliği doldurmak amacı yapılmıştır. Özetle çalışmamızın cevap aradığı temel sorular şunlardır. Ülkemizde insanların kadın ve erkek polislerle kurduğu ilişki düzeyi ve biçimi birbirine benzemekte midir? Kadın ve erkek polisler için algılar nasıldır ve toplumsal cinsiyete göre değişmekte midir? Vatandaşların cinsiyetleri bu ilişkinin kurulmasında nasıl bir rol oynuyor, yani erkek ve kadınlar genelde polisi özelde ise erkek ve kadın polisi farklı şekilde mi değerlendiriyor?

Bu çalışmanın metodolojisine baktığımızda şunları söyleyebiliriz. Bu çalışmanın iki boyutu vardır, bunlar niceliksel ve niteliksel. Niceliksel boyut anket verilerine dayanmaktadır. Bu veriler Ankara örnekleminde elde edilen bilgilere dayanmaktadır. Rastgele (convenient) örneklem yöntemi ile seçilen 313 kişiye anket uygulanmıştır. Anket ve anket uygulama sürecine kısaca baktığımızda şunları söyleyebiliriz: Ankette çoğunlukla kapalı uçlu sorular soruldu, anketin çok az bir kısmında açık uçlu sorulara yer verildi.

Kapalı uçlu soruların bu kadar çok yer alması arařtırmanın kategorilerle sınırlandırılmıř tanımlayıcı yönüne iřaret eder. Anket uygulanmadan önce 40 deneęe pilot test uygulandı böylece ankette yer alan sorular deęerlendirildi düzeltme yapılacak kısımlar düzeltildi ve pilot test uygulamasından sonra anket gizlilik ilkesi göz önünde tutularak 313 bireye uygulandı. Ancak anket ile elde ettiđimiz bu kategorik (büyük çoęunluęu sıralı- *ordinal*) veriler ile bazı bilgiler ulařamadığımızı gördük. Bu anlamda anketin ortaya çıkartmıř olduęu boşluęu derinlemesine mülakatlarla doldurmaya çalıştık. Bu şekilde elde edilen sayısal olmayan data ile sayısal datanın bıraktığı boşluk doldurulmaya çalışılmıřtır. Derinlemesine mülakatta yarı- yapılandırılmıř sorulara yer verdik. Gerek niceliksel gerek ise niteliksel yolla elde edilen bilgiler çalışmanın her ařamasında kuramsal kaynaklarla test edilmiřtir. Bu çalışmanın dayandıđı temel hipotezleri maddeler halinde sıralarsak:

- Toplumsal cinsiyete göre Ankara'da çalışan polislere yönelik tutumlar deęiřmektedir.
- Toplumsal cinsiyet göre Ankara'da çalışan kadın polislere yönelik tutumlar deęiřmektedir.
- Vatandařa göre polis mesleęine ait özelliklere sahip olma bakımından erkek ve kadın polisler arasında farklılıklar vardır.
- Vatandařın cinsiyetine göre polis mesleęine ait özelliklere sahip olma bakımından erkek ve kadın polisler arasında farklılıklar vardır.

- Vatandaşa göre polisin etkinliđi (effectiveness) erkek ve kadın polislere göre farklılaşmaktadır.
- Vatandaşın cinsiyetine göre polisin etkinliđi (effectiveness) erkek ve kadın polislere göre farklılaşmaktadır.
- Vatandaşa göre polislerin çalışma koşullarına ait birçok olumsuzluk erkek ve kadın polislere farklı düzeylerde yansımaktadır.
- Vatandaşın cinsiyetine göre polislerin çalışma koşullarına ait birçok olumsuzluk erkek ve kadın polislere farklı düzeylerde yansımaktadır.
- Toplumsal cinsiyet ile kadın polislere yönelik kalıp yargılar (stereotype) arasında ilişki vardır.
- Toplumsal cinsiyet ile erkek polislere yönelik kalıp yargılar arasında ilişki vardır

Bu çalışmanın diđer alt bölümlerine kısaca değinirsek şunları söyleye biliriz: Bölümlerimizden biri polis tarihini, bu tarihte kadın polisin yerini, Türkiye'deki seyrini ve sosyolojinin polis mesleđine bakışını irdemiştir. Bu çalışma polis tarihini gözden geçirdiğinde, polisliđin modern bir kurum olduđu, modern bir bilim olan sosyolojinin ilk çalışmalarda modernleşme paradigması ile bu kurumu incelediđi, devletin ve toplumun değışen talepleri doğrultusunda kurumun dönüştüđü, erkek egemen (masculen) bir yapıya sahip olan kurumun yavaş yavaş kadın istihdamını arttırdıđı, bunun ise en önemli nedeni olarak kurum politikasında güç (force) merkezden service merkeze dönüştüđü gerçeđi

ile teorinin bulgularını destekler. Ama hala yeteri sayıda kadının kurum içinde istihdam edilmediği, uygulanan birçok pozitif programın gerekli düzenlemeyi kadınlar lehine dönüştürmediği gerçeğini belirtir. Çalışma mevcut teorilerin aktörler ve etkileşim üzerine fazla eğilmediğine de işaret eder. Başka bir deyişle artık modernleşme paradigmasının, polis – toplum ilişkilerini aydınlatma, kavrama ve yön verme yeteneğinin zayıfladığı kanaatindedir.

Bir diğer alt bölümde polis mesleği sosyolojik olarak irdelenmiştir. Bu çalışma polis mesleğine baktığında mesleğin kültürel doğasının erkek egemen bir yapı gösterdiğine işaret eder. Kültürün bireyden beklediği bazı özellikler (otoriterlik, dayanışma, fiziksel güç, şüphecilik, kendine güven, rasyonellik vb.) aslında egemen erkek söyleminin göstergesidir. Bu söylem gelişimsel anlamda ikili bir direnç unsurudur. İlk direnç unsuru kanımızca psikolojik temel etrafında kendini oluşturmuştur. Örneğin; “polis kuşkucu olmalıdır, sosyal hayat tehlikeye açıktır”. Bundan dolayı da yukarıda belirtilen özelliklere polis sahip olmalıdır. Oysa toplumsal talepler değişmiş, kurumunun politikasında ve dolayısı ile yapısında ciddi bir dönüşme gerçekleşmiş, kuşku duyulan nesne ile (toplum) temasın artma zorunluluğu oluşmuştur. Mevcut kültürel kod yapısı ise bu dönüşümü sağlamada kuruma engel teşkil etmektedir. Yukarıdaki ile ilişkili ikinci direnç unsuru ise kadın istihdamının engellenmesi, kısıtlanması daha geniş bir ifade ile ayrımcılığın politik meşruluğudur. Kültürel paradigma hem kurumda kadını ihmal etmekte hem de kurumun vatandaşla temasını engellemektedir. Ortaya koyduğu geniş yelpaze aslında kurumu kendi

içine sıkıştırmakta, etkileşimini azaltmakta bütün ötekilere mesafe ile yaklaşmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu öteki içeride de olabilir (kadın polis, zenci polis vb.), dışarıda da (toplum).

Bu çalışmanın bir diğer alt bölümünde kadın polisler ve kadın polislerin maruz kaldığı negatif pratiklere bakılmıştır. Buna göre, kadınların kurumda oldukça az temsil edildiği, bazı alanlara yığıldığı, bazı işlerden muaf tutulduğu, negatif kalıp yargıların ve ön yargıların öznesi olduğu gerçeği görülmektedir. Bu özelliklerin erkek egemen ideoloji ile ilişkisi söylemsel (kurumsal metinler, konuşma dili vb.) ve eylemsel pratikler (İşe alım, seçim, tayin, terfi, eğitim vb.) deşifre edilerek açığa çıkartılmıştır. Teşkilatta kadınların maruz kaldığı ayrımcılık polis – toplum ilişkilerine de olumsuz yansımıştır. Çünkü hakim olan erkeksi ideolojinin aktörleri çoğunlukla erkektir, erkek egemen söylemdir, vatandaşla temas ettiği her mekanda ve düzeyde çoğunlukla etkileşimi zayıflatan kültürel özellikler gösterir.

Bir diğer alt bölümümüzde polis - vatandaş ilişkisi irdelenmiştir. Bu ilişkiye baktığımızda ilişkinin çoğunlukla simetrik bir düzleme oturmadığı, hiyerarşinin daha çok polis lehine çalıştığı görülmektedir. Ancak böyle bir ilişkinin, toplumun beklentilerini tam olarak karşılamadığı da aşikârdır. Peki bu düzlemde toplumsal cinsiyet nereye oturur.. Toplum bu anlamda kadın polisi bu olumsuz havayı bozan önemli bir etken olarak görür. Erkelerle kurulamayan ilişki kadın polislerle daha rahat kurulabilmektedir. Devriye,

toplumsal gösteri, karakol vb. birimlerde insanlar daha çok erkek polislerle temas ederler ve yaşadıkları olumsuzlukların özneli genellikle erkeklerdir. Vatandaşların öznel hayatları ve polis deneyimleri bu bulguları destekler niteliktedir. Çalışmamızda vatandaşların büyük kısmı kadın polise olumlu anlamlar atfederken erkek polisler sunulan sosyal destek daha sınırlıdır.

Tezin bir diğer bölümünde yukarıda özetlenen teorik çıkarsamaların analitiksel karşılığına yer verilmiştir. Ancak burada büyük oranda çakışmama durumu ile karşı karşıyayız. Hem vatandaş boyutundan bakıldığında hem de vatandaşın cinsiyeti söz konusu olduğunda polisin icra yeteneğinde kadın polis ve erkek polis farklılığı görülmemiş vatandaşın polis algısında mesleğin özellikleri hem kadına hem de erkeğe genellikle eşit düzeyde dağılmıştır. Bu ifadenin bir açık birde örtük anlam vardır. Açık anlamı, kadın polislerin bu işi erkek polisler gibi icra ettiği, erkek polisin yaşadığı her zorluğun aynısını onlarında yaşadığı, başarılarına ortak olduğudur. Oysa örtük anlam bize şunu söyler bu değerlendirmeye olanak sağlayan kriterler kimin kriteri, Yani tahakkümün psikolojik ve sosyolojik arka planı ne. Örneklesek “polis otoriter ve kuşkucu olmalıdır.” gibi bir ifade erkeksi (masculen) ideolojinin söylemidir. Ve bu örtük anlamı ortaya çıkartan en önemli neden bu meslek ile tanışmamızda erkeksi ideolojik kodların belirleyici olmasıdır. “Bu meslek erkek mesleğidir, kadından polis olmaz, bu meslek kaba kuvvet gerektirir”

gibi. Polis örneğinde gördüğümüz gibi bu ideoloji o kadar güçlüdür ki her kadın zihninde aynı zamanda bir erkek taşır.

Ancak bu erkeğin her zaman kadınların zihinsel işlevlerine tam müdahale ettiğini söylemekte bir o kadar yanlış olur. Mesela, Kimliğine dair vurgulanan bazı hallerde kadın, karşı koyma pozisyonu alarak erkek merkezli değerlendirmelere tavır alır. Örneği kadın polislere yönelik bazı kalıp yargıları irdelediğimizde kadın vatandaşların bu kalıp yargıları kadın polislere yakıştırmadığını oysa erkeklerin bu yakıştırmayı sahiplendiği görülmüştür. Bu kalıp yargıların içeriği, kadını belir bir iş alanına sıkıştıran atıl ve bağımlı gören dolaysı ile hareket kabiliyetini azaltan etkinliklerle belirlenmiştir. Kadınlar tarafından kadın polislere yönelik bu kalıp yargılar koca bir hayır ile onları erkeklerden farklılaştırmıştır. Erkek polislere yönelik kalıp yargılarda kadınların erkekler gibi düşünmesi ise irdelenmesi gereken bir tutumdur. Buradan çıkartabileceğimiz dolaylı yorum şu olabilir. Doğrudan kadını hedefe alan değerlendirmelere kadınlar tarafından ret gelirken, erkeklere yönelik değerlendirmeler ise kadınlar tarafından makul görülmüştür. Oysa erkelere yönelik her değerlendirme erkeğin baskın, kadının atıl durumu örtük olarak betimlenmektedir. Burada kadın politik olarak pragmatizmden, itaate kadar farklı görüşlere bağlı kalabilir, bunun nedeni olan olgu ise derin sosyolojik çalışmaları gerekli kılar.

Polisin çalışma koşulları ile ilgili bu tezden çıkartılan sonuç ise hem erkek, hem de kadın polislerin bu koşullardan eşit düzeyde etkilendiğidir.

Ne erkek denekler, ne de kadın denekler polisleri bu anlamda toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı kategorileştirme eğilimine girmemiştir. Oysa bu tip mesleklerde bazı teorik yaklaşımlara göre genellikle azınlığın olumsuzluktan daha çok etkilendiği söylenir. Bizim bulgularımız ise bu önermenin tersine işaret eder. Burada psikolojik faktörlerin, sosyolojik faktörler kadar etkili olduğunu düşünüyoruz. Kanımızca bunu en önemli nedeni olarak polis mesleğinin genellikle insanların zihninde kolay bir meslek olarak kodlanması yatar.

Son olarak bu çalışmanın eksikliklerinden bahsettiğimizde şunları söyleyebiliriz. En önemli eksikliklerinden bir tanesi; polis- vatandaş ilişkisini sadece vatandaş boyutu ile ele almış polisleri ise çalışmaya katmamıştır. Yani polislerin görüşlerine yer verilmemiştir. Acaba polislerin toplum ile ilişkilerine dair söyledikleri şeyler neler, hangi sorunları yaşıyorlar dile getirilen görüşler kadın erkek polisler arasında farklılaşıyor mu gibi. Aslında çalışma bu konuları da incelemeyi düşünüyordu ama Emniyet Müdürlüğü'nden izin alınamamasından dolayı çalışmada bu adım eksik kaldı. Bu çalışmanın polise sempati veya antipati gösteren mekanlara yeter kadar nüfuz ettiğini söylemekte yanlış olur. Aslında Ankara'da anti ve pro polis alanlara örnek olabilecek fazla mekânda (Çinçin, Tuzluçayır vb.) yok. Kanımızca Polis mesleğine benzer itfaiye, zabıta, asker vb. gibi meslekleri vatandaşlarla ilişkileri boyutunda karşılaştırma imkanımız olsa idi çalışmamız önemli bir boşluğu doldurmuş olacaktı.

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