

**POLICE OFFICERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD USE OF FORCE IN  
THE TURKISH NATIONAL POLICE**

**by**

**MEHMET DAYIOGLU**

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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Date

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Professor Maria Haberfeld  
Chair of the Examining Committee

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Date

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Professor Karen J. Terry  
Executive Officer

Supervisory Committee

Professor Maria Haberfeld

Professor Michael D. White

Professor Heath Grant

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

## Abstract

### POLICE OFFICERS ATTITUDES TOWARD USE OF FORCE IN THE TURKISH NATIONAL POLICE

by

MEHMET DAYIOGLU

Advisor: Professor Maria (Maki) Haberfeld

Based on a survey of 633 sworn officers from the Turkish National Police, this study explores Turkish police officers' general attitudes toward use of force and describes what force is necessary and reasonable according to the police in Turkey. The study also examines how officer and citizen characteristics, along with the situational, organizational, and societal factors, justify the necessity or appropriateness of force in police-citizen encounters. The findings of the study indicate that in addition to several situational factors and offender characteristics identified in prior studies, officers' risk assessments, workloads, and unit assignments have significant impact on officers' conceptions of reasonable force. The results also suggest that some cultural elements of policing, including subjective norms of force and cultural alienation are highly influential on officers' justification of use of force.

*To my lovely wife and my beautiful children...  
You are all my reasons for accomplishing this work*

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Police use of force and abuse of force in Turkey have been a concern for the general public, political body and, of course, the police themselves for over the last two decades. Police use of excessive force, along with other allegations of human rights violations, has been a part of international criticism of Turkey.

Reports prepared by national and international organizations almost unanimously accused the police in Turkey of using improper and excessive force “continuously” and “purposively.” Human rights defenders argued that culture of violence is dominant among the police and the police “systematically” violate the rights of the citizens they encounter (i.e. İnsan Hakları Derneği – Human Rights Association of Turkey, 2005a; also see annual reports by Human Rights Association of Turkey, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, and other NGOs)

Despite these severe accusations and the long-term concerns, no empirical study in the literature has explored police use of force and abuse of force in Turkey. Nor has any study investigated the issue from the police point of view.

This inquiry of Turkish police officers, aimed at exploring police officers’ general attitudes toward use of force and abuse of force, and what force is necessary and reasonable according to the police in Turkey. The study also examined how officer and citizen characteristics, along with the situational, departmental, and societal factors, justify the necessity or perception of appropriate force in police-citizen encounters.

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Although the existing literature offers general significant information on these factors, almost everything that we know is based on the empirical studies conducted in the United States. Unfortunately, there are few studies from other parts of the world investigating police use of force, and there is none from Turkey. Therefore, the existing literature does not provide us with any information whether these factors show variation across cultures, and if so, how they vary. This study contributes to the literature by looking at the issue in a different cultural and geographical setting and helps us understand whether current literature represents universal facts or illustrates variations across the countries and cultures.

Hence, the following research questions were explored in this study:

- How do the police in Turkey view use of force authority?
- How do they define what force is reasonable and what force is excessive?
- How do officer characteristics, including personal characteristics of police officers, professional qualifications, and perceptions/attitudes of individual officers, influence police officers' attitudes toward use of force in Turkey?
- How do offender characteristics influence police officers' attitudes toward use of force in Turkey?
- How do situational factors, including the interactions between officer and citizen during encounter, influence police officers' attitudes toward use of force in Turkey?
- How do organizational variables, including both formal organizational structure and organizational culture, influence police officers' attitudes toward use of force in Turkey?

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- How do the attitudes and perceptions of police officers in Turkey differ from their counterparts' in the United States?

The guiding hypotheses of the study were as follows:

- Officers' professional qualifications have significant impact on their attitudes toward use of force. More experienced officers and officers who participated in in-service training programs on public relations, human rights, or police ethics are expected to be less supportive of use of force.
- Officers' attitudes toward their job and the public have significant impact on their attitudes toward use of force. Officers who conceive the police role in a narrower context (i.e. law enforcement only), dislike their job, have negative attitudes toward citizens and perceive that the members of the community are disrespectful to the police are expected to have more favorable attitude toward use of force
- Suspect/citizen characteristics have significant impact on officers' attitude toward use of force. It is expected that officers will be more supportive of use of force against male, adult, lower class, and physically large (more threatening) suspects and repeat offenders.
- Situational factors have significant impact on officers' attitude toward use of force. It is expected that officers will be less supportive of use of force in situations where the offender is sober and non-violent, displays compliance or officer behavior involves provocation.
- Orientation of department leadership or priorities of the executive body in a department (crime fighting versus providing service to citizens) have an

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impact on officer's attitudes toward use of force. Officers working under the command of crime-fighting oriented leadership are expected to be more supportive of use of force in police-citizen encounters.

- Subjective norms of use of force, measured in terms of perceived attitudes of other officers in the organization toward use of force, has an impact on officer's attitude toward use of force in a given case. It is expected that if an officer believes that his/her peers' will be supportive of use of force in a given case, he/she will be more supportive of use of force in such a case.
- Officers' level of association with organizational culture has significant impact on their attitudes toward use of force. Officers who feel culturally alienated, and who perceive that always following the rules is not compatible with getting the job done are expected to be more supportive of use of force.

The information necessary to achieve study objectives was collected through an online survey. An instrument with ten hypothetical scenarios simulating various police citizen encounters and use of force incidents were used for data collection purposes. Each scenario had two different versions displaying variations in offender characteristics and situational factors. A convenience sample of 633 sworn officers from the Turkish National Police selected from various provinces, units and ranks, were randomly assigned into two groups, and given just one version of the scenarios. Variations between comparison groups enabled the researcher to look at the impact of certain offender characteristics and situational factors on police officers' attitudes toward use of force. Additional questions in the instrument regarding officer characteristics and organizational variables helped analyze the impact of these additional factors on officers' attitudes.

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It is believed that the findings of the study can contribute to police policy formulation and administration, and training programs in Turkey. Additionally, a study of police officers attitudes toward use of force and abuse of force, adds significantly to our understanding of “reasonable force,” “necessary force,” and “excessive force” concepts. The findings of this study, from the police point of view, helps identify what force is “necessary” or what force is “excessive” under different circumstances.

The first chapter in this report starts with some background information on the police use of force and excessive use of force in Turkey. The chapter continues with definitions of key concepts in this study, and then reviews the literature on factors contributing to police use of force. The following chapter provides detailed information on the research design and methodological issues. The last two chapters report the findings and conclusions respectively.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Police use of force and abuse of force in Turkey have attracted significant national and international attention over the last two decades. Reports and occasional papers prepared by national and international governmental and non-governmental organizations have paid considerable attention to abuse of police powers in Turkey.

Human Rights Watch prepared its first report on Turkey in 1989 and continued its annual reports over the years. These reports generally covered a wide range of human rights violations and the Turkish police were criticized for practicing torture routinely and using excessive force especially against crowds in demonstrations (Human Rights Watch, 1989).

In the following years, other international non-governmental and governmental organizations also prepared their own reports on human rights violations in Turkey. Council of Europe, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the United States State Department, Amnesty International, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Lawyers Committee on Human Rights also documented periodic reports and occasional papers on human rights conditions in Turkey.

In the meantime, non-governmental organizations organized in Turkey also started documenting on human rights practices in the country. The Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (HRFT or IHV as known in Turkey) published its first report in 1991. The report was significant as being the first human rights report published by a non-governmental organization in Turkey. This document covered a wide range of

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human rights issues from freedom of speech to prison conditions. Accusations against the police mostly appeared under “violation of right to life,” “torture,” and “violation of freedom of association” headings. The Foundation has continued its annual reports in the following years and additionally published several occasional papers on various topics in the meantime.

Other national non-governmental organizations also published their own annual and occasional reports. For instance, Human Rights Association of Turkey (HRAT or IHD as known in Turkey) in 2001, and Organization of Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People (OHR SOP or MAZLUMDER as known in Turkey) in 2005, published their first annual reports. Yet, HRFT’s reports remained to be the most detailed ones among these annual reports.

Human rights advocates in these reports generally accused the police of “extrajudicial killings,” “employing torture” and using improper and excessive force “continuously,” “systematically,” and “purposively,” regardless the “location” and “time” of encounter, “gender” and “age” of citizen, and type of “offence” (Insan Haklari Dernegi – Human Rights Association of Turkey, 2005a; also see annual reports by Human Rights Association of Turkey, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, and Organization of Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People), and argued that “culture of violence” has been a “reality” of policing in Turkey (Insan Haklari Dernegi – Human Rights Association of Turkey, 2005b).

Unfortunately, criticisms against the police in Turkey severely suffer from misconceptualizations and lack of clear understanding of the parties of police authorities. A review of the reports by HRFT reveals significant problems of understanding what

constitutes police use of force, what the legal limits of police authorities are, and how abuse of use of force authority differs from other forms of abusive treatments (i.e. extrajudicial killing, torture, inhumane treatment). As an extreme example of confusion of concepts and lack of understanding of police authorities, shooting of a fleeing suicide bomber by the police in Ankara, Turkey in 2005<sup>1</sup> was considered as an “extrajudicial killing” by a representative of a non-governmental organization in Turkey.<sup>2</sup> However, given the fact that police authorities were provided with certain codes and the imminent threat posed by the suicide bomber, there is little reason, if any, for questioning the necessity and legitimacy of the force used in this case.

Many other examples of misconceptualization of critical terms such as torture and extrajudicial killing can be found in these reports. For instance, HRFT questionably classified some reasonable or excessive use of lethal force cases<sup>3</sup> and some criminal acts of police officers committed outside of their duty for reasons not related to their

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<sup>1</sup> On July 1, 2005, a suicide bomber tried to get into the Ministry of Justice building in Ankara, Turkey, but the bomb on his body was detected at the gate of the building. The suicide bomber panicked and pulled the bomb's fuse, but it did not detonate. He was seized and handcuffed by the police but he managed to escape and began running toward the prime minister's office. A police officer shot and killed the fleeing suicide bomber.

<sup>2</sup> Confidential personal interview with a representative of a non-governmental organization in Turkey

<sup>3</sup> For instance, in the case of Ahmet Kalamer (HRFT, 1991, p.73), in a routine roadblock stop, Kalamer, who was a former convict of theft and intoxicated at the time of the stop, was shot and killed by Officer Turk, after Kalamer attacked Officer Turk with a knife and injured him. HRFT classified the defensive force used by the officer under “violation of right to life” or “extrajudicial killing.”

In another case, (Huseyin Sariagac, HRFT, 2002, p.59) Sariagac, a terror suspect, killed three officers in an armed conflict with the police. Sariagac was captured dead. HRFT classified the deadly force used by the police under “violation of right to life” or “extrajudicial killing.”

As another example, in the case of Serkan Dikbas (HRFT, 2002, p.60), Dikbas killed a civilian and injured an officer with knife. He was shot and killed by the police. HRFT listed the deadly force used by the police under “violation of right to life” or “extrajudicial killing.”

duty<sup>4</sup> as “extrajudicial killing” or “violation of the right to life” by the police. Similarly, some legitimate or excessive uses of non-lethal force cases were also questionably classified as “torture” or “inhumane treatment”<sup>5</sup> in HRFT’s reports.<sup>6</sup>

This conceptual chaos also affected the interpretation of the legal and professional standards of “necessity of use of force” commonly used by police agencies across the world. Human Rights Association of Turkey questioned the legitimacy of these standards and argued that “attack on officers,” “resisting to arrest,” “protection of life” are used as “excuses” for “justifying torture or inhumane treatments” by the police (Insan Haklari Dernegi – Human Rights Association of Turkey, 2005a).

Above examples show that for one or another reason these organizations do not make a distinction between legitimate use of force, use of excessive force or other forms of abusive behaviors which also involve use of force. It is essential for the purpose of

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<sup>4</sup> For example, in the case of Ahmet Akkan and Naile Akkan (HRFT, 1991, p.60), Lieutenant Sezer shot and killed Mr. and Mrs. Akkan because of a personal conflict between the parties. Lieutenant Sezer’s criminal act was irrelevant to his duty as a police officer. However, HRFT listed this case under the “violations of right to life” or “extrajudicial killings” by the police.

In another example, in the case of Mehmet Dikici and Aysen Dikici (HRFT, 2002, p.60) Officer Ozcan shot and killed Mr. and Mrs. Dikici because of a personal conflict between the parties. Officer Ozcan’s criminal act was irrelevant to his duty as a police officer. However, HRFT listed the case under the “violations of right to life” or “extrajudicial killings” by the police.

<sup>5</sup> For example, in the case of Zeliha Kaya and others (HRFT, 2002, p.135) Kaya and others in an unauthorized demonstration were dispersed by the police by using physical force. The HRFT classified the intervention of the police as “torture.”

In another example, in the case of Yahya Akgun (HRFT, 2002, p.151) Akgun displayed hostile behaviors, cut himself with razor and attacked on officers who are investigating a street fight, which Akgun has also involved. Physical force used by the police in order to control the situation was classified as “torture” by HRFT.

As another example, in the case of Makbule Ibrahimoglu (HRFT, 2002, p. 152) physical force used by the police in order to disperse an unauthorized demonstration was classified as “torture” by HRFT.

<sup>6</sup> These examples were obtained from HRFT’s 1991 and 2002 reports. The two years were selected at random. A review of other reports may reveal other examples. These examples cannot be considered as an exhaustive list of questionable classifications in HRFT’s reports.

this study - actually one of the objectives of this study, to define reasonable force as solid as possible. It is also important to clarify how excessive use of force is different from other forms of abusive police behaviors. This difference is actually more than rhetoric. The Turkish Penal Code, in various articles, makes distinctions between torture, inhumane treatment, abuse of use of force authority and other abusive behaviors of state agents, and treats them differently. However, the guidelines provided by the Turkish Penal Code are abstract and there is need for identifying differences between these concepts in practice.

In order to clarify the differences between reasonable force, excessive force, and other forms of abusive behaviors, the following section provides definitions for three key concepts in this study: abuse of authority, use of force, and abuse of use of force authority. Along with the definitions, some background information regarding to legal and professional standards of reasonable or excessive force in the literature is also provided.

## **Definitions of Key Concepts**

### **Defining Abuse of Authority**

Abuse of authority in Turkish Penal Code<sup>7</sup> is defined as misconduct of state agents that may cause harm to individuals, economic losses to state, or unrightful gains to state agents or others. A state agent may cause harm, loss, or unrightful gain by misusing his/her authority, by not doing his/her duty properly, or asking for personal gains to accomplish his/her regular duties. These acts might be either purposive or negligent.

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<sup>7</sup> Turkish Penal Code (TPC) Article 257

In addition to this general definition, Turkish Penal Code (TPC) criminalizes certain abusive or harmful acts of state agents separately under various titles. Torture<sup>8</sup>, ill-treatment<sup>9</sup>, abuse of use of force authority<sup>10</sup>, violation of freedom of movement<sup>11</sup>, strip search without right<sup>12</sup>, violation of right to privacy<sup>13</sup>, violation of impunity of residence<sup>14</sup>, hiding, replacing or destroying criminal evidence<sup>15</sup>, embezzlement<sup>16</sup>, corruption<sup>17</sup>, negligence of supervisory duty<sup>18</sup>, bribery<sup>19</sup>, fraud<sup>20</sup>, disclosing a secret related to job or duties<sup>21</sup>, and many other abusive or harmful actions of state agents are separately codified as criminal acts in the Penal Code. While some of these acts can be committed only by state agents (i.e. embezzlement, or abuse of use of force authority), some of them can be committed by any member of the society (violation of right to privacy or violation of impunity of residence). Nevertheless, when a state agent commits such an act under the color of state, it is considered as abuse of authority and increases the severity of the crime.

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<sup>8</sup> TPC, Article 94 and 95

<sup>9</sup> TPC, Article 96

<sup>10</sup> TPC, Article 256

<sup>11</sup> TPC, Article 109

<sup>12</sup> TPC, Article 120

<sup>13</sup> TPC, Articles 132, 133, 134, 135, and 136

<sup>14</sup> TPC, Article 94

<sup>15</sup> TPC, Article 281

<sup>16</sup> TPC, Article 247

<sup>17</sup> TPC, Article 250

<sup>18</sup> TPC, Article 251

<sup>19</sup> TPC, Article 252

<sup>20</sup> TPC, Article 253

<sup>21</sup> TPC, Article 258

Considering the wide range of responsibilities of the police and the authorities given to the police to accomplish these duties, “police abuse of authority” becomes a very vague and broad term. Criminal Procedures Code, Police Duties and Authorities Law (Police Duty Law from now on), Anti-Terrorism Law, Assembly and Demonstration Law, and many other special codes provide the police with extensive authorities<sup>22</sup>.

This broad range of authorities encompass a broad range of potential abusive behaviors including but not limited to excessive use of force, corruption, sexual harassment, and discrimination. All these issues require employment of distinct research methodologies. Therefore, the current work narrows the study objectives and only focuses on abuse of use of force authority. The following section provides a discussion of what constitutes use of force and outline the use of force authority. The section after that covers some arguments on abuse of police use of force.

### **Defining “Force”<sup>23</sup> and “Use of Force Authority”**

Policing has always been associated with use of force. In fact, the term “law enforcement” suggests deployment of necessary legitimate means to make wrongdoing individuals comply with the norms of society. In recognition of this fact, Rubinstein (1973, p.) remarked, “the use of force is not a philosophical issue for a policeman. It is not a

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<sup>22</sup> To name a few of them, the police have the authority to arrest and detain suspects (Turkish Criminal Procedures Code (TCPC), Articles 90, 91, 98 and 99), search and seize criminal evidence (TCPC, Articles 116 through 119 and also Polis Duty Law (PDL), Article 9) authorize and control certain public places such as bars, hotels, casinos (PDAL, Articles 6, 7, 12, 13, 17 and 20), use non-lethal force (PDAL, Amendment 6), use lethal force (PDAL, Amendment 6) and to perform many other duties authorized by numerous special codes.

<sup>23</sup> “Use of force” in this text is used as corresponding term to Turkish legal concept of “zor kullanma,” which covers use of a wide range of means including physical force, use of chemicals, and weapons.

question of would or whether, but when and how much.” In a similar approach Skolnick and Fyfe (1993, p. 37) noted:

As long as some members of society do not comply with law and resist the police, force will remain an inevitable part of policing. Cops, especially, understand that. Indeed, anybody who fails to understand the centrality of force to police work has no business in a police uniform.

*“Force”*

Although there seems to be a consensus on the necessity of use of force in police work, there are variations in determining what constitutes force.

The definition of *force* in Police Duty Law (Amendment 6) includes physical force, and use of lethal and non-lethal weapons. The Penal Code (Article 256) makes a different description and defines *force* as *inflicting pain or causing physical or mental harm* to individuals. It is clear, from both definitions, that the legal definition of “force” in Turkey does not include mere presence of police officers, routine handcuffing of prisoners for transport or during field questioning or investigation, display of an officer’s weapon or other weapons used by the police, or verbal commands of officers. *Use of force* as a legal concept refers only to physical or armed interventions of officers aimed at accomplishing legitimate objectives (Malkoc, 2006).

For research and police practice purposes, *force* is defined somewhat differently. For example, Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) use a continuum of force and start with the mere presence of uniformed officers and marked patrol cars as expressions of force because they affect citizens’ conduct. Then, force escalates to polite verbalization (for instance, persuasively asking someone to do something), and to strong verbal commands (direct

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orders in a commanding voice). The next level of use of force is firm grips on parts of the body (for example, moving someone along by gripping the elbow or shoulder), followed by the pain compliance techniques (hammerlocks or finger grips, for instance). Impact techniques (for example, with kicks or batons), and use of less-than-lethal weapons (chemical sprays or electronic stun guns, for example) are the higher levels of force used by police. The last step of use of force is the use of deadly weapons or discharge of firearms.

Walker (2005, p.55) in a continuum model that he adapted from existing department policies used a similar approach to Skolnick and Fyfe. His use of force continuum starts with physical presence and continues with verbal response, physical control, use of non-lethal weapon and use of lethal force respectively.

Alpert and Dunham (1999, p.55), in a different approach, used a three-level use of force continuum in their research. These researchers did not consider mere presence of the police or polite verbal commands of officers as a part of police use of force and start their classification with *slight force*, which includes use of strong directive language and/or minimal physical force to encourage the suspect to cooperate and follow directions. Then the force escalates to *forcibly subduing suspect with hands*, which includes use of an arm/wrist lock, takedown, block, punch, or kick, and/or struck or wrestled the suspect. The final stage in Alpert and Dunham's classification is *forcibly subduing suspect using methods other than hands*, which includes use of chemical agents, batons, guns, or other special tactics or weapons.

In another classification, Henriquez (1999, p.20) used a categorical model rather than a continuum of force. Henriquez's categories of force include physical force (use of

fists, hands, feet, etc.), chemical force (the discharge of Mace, pepper spray, and similar agents), electronic force (the discharge of Tasers, stun guns, or other electronic weapons), impact force (use of batons and the like), and lethal force (firearm discharge of any kind).

Since this last categorization is not convenient for defining excessive force, which is the main objective of the current work, a combination of the first three continuum models mentioned above will be used in this study.

#### *“Use of Force Authority”*

Numerous codes authorize certain state agents to use above mentioned force techniques under clearly stated conditions. Readings of relevant codes in Turkish legal system indicate that, in order for “force” to be considered legitimate, force must be used

- by authorized state agents,
- against individuals threatening safety of officer or others, resisting the officer, violating law, or causing public disturbance,
- in order to protect officers themselves or others from physical harm; to restrain or subdue a resistant individual; or to bring an unlawful situation safely and effectively under control.

Based on the legal definition, the first component of “use of force authority” is state agents who are, by state, authorized to use force. For an act to be considered as

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legitimate use of force, the actor must be a sworn member of the police<sup>24</sup> in active service at the time of use of force (Safak, 2005). Actions of sworn officers, for example, suspended from duty cannot be considered under this definition.

It is important to note here that the law authorizes police officers to intervene to prevent an ongoing criminal activity, or an imminent danger to a member of society in their jurisdictions at anytime. Therefore, off-duty officers are also agents of state authorized to use force (Malkoc, 2006).

The second component of use of force authority is that force must have been used against individuals threatening safety of officer or others, violating law, causing public disturbance, or resisting the authorized state agent. Naturally, use of force against law abiding citizens cannot be considered legitimate under “use of force authority.”

The third component is that the force must have been used during the course of duty in order to make the citizen comply with the norms of the society, protect the safety of the officer and others present, or apprehend and take the person into police custody for further proceedings when it is necessary. For example, a police officer may legitimately use force against a suspect of a crime in order to control the situation and apprehend the suspect, but he/she cannot use force against the same suspect, say, in order to obtain confession or to punish him. While using more force than is necessary to apprehend the suspect in the first scenario should be considered a case of abuse of force; in the second scenario, regardless of the amount of force used, it is not a use of

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<sup>24</sup> Although some other state agents, for example, gendarmerie, village guards, forest guards, customs officers, etc. also have “use of force authority” they are not within the scope of this study.

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force or abuse of force issue. This critical distinction needs to be clarified further, especially in the case of Turkey.

The law authorizes the police to use the proper level and amount of force under certain conditions. Police officers can legally use force, to accomplish these objectives, at any point in time, from the moment of first encounter with such citizen, until the person leaves the police custody. As long as an officer uses force in order to control a resisting or threatening individual, whether it takes place during control and apprehension, transportation, detention, or questioning of the suspect it is an issue of use of force, and if unnecessary force is used, it is an abuse of use of force authority. For example, if a person questioned by the police acts violently and demonstrates potential harm to himself or interrogating officer, it is a case of use of force by the police; and if the officer uses more force than necessary to control the situation, it is a case of abuse of use of force authority under the operationalization criteria of use of force in this study. However, if an officer uses force for other purposes, say, to obtain incriminating evidence, depending on the circumstances, it should be considered violation of a different code. In this specific example, it might be ill-treatment or torture depending on the circumstances, but not abuse of use of force authority.

In summary, police use of force is conceptualized as deployment of the following tactics by the police in response to citizen behavior violating the law or causing public disturbance, in order to make the citizen comply with the norms of the society, protect the safety of the officer and others present, or apprehend and take the person into police custody for further proceedings when necessary. These tactics include:

1. **Verbal response**, including
  - persuasive verbalization, and
  - strong verbal commands,
2. **Physical force**, including
  - Control techniques (i.e. gripping suspect's elbow or shoulder, hammerlocks or finger grips), and
  - Impact techniques (i.e. slapping, punching, kicking, etc.)
3. **Use of non-lethal weapons**, including use of batons, chemical sprays, electronic stun guns, deployment of K-9 etc., and finally
4. **Use of lethal force.**

Following the suggestions of Henriquez (1999, p.20), certain measures of force, such as presence of a police officer at the scene, presence of a K-9 at the scene, routine handcuffing of prisoners for transport or during field questioning or investigation, display of an officer's weapon or other weapons used by the police, are excluded from the definition of use of force, because it is impractical to measure excess levels of these tactics.

### **Defining Abuse of Use of Force Authority**

The legal definition of "abuse of use of force authority" in Turkey is "the use of force by authorized state agent(s), against individual(s), during the course of duty,

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beyond the limits of what is necessary (or required) [to accomplish the objectives of] duty.”<sup>25</sup>

The definition of *abuse of use of force authority* embraces out all the components of legitimate use of force. Again, the force must be used by authorized officer(s), against individual(s) violating law or threatening safety in order to control the situation or protect the safety of officer or others, and finally it must involve certain legitimate police tactics inflicting pain or causing harm to individual. Any police intervention that does not conform to these criteria, regardless of the amount or level of force involved, should not be considered under the Turkish Penal Code Article 256.

The defining and the most arguable component of abuse of use of force authority is that the *force should be more than what is necessary to control the situation or accomplish the legitimate objectives* of officers.

To begin with, there is no single, accepted method of determining “what force is reasonable and necessary” or “what force is excessive” among judges or legal analysts, the public, the police and even scholars. Obviously, the criteria used by these different actors in making judgments about excessive force are not always the same.

There is no specific legal test to determine excessive force in the Turkish legal system. The limit of reasonable or necessary force is determined case-by-case according to the facts and the circumstances of the case (Malkoc, 2006). The case-by-case approach in Turkey, actually, fits the “reasonable person” test in the U.S. legal system. In order to determine excessive force, the reasonable person test asks whether

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<sup>25</sup> Turkish Penal Code, Article 256

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a reasonable person believes the necessity of amount of force used in a given case (McEwen, 1996, p.8). However, since there are no universally accepted definitions of who is “reasonable” or what is “necessary,” courts, in the United States as well, make decisions based on the facts or presentation of facts in each individual case. And, because the information available in each case on which judgments are based varies considerably, legal definitions, are unclear and the surrounding circumstances may be open to differing opinions (Adams, 1999b, p.60).

“Common sense” test or the view of the general public, for necessary or reasonable force is also problematic. In Alpert and Smith’s words (1994, p.486)

On one hand, citizens expect the police to be aggressive in the enforcement of criminal law against serious offenders. On the other hand, citizens expect the police to show restraint when they are personally involved. In effect, a dual standard is premised on a hybrid concept that can be best described as “subjective objectivity.

The professional standard for determining the necessary force is generally referred as the “reasonable officer” test. Administrative review of police use of force includes determination of whether the officer’s conduct was within agency policy and reasonable and necessary (National Criminal Justice Reference Service, 2006, p.5). Since every case is different and policies provide only general guidelines, following the departmental policies or “going by the book” is not enough to determine reasonableness of force in every case. Then what is reasonable and necessary is determined from a reasonable officer’s point of view: what would a “reasonable officer” do in the same situation? This test is also criticized for being subjective and political (Adams, 1999b, p.60).

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The definitions and criteria offered by academics also depend on reasonable man or reasonable officer tests. For example, Klockars (1995, p.17-18) used “reasonable officer standard and defined *excessive force* as “the use of any more force than a highly skilled police officer should find necessary to use in that particular situation.” Adams (1999a, p. 4) used a combination of above standards and defined excessive force as “situations in which more force is used than is allowable when judged in terms of administrative or professional guidelines or legal standards.”

Fyfe (1997, p.531) approaches the issue from a different perspective and distinguishes between two types of excessive force: “*brutality*” and “*unnecessary force*.” Fyfe defines “brutality” or “extralegal violence” as “the willful and wrongful use of force by officers who knowingly exceed the bounds of their office.” On the other hand, he defines “*unnecessary force*” or “*incompetence*” as a “*good-faith police mistake*” that occur when “well-meaning officers unwisely charge into situations from which they can extricate themselves only by using force.”

As Alpert and Smith (1994, p.489) interpret it, Fyfe’s approach indicates that use of force might be “necessary” either because police officers are put in situations or they put themselves in situations that require the use of force to control the situation or apprehend suspects. For example, a police officer may disturb a normally compliant suspect with harsh treatment, and there after may be required to use force to restrain the individual as he becomes aggressive as a result of officer’s initial approach. This issue will be reviewed further later in this chapter, but for now it is important to note that when evaluating the “necessity” of use of force one should look at not only the final stage of police-suspect encounter, but also the initial approach of the officer to the suspect.

**Table 1.1: Use of Force Continuum (source: Walker, 2005, p.55)**

<i>Officer' Response</i>	
<b>Physical Presence</b>	
Compliance	<b>Verbal Response</b>
	Question, request
	Command
Non-compliance	<b>Physical Control</b>
Passive resistance	Touch, control technique
Active Resistance	Physical force
Aggressive Resistance	Non-lethal weapon
	Chemical spray
	Baton
	Threat to life      Lethal Force
<i>Citizen Behavior</i>	

Another important tool in determining “reasonable” or “excessive” force is the *level* and *amount* of force. The “level” of force refers to the severity of force, which is clearly specified on continuum of force models. The continuum of force is widely used by the police to provide a general guideline to officers in the field for what level of force will be reasonable under certain situations (Table 1.1).

The continuum model enables officers to escalate or de-escalate force reasonably based on the necessity provided by citizen behavior. The model suggests, for example, that the use of physical force is reasonable when it is used against an active resistant individual, but it is not reasonable when it is used against a compliant citizen. Of course, defining what is passive resistance or aggressive resistance is

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another problematic issue, but fairly reasonable guidelines can be drawn and examples can be provided by police departments.

The continuum model is recommended by the US Department of Justice as the best practice to prevent excessive use of force, and police departments across the United States have found it helpful in keeping litigation to a minimum (Walker, 2005, p.54). Although the model provides sufficient guidelines to determine reasonable level of force, it does not offer practical solutions to determine amount of reasonable force. The “amount” of force refers to the frequency of force, or how much force can be used at a certain level in a given case. Considering the previous example, use of physical force, say punching, is reasonable when it is used against an active resistant individual. However, how many times of punching would be reasonable is something to be determined based on the facts of each case. Therefore, although the continuum model offers highly useful guidelines to determine “reasonable” level of force, there is still need for further evaluation of every use of force case to determine “reasonable” amount of force.

Considering all the above arguments, abuse of use of force authority in this study, is defined as willful, incompetent, accidental or unintentional use of a higher level or amount of force than what is necessary to control the situation or accomplish the legitimate objectives of officers, where necessity is primarily determined by behavior of citizens along with other factors in effect.

It is one of the objectives of this study to explore what other factors are in effect when determining “reasonableness” or “necessity” of force from officers’ point of view in Turkey. Once again, as a reminder, force in above definition is used corresponding to

legitimate use of force, which, as previously described, includes precisely the force used by authorized state agents, against individuals violating law, causing public disturbance, or resisting the authorized state agent, in order to make the citizen comply with the norms of the society, protect the safety of the officer and others present, or apprehend and take the person into police custody for further proceedings when necessary. Use of excessive force and abuse of use of force terms are interchangeably used in this study.

### **Factors Contributing to Police Use of Force Decisions**

Discretion has always been considered an important part of policing. It is almost unanimously accepted that police-public encounters are unpredictable and it is not possible to draw clear guidelines for every potential situation in order to prevent officers using their personal authority (Crank, 1998, p.63). The public expect the police to “solve problems,” which is significantly a broader task than “solving crime” (Felson, 1993; Crank, 1998, p.68). This is a task, which requires decision making at the line officer level, including whether or not to take an action, what course of action to take, what tactics to use, and what corrective action to enforce. For instance, in a domestic violence case, Bayley and Bittner (1984, p. 45) note, a police officer may choose from thirty-one possible courses of action, tactics, and corrective actions in a single encounter<sup>26</sup>. Obviously many factors influence this decision making process. The following sections provide insight on factors contributing to police use of force decisions.

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<sup>26</sup> Considering the fact that Bayley and Bittner's is not an exhaustive list of interventions and domestic violence cases account for about only 3% of all calls for service (Lilly, 1978; Bayley and Bittner, 1984, p. 38) the reader will better understand why it is not possible to write an all-inclusive use of force policy and why officer discretion is an inevitable part of policing.

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### **Categorization of Variables**

The review of theoretical and empirical works in the literature on police use of force suggests that four main categories of variables are associated with police use of force patterns and influence justification of use of force in police public encounters.

These categories are:

- officer characteristics, including physical characteristics of police officer, professional qualifications, and perceptions/attitudes of individual officer,
- citizen characteristics, including visible characteristics of citizen and criminal background of citizen,
- situational factors, including the interactions between officer and citizen during encounter, and characteristics of encounter,
- organizational variables, including both formal organizational structure and organizational culture, and finally

The following sections review the relevant literature on the relationships between police use of force and select variables in these categories.

#### **Officer Characteristics**

Officer characteristics can be summarized as physical characteristics of police officers (i.e. age, gender, and ethnicity), professional qualifications (i.e. education, training, experience), and perceptions/ attitudes of officer (i.e. perceived police role, job satisfaction, and attitude toward the public).

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*Physical characteristics of police officer*

Empirical findings suggest that officer *age* has significant impact on use of force, with younger officers being more likely to use force than older officers are (Croft, 1985, p. 188).

The findings on the relationship between use of force patterns and *race* of officer and racial composition of officers involved in an encounter are contradictory. Based on a study of 1600 police-citizen encounters in Chicago, Boston, and Washington D.C. in 1966, Friedrich (1980, p.90) reported that black officers and racially mixed teams use force more reasonably. Croft (1985, p. 186), on the other hand, based on an analysis of 2397 use of force reports from the Rochester, NY, Police Department between 1973 and 1979, reported that there is no statistically significant relationship between level of use of force and officer race.

*Officer gender* has no significant influence on officer's attitude toward abuse of force (Croft, 1985, p.184). It appears that female officers also adapt in organizational culture and act accordingly (Weisburd et al., 2001, p. 40). Although a study of police officers and students in Slovenia, (Pagon et al,2004) provides some evidence regarding to differences between moral reasoning of male and female participants, due to the sampling issues (sample includes 95 officers and 247 civilian students) it is not possible to attribute this finding to gender differences among officers.

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*Professional qualifications*

Officer's *experience* in terms of years in service has a significant impact on use of force (Croft, 1985, p. 191; Friedrich, 1980, p. 89), with more experienced officers use force more reasonably and less excessively than less experienced officers do.

The reports regarding the impact of *education* on police use of force are not unanimous. Several researchers (Worden, 1996, p.42; Crawford, 1973; Lester, 1996, p. 186; Stojanovski and Sinadinovska-Zdraveska, 2004) report that higher education decreases abuse of use of force. The less educated an officer is, the more prone he is to overestimate the hostility toward police in the city and the more likely to use excessive force. Croft (1985, p. 200), on the other hand, reported that officer's education level has no significant impact on police use of force.

Alpert and Smith (1994, p.494) suggest that the *training* given at academies helps to shape "reasonable force" conception of officers in a police organization, and therefore influences use of force behavior.

At least one study (Kutnjak, 2004, p.10) suggests that officer rank and conception of excessive force are significantly related. Based on a study of 451 officers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kutnjak concluded that supervisors are more likely to take use of force issues more seriously compared to line officers.

As additional variables considered at least in one prior research, *officer's military experience* (Croft, 1985, p. 195) and *civil service score ranking* (Croft, 1985, p. 199) have no significant impact on police use of force behavior.

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*Perceptions/ attitudes of officer*

A police officer's conception of "*police role*" or "police work" is closely related to use of force decisions of officers (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, p. 90-95; Worden (1996, p.41). Those who conceive the police role in a narrower context (i.e. law enforcement only) are more likely to use force, than those who conceive a broader police role (i.e. service to the public, order maintenance). For example, Worden (1996, p.41), based on a secondary analysis of the Police Services Study (Ostrom et al, 1977), reported that officers who think that police should not handle cases, in which no crime is involved (i.e. public nuisance) were more likely to use force.

Police officers *attitude toward their job* is significantly related to use of force. Officers who dislike (Friedrich, 1980, p. 89-90; Krejčí et al, 2004) and, surprisingly who strongly like (Friedrich, 1980, p. 89-90) their job are more likely to use both reasonable and excessive force. While those who dislike their work "may vent [their] frustrations through aggression, [those who like their work] may manifest [their] enthusiasm through extra efforts that sometimes shade into aggression" (Friedrich, 1980, p. 89-90).

Police officers *perceptions about the members of the community* that they police have also significant influence on their use of force decisions. Officers who have negative attitudes toward citizens and perceive that the members of community are disrespectful to the police are more likely to use force against citizens (Worden, 1996, p.41). Additionally, officers who overestimate the hostility toward police in a city are more prone to be hostile toward the inhabitants of that city (Crawford, 1973; Lester, 1996, p. 186; Worden, 1996, p.41).

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*Racial prejudice* of officers significantly influences use of force, with the more prejudiced the officer against certain racial groups the more likely he is to use force against the members of that race (Friedrich, 1980, p. 90).

Some of the officer characteristic variables, including age, race, education, and racial prejudice of officer, which, by some prior studies, were found to be significant factors influencing use of force will not be included in this study in order to protect the confidentiality of participants, and further alleviate officers' fears that their identity might be revealed by tracking back their responses. Exclusion of these variables, of course, diminishes the level of information. However, the benefit of the exclusion (protection of the confidentiality, and improving the honesty of responses and validity of the study by protecting the identity of participants) is believed to outweigh the loss of information.

### **Citizen/Offender Characteristics**

For the purpose of this study, citizen characteristics are limited to visible characteristics of individuals (i.e. age, gender, physical size) and criminal background of citizen.

#### *Visible characteristics of citizen*

Since in most police-citizen encounters visible characteristics of citizens are the only information available to officers about the citizen(s) that they encounter, it is reasonable to consider that use of force decisions are influenced, if any, by these visual characteristics of individuals.

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The literature unanimously suggests that *citizen age*, as an indicator of potential to use force against the officer, may restrict or encourage officer's use of force decision (Pate et al. 1993; Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.495; Worden, 1996, p.37; Friedrich, 1980, p. 91; Croft, 1985, p. 85-90). However, there are variations, though not contradictory, in the reported patterns of relationship. Friedrich (1980, p. 91) identifies a curvilinear relationship between use of force and offender age: as age increases, use of force first increases and then decreases. While children and elderly are less likely to be treated by force, those who are between age 18 and 25 are most likely to receive excessive force. On the other hand, Croft (1985, p. 85-90 and 154) reported that about 70 percent of those treated by force and deadly force were under age 30. And, Worden (1996, p.37) reported that the majority of subjects of reasonable force or improper force are over eighteen.

The reports on *citizen gender* and police use of force generally support the relationship between the two variables. The general view is that females are less likely to be treated with force and the majority of works support this argument (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969, p.101, 105; Rubinstein, 1973, p. 316-317; Worden, 1996, p.40; Croft, 1985, p.81, 154). Croft explains the logic of the relationship in terms of the nature of crimes that females commit and overall their non-resistant behaviors during police encounters (Croft, 1985, p.81).

On the contrary, Friedrich (1980, p. 91) proposed that sex of offender makes no difference on use of force patterns. Worden (1996, p.50, footnote 21) attributes this

discrepancy to methodological artifacts in Friedrich's study<sup>27</sup>. In a moderating approach Alpert and Smith (1994, p.495) citing from Alpert and Fridell (1992, p.51) suggested that gender of an offender has no direct impact on justifying a greater or lesser degree of force. However, gender "may influence how each person perceives and subsequently acts toward each other." In fact, Alpert and Smith make this proposition for race and class as well as gender. Excluding mere racial, sexual or class related prejudice, physical characteristics of a citizen may influence officer's perception, rather than being direct causal factor in officer behavior.

*Social class* of the citizen is also suggested as a contributory factor in police use of force patterns. Lower-class people are more often treated with force than middle and upper class people (Friedrich, 1980, p.91). Based on an attitudinal survey of police officers, Weisburd et al. (2001, p. 20) report that about 15 percent of officers believe that middle class people are better treated than poor people in similar situations. The issue is more prevalent after controlling for an officer's race. More than 50 percent of African American officers believe that middle class people are better treated than poor people are in similar situations, compared to about 10 percent of white officers (Weisburd et al., 2001, p. 29-31).

Physical size of a suspect or citizen, like age of a suspect, as indicators of potential to use force against officer, tends to restrict or encourage officer's use of force decision (Pate et al. 1993; Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.495).

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<sup>27</sup> Friedrich used both bivariate analyses and multiple regression and Worden (though not precisely stated in the work) seems to have used multinomial logit or binomial logit in their studies. Other researchers' findings (i.e. Croft) are generally based on univariate and bivariate analyses.

The findings on the relationship between *citizen race* and police use of force are contradictory as well. The vast majority of the literature suggest that race affects the likelihood of being arrested (Tonry, 1995, p.71; Black and Reiss, 1970; Lundman et al. 1978; Smith and Visher, 1981; Smith et al. 1984; Worden, 1996, p.37; Lundman, 1996) use of excessive force (Adams, 1996; Worden, 1996, p.37; Reiss, 1971; Walker et al, 1996; Weisburd et al., 2001, p.20-21), and use of deadly force (Geller, 1983, p.322). On the other hand, Friedrich (1980, p. 91) and Croft (1985, p.83-85 and 154) report that overall whites and blacks are equally treated by force after controlling for arrest rates, which is generally higher for minority races. There is one important difference between these two groups of contradictory studies: The studies that conclude significant relationship between race and excessive force compare racial distribution of excessive force victims to the over all racial distribution in a given society. The studies that conclude no difference, however, compare racial distribution of victims to the racial distribution of arrestees.

Although race of citizen is suggested to be a significant factor in shaping police use of decisions and behaviors, this variable will be excluded in this study because of the negative attitude of the general public in Turkey toward underlying ethnic differences in the society.

#### *Criminal background of citizen known to police officer*

Citizen's criminal background might also be a factor in use of force decisions especially for repeat offender. As the milestone study of Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin (1972) demonstrated, the chronic offenders, known as chronic six percent of the population, account for more than 50 percent of all crimes and about 70 to 80 percent of

all serious crimes. Officers are usually familiar with these frequent violators of law and public order in their jurisdiction, and may use this information in their use of force decisions.

### **Situational Factors**

Situational factors in this study refer to the interaction between officer and citizen during encounter (i.e. citizen behavior and officer approach), and characteristics of encounter (i.e. citizen's physical and mental condition - intoxicated or mentally disturbed, seriousness of offence - violent or non-violent crime, perceived risk of injury, and visibility of encounter)

#### *Interaction between officer and citizen*

The relationship between citizen demeanor and officer response is almost uniformly supported by several works in the literature (i.e. Black and Reiss, 1970, p.74-75; Black, 1971, p.1087; Friedrich, 1980, p. 90-91; Lundman, 1979, p.166; Lundman et al., 1978; Lundman, 1994, p.647; Sykes et al. 1976; Croft, 1985, p.127; Smith, 1987, p.775; Smith and Klein, 1984, p.475; Smith and Visher, 1981, p.173; Worden and Pollitz, 1984, p.113; Worden, 1996, p. 37).

These studies over all concluded that disrespectful or hostile citizen demeanor is likely to influence officer's response to the suspect or citizen, specifically, increase likelihood of arrest (Black and Reiss, 1970, p.74-75; Black, 1971, p.1087; Lundman, 1996, p.318; Worden and Shepard, 1996, p.99), ticket issuance (Lundman, 1979, p.166; Worden, 1989), use of force (Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.495; Croft (1985, p.127), and

**Table 1.2: Citizen behavior and officer response (reorganized and reproduced from Croft (1985, p.127) Police Use of Force Table IV-7: Most serious opponent behavior as related to most serious officer use of force, Rochester, New York, 1973-1979).**

Citizen Behavior	Officer Behavior <sup>a</sup>				Total
	Restrain	Physical Force <sup>1</sup>	Non-lethal Force <sup>2</sup>	Lethal Force <sup>3</sup>	
Passive Resistance <sup>4</sup>	111	16	15	15	157
	<b>70</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100</b>
Bodily Fight	722	718	309	23	1772
	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100</b>
Attack with Object <sup>5</sup>	47	75	75	32	229
	<b>20</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>
Attack with Firearm	12	23	8	38	81
	<b>15</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>
Total	892	832	407	108	2239
	<b>40</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>a</sup> Cell entries are *frequencies* and **row percentages** respectively. Column percentages may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

<sup>1</sup> Includes "wrestle" and "fight" columns from the original table.

<sup>2</sup> Includes "strike with baton/equipment" and "mace" columns from the original table

<sup>3</sup> Includes both "draw gun" and "shoot gun" columns from the original table.

<sup>4</sup> Includes "run away" and "passive resistance" rows from the original table.

<sup>5</sup> Includes "attack with and object" and "attack with knife" rows from the original table.

use of excessive force (Friedrich, 1980, p. 90-91).

Table 1.2, which is reproduced from Croft's study (1985, p.127 - Table IV-7: Most serious opponent behavior as related to most serious officer use of force, Rochester, New York, 1973-1979), demonstrates how citizen behavior affects officers' use of force decisions. The table quite clearly shows that as resistance and threat of citizen increases, the level of officer force also increases. For instance, passive resistant citizens are generally restrained by officers. Individuals who engaged in fights with

officers are most commonly handled by physical restraint and physical force by officers. As the level of threat increases, for instance, attack with an object or knife, physical force and non-lethal force become the most common forms of force used by officers. Finally, when there is a threat of life, lethal force significantly becomes the option to prevent any harm to officer and/or others.

Later in 1994, Klinger, based on an analysis of Metro-Dade, Florida data collected during 1985 and 1986, questioned the unanimous findings in the literature suggesting that citizen demeanor toward police officer directly influences officer response in police-citizen encounters. Klinger's main argument was that citizen demeanor in prior works was not operationalized properly<sup>28</sup>: although the conceptual definition of demeanor is legally permissible behavior, operational definitions of citizen demeanor mistakenly included criminal conducts that take place during the encounter, what Klinger called "interaction-phase criminality," such as physical assault on officer or other civilians in the presence of officer. Klinger continued his argument with that when citizen demeanor is operationalized properly, covering only the "displays of hostility which violate no laws," and "interaction-phase criminality" is controlled adequately citizen demeanor does not influence police response.

In response to Klinger's criticisms, using previously unpublished data, Lundman (1996, p. 306) further investigated the citizen demeanor-police response relationship and

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<sup>28</sup> Klinger based this argument on the operationalization problems that he identified in Lundman's (1974), Black's (1980) and Visher's (1983) studies. He supposed that since the three data sources used in these studies were commonly used in other studies, they also could be reasonably suspected of the same problem (Klinger, 1994, p.478-479 and 482). Lundman's work was based on Sykes and Clark's Midwest City data collected in 1970; Black's report was based on Black and Reiss data collected in 1966; Visher's report was based on the Police Services Study data collected in 1977. All other works critically cited in Klinger's work were based on one of these three data sources.

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concluded “[there is] little reason for questioning the agreement reached over four decades that demeanor... shape police actions.” On another account, considering Klinger’s criticisms, Worden and Shepard (1996, p.99) reexamined the Police Services Study Data (1977) and reported that their original findings hold as demeanor still remains a significant predictor of officer behavior after controlling for “interaction-phase criminality.” Worden and Shepard reported that in only “a small and typically redundant” percent of the police-citizen encounters citizen’s behavior escalate to illegal behavior and controlling for interaction-phase assaults does not influence the relationship between citizen demeanor and police response.

In a reanalysis of Metro-Dade data, Klinger (1996, p. 71) later reported that “extreme hostility” as a measure of citizen demeanor have significant association with officer response. Klinger (1996, p. 72) agrees that there is no linear relationship between citizen demeanor and officer response, but there might be a threshold of hostility and only the extreme forms of hostile citizen behaviors influence officer behavior.

Another critical point in police-citizen encounters is that these encounters involve a number of stages where officer and citizen react to the other. Just as a citizen’s behavior has a potential to influence an officer’s response, an officer’s approach to a suspect also has a significant impact on escalating or de-escalating violence in an encounter. As cited from Alpert and Smith (1994, p.489) earlier in this chapter, it is important to note that use of force might become “necessary” because of an action or reaction of a police officer in early stages of an encounter; and police officers may put themselves in situations that require the use of force to control the situation or apprehend suspects.

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Binder and Scharf (1980, p.111) consider “police-citizen encounter ... [as] a developmental process in which successive decisions and behaviors by either police officer or citizen, or both, make the violent outcome more or less likely.” In a typical police-citizen encounter there are at least three stages (contact, processing, and exit), and in every stage, officers and the citizens depending on the situation may choose from an extensive number of different actions and reactions (Sykes and Brent, 1984; Bayley and Bittner, 1984, p. 44) which in turn influence the response of the other.

While police officers acting like a “stage manager” usually dominate the encounter, both officers and citizens, although in different ways, have the potential to escalate, deescalate and end the confrontation in an encounter (Sykes and Brent, 1980, p. 185 and 194). For instance a driver who “question the value of what the officer is doing, use disrespectful language, and threaten to complain will virtually write themselves a citation.” On the other hand officers who are “provocative in contacts with the public” and “humiliate citizens” may increase the likelihood of a violent confrontation (Bayley and Bittner, 1984, p. 48-49).

Both “emotional” (i.e. fear of being harmed by the opponent) and “intellectual” (i.e. information that an officer have about the opponent and the situation) factors are involved in this sequence of decisions and behaviors, and the outcome of this process is not always optimal (Binder and Scharf, 1980, p. 116-117).

#### *Characteristics of encounter*

Intoxication (Croft, 1985, p. 104; Friedrich, 1980, p.91; Worden (1996, p.37) or *mentally disturbance* (Worden, 1996, p.37) heavily affects citizen behavior and

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contributes to officer use of force decision. Both situations increase the likelihood of use of force and excessive force.

The *seriousness of crime* is one of the legal criteria in justification of the amount of force used in the U.S. legal system (see *Garner v. Tennessee*, 471 US 1 (1985)). The literature suggests that the type of offence for which the suspect is wanted is also a factor influencing officer justification of use of force. The general view is that force and excessive force is more likely to be justified against serious offenders (Alpert and Smith, 1994, p. 494-495; Friedrich, 1980, p.90-91; Worden, 1996, p.37; Croft, 1985, p.67-72) and morally reprehensible persons, such as child molesters (Hunt, 1985; Lester, 1996, p.187).

Friedrich (1980, p.90) explains this relationship in terms of informal sanctions. He says “the police informally sanction more serious offenses or the notion that those involved in more serious offenses are more likely to resist and thus more likely to be handled roughly.”

The *conception of threat* and officers response to threat is important to understand officer’s use of force decision in a given case. Officer’s perception of threat or risk of injury and seriousness of that threat influences the level and amount of force used by officer (Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.490; Lester et al., 1980; Corrigan et al. 1980; Lester, 1996, p.185-187; Knutsson, 2004).

The general view is that officers who have greater fear of injury on the job are more likely to use their authority to control citizen behaviors, and thus more likely to use force and excessive force. Presence of weapons (Croft, 1985, p.116-120) is definitely

among the factors that increases the threat of injury in an encounter, but physical size and other characteristics of a suspect, presence of other types of weapons (i.e. knife or baseball bat), location or environment characteristics (violent areas, areas where police officers are more likely to be killed or injured) (Alpert and Fridell, 1992, p.45; Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.495; Lester, 1982; Lester, 1996, p.185) may all contribute and shape officer perception of risk.

*Visibility* of any police action or reaction is another situational factor. The general view is that in the absence of supervision or witnesses, police officers may tend to use force more than necessary (Lester, 1996, p.186; Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.495). However, there are findings opposing this general view. Findings from three empirical works (Friedrich, 1980, p.91-92; Worden, 1996, p.37; Croft, 1985, p. 114-117) unanimously suggest that reasonable force and excessive force increases with the number of officers present in the scene of incident. Both Friedrich and Croft conclude that it is not possible to identify from their findings “whether the probability of use of force increases by the number of officers present, or whether a use of force situation increases the number of officers responding to provide backup support.”

Regarding the presence of citizen witnesses, Friedrich (1980, p.91-92) and Worden (1996, p.37) and Croft (1985, p.100-102) report that reasonable force and excessive force increases with the number of bystanders. Friedrich interprets this relationship as either the presence of audience promotes force or the use of force attracts an audience. Croft’s interpretation of this relationship, on the other hand, is rather different. Croft argues that presence of witnesses is typical in an arrest situation

and the relationship can be explained by officers' unwillingness to report use of force incidents when no witness is present.

Although visibility of the encounter is constantly reported to be a significant factor, it is not included in this research due to the methodological limitations of this study. The variable can very well be investigated in an observational study or a study of police records as in cases of above cited works, but the variable cannot be meaningfully measured in a survey of police officers.

### **Organizational and Cultural Factors**

Organizational factors refer to both the formal structure of police organization and organizational culture.

#### *Formal structure*

Prior works on police use of force (i.e. Wilson, 1970; Friedrich, 1980, p.92-93; Worden, 1996, p. 42-46) suggest that the formal structure or the type of a police organization significantly influences use of force decisions and behaviors of individual officers in the department. However, the findings are in contradictory directions.

Police organizations in these prior works are usually classified according to Wilson's (1970) three categories of police organizations:

- The watchman style refers to a policing approach where police officers have a wide range of discretion when dealing with order maintenance issues. For instance, given the circumstances of each case and characteristics of

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citizens, an officer may overlook a violation, allow the parties to resolve the problem between themselves, or make an arrest if appropriate in order to restore public order (Wilson, 1970, p.141-142).

- The legalistic style refers to a policing approach where officers are tied up with departmental policies and have less discretion on order maintenance issues. Officers in legalistic departments act “as if there were a single standard of community conduct – that which the law prescribes – rather than different standards for juveniles, Negroes, drunks, and the like.” (Wilson, 1970, p.172)
- The service style is located in between watchman and legalistic styles with respect to the ways officers respond to order maintenance issues. Officers in service style departments, unlike officers in traditional watchman style organizations, take order maintenance issues more seriously, but unlike officers in legalistic departments, are less likely to make arrest or impose other formal sanctions (Wilson, 1970, p.200).

Wilson argued that officers in watchman style organizations with more discretion at hand are more prone to use excessive force compared to officers in legalistic departments where there is tighter administrative control of police officers compared to traditional organizations (see pages 167-170 and 197-199 in Wilson’s work for more on this).

At least one empirical work (Friedrich, 1980) provides some support to Wilson’s proposition. Friedrich (1980, p.92-93) reported that while over all use of force patterns are not significantly different (reasonable and excessive force combined), officers in

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traditional “watchman style” department are more likely to use excessive force compared to officers in “professional/legalistic” department. In other words, officers in professional department are likely to use reasonable force in higher frequency. On the other hand, However, Worden (1996, p. 44-45) reported “the likelihood that reasonable force increases with the bureaucratization of the department” (He uses the “bureaucratic” term in place of “legalistic” department, or a department placing priority on crime fighting). Regarding improper force, Worden reported no significant difference between legalistic and traditional organizations. While Friedrich’s findings indicate increased officer discretion is associated with increased number of abuse of force cases, Worden’s findings suggest increased discretion allows officers to employ alternate tactics and solve significant number of conflicts without using force.

Although variations in formal organizational structure could be a factor in determining officers’ behaviors in fragmented police systems, as in case of the United States, it cannot have any significant impact in centralized national police systems. In the context of the Turkish Police, there is a uniform, centralized, national police organization. There might be slight differences in the organizational structure across the nation, but these differences will be minor and an analysis of variation in formal organizational structure will be superficial in this research setting. Therefore, orientation of department leadership or priorities of the executive body in provinces (crime fighting versus providing service to citizens), rather than type of organizational structure, will be investigated in this study.

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*Organizational culture*

In addition to the formal structure of organization, organizational culture equally, perhaps more strongly, affects conceptions of necessary and reasonable force among police officers. Peer group socialization, us versus them syndrome, and the Dirty Harry dilemma are particular points of interest in this study.

Peer group socialization and predisposition help officers learn informal standards of force (*cultural norms of force*), and developing excuses for their actions. As Van Maanen (1983, p.397) puts it “the adjustment of a newcomer in police departments is one which follows the line of least resistance. By becoming similar in sentiment and behavior to his peers, the recruit avoids censure by the department, his supervisor, and most important, his brother officers.” The first thing that new officers are taught in the field is that academy training is irrelevant to the realities of the police work and “efficient police work would be impossible if an officer were to follow the rules and the procedures to the letter” (McNamara, 1967, p.241; Toch, 1996, p. 99). Regardless how well-educated recruits are in academy, they are reset in the field from the first day and their receptiveness make them quickly learn that “they will earn the respect of their veteran coworkers by being aggressive and using whatever force is necessary in a given case” not by going by the book (Hunt, 1985; Lester, 1996, p.186-187).

Another cultural phenomenon, which is highly related to the formal structure of police organization is the “us versus them syndrome” or “siege mentality,” which is primarily developed as a result of militarization of police organizations under the police professionalism movement. In addition, there is the impact of the war metaphor that accompanied the militarization of police organizations. Scholars have suggested that

these developments influence police use of force decision and behavior (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993; Walker, 1977; White, 1986; Crank, 1998)

Adaptation of militaristic organizational structure during the police professionalism movement generally targeted controlling the behavior of individual officer on the streets and lowering police discretion on the streets (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, p.120; Walker, 1977; White, 1986; Crank, 1998, p.67). However, there are contradictory findings in the literature with respect to the impact of type of organization or officer discretion allowed under different types of formal policing strategies on use of force patterns (see above section for more discussion).

Still many influential scholars in the field (i.e. Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, p.106; Betz, 1988, p. 182-183; Crank, 1998, p. 69-70) argue that militarization of the police under the name of professionalization encouraged police violence. Militarization of police organizations is argued to have contributed to the war metaphor (war on crime, war on drugs, and most recently war on terrorism) and increased use of aggressive crime control tactics in preference to crime prevention tactics, eventually alienating the police from the community that they serve and contributing to the development of “us versus them syndrome” or “siege mentality” (Christopher Commission Report, 1991, p.98; Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, p.106).

The war metaphor promoted a perspective that the police are warriors who are fighting a war against criminals, or more precisely, against certain types of “others” labeled “assholes” as they are identified in Van Maanen’s (1978) well-known article. The warrior role of the police and the labeling of “others” as “enemies” provides the basis to the expectations, thoughts, feelings and behaviors of the police (Van Maanen, 1978;

Betz, 1988, p.182-183) and is used in justification of use of force and excessive force against “them.” Since “assholes” are the enemies of the state and the society, they are not worthy of legal protection (Crank, 1998, p.69). Sometimes the “asshole” label alone is sufficient to justify force used against an individual (Crank, 1998, p.76).

Us versus them syndrome is argued to be a commonality of the police. Greenspan et al. (1997a, p. 135; also see Greenspan et al., 1997b, p. 177-180) based on focus groups of police scholars, executives, and officers report that all police officers exhibit some degree of an “us versus them” mentality as a mechanism for survival and extreme forms of siege mentality can cause problems in police public encounters.

One final cultural phenomenon covered in this study is officers’ attitudes toward organizational norms or the “Dirty Harry dilemma” as named by Carl Klockars (1980) after the 1971 Clint Eastwood film. The concept essentially refers to “When and to what extent does the morally good end warrant or justify an ethically, politically, or legally dangerous (can be read as wrong or evil) means for its achievement?” (Klockars, 1980, p. 34). In terms of use of excessive force, the question can be reduced to “When and to what extent does the morally good end (i.e. apprehending a fleeing felon, or controlling a dangerous suspect) justify use of excessive force for its achievement?”

Klockars (1980, p. 37) argue that the Dirty Harry dilemma is not a “rare” or “exceptional” problem; every cop faces the dilemma in the course of his or her career. The problem is likely to arise when an officer acts on the notion that “following the rules is not compatible with getting the job done” (Weisburd et al., 1998, p. 54) and chooses “dirty” but effective police methods (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, p. 107; Herzog, 2000, p.429-430).

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### **A final word on the factors contributing to police use of force decisions**

The empirical findings reviewed in the above sections are generally based on bivariate analyses and the impacts of control variables on these relationships are not mentioned. This approach was taken purposively in order to enable comparisons between the findings in the literature and the findings of the current study, which are going to be essentially based on bivariate analyses (see *Data Analysis Strategy* section under *Research Design* chapter for more information). However, it is important to note the impact of control variables on the relationships reviewed in above sections.

Multivariate analyses (i.e. Worden, 1996, Friedrich, 1980) show that after controlling for other variables some of the variables that appear to be significant in bivariate analyses lose their significance (see Table 3). For instance, based on a multiple regression analysis, Friedrich (1980, p.93-95) report that officer's experience, race, attitude toward job, and racial prejudice, offender's age and social class, seriousness of offense, and type of organization lose their significance as predictors of use of force after controlling for other variables in the model. Similarly, Worden (1996), using a multinomial logistic regression, report that perceived role of officer and offender age lose their significance after controlling for other variables in the model. Contradicting Friedrich's findings, Worden reports that seriousness of offense and type of organization remain significant after controlling for other variables. The discrepancy between the two can be explained in terms of different multivariate procedures that they use.

The comparisons on Table 1.3 also indicate that situational factors are the most prominent predictors of police use of force. Except for seriousness of offense, all situational factors were constantly reported to be significant predictors of use of force.

**Table 1.3: Comparison of findings from prior bivariate and multivariate analyses.**

	Croft (1985) (bivariate)	Friedrich (1980) (bivariate)	Friedrich (1980) (multivariate)	Worden (1996) (bivariate)	Worden (1996) (multivariate)
<b>Officer Characteristics</b>					
Education	-	N/A	N/A	?	*
Experience	*	*	-	N/A	N/A
Race	-	*	-	N/A	N/A
Perceived police role	N/A	N/A	N/A	*	-
Job satisfaction	N/A	*	-	N/A	N/A
Attitude toward the public	N/A	N/A	N/A	*	*
Racial prejudice	N/A	*	-	N/A	N/A
<b>Offender characteristics</b>					
Age	*	*	-	*	-
Gender	*	-	-	*	*
Social class	N/A	*	-	N/A	N/A
Race of citizen	-	-	-	*	*
<b>Situational factors</b>					
Citizen behavior	*	*	*	*	*
Intoxicated citizen	*	*	*	*	*
Seriousness of offence	*	*	-	*	*
Perceived risk of injury / Presence of weapons	*	N/A	N/A	*	*
Presence of citizens	*	*	*	*	*
Presence of other officers	*	*	*	*	*
<b>Organizational structure and culture</b>					
Type of organization	N/A	*	-	?	*
Department leadership's orientation	N/A	N/A	N/A	?	*
Attitude toward use of force	N/A	N/A	N/A	*	*
* The variable has significant impact on police use of force					
- The variable has no significant impact on police use of force					
? The relationship was not specified					
N/A The variable was not included in the analysis					

## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH DESIGN

The information necessary to answer the research questions was collected through a computer assisted online survey. For specific data collection purposes some elements of social science experiments are incorporated into the conventional survey design. This unique design is referred as “randomized-groups survey” for the rest of this research report.

An instrument with ten hypothetical scenarios of use of force followed by a number of attitude questions and other relevant items was used for data collection. Scenarios in the instrument simulated various police citizen encounters and use of force incidents (see Box 2.1 for the scenarios). Each scenario had two different versions displaying variations in offender characteristics and situational factors. Research participants, a sample of sworn officers from the Turkish National Police, were randomly assigned into two groups and given only one version of the scenarios. Then they were asked the same set of questions to assess case scenarios (see Box 2.2 for the questions).

Variations in the scenarios, by comparing the responses of independent groups to the attitude questions, enabled the researcher to look at the impact of certain offender characteristics and situational factors on police officers’ attitudes toward use of force. For instance, in order to measure the impact of offender’s gender on officers’ attitude toward use of force, one half of the participants were randomly selected to receive a use of force scenario with the offender being a female, and the other group received the

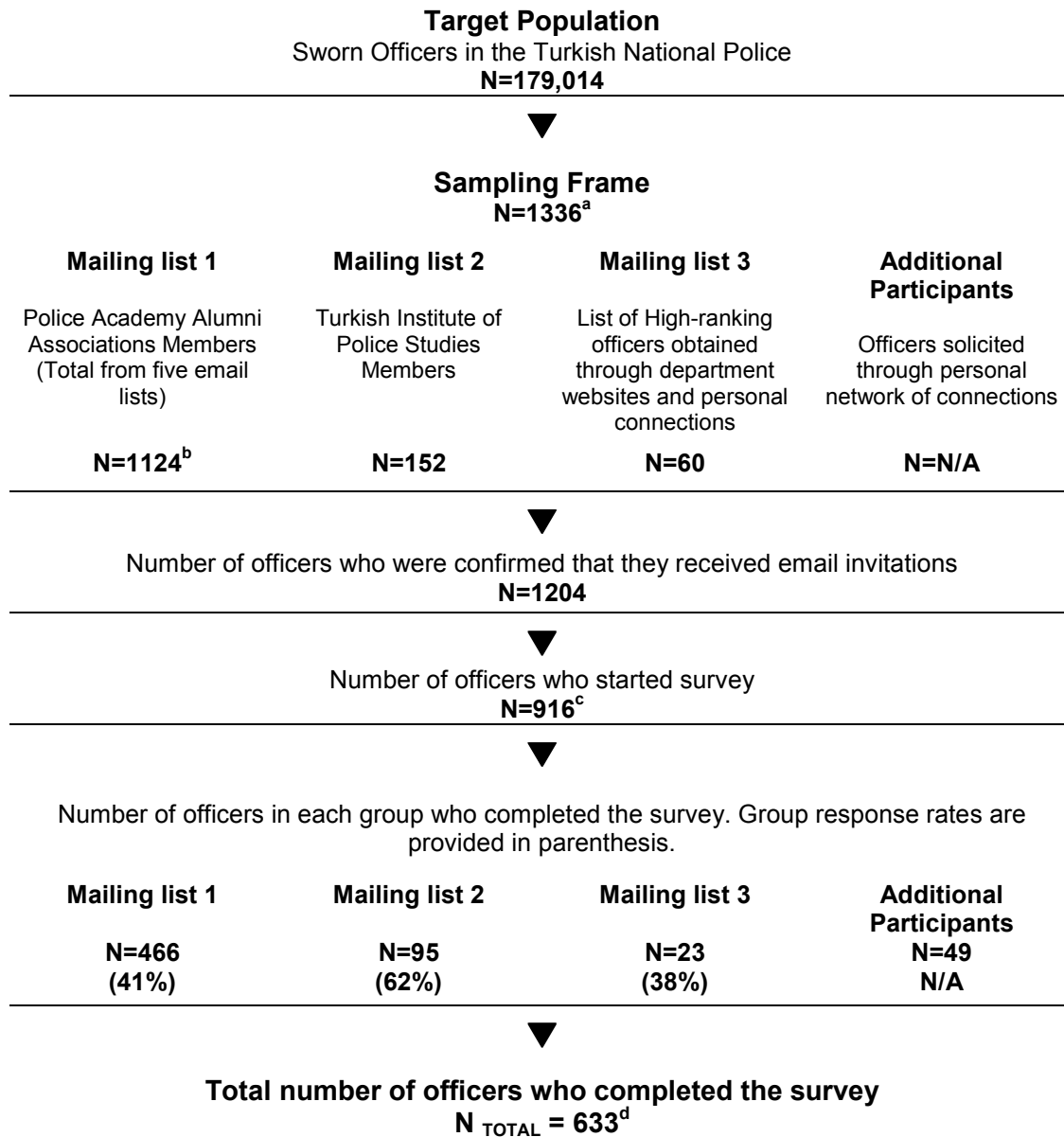
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exact same scenario with the offender being a male. Both groups were asked the same set of attitude questions, and the differences between the two comparison groups enabled measuring the impact of offender's gender on officers' attitudes toward use of force (information on measurement of other offender characteristics and situational factor variables can be found in the "Findings" chapter under independent variables section).

Additional questions asking about officer characteristics and organizational variables were included in the instrument to help analyze the impact of these factors on officers' attitudes. All officers received the same set of questions on officer characteristics and organizational factors.

#### *Study Site, Population and Sample*

The police organization in Turkey, namely the General Directorate of Security, is a national police organization serving an urban population in eighty one provinces of Turkey. The organization operates under the Ministry of the Interior in Ankara. In each of the eighty one provinces a provincial security directorate, chief of province police department reports to the province governor, who is a representative of the central government, and the General Directorate of Security, the headquarters, in Ankara. All sworn and non-sworn personnel of the police are recruited, trained, and appointed by the central organization. Population wise, the National Police of Turkey provides services to about sixty five percent of the society.

**Table 2.1: The Sampling Procedure (convenience sample)**

- a. Sampling frame size is the total number of officers from mailing lists 1, 2, and 3. Since the size of "Additional Participants" is not available, this group is not included in sampling frame size.
- b. Total number of members from 1992, 1994, 1995, 1998, and 2000 classes
- c. Drop-out rate is 31% (#completed and saved / #started survey).
- d. Overall participation rate was fifty three percent (based on 1204 officers confirmed that received the invitations)

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The target population for this study was the sworn officers in the Turkish National Police. Currently there are about 179,000 sworn officers deployed in 81 provinces of Turkey. A sample of 633 officers was conveniently selected from the targeted population through mail and email solicitations. Part of the participants were recruited through mailing lists of Police Academy Alumni Associations. These alumni associations are organized on class basis and restricted to the members of respective class. The researcher had the permission to access the email lists of 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, and 2000 classes. The membership rates for these groups varied from about 50% to 70%. The total number of member officers listed in these email groups were 1124.

In addition to the alumni associations' emailing lists, the list-server of the Turkish Institute of Police Studies was used in subject recruitment. The institution is a network of Turkish police officers in Turkey and around the world (including those studying abroad and working for international organizations) that came together in order to share their field experiences and intellectual works on policing. Unlike alumni associations, the group covers members from different ranks. The group currently has a total of 152 members.

Additionally the researcher produced a list of emails of senior administrators of the Turkish National Police in order to include this group in the sampling frame. The list was developed based on the contact information provided at department/unit websites. Participation invitations were sent to these administrators via email. This list covered 60 senior administrators.

Finally, additional officers were recruited through a network of personal connections. Officers in this network were asked to participate and also advertise the

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study among their colleagues and invite them to participate in the study. Since it was a kind of snowballing procedure, there was no sampling frame for this final subject resource.

The targeted sampling frame for the study was 1336 officers (sum of the number of officers listed in the different email groups). The computer software that was used in the data collection process confirmed that 1204 officers actually received the survey invitation email. This number, in fact, is lower than the targeted sampling frame. The difference is caused by cross listings across email groups (i.e. some members of the Turkish Institute of Police Studies were also listed in their alumni email groups) and unused email accounts. 916 of 1204 officers confirmed by the software started the survey and only 633 officers completed and saved their responses. The drop-out rate after starting was thirty one percent. The participation rate was fifty three percent (based on 1204 officers confirmed that received the invitations) (see Table 2.1).

#### *Data Collection Instrument*

The survey instrument was developed by consulting earlier studies of police use of force and studies of police attitudes on various issues. Some scenarios and questions were adapted from prior studies (Weisburd et al., 2001; Croft, 1985; Klockars et al., 2000). The question structure for presenting hypothetical scenarios was also adapted from the survey instrument on police integrity by Carl B. Klockars, Sanja Kutnjak-Ivkovic, William E. Harver, and Maria R. Haberfeld.

**Box 2.1: Case scenarios****Scenario 1 : suspect's gender**

*Version A* : In an unauthorized demonstration, a small group blocks the traffic on a main street and despite repeated warnings, they refuse to follow police orders to disperse. Among the group a female protestor yells officers "Why are you hassling us? Go away!" and throws a plastic bottle of water, causing slight injury to one of the officers. Immediately, officers break into the group to apprehend the person. As the person and other group members resist her arrest, officers use truncheons. The intervention causes severe bruises on the various body parts of the female protestor and some other demonstrators.

*Version B* : a male protestor

**Scenario 2 : suspect's age**

*Version A* : What would be your response to the following questions if the suspect in the previous scenario were a 14 year-old boy?

*Version B* : a 60 year-old man?

**Scenario 3 : social class of suspect**

*Version A* : An officer responds to a call at a local restaurants and bars district of a drunk man causing public disturbance. Arriving at the scene, the officer discovers the drunken man, who happens to be a locally well-known and respected businessman, lying on the pavement with a bottle of liquor and verbally assaulting passerby. With the help of the other two officers arrived at the scene, the officer attempts to take the person in the police car. The person bites the officer's arm and the officer responds with a punch in the stomach. Later the person was taken to the hospital without further incident.

*Version B* : a worker in a local manufacturing business

**Scenario 4 : physical size of a citizen**

*Version A* : Two officers arrive in a suspect's residence with a felony warrant. As officers identify the person and display the arrest warrant, the suspect, who is a 120-130 kilogram and 1.9 meters man, heads the door and attempts to flee. Two officers directly tackle him and wrestle him to the ground causing scrapes on various parts of the body and a cut on the face.

*Version B* : a 50-55 kilogram and 1.6 meters man

**Scenario 5 : prior offences of citizen known to the police (Adapted from Klockars et al. (2000, p.4)**

*Version A* : Two police officers on foot patrol surprise a man who is attempting to break into an automobile. Officers recognize the man who has high volume of prior arrest history for various violations. The man flees. They chase him for about two blocks before apprehending him by tackling him and wrestling him to the ground. The intervention causes a broken nose and some bruise and scrapes on various parts of the body of the suspect.

*Version B* : without the expression underlined

**Box 2.1: Case scenarios (continues)****Scenario 6 : citizen demeanor**

*Version A* : Two officers responding to a domestic violence call see a female severely injured by her husband and bleeding as they entered in the apartment. As the victim tells the officers that she wants to file a complaint, officers order the man to walk out with them to the police car in order to take him to the police center. The suspect does not comply with the police orders, passively resists and tells the police that he will not go anywhere. In response officer grab and forcefully drag the man out to the police car sometimes pushing and poking the man in order to force him to comply. The intervention causes tissue trauma on the arms and shoulders of the suspect in addition to some scratches on various parts of his body.

*Version B* : The suspect responses with threats and hostile manners. Using obscene language he asks the officers to get out of his apartment, but he never physically attacks or attempts to attack officers.

**Scenario 7 : attack on officer**

*Version A* : Two police officers responding to a public disturbance case apprehend the suspect and order him to get into the police car. The person yells “You can’t take me any where! Do you know who am I?” and continuously curses at the officers. After repeated warnings the man still does not comply with the police orders and continues his verbal attacks on officers. The officers grab the man from his arms and punch on the stomach and back for five or six times in order to prevent the suspect’s resistance and take him into the cruiser. They take the suspect to the police station without further incident.

*Version B* : After repeated warnings the man becomes even more hostile and attacks on officers with throwing fists and kicks.

**Scenario 8 : intoxication**

*Version A* : What would be your response to the following questions if the suspect in the previous scenario were under the influence of alcohol?

*Version B* : under the influence of drugs?

**Scenario 9 : officer’s provoking behavior**

*Version A* : An officer stops a 19 year-old young motorist and his girl friend for red light violation. He approaches the vehicle and yells at the driver “Where the hell you got your license you idiot?” The driver, feeling humiliated before his girlfriend, gets out of the car starts a verbal argument with the officer. The quarrel escalates and the driver attacks officer. Officer forcefully handcuffs the driver in order to control the situation.

*Version B* : asks for the driver’s license in a commanding voice.

**Scenario 10 : seriousness of offence**

*Version A* : Acting on intelligence, three police officers surprise a man suspected of rape and murder of a 6 year-old girl in the apartment where he was hidden. The man attempts to escape from the window, but the officers act quickly and prevent the escape. The murder suspect physically resists the arrest and officers respond with kicks and punches in order to control the suspect. The intervention causes a black eye and several bruises on the back and arms of the suspect.

*Version B* : a man suspected of a series of thefts



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Section B of the instrument covered questions about officers' attitudes toward the general public, the media, and NGOs. Officers were asked to tell whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with a list of statements.

Section C asked questions about the respondent's department/unit characteristics. Responses to these questions enabled analyses of the impact of agency characteristics on officer's responses. Finally, Section D of the instrument asked questions about personal characteristics and professional qualifications of officers. This information allows the researcher to explore the relationship between officer characteristics and attitude toward use of force and abuse of force. The complete instrument can be found in Appendix A.

### *Validity Concerns*

Studies on sensitive topics, such as police use of force, pose significant validity concerns. Regardless of the methodology used, whether it is a study of use of force records, a victimization survey, or any other design, validity will always be a concern because of the nature of the topic (see Adams, 1996, pp. 64-79 and McEwen, 1996, pp. 60-74 for detailed discussions on alternative methodologies for studying use of force and shortcomings of each design). In a study of attitudes toward use of force, of course, the validity of results to a large extent relies on the honesty of participants when responding to study questions. Following the suggestions by Klockars et al. (2000, p.6) a number of safeguards were implemented in order to improve the validity of the study.

First, officers were asked only about their attitudes, not about their actual behaviors or experiences, or behaviors of other officers. Additionally, the instrument

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covered hypothetical scenarios rather than highly publicized and controversial actual police use of force cases. Asking non-threatening questions on hypothetical scenarios was expected to reduce potential pressure on the officers and prevent respondent bias.

Second, the participants were assured that their responses will remain confidential and the researcher will not discuss any information obtained from the study with any staff members of the organization (see *Ethical Considerations* section in this chapter for further information on the subject). Additionally, minimal background information was collected in order to alleviate officers' fears that their identity might be revealed by tracking back their responses.

Third, at the end of the study officers were asked to evaluate the validity of the responses by asking whether they think most officers would give their honest opinion in filling out this questionnaire and whether they did. 95 percent of the officers reported that they think most officers would give their honest opinion when answering the survey questions. Regarding the second question, 99 percent of the officers reported that they gave their honest opinion in filling out the questionnaire. Two officers, who reported that they did not, were excluded from the study and the responses of the remaining 631 officers were used for further analyses.

Finally, the questions following scenarios also enabled further validity checks. Correlation between officers' own perception of reasonable force, belief about other officers' perception of reasonable force, and perceived discipline that should follow unreasonable force were used as a measure of consistency of responses, and therefore a measure of validity of the responses.

**Table 2.2: Correlations between case scenario assessment items**

	How reasonable do you consider the use of force x	How reasonable do you consider the use of force x
	How reasonable would most officers in your agency consider	Whether discipline SHOULD follow
Scenario 1	.60*	.59*
Scenario 3	.76*	.60*
Scenario 4	.79*	.71*
Scenario 5	.80*	.59*
Scenario 6	.80*	.63*
Scenario 7	.79*	.71*
Scenario 9	.81*	.63*
Scenario 10	.75*	.66*

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

The correlation coefficients for the three case-scenario assessment items varied between .59 and .81 (see Table 2.2). The results show high consistency between the measurements and indicate validity of the responses.

In addition to above validity safeguards suggested by Klockars et al. (2000), the research design proposed in this study also offers additional validity safeguards. The study randomly created two equivalent groups, which controlled for the impact of intervening or moderating variables when looking at the relationships between attitude toward use of force and offender characteristics/situational factors. The design helped improve the internal validity of the study (Maxfield and Babbie, 2005, 181-189).

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One apparent validity concern in this study comes from the sample selection process. A convenience sample of officers from the Turkish National Police was used in the study. Although the distribution of officers across the provinces, units, and ranks was considered in sampling process, still it is not a sufficient safeguard against sampling bias, and the sample is not representative of the population. See the *Limitations of the Study* section in the conclusions chapter for further discussions.

#### *Data Collection Procedures*

The instrument was translated into Turkish by the principal investigator. The translated instrument was pre-tested on a convenience sample of Turkish police officers. Required revisions were made in accordance with the feedback from the pre-test participants. The revised instrument along with a cover letter explaining the purpose of the research was sent to the Turkish National Police Headquarters and permission for the study was granted by the General Directorate of the Police with a letter dated 19/09/2006 and numbered B.05.1.EGM.0.72.03.06-1606/3738. In the meantime, a website was designed for data collection.

After obtaining organizational permission and IRB approval, police officers from different provinces, units, and ranks were solicited through regular mails and emails. These mailings covered brief information on the research and its purposes, and the participants were provided a link to the study website if they choose to participate in the study. Two waves of emails, an initial invitation email and a reminder email ten days after the initial invitation, were sent to the targeted samples.

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The website provided information on why the study was being conducted, how the officers were selected for the study and why their participation was important and valuable. Officers were assured that their responses to the survey would be confidential. After giving satisfactory information about the study, respondents were asked to sign an Informed Consent Form electronically (See *Ethical Considerations* section in this chapter for further information on the measures taken to protect confidentiality and voluntariness of the participants; also see Appendix B for the *Informed Consent Form*).

The website remained open for participants' access for a month from the date of mail/email solicitations. All the information obtained from the questionnaire stored in a disk for subsequent analysis.

#### *Data Analysis Strategy*

SPSS computer program is used for quantitative analyses. Analyses are performed at three levels:

Frequency tables are used for univariate analyses. These tables presented descriptive sample characteristics and participants' perceptions and attitudes.

For bivariate analyses, cross tabulations and chi-square test of significance are employed in order to explore the relationships between the variables.

Finally, multinomial logistic regression models are employed in order to explore the controlled effects of independent variables on officer's attitudes toward use of force. All tests are performed at 0.05 alpha level. More detailed descriptions of the data analyses methods that are used can be found in findings chapter in relevant sections.

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### **Ethical Considerations**

There was no conceivable physical or mental discomfort imposed on the subjects by the study. The questionnaire that was used in data collection measured the attitudes of the officers from the Turkish National Police, not their actual behaviors or experiences, or behaviors of other officers. Additionally, the scenarios used for data collection were hypothetical, and did not represent highly publicized, controversial, actual use of force cases. Officers were expected to provide their opinion on hypothetical scenarios, and this approach can be reasonably considered unobtrusive.

Confidentiality guidelines were followed during the data collection, processing, and reporting stages. As the primary safeguard to protect confidentiality, officers' personal email addresses were not saved by the software. Therefore, it is not possible to identify any participant directly from the data collected and saved on the website. In fact, the study might have been considered anonymous since the researcher cannot associate a given piece of information with a given person. However, some advanced computer programming skills can still make it possible to identify individuals by tracking internet protocol (IP) numbers or other information used and stored by computers for internet trafficking purposes. Even this is a very unlikely situation, considering the fact, that the researcher considers the study confidential and promises not to make any data collected during the course of the study available to anyone who is not directly associated with this research. Additionally, in accordance with the guidelines on using human subjects in research, researcher will not discuss any information obtained from the questionnaire with any staff members of the Turkish National Police. Finally, minimal officer background information was collected in order to further assure

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officers that their identities could not be discovered from research data by tracking back their responses to personal questions.

Participation in the study was voluntary. All the participants were informed about the content of the research and each respondent, before the administration of the questionnaire, signed an Informed Consent Signature Form electronically, by clicking “I Agree” button at the end of the electronic form. Participants had the opportunity to discontinue at any time or to refuse to answer any particular question. Since the data was collected electronically, participants were provided “don’t want to answer” option for every question in the instrument, and “exit without saving my responses” on every page of the website in order to maintain voluntariness throughout the study.

There was no compensation for participation.

Please see Appendix B for Informed Consent Information Sheet and Informed Consent Signature Form prepared in accordance with the guidelines stated in the City University of New York, Principal Investigator’s Manual.

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**Box 2.3: Variables included in the study**

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**Attitude toward Use of Force**

1. Attitude\_1 – Attitude\_10 (ten measurements of officers attitudes toward use of force)
2. Index of attitude toward use of force

**Officer Characteristics / Perceptions Variables**

3. Training
4. Experience
5. Rank
6. Work load in the unit in terms of average work hours
7. Perceived work load
8. Job related past injury
9. Perceived police role
10. Job satisfaction
11. Attitude toward the general public
12. Attitude toward the media
13. Attitude toward NGOs
14. Financial satisfaction
15. Perceived work stress
16. Perceived risk of police work (general risk)

**Citizen/Offender Characteristics Variables**

17. Age
18. Gender
19. Social class
20. Physical size (height and weight)
21. Prior offense

**Situational Variables**

22. Citizen demeanor
23. Attack on officer
24. Officer behavior
25. Intoxicated citizen
26. Seriousness of offence
27. Perceived risk of injury in given cases (situational risk assessment)

**Organizational factors**

28. Type of unit
  29. Department leadership's orientation
  30. Regional assignments
  31. Subjective (cultural) norms of use of force
  32. "Us versus them" syndrome or cultural alienation
  33. Attitude toward organizational norms
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## **CHAPTER IV**

### **FINDINGS**

The findings of the study are organized in three levels:

The first section covers findings from univariate analyses. Key demographic and professional characteristics of the officers' participating in the study are described by using frequency tables. Additionally, officers' perceptions about and attitudes toward some issues of particular interest to this study are also summarized in frequency tables.

The second section includes bivariate analyses. Uncontrolled effects of officer characteristics, offender characteristics, situational factors, and organizational/cultural factors on officers' attitudes toward use of force are explored by using two-way cross-tabulations and chi-square tests of significance. Comparisons are made between the findings in the literature and from the current study.

The final section included multivariate analyses. Eleven multinomial logistic regression models are estimated in order to explore the controlled effects of the predictors on the officers' attitudes toward use of force. Discussions on the appropriateness of statistical procedures that are used in the analyses are provided in relevant sections before presenting and discussing the results.

**Table 3.1: Distribution of the participants across the geographic regions of Turkey**

<b>Geographic Regions</b>	<b>Number of officers</b>	<b>Percent of officers in the sample</b>	<b>Percent of officers in the population</b>
Marmara Region	89	20.2	26
Aegean Region	19	4.3	12
Mediterranean Region	17	3.9	13
Central Anatolia Region	179	40.6	20
Black Sea Region	17	3.9	9
Eastern Anatolia Region	73	16.6	9
Southeast Anatolia Region	47	10.7	10
N = 441			

### **Characteristics of the Sample**

Although it was a convenience sample, the sample shows representative distribution across the geographic regions. It is noteworthy that there were participants from all of the eighty one provinces across the country. Participation from the Aegean, Mediterranean, and Black Sea regions was somewhat lower, but there was sufficient number of participants from all regions (see Table 3.1). The participation rate in the Central Anatolia region was higher than the other regions. The General Headquarters and the headquarters of the Anti-terrorism, Intelligence, and Organized Crime Departments are located in Ankara, which is a Central Anatolian province. The disproportionate number of officers in office duties in these headquarters is likely to explain this outcome.

**Table 3.2: Distribution of the participants across management levels**

Levels	Number of officers	Percent of officers
Line officers	133	28.1
Lower management	181	38.2
Middle management	129	27.2
Upper management	31	6.5
N = 474		

About 92 percent of the sworn officers in the Turkish National Police are line officers, and the remaining 8 percent represent ranking officers at different levels. The sample did not proportionately represent this distribution in the population (see Table 3.2). Ranking officers were over represented in the sample. In order to overcome this problem, cases were weighted to adjust sample distribution to the population distribution. Weighted cases were used for the analyses in subsequent sections (see Appendix C for detailed weighting procedure).

133 participants, corresponding to 28 percent of the sample were line officers. 181 respondents, corresponding to 38 percent of the sample, were from lower management, including sergeants, lieutenants, and captains. 129 participants, corresponding to 27 percent of the sample, were middle managers, including superintendents. And finally, 31 participants, corresponding to about 7 percent of the sample, were from upper management, which includes first, second, third, and fourth level police chiefs. 25 percent of the overall sample (140 officers) did not provide information about their ranks.

**Table 3.3: Distribution of the participants across units**

Unit	Number of officers	Percent of officers
Crime prevention / Crime control	116	23.4
Support / Logistic	82	16.5
Administrative	68	13.7
Anti-terror / Intelligence	66	13.3
Education / Training	56	11.3
Organized crime / Narcotics	44	8.9
Security	23	4.6
Other	41	8.2
N = 496		

The sample covers officers from different units of the Turkish Police Organization. 23 percent of the officers in the sample were deployed in crime control and crime prevention units. These officers are basically assigned in patrol or detective duties in precincts or bureaus (see Table 3.3). 17 percent of the officers were assigned in support and logistic units, which include information technologies, communication, transportation, air support, etc. 14 percent of the officers were assigned in administrative duties, which are essentially office duties in the headquarters and personnel affairs in departments. 13 percent worked for anti-terror or intelligence departments. 11 percent of the participants served in education and training units, which include Police Academies across the country and the Education Department at the headquarters organizing in-service training programs organization-wide.

**Table 3.4: Distribution of the participants by years in service**

Years in service		Number of officers	Percent of officers
1-5 years	(1)	31	6.3
6-10 years	(2)	195	39.9
11-15 years	(3)	217	44.4
16 years or more	(4)	46	9.4
N = 489	$\bar{X} = 2.59$		

The sample also covered officers from organized crime (9 percent), security (5 percent) and other (8 percent) units. 21 percent of the total sample did not provide information on their unit assignments.

The length of service of the sworn police officers in the sample ranged between 1 and over 21 years, with about 6 percent at 5 years or less. 40 percent of the officers in the sample had served from 6 to 10 years, 44 percent had served from 11 to 15 years, and 9 percent had served 16 years or more (see Table 3.4).

The survey results show that Turkish police officers are generally satisfied with their current assignment. Considering the overall aspects of their current assignment about 78 percent of the respondents reported that they were “very satisfied,” “satisfied,” or “somewhat satisfied” with their current assignments (see Table 3.5). However, compared to their American counterparts, where the job satisfaction rate is around 90 percent (Weisburd et al., 2001, p.11) police officers participating in this study were a little less satisfied with their current assignment. Among Turkish police officers, only 9 percent of the respondents were “very satisfied” with their most recent assignment, while

**Table 3.5: Officer's satisfaction with their job and financial situation**

	<b>Job satisfaction*</b> <b>(N = 488)</b>	<b>Financial satisfaction*</b> <b>(N = 495)</b>
Very dissatisfied	38 (7.8%)	81 (16.4%)
Dissatisfied	68 (13.9%)	144 (29.1%)
Somewhat satisfied	176 (36.1%)	187 (37.8%)
Satisfied	162 (33.2%)	80 (16.2%)
Very satisfied	44 (9.0%)	3 (0.6%)

\*Cell entries are frequencies and percentages in parenthesis

40 percent of the officers in the United States were “extremely satisfied” with their assignments.

When asked about their financial satisfaction, about one in two officers participating in the survey (45.4 percent) reported that they were “very dissatisfied” (16.4 percent) or “dissatisfied” (29.1 percent) with their financial situation. The other half of the respondents (54.6 percent) reported that they were “very satisfied,” “satisfied,” or “somewhat satisfied” with their financial situation. Only less than 1 percent of the respondents (0.6 percent) were “very satisfied” with their current financial situation (see Table 3.5).

Policing has always been considered a stressful profession. Weisburd et al. (2001, p.76) showed that about 88 percent of the officers in the United States considered their job stressful. The percentage of Turkish police officers in this study who considered their job stressful was a little higher. 95.5 percent of the officers in this survey

**Table 3.6: Officer's job stress and perceived risk of injury**

	<b>Job stress*</b> <b>(N = 493)</b>	<b>Perceived risk of injury*</b> <b>(N = 493)</b>
Very high	200 (40.6%)	107 (21.7%)
High	184 (37.3%)	144 (29.2%)
Some	87 (17.6%)	127 (25.8%)
Low	19 (3.9%)	73 (14.8%)
Very low	3 (0.6%)	42 (8.5%)

\*Cell entries are frequencies and percentages in parenthesis

described their work “extremely stressful” (40.6 percent), “stressful” (37.3 percent), or “somewhat stressful” (17.6 percent). When they were asked about how risky they perceive their current assignment in terms of being injured or killed in the line of duty, 50.9 percent of the officers selected either “very high” or “high” risk categories. The other half (49.1 percent) of the officers considered that their current assignment involves “moderate,” “low,” or “very low risk.” About one in three officers (29.6 percent) had a job related injury that required treatment since becoming a police officer (see Table 3.7).

**Table 3.7: Officer's job related injury that required treatment**

	<b>Number of officers</b>	<b>Percent of officers</b>
Injured	144	29.6
Not injured	343	70.4
<b>N = 487</b>		

**Table 3.8: Officers' average weekly work hours**

	Number of officers	Percent of officers
45 hours a week or less	220	44.7
46-55 hours a week	95	19.3
56-65 hours a week	55	11.2
66 hours a week or more	122	24.8
N = 492		

More than half of the officers participating in the survey (55.3 percent), compared to about 38 percent of the officers in the United States (Weisburd et al., 2001, p.71), reported that they work more than 45 hours a week, which is the standard for government employees in Turkey. Among this group a significant proportion (24.8 percent) work about one and a half times more than the weekly standard. Consequently, more than half of the officers (65.9 percent) described their work load as “very heavy” or “heavy” (see Tables 3.8 and 3.9).

**Table 3.9: Officers' self-described work load**

	Number of officers	Percent of officers
Very heavy	129	26.1
Heavy	197	39.8
Somewhat heavy	129	26.1
Easy	37	7.5
Very easy	3	0.6
N = 495		

**Table 3.10: Officers' participation in at least one in-service training course on interpersonal skills, interpersonal relations, human rights, leadership, or problem solving.**

	Participation in at least one of the courses* (N = 498)	Found the course(s) effective in terms of helping officers better performing their assignments * (N = 405)	
Participated	407 (81.7%)	Yes	289 (71.4%)
		No	116 (28.6%)
Not participated	91 (18.3%)	N/A	

\*Cell entries are frequencies and percentages in parenthesis

The majority of the officers (81.7 percent) participated in at least one in-service training course on interpersonal skills, interpersonal relations, human rights, leadership, or problem solving.<sup>1</sup> 71.4 percent of those who participated in these programs found the training effective in terms of helping officers better perform in their assignments (see Table 3.10).

### Perceptions and Attitudes

What were the officers' views of how the public, the media and the NGO approach the police and police use of force? About 67 percent (sum of somewhat agree, agree, and strongly agree categories) of the officers felt that most people respect the police (see Table 3.11), compared to 75 percent of their American counterparts (Weisburd et al., 2001, p. 20).

<sup>1</sup> Participation rate was 83 percent for ranking officers and 79 percent for line officers.

**Table 3.11: Officer's perceptions of the public's attitude toward the police**

	Most people respect the police* (N = 507)	Citizens are willing to cooperate with the police in solving crime problems* (N = 507)	Public's attitude toward police use of force is objective* (N = 502)
Strongly disagree	55 (10.8%)	88 (17.4%)	106 (21.1%)
Disagree	110 (21.7%)	133 (26.2%)	200 (39.8%)
Somewhat agree	220 (43.4%)	219 (43.2%)	143 (28.5%)
Agree	98 (19.3%)	56 (11.0%)	44 (8.8%)
Strongly agree	24 (4.7%)	11 (2.2%)	9 (1.8%)

\*Cell entries are frequencies and percentages in parenthesis

It is important to note that the police officers' perception about the public's attitude toward the police in Turkey almost perfectly matches the public attitude toward the police measured by Eurobarometer surveys (Eurobarometer 62.0, Standard European Trend Questions and Sport, October-November, 2004). Based on 2004 Eurobarometer survey measurements, 68 percent of the general population in Turkey "tend to trust" the police.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, according to the officers, the cooperation between the police and the public was not at the same level. About half of the officers (44 percent) felt that citizens in their locality are not willing to cooperate with the police in solving crime

<sup>2</sup> This analysis was conducted by the author by using the 2001-2004 Eurobarometer survey series data. The percentage of the general public that "tend to trust" the police in Turkey was 57 percent in 2001, 65 percent in 2002, 69 percent and 70 percent in the first and second half of 2003, and 68 percent in 2004.

**Table 3.12: Officer's perceptions of the media and NGOs' attitudes toward police use of force**

	The media's attitude toward police use of force is objective* (N = 501)	NGOs' attitudes toward police use of force is objective* (N = 505)
Strongly disagree	315 (62.9%)	269 (53.3%)
Disagree	141 (28.1%)	179 (35.4%)
Somewhat agree	31 (6.2%)	44 (8.7%)
Agree	13 (2.6%)	10 (2.0%)
Strongly agree	1 (0.2%)	3 (0.6%)

\*Cell entries are frequencies and percentages in parenthesis

problems. When it comes to the officers' perception of the public's judgment of police use of force, about 61 percent of the officers reported that the public's attitude toward police use of force is not objective. In other words, only 39 percent of the officers considered the public's attitude toward police use of force objective.

Officers participating in the survey were more skeptical about the objectivity of the media and non governmental organizations on judgment of police use of force cases. 90 percent of the officers opined that the newspapers' and the television's attitudes toward police use of force are not objective. About 89 percent of the participants indicated that NGOs are biased in their judgment of police use of force cases (see Table 3.12).

Cultural alienation is argued to be a mechanism for survival and all police officers exhibit some degree of alienation (Greenspan et al., 1997a, p. 135; also see Greenspan

**Table 3.13: Officer's perceptions of the police work, police role, and organizational rules**

	No one else can understand the real nature of police work* (N = 503)	The primary role of a police officer should be preventing crime and apprehending criminals* (N = 505)	Always following the rules is not compatible with getting the job done * (N = 500)
Strongly disagree	47 (9.3%)	32 (6.3%)	150 (30.0%)
Disagree	83 (16.5%)	58 (11.5%)	157 (31.4%)
Somewhat agree	178 (35.4%)	93 (18.4%)	115 (23.0%)
Agree	99 (19.7%)	115 (22.8%)	61 (12.2%)
Strongly agree	96 (19.1%)	207 (41.0%)	17 (3.4%)

\*Cell entries are frequencies and percentages in parenthesis

et al., 1997b, p. 177-180). Supporting this argument, about 74 percent of the Turkish police officers participating in this study “strongly agreed,” “agreed,” or “somewhat agreed” with the statement: “No one else can understand the real nature of police work. Lawyers, academics, politicians, and the public in general have little conception of what it means to be a police officer” (see Table 3.13).

The majority of the police officers conceived the police role in a narrower context. About 81 percent of the respondents (sum of “strongly agree,” “agree,” and “somewhat agree” cells) said that the primary role of a police officer should be preventing crime and apprehending criminals, and duties other than crime fighting should not be considered police work or should be secondary.

**Table 3.14: Officer's attitudes toward recent legislation changes limiting police authorities**

	<b>Changes in the Criminal Procedures Code and the Penal Code help prevent police abuse of authority *</b> (N = 488)	<b>Changes in the Criminal Procedures Code limiting police authorities may cause weaknesses in the fight against crime and terrorism *</b> (N = 502)
Strongly disagree	70 (14.3%)	33 (6.6%)
Disagree	107 (21.9%)	45 (9.0%)
Somewhat agree	142 (29.1%)	106 (21.1%)
Agree	118 (24.2%)	161 (32.1%)
Strongly agree	51 (10.5%)	157 (31.3%)

\*Cell entries are frequencies and percentages in parenthesis

Violating the rules for achieving morally good ends, the Dirty Harry dilemma, is also argued to be a common feature of policing (Klockars, 1980, p. 37; Weisburd et al., 1998, p. 54; Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, p. 107; Herzog, 2000, p.429-430). The problem is likely to arise when an officer adheres to the belief: "Always following the rules is not compatible with getting the job done." The majority of the Turkish police officers participating in this study (61 percent) did not agree with this statement, compared to 51 percent of their counterparts in the United States, according to Weisburd et al. (2001, p.55).

The survey findings show that more than 64 percent of the officers believe that the recent changes in the Criminal procedures Code and the penal code, by limiting the

authorities of the police and increasing the severity of punishment for abuses of authority, help prevent police abuse of authority. However, more than 84 percent of the officers believed that changes in the Criminal procedure Code may cause weaknesses in the fight against crime and terrorism (see Table 3.14).

### **Antecedents of Attitudes toward Use of Force**

Bivariate and multivariate statistical techniques (i.e. chi-square test and multinomial logit) were used in the subsequent sections in order to test the relationships proposed in the research hypotheses. In principle, these testing procedures require working with probability samples. The sample in this study is a nonprobability one and it violates one of the underlying assumptions of these statistical procedures. However, these testing procedures still can be used under certain conditions and with careful interpretations.

Parametric and non-parametric tests of significance can be employed when drawing a probability sample is not possible and/or if there is no apparent reason to believe that a sample obtained by nonprobability procedures is biased (Howell, 2006; Byrne, 2006). The inferences that are drawn from these analyses are not statistical, but logical inferences. In other words the findings from these tests in this study cannot be generalized to the larger population or used in estimating the population parameters. However, on logical grounds, these findings provide invaluable information about how Turkish police officers in general approach use of force. These findings, as suggestive results, can help better understand the magnitude of the differences in comparisons and further explore the relationships between the variables.

On these grounds, in order to explore the uncontrolled effects of officer characteristics, offender characteristics, situational factors, and organizational factors on officers' attitudes towards use of force, findings from cross tabulation and chi-square test analyses are presented in the following section. The next section provides findings from multivariate analyses in order to explore the controlled effects of the independent variables on officers' attitudes toward use of force. All the tests were performed at 0.05 alpha level.

#### **Uncontrolled effects of officer characteristics and perceptions on officers' attitudes towards use of force**

The dependent variable in the following analyses is the index of reasonable force. This additive index was created based on the officers' own perceptions of reasonable force measured by their responses to the ten scenarios in the survey. The scores on the index were categorized as "very unreasonable," "unreasonable," "reasonable," and "very reasonable," and used in the subsequent analyses.

##### *Experience*

The literature on police use of force suggests that officer's experience in terms of years in service has a significant impact on use of force decisions (Croft, 1985, p. 191; Friedrich, 1980, p. 89), with more experienced officers using force more reasonably and less excessively than less experienced officers.

**Table 3.15: Years in service and attitude toward use of force (N = 438)**

	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
1-5 years	-	-	58.5	41.5
6-10 years	-	29.5	54.5	15.9
11-15 years	3.8	37.1	51.1	8.1
16 years and more	28.6	5.7	51.4	14.3
$X^2 = 112.60$	$df = 9$	$p < 0.05$		

The findings from the current data support the findings in the literature. The findings suggest that less experienced officers have more favorable attitudes toward use of force compared to more experienced ones. All of the officers with 5 years or less experience considered the police use of force presented in the scenarios “reasonable” or “very reasonable.” About 71 percent of those who had served from 6 to 10 years, about 59 percent of those who had served from 11 to 15 years and 65 percent of those had served 16 years or more considered the police use of force presented in the scenarios as “reasonable” or “very reasonable” ( $X^2 = 112.60$ ;  $df = 9$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.15). Although the approval rate among the officers who had 16 years or more experience was a little higher than among the officers who had from 11 to 15 years of experience, disrupting the general pattern, the percent of the “very unreasonable” category was the highest for the most experienced group (28.6 percent). Overall, it appears that the approval rate of the use of force among officers decreases as the year in service increases.

**Table 3.16: Job related past injury and attitude toward use of force (N = 431)**

	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
Injured	7.8	17.4	58.1	16.8
Not injured	1.5	33.0	51.9	13.6
$X^2 = 20.83$	df = 3	p < 0.05		

**Table 3.17: Perceived risk of injury (general risk) and attitude toward use of force (N=436)**

	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
High risk	-	28.3	57.6	14.1
Low risk	10.1	27.4	47.0	15.5
$X^2 = 29.55$	df = 3	p < 0.05		

*Job related past injury and perceived (general) risk of police work*

Earlier it was reported that about 30 percent of the officers in the sample had a prior job related injury that required treatment. The comparison between officers who were injured and not injured revealed significant differences with respect to their attitude toward use of force. About 75 percent of those who experienced injuries in the line of their duties found the force used by the officers in the scenarios “reasonable” or “very reasonable” compared to about 66 percent of those who were not injured ( $X^2 = 20.83$ ;

df= 3;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.16). The findings suggest that an experience of job related injury is associated with more tolerance toward use of force.

Officers' conception of overall risk of their current assignments in terms of being injured or killed in the line of the duty also has a significant association with their conception of reasonable force. The general expectation was that there is a positive relationship between perceived risk of officer's assignment and attitude toward use of force, with officers who conceive greater risk of injury showing more favorable attitudes toward use of force. The findings, supporting this expectation, revealed that 72 percent of the officers who perceived their current assignment as highly risky, and 63 percent of the officers who perceived their current assignments as relatively safe reported that they believe police use of force cases presented in the scenarios were "reasonable" or "very reasonable" ( $X^2 = 29.55$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.17).

For a case specific risk assessment and attitude toward use of force relationship analysis see the "situational risk assessment" under "situational factors" section.

#### *Job and financial satisfaction*

The findings from past studies show that both officers who dislike (Friedrich, 1980, p. 89-90; Krejčí et al, 2004) and also who strongly like (Friedrich, 1980, p. 89-90) their job are more likely to use reasonable and excessive force. Just like frustration sometimes causes aggression, enthusiasm and extra efforts, also sometimes shade into aggression (Friedrich, 1980, p. 89-90). The findings of the present study support these findings. About 80 percent of the officers who were dissatisfied, 62 percent of those who were somewhat satisfied and 70 percent of those who were satisfied with their current

**Table 3.18: Job satisfaction and attitude toward use of force (N = 425)**

	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
Dissatisfied	-	20.2	69.7	10.1
Somewhat satisfied	2.2	36.0	34.5	27.3
Satisfied	4.0	25.9	55.1	15.1
$\chi^2 = 57.78$ $df = 6$ $p < 0.05$				

**Table 3.19: Financial satisfaction and attitude toward use of force (N = 436)**

	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
Dissatisfied	5.2	16.0	60.8	18.0
Somewhat satisfied	4.9	28.9	51.4	14.8
Satisfied	-	50.0	43.0	7.0
$\chi^2 = 42.115$ $df = 6$ $p < 0.05$				

assignments demonstrated favorable attitudes toward use of force in the case scenarios ( $\chi^2 = 57.78$ ;  $df = 6$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.18).

Officers' financial satisfaction revealed a negative, linear relationship with attitudes toward use of force. About 79 percent of those who were dissatisfied, 66 percent of those who were somewhat satisfied, and 50 percent of those who were satisfied with their financial situation conceived the police use of force presented in the

scenarios as “reasonable” and “very reasonable” ( $X^2 = 42.12$ ;  $df = 6$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see table 3.19).

#### *Work hours, perceived work load and stress*

The survey revealed that officers' attitudes toward use of force is significantly related to their weekly work hours. The general pattern was that those who worked more hours per week were more supportive of use of force. About 80 percent of the officers who worked 65 hours a week or more, 70 percent and 52 percent of those who worked from 56 to 65 hours a week and from 46 to 55 hours a week respectively believed that use of force cases presented in the scenarios were reasonable ( $X^2 = 55.97$ ;  $df = 9$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see table 3.20). The only category that disrupted this overall pattern was the officers who worked less than 46 hours a week. 75 percent of the participants in this category perceived the use of force cases as reasonable. This category was generally made up from the officers assigned in office duties (at least 52 percent). Although the work hours of these officers is much more regular and shorter compared to officers in the field assignments sometimes, especially for those who work at the headquarters, their daily work load might be much higher than the officers in the field. Intensive work load rather than extended work hour might be a reason for frustration and the more aggressive approach toward use of force for the officers in this group.

Supporting this argument, the survey also revealed significant relationship between perceived work load and attitude toward use of force. Heavy work load conception was associated with a more favorable attitude toward use of force. 76 percent of the officers who conceived their work load heavy compared to 49 percent and 45 percent of the officers who conceived their work as “somewhat heavy” and “not

**Table 3.20: Weekly work hours and attitude toward use of force (N = 436)**

	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
45 hours a week or less	5.3	20.9	58.8	15.0
46-55 hours a week	-	47.5	38.3	14.2
56-65 hours a week	-	29.7	43.2	27.0
65 hours a week or more	8.0	11.5	70.1	10.3
$X^2 = 55.97$	df = 9	p < 0.05		

**Table 3.21: Perceived work load and attitude toward use of force (N = 436)**

	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
Heavy	4.4	19.9	56.2	19.6
Somewhat heavy	3.0	48.5	47.5	1.0
Not heavy	-	55.0	40.0	5.0
$X^2 = 49.52$	df = 6	p < 0.05		

heavy” respectively, showed favorable attitudes toward use of force ( $X^2 = 49.52$ ; df = 6; p < 0.05) (see table 3.21).

The survey did not reveal significant differences in responses of officers according to their perceived work stress. Support for use of force among those who perceive their assignment stressful was slightly higher than those who perceive low

**Table 3.22: Attitude toward the general public and attitude toward use of force (N = 438)**

Citizens are willing to cooperate with the police in solving crime problems	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
Disagree	.4	27.1	57.3	15.1
Somewhat agree	5.7	31.0	50.6	12.6
Agree	17.9	20.5	41.0	20.5
$X^2 = 31.54$	df = 6	p < 0.05		

stress (about 4 percent) but the difference was not significant at 0.05 alpha level ( $X^2 = 12.41$ ; df = 6; p = 0.053, table is not presented here).

#### *Attitude toward the general public*

Criminological literature suggests that officers who have negative attitudes toward citizens and perceive that the members of community are disrespectful to the police are more likely to use force against citizens (Worden, 1996, p.41; Crawford, 1973; Lester, 1996, p. 186; Worden, 1996, p.41).

The findings of this study partly support these findings in the literature. Out of three items measuring officers' attitudes toward the public, only one was found to be significantly associated with attitudes toward use of force.

Officers who believed that citizens are not willing to cooperate with the police in solving crime problems were more supportive of use of force (72 percent) compared to

those who believed that citizens are willing (62 percent) or somewhat willing (63 percent) to cooperate with the police ( $X^2 = 31.54$ ;  $df = 6$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.22).

Items measuring the two other dimensions of officers' attitudes toward the public, "Most people respect the police" and "The public attitude toward police use of force is objective," did not reveal meaningful relationships with attitude toward use of force.

### *Training*

The relationship between training and attitude toward use of force was not significant at .05 alpha level. The survey asked the respondents whether they participated in at least one in-service training program on interpersonal skills, interpersonal relations, human rights, leadership, or problem solving. The analyses revealed that those who participated in at least one of these courses were slightly less supportive of use of force compared to those who did not. However the difference was not significant at 0.05 alpha level ( $X^2 = 5.99$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p = 0.11$ , table is not presented here).

### *Rank*

The survey did not reveal any significant difference between line officers and ranking officers with respect to their attitudes toward use of force. The approval rate of use of force cases presented in the scenarios was about 67 percent for the two groups ( $X^2 = 0.22$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p > 0.05$ , table is not presented here).

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*Perceived police role*

Although past studies suggested that officer's conception of "*police role*" is related to use of force decisions (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, p. 90-95; Worden (1996, p.41) the current data did not support this relationship. Those who conceive the police role in broader context (i.e. service to the public, order maintenance) were as supportive of use of force as those who conceive the police role in narrower context (i.e. law enforcement only) ( $X^2 = 7.25$ ;  $df = 6$ ;  $p > 0.05$ , table is not presented here).

**Uncontrolled effects of offender characteristics on officer's attitudes toward use of force**

The analyses in this section are based on officers' assessments of five case scenarios, each aimed at measuring the impact of a characteristic of an offender on the officers' conception of reasonable force. Each scenario had two different versions representing variations in offender characteristics (male-female, young-adult, middle class-working class, etc.). Officers were randomly assigned to one version of each scenario by the computer and asked to assess the level of force used by the officers in the case scenarios. Dependent variables in the following analyses are officers' own conceptions of reasonable force for respective scenarios.

*Offender's gender*

The majority of the works in the literature suggest that females are less likely to be treated with force (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969, p.101, 105; Rubinstein, 1973, p. 316-317; Worden, 1996, p.40; Croft, 1985, p.81, 154). However there are also

**Table 3.23: Offender's gender and officers' attitude toward use of force (N = 452)**

	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable
	Weighted Percent		
Female	29.3	17.8	52.9
Male	15.0	30.0	55.1
$X^2 = 17.638$	df = 2	p < 0.05	

arguments suggesting that gender of an offender has no direct impact on justifying a greater or lesser degree of force (Friedrich, 1980, p. 91; Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.495; Alpert and Fridell, 1992, p.51).

Supporting the majority of the prior studies, the analyses in this study revealed a significant relationship between offender's gender and officers' attitude toward use of force. 29 percent of the officers who were randomly assigned the scenario involving a female offender considered the level of police use of force presented in the scenario unreasonable, compared to 15 percent of the officers in the second group answering the question for the male offender version of the scenario ( $X^2 = 17.64$ ; df = 2; p < 0.05) (see Table 3.23). It is important to note here that the use of force scenario in this case involved slight injury to an officer and officers' response to the offender by physical force. There was no threat of life to officers or others present. It would be a more careful approach to interpret the survey findings as when there is no threat of life or a risk of heavy injury, officers are less supportive of use of force against female offenders than male offenders. The outcome might be different when an offender poses a threat of life.

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*Offender's age*

The literature unanimously suggests that *citizen age*, as an indicator of potential to use force against the officer, may restrict or encourage officers' use of force decisions (Pate et al. 1993; Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.495; Worden, 1996, p.37; Friedrich, 1980, p. 91; Croft, 1985, p. 85-90). While children and elderly are less likely to be treated by force, those who are between age 18 and 25 are most likely to receive excessive force.

The current study also supported the findings in the literature. A "young" offender was characterized with a 14 year old boy, and an "elderly" offender was characterized with a 60 year old man in the scenarios. No age specification was made for the adult offender. The comparisons revealed that use of force against young and elderly offenders were less supported compared to use of force against adult offenders. About 50 percent of the officers answering the questions for child ( $X^2 = 99.54$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) and elderly ( $X^2 = 81.70$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) offenders considered the level of force used in the scenarios unreasonable, compared to 15 percent of the officers responding to adult offender scenario (see Tables 3.24.a and 3.24.b). The same precaution must be used in this interpretation as in the case of offender's gender. These scenarios involved slight injury to an officer. When there is no imminent threat of life or significant injury, officers are less supportive of use of force against minors and elderly than adult offenders.

*Physical size (height and weight)*

Physical size of a suspect or citizen, like age of a suspect, has also been suggested to be an indicator of potential to use force against officer and as an influence on officers' use of force decisions (Pate et al. 1993; Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.495).

**Table 3.24.a: Offender's age and officers' attitude toward use of force (N = 469)**

	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable
	Weighted Percent		
Young	50.0	35.1	14.9
Adult	15.0	30.0	55.1
$X^2 = 99.54$	df = 2	p < 0.05	

**Table 3.24.b: Offender's age and officers' attitude toward use of force (N = 454)**

	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable
	Weighted Percent		
Adult	15.0	30.0	55.1
Elderly	48.5	33.0	18.5
$X^2 = 81.70$	df = 2	p < 0.05	

**Table 3.25: Offender's physical size (height and weight) and officers' attitude toward use of force (N = 475)**

	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable
	Weighted Percent		
120-130 kg / 1.90 m	10.8	11.6	77.5
55-65 kg / 1.60 m	26.5	11.5	61.9
$X^2 = 20.05$	df = 2	p < 0.05	

The findings from this survey, supporting the past research, revealed that officers consider large physical size of an offender as a factor justifying use of force. About 78 percent of the officers considered the force used against a 120-130 kilogram and 1.90 meter man reasonable compared to 62 percent of officers against a 55-65 kilogram and 1.60 meter man under the same circumstances ( $X^2 = 20.05$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.25). As several participants spontaneously suggested, sometimes even a physically small suspect may demonstrate stronger resistance or pose more serious physical harm than expected from his size. Although these comments are very well taken, the survey findings show that the potential threat indicated by the physical size of a suspect alone is considered sufficient enough to justify a higher level or amount of force used in a given case regardless of the actual threat posed by the suspect.<sup>3</sup> Of course, the actual level of resistance and threat might be different in every case.

#### *Repeat offender*

The survey revealed that a suspect's criminal history known to the police has significant impact on officers' conception of use of force. One of the scenarios in the survey provided the participants a case of two police officers arresting a suspect of a car theft whom they encountered several times for various violations. The alternative scenario did not provide the information regarding the criminal history of the suspect. The findings from the comparison of these two groups revealed that officers were slightly more likely to justify use of force against the repeat offender compared to the suspect with no known history of criminal act ( $X^2 = 7.27$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.26).

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<sup>3</sup> In the two versions of the scenario both types of suspects show the same level of resistance and cause the same level of harm to the officers. That is to say, given similar levels of threat and resistance, physical size of a suspect independently affects officers' justification of use of force.

**Table 3.26: Repeat offender and attitude toward use of force (N = 471)**

	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable
	Weighted Percent		
Repeat offender	6.1	11.8	82.0
Not repeat offender	10.6	17.7	71.7
$\chi^2 = 7.27$	df = 2	p < 0.05	

*Social class*

Although the literature suggests a significant relationship between the social class of a suspect and use of force (Friedrich, 1980, p.91; Weisburd et al., 2001, p. 20), the current survey findings did not support this relationship. Officers participating in the study equally justified use of force against a member of middle class, characterized by a local business owner, and a member of lower or working class, characterized by a worker in a local manufacturing business under the circumstances described in the scenarios ( $X^2 = 3.14$ ; df = 2; p > 0.05 - table is not presented here).

**Uncontrolled effects of situational factors on officer's attitudes toward use of force**

The analyses in this section are based on officers' assessments of another five case scenarios, each aimed at measuring the impact of a different situational factor on officers' conception of reasonable force. Once again, each scenario had two different versions representing variations in situational factors (aggressive-passive resistance, assault on officer, provocative behavior of officer, etc.). Officers were randomly assigned

to one version of each scenario by the computer and asked to assess the level of force used by the officers in the case scenarios. Dependent variables in the following analyses are officers' own conceptions of reasonable force for respective scenarios.

In addition, officers' assessments of risk of injury in four cases were used as a measure of situational or case specific risk. This measurement of risk differing from the officers' perception of overall risk of police work measures risk assessments of officers under certain situations (see situational risk assessment below).

#### *Citizen demeanor*

The relationship between citizen demeanor and officer response is almost uniformly supported by several works in the literature (i.e. Black and Reiss, 1970, p.74-75; Black, 1971, p.1087; Friedrich, 1980, p. 90-91; Lundman, 1979, p.166; Lundman et al., 1978; Lundman, 1994, p.647; Sykes et al. 1976; Croft, 1985, p.127; Smith, 1987, p.775; Smith and Klein, 1984, p.475; Smith and Visher, 1981, p.173; Worden and Pollitz, 1984, p.113; Worden, 1996, p. 37).

The survey provided some support to the findings in the literature. Taking Klinger's (1994) arguments into account, the scenarios measuring citizen demeanor in the survey were limited to legally permissible behaviors, and did not involve physical assault on officer or other physical threats. The findings revealed that citizen demeanor has significant, though not very large, impact on officers' conception of reasonable force. Officers participating in the survey conceived use of force against aggressive suspects more justifiable (78 percent) compared to passive resistant suspects (69 percent) ( $X^2 = 9.50$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.27).

**Table 3.27: Citizen demeanor and officers' attitude toward use of force (N = 472)**

	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable
	Weighted Percent		
Aggressive	22.4	35.9	41.6
Passive	31.3	23.8	44.9
$\chi^2 = 9.50$	df = 2	p < 0.05	

**Table 3.28: Attack on officer and attitude toward use of force (N = 471)**

	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable
	Weighted Percent		
Officer is attacked	24.5	23.3	52.2
Officer is not attacked	47.3	21.7	31.0
$\chi^2 = 30.10$	df = 2	p < 0.05	

*Attack on officer*

The literature suggests that physical assault on officer, independent of citizen demeanor, influences police response (Klinger, 1994; Lundman, 1996, p. 306; Worden and Shepard, 1996, p.99; Klinger, 1996).

Current findings, supporting the literature, revealed a significant relationship between assault on officer and justification of use of force. While the support for use of force against a suspect when an officer is attacked was 76 percent (sum of somewhat

reasonable and reasonable cells), it decreased to 53 percent when the officer was not attacked ( $X^2 = 30.10$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.28).

### *Officer behavior*

Just as a citizen's behavior has a potential to influence an officer's response, an officer's approach to a suspect has also been suggested to have significant impact on police use of force (Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.489; Binder and Scharf, 1980, p.111; Sykes and Brent, 1984; Bayley and Bittner, 1984, p. 44; Sykes and Brent, 1980, p. 185 and 194).

In order to measure the impact of an officer's initial approach to a citizen on the conception of reasonable force the survey provided a case of a traffic stop where in one version of the scenario the officer humiliated and provoked the citizen and in the other version initiated a formal contact using a commanding voice. Both versions continued with escalating arguments and violence between the officer and the driver, and finally the officer handcuffed the driver in order to control the situation. 95 percent of the officers who responded to the provocative officer version of the scenario conceived the amount of force used by the officer as unreasonable, compared to 68 percent of the officers who responded to the other version of the scenario where the officer initiated a formal contact and used a commanding voice ( $X^2 = 55.68$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.29). The findings revealed that when an officer acts provocatively, his actions and the force he uses in order to control the violent situation that he caused receive almost no support from his peers.

**Table 3.29: Officer behavior and attitude toward use of force (N = 461)**

	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable
	Weighted Percent		
Non-provocative	67.4	21.5	11.2
Provocative	94.5	1.8	3.7
$\chi^2 = 55.68$	df = 2	p < 0.05	

**Table 3.30: Offender's sobriety and officers' attitude toward use of force (N = 410)**

	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable
	Weighted Percent		
Sober	47.3	21.7	31.0
Intoxicated	43.5	33.2	23.4
$\chi^2 = 7.43$	df = 2	p < 0.05	

*Intoxicated citizen*

The literature suggests that intoxication (Croft, 1985, p. 104; Friedrich, 1980, p.91; Worden (1996, p.37) heavily affects citizen behavior and contributes to officer use of force decision.

This survey used the assault scenario in order to measure this relationship and asked the respondents an additional question about what would be their conception of reasonable force if the suspect in the scenario were intoxicated (one version of the question stated "under the influence of drugs" and the other stated "under the influence

of alcohol"). Only one of the two analyses revealed a significant outcome (under the influence of alcohol) showing a slight negative attitude toward intoxicated suspect ( $X^2 = 7.43$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.30).

#### *Seriousness of offence*

The general view is that force and excessive force is more likely to be justified against serious offenders (Alpert and Smith, 1994, p. 494-495; Friedrich, 1980, p.90-91; Worden, 1996, p.37; Croft, 1985, p.67-72) and morally reprehensible persons, such as child molesters (Hunt, 1985; Lester, 1996, p.187).

The survey findings regarding seriousness of offense and conception of reasonable force fall into a gray area. The results showed a slight tendency toward more justification of use of force against violent and morally reprehensible criminals (characterized by a person suspected of raping and murdering a six year old girl) (82 percent) compared to non-violent criminals (characterized by a person involved in a series of thefts) (79 percent), but the findings were not significant at 0.05 alpha level ( $X^2 = 4.68$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p = 0.97$  – table is not presented here).

#### *Situational risk assessment*

The conception of threat and officers' response to threat is important to understanding officer's use of force decision in a given case. Officer's perception of threat or risk of injury and seriousness of that threat have been suggested to have an impact on the level and amount of force used by officers (Alpert and Smith, 1994, p.490; Lester et al., 1980; Corrigan et al. 1980; Lester, 1996, p.185-187; Knutsson, 2004).

**Table 3.31: Situational risk assessment and attitude toward use of force (N = 432)**

	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
Low risk	24.5	34.0	17.0	24.5
Moderate risk	4.9	17.5	63.2	14.3
High risk	-	16.0	42.3	41.7
$\chi^2 = 98.54$	df = 6	p < 0.05		

The survey provides strong support for the relationship between perceived risk of injury in specific cases and justification of use of force. The findings revealed that as the perceived risk of injury increases in a given case, officers' support for use of force increases as well. About 42 percent of the officers who considered the risk of injury in the four case scenarios "low," 78 percent of the officers who considered the risk of injury in the four case scenarios "moderate," and 84 percent of the officers who considered the risk of injury in the scenarios "high" conceived uses of force in these four scenarios as "reasonable" or "very reasonable" ( $\chi^2 = 98.54$ ; df = 6; p < 0.05) (see Table 3.31).

#### **Uncontrolled effects of organizational and cultural factors on officer's attitudes toward use of force**

The dependent variable in the following analyses is again the index of attitude toward use of force. The index has "very unreasonable," "unreasonable," "reasonable," and "very reasonable" categories reflecting participants' overall perceptions of reasonable force measured by their responses to the ten scenarios in the survey.

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*Type of unit*

The Human Rights Foundation of Turkey has long claimed that police abuse of force cases were disproportionately high in police anti-terrorism and crime prevention units, and in the Southeastern provinces of Turkey, where the Emergency State rules were implemented for over the last two decades (i.e. Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, 1994, p. 31; 1996, p.26; 1997, p. 23; 1998, p. 25; 1999, p. 28; 2000, p. 23; 2001, p. 31; 2003, p. 137). For a long period of time, officers deployed in these units, especially in anti-terrorism units, and Southeastern provinces of Turkey have been left under the suspicion of being brutal and reckless.<sup>4</sup>

The comparison of officers deployed in anti-terrorism and crime prevention units with officers from other units revealed significant but moderate differences. Contrary to the claims of the Human Rights Foundation, officers deployed in crime prevention units (precincts and detective bureaus) were less supportive of use of force against the suspects presented in the case scenarios. 57 percent of the officers in crime prevention units, compared to 72 percent of the officers working in other units, conceived use of force in the case scenarios as “reasonable” or “very reasonable” ( $X^2 = 8.81$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.32.a). The approval rate among officers deployed in anti-terrorism and intelligence units were moderately higher (79 percent) compared to officers in other units (66 percent) ( $X^2 = 14.32$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.32.b).

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<sup>4</sup> For instance according to the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (2001, p. 31-32) officers deployed in precincts were responsible for about 8 percent (70 cases) of the all complaints of abusive behaviors by state agents (including the police, the gendarmerie and prisons) in 2001. On the other hand, officers in anti-terrorism department were accused of being responsible for about 52 percent (470 cases) of all complains.

**Table 3.32.a: Unit assignments and attitude toward use of force (N = 436)**

	<b>Very Unreasonable</b>	<b>Unreasonable</b>	<b>Reasonable</b>	<b>Very Reasonable</b>
	Weighted Percent			
Crime prevention units	6.3	36.6	44.6	12.5
Other units	3.1	25.0	56.5	15.4
$X^2 = 8.81$	df = 3	p < 0.05		

**Table 3.32.b: Unit assignments and attitude toward use of force (N = 438)**

	<b>Very Unreasonable</b>	<b>Unreasonable</b>	<b>Reasonable</b>	<b>Very Reasonable</b>
	Weighted Percent			
Anti-terrorism and intelligence units	-	20.9	73.1	6.0
Other units	4.6	29.4	49.9	16.2
$X^2 = 14.32$	df = 3	p < 0.05		

**Table 3.33: Regional assignments and attitude toward use of force (N = 438)**

	<b>Very Unreasonable</b>	<b>Unreasonable</b>	<b>Reasonable</b>	<b>Very Reasonable</b>
	Weighted Percent			
Southern provinces	-	35.4	63.1	1.5
Other provinces	4.9	25.4	52.7	17.0
$X^2 = 15.29$	df = 3	p < 0.05		

Considering the regional assignment of officers the survey revealed a significant relationship between regional assignment of officers and officers' attitudes toward use of force. Again, contrary to the claims of the Human Rights Foundation, 65 percent of the officers deployed in the Southeastern provinces of Turkey, compared to 70 percent of the officers in other provinces of the country, perceived police use of force presented in the scenarios justifiable based on the information provided in each case ( $X^2 = 15.29$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.33).

Although the survey identified some significant differences across the units and geographical regions, these differences are in the opposite direction or not large enough to indicate any parallels with the claims of the Human Rights Foundation. The findings do not support the claims of the foundation implying that officers deployed in certain units and regions are more prone to tolerate force and excessive force against suspects in their jurisdictions.

#### *Department leadership's orientation*

Department leadership orientation has been suggested to have a significant effect on officers' use of force patterns (Worden, 1996, p. 44-45). The analyses of the current data did not reveal a meaningful relationship between department leadership's orientation and attitudes of officers toward use of force. Although some of the analyses resulted in significant outcomes, these findings were not consistent with any theoretical explanation. Crime fighting and service orientations concepts are new for the Turkish police. Perhaps the concepts were not self explanatory for the respondents as they are not yet commonly used terms among the police.

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*Cultural elements of policing: cultural norms of force, cultural alienation (us versus them syndrome) and attitudes toward organizational norms*

The literature suggests that informal standards or cultural norms of force significantly influence and help officers shape their own conception of reasonable and excessive force (Van Maanen, 1983, p.397; McNamara, 1967, p.241; Toch, 1996, p. 99; Hunt, 1985; Lester, 1996, p.186-187).

The survey data provide very strong evidence regarding the relationship between officers' own conceptions and their beliefs about other officers' conceptions of reasonable force. About 84 percent of the officers, who believed that other officers would perceive the use of force presented in the case scenarios inappropriate conceived use of force "very unreasonable" or "unreasonable". Likewise, about 80 percent of the officers who believed that other officers would perceive the use of force presented in the case scenarios reasonable, conceived use of force presented in the scenarios as "reasonable" or "very reasonable" ( $X^2= 155.40$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.34).

Scholars have suggested that cultural alienation or "us versus them syndrome" influence police use of force decision and behavior (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993; Walker, 1977; White, 1986; Betz, 1988, p. 182-183; Crank, 1998, p. 69-70; Christopher Commission Report, 1991, p.98; Greenspan et al., 1997a, p. 135; Greenspan et al., 1997b, p. 177-180)

**Table 3.34: Cultural norms of force and attitude toward use of force (N = 426)**

Officers' beliefs about other officers' perceptions of appropriateness of force	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
Unreasonable	20.0	63.5	16.5	-
Reasonable	-	19.9	61.3	18.8
$\chi^2 = 155.40$ $df = 3$ $p < 0.05$				

**Table 3.35: Cultural alienation and attitude toward use of force (N = 431)**

No one else can understand the real nature of police work	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
Disagree	8.4	39.8	50.6	1.2
Somewhat agree	5.5	32.0	50.8	11.7
Agree	1.4	22.7	54.1	21.8
$\chi^2 = 34.14$ $df = 6$ $p < 0.05$				

**Table 3.36: Attitude towards organizational norms and use of force (N = 436)**

Always following the rules is not compatible with getting the job done	Very Unreasonable	Unreasonable	Reasonable	Very Reasonable
	Weighted Percent			
Disagree	.4	27.3	55.8	16.5
Somewhat agree	6.5	29.6	40.7	23.1
Agree	10.3	28.9	59.8	1.0
$\chi^2 = 40.57$ $df = 6$ $p < 0.05$				

The survey asked the participants how they agree with the statement of “No one else can understand the real nature of police work. Lawyers, academics, politicians, and the public in general have little concept of what it means to be a police officer.” Admittedly this is a very simplistic measurement of a very complex concept such as cultural alienation. Yet, the analyses revealed a significant relationship between this simplistic measurement of cultural alienation and attitude toward use of force. The findings show that officers who feel culturally more detached are more likely to approve use of force. About 52 percent of those who disagreed, 62 percent of those who were somewhat agreed, and 76 percent of those who agreed with the above statement conceived use of force in the case scenarios as “reasonable” or “very reasonable” ( $X^2=34.14$ ;  $df = 6$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.35).

Another cultural phenomenon called the “Dirty Harry dilemma,” which refers to a tendency toward violating organizational norms for achieving morally good ends, has been suggested to have significant effect on police use of force decisions (Klockars (1980, p. 37; Weisburd et al., 1998, p. 54; Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, p. 107; Herzog, 2000, p.429-430).

The survey revealed significant but contradictory findings to the literature. Officers who believed that organizational norms can be violated sometimes in order to accomplish the tasks were less supportive of use of force in the case scenarios (61 percent and 64 percent of the officers who agreed and somewhat agreed with the survey item), compared to officers who did not (72 percent of the officers who agreed with the statement) ( $X^2= 40.57$ ;  $df = 6$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 3.35). One possible explanation for this contradictory outcome might be the weakness of the wording of the survey item. The

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survey asked the respondents whether they agree with the statement: "Always following the rules is not compatible with getting the job done." The survey item (at least the Turkish translation of the item) was not clear enough to indicate the difference between being flexible when applying organizational norms and violating the norms recklessly to achieve supposedly morally good ends. Perhaps the participants have taken the survey item in terms of being flexible rather than acting recklessly. Then, the survey findings should be interpreted as those who are flexible toward organizational norms are less supportive of use of force compared to those who are in favor of strictly following the rules.

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**Controlled effects of officer characteristics, offender characteristics, situational factors, and organizational factors on officers' attitudes towards use of force**

Eleven multinomial logistic regression<sup>5</sup> analyses were performed in order to explore the controlled effects of the independent variables on officers' attitudes toward use of force. The first two sections below provide descriptive information on the dependent and independent variables that are included in the models. The next two sections present model specifications and discuss model fits. The remaining sections present the findings and provide brief discussions on the findings.

*Dependent variables*

Officers' own conceptions of reasonable force served as dependent variables in the models. There were ten scenarios in the survey. After each scenario officers were asked "How reasonable do you consider the force used by the officer in this case to be?" The responses for these items were categorized as 1 = "unreasonable," 2 = "somewhat reasonable," and 3 = "reasonable." Officers' responses to the first case scenario were coded as "attitude\_1" variable and used as the dependent variable in the first model. The same steps were followed for Model-2 through Model-10.

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<sup>5</sup> Dependent variables that are used in the multivariate analyses, in fact, are ordinal measurements. Therefore, I started my preliminary analyses by using various ordinal logistic regression models. However, several of these models did not reveal satisfactory fit. Goodness of fit chi-square test statistics were large and significance levels were small, where we expect the opposite in a good fitting model (see Norusis, 2005, p. 78). The testing of parallel lines in these models also revealed that the lines were not parallel, an outcome which we do not want in an ordinal logit either (see Norusis, 2005, p. 74, and Greenberg, 2004). The ordinal logit diagnostics revealed that we cannot trust the results from these models; therefore multinomial logistic regression is employed as an alternative procedure (Greenberg, 2004).

**Table 3.37: Dependent variables in the models**

Variable	N	Coding	Frequency	% (Weighted)
Attitude 1	451	1 Unreasonable	100	(22.1%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by offender's gender scenario (scenario 1)		2 Somewhat reasonable	244	(53.9%)
		3 Reasonable	108	(23.9%)
Attitude 2	468	1 Unreasonable	231	(49.2%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by offender's age scenario (scenario 2)		2 Somewhat reasonable	78	(16.6%)
		3 Reasonable	160	(34.2%)
Attitude 3	465	1 Unreasonable	149	(32.1%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by offender's social class scenario (scenario 3)		2 Somewhat reasonable	107	(23.0%)
		3 Reasonable	209	(44.9%)
Attitude 4	475	1 Unreasonable	87	(18.3%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by offender's physical size scenario (scenario 4)		2 Somewhat reasonable	333	(70.2%)
		3 Reasonable	55	(11.5%)
Attitude 5	472	1 Unreasonable	39	(8.3%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by repeat offender scenario (scenario 5)		2 Somewhat reasonable	363	(77.0%)
		3 Reasonable	70	(14.7%)
Attitude 6	472	1 Unreasonable	126	(26.7%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by citizen demeanor scenario (scenario 6)		2 Somewhat reasonable	204	(43.2%)
		3 Reasonable	142	(30.1%)
Attitude 7	472	1 Unreasonable	168	(35.5%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by attack on officer scenario (scenario 7)		2 Somewhat reasonable	199	(42.1%)
		3 Reasonable	105	(22.3%)
Attitude 8	372	1 Unreasonable	114	(30.6%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by intoxicated suspect scenario (scenario 8)		2 Somewhat reasonable	156	(42.0%)
		3 Reasonable	102	(27.5%)
Attitude 9	462	1 Unreasonable	370	(80.2%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by officer response scenario (scenario 9)		2 Somewhat reasonable	35	(7.5%)
		3 Reasonable	57	(12.3%)
Attitude 10	458	1 Unreasonable	90	(19.7%)
Attitude toward use of force measured by seriousness of crime scenario (scenario 10)		2 Somewhat reasonable	268	(58.4%)
		3 Reasonable	101	(21.9%)
Attitude Index	437	1 Unreasonable	30	(6.9%)
Index of attitude toward use of force		2 Somewhat reasonable	251	(57.4%)
		3 Reasonable	156	(35.7%)

In the last model (Model 11) the index of reasonable force was used as the dependent variable. This additive index was computed by obtaining the sum of scores from the ten items measuring officers' own conceptions of reasonable force. The scores on the index varied between 8 and 40. Scores between 8 and 19 were coded as 1 = "unreasonable," scores between 20 and 28 were coded as 2 = "somewhat reasonable," and scores between 29 and 40 were coded as 3 = "reasonable," and used as the dependent variable in this final model (see Table 3.37).

#### *Independent variables*

##### *Offender characteristics and situational factors*

As described in the methodology chapter, the survey used ten police use of force scenarios in order to measure officers' attitudes toward use of force. Each scenario had two different versions simulating variations on a single offender characteristic (i.e. gender, age, physical size, etc.) or a situational factor (i.e. assault on officer, citizen demeanor, offender's sobriety, etc.). In other words, the two different versions of each scenario represented the two attributes of an offender characteristic or a situational factor variable. Officers participating in the survey were randomly assigned into two groups, received one version of the scenarios, and were asked the same set of case scenario assessment items.

**Table 3.38: Independent variables included in the models**

Variable	N	Coding	Frequency	% (Weighted)
<i>Citizen / offender characteristics</i>				
Gender (female)	461	0 Male	235	(50.9%)
		1 Female	226	(49.1%)
Age (young)	468	0 Adult	235	(50.2%)
		1 Young	233	(49.8%)
Social class (middleclass)	465	0 Lower class	226	(48.6%)
		1 Middle class	239	(51.4%)
Physical size (large physical size)	470	0 55-65 kg, 165 cm male	236	(50.1%)
		1 120-130 kg, 190 cm male	234	(49.9%)
Prior offense	471	0 No known prior offenses	238	(50.5%)
		1 Known prior offence	233	(49.5%)
<i>Situational factors</i>				
Citizen demeanor (aggressive)	471	0 Passive	238	(50.5%)
		1 Aggressive	233	(49.5%)
Attack on officer	471	0 No attack on officer	238	(50.5%)
		1 Attack on officer	233	(49.5%)
Intoxicated citizen	413	0 Sober	238	(57.6%)
		1 Intoxicated	175	(42.3%)
Officer behavior (provocative)	467	0 Non-provocative	230	(49.2%)
		1 Provocative	237	(50.8%)
Seriousness of offence (violent)	465	0 Non-violent	228	(49.0%)
		1 Violent	237	(51.0%)
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>				
Experience	475	0 10 years or less	244	(51.5%)
		1 11 years or more	231	(48.5%)
Weekly work hours	468	0 45 hours a week or less	207	(44.3%)
		1 46 hours a week or more	261	(55.7%)
Perceived work load	475	0 Not heavy	138	(29.1%)
		1 Heavy	337	(70.9%)
Job related past injury	468	0 Not injured	284	(59.9%)
		1 Injured	184	(38.7%)
Job satisfaction	455	0 Dissatisfied	112	(24.6%)
		1 Satisfied	343	(75.4%)
Financial satisfaction	475	0 Dissatisfied	208	(43.7%)
		1 Satisfied	267	(56.3%)

**Table 3.38: Independent variables included in the models (continued)**

Variable	N	Coding	Frequency	% (Weighted)
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions (continued)</i>				
Perceived police-public cooperation	469	0 Not cooperative	242	(51.6%)
		1 Cooperative	227	(48.4%)
Perceived risk of injury (index)	441	4 Lowest risk score	14.01 <sup>a</sup>	(3.23) <sup>a</sup>
		20 Highest risk score		
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>				
Unit (crime prevention)	475	0 Other units	345	(72.7%)
		1 Crime prevention units	130	(27.3%)
Unit (anti-terrorism)	475	0 Other units	395	(83.2%)
		1 Anti-terrorism units	80	(16.8%)
Region (southern)	447	0 Other	378	(84.6%)
		1 Southern province	69	(15.4%)
Attitude toward organizational norms	465	0 Strict	254	(54.7%)
		1 Flexible	210	(45.3%)
Cultural alienation	462	0 Feels not alienated	221	(47.9%)
		1 Feels alienated	240	(52.1%)
Cultural norms of use of force (index)	446	8 Lowest score (Unreasonable)	28.16 <sup>a</sup>	(4.45) <sup>a</sup>
		40 Highest score (Reasonable)		

<sup>a</sup> Cell entries are the means and the standard deviations in parenthesis.

The first scenario in the survey aimed at measuring the impact of offender's gender on officers' attitudes toward use of force. One group of officers (group A) received female offender scenario, and the other group (group B) received the exact same scenario with male offender. Therefore, for officers in group A, offender gender was coded as 1 = "female" and for the other group as 0 = "male."

In the second scenario, the survey aimed at measuring the impact of age. One of the groups (group A) responded to the "young offender" version of the scenario and offender's age for this group was coded as 1. For the other group responding to the "adult offender" version of the scenario, offender's age was coded as 0.

The third scenario characterized a middle class suspect as a local business owner, and a lower/working class suspect as a worker in a local manufacturing business. For officers responding to the first version of the scenario (local business owner) suspect's social class was coded as 1, for the other group as 0.

The fourth scenario described a 65 kg, 165 cm male suspect in one version and a 120 kg, 190 cm male in the other version in order to measure the impact of suspect's physical size on officers' attitudes toward use of force. For officers responding to the first version of the scenario (group B) (65 kg, 165 cm male suspect) suspect's physical size was coded as 0, for the other group as 1.

In the fifth scenario participants were provided with a case of breaking into an automobile. In one version of the scenario the suspect was a repeat offender known by the officers arriving at the scene. "Prior offense" variable was coded as 1 for officers who received this version of the scenario. In the other version, the survey excluded prior arrest information from the scenario. For officers responding to this version of the scenario, "prior offense" variable was coded as 0.

Scenarios six through ten aimed at measuring the impact of various situational factors on officers' attitudes toward use of force. Scenario number six simulated a domestic violence case where in one version the suspect was passive resistant (coded as 0) and in the other was aggressive. For officers responding to these scenarios citizen demeanor was coded as 0 and 1 respectively.

Scenario number seven was designed to measure the impact of physical attack on officer. One version of the scenario characterized a suspect verbally assaulting

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officers at the scene but not displaying any physical threat. The other version involved a physically assaultive suspect. For the group of officers responding to the first version of the scenario (no physical attack) "attack on officer" variable" was coded as 0. For the other group the variable was coded as 1.

Scenario number eight aimed at measuring the impact of offender's intoxication on the dependent variable. One group of officers responded to the question where the offender was under the influence of alcohol, and in the alternative case was sober. "Intoxication" variable was coded as 1 for the officers responding to the case of the suspect under the influence of alcohol. For the others, the variable was coded as 0.

Scenario number nine provided officers with a case of a traffic stop where in one version of the scenario the officer was provocative and in the other version he was not. For the officers responding to the provocative officer version "officer response" variable was coded as 1; for the other group it was 0.

The final scenario characterized a violent offender (a suspect of rape and murder of a six-year-old girl) in one version and a non-violent offender (a suspect of a series of thefts) in the other. "Seriousness of crime" variable was coded as 1 for the officers responding to the first version of the scenario, and 0 for the others.

While this design and measurement enabled analyses of the controlled effects of offender characteristics and situational factors in separate models (one offender or situational variable at a time with the dependent variable being officers' own perceptions of reasonable force measured by the respective scenario), it is not possible to include all offender characteristic and situational factor variables into a single model where the

dependent variable is an additive index of attitude toward use of force as in case of Model 11. Since the two random groups of officers stand for a different variable for each case scenario (i.e. gender for the first model, age for the second model, social class for the third model, etc.), in a model where the dependent variable is the additive index of attitude toward use of force, "group" variable stands for a set of offender characteristics and situational factors and has no practical meaning<sup>6</sup>.

*Officer characteristics/perceptions and organizational/cultural factors*

Officer characteristics and organizational factors variables were included in all of the models. Some of these variables were recoded and reduced into dichotomous variables in order to simplify interpretations of the outcomes and avoid some computational problems in multinomial logit.

"Experience" was measured in terms of officers' years in service. The original coding for experience in the data collection instrument was 1 = 1 to 5 years, 2 = 6 to 10 years, 3 = 11 to 15 years, 4 = 16 years and more. For the multinomial logit analyses, the

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<sup>6</sup> Officers were randomly assigned into two sets of scenarios. For instance one group of officers received female, young, middle class etc. scenarios, while the other group received male, adult, lower class scenarios. That means all these variables have constant scores for the two halves of the sample. One possible solution to this problem could have been randomly assigning each scenario, not a set of scenarios, to the participants. In other words, for each scenario we would repeat the randomization process, select a different set of two random groups of officers, and ask the questions. Then, scenario assignments would not be constant across random groups. For example, if you take only the three variables, gender, age, and social class, you will end up with eight different combinations of offender characteristics (1 - female, young, middle class, 2 - female, young, lower class, 3 - female, adult, middle class, etc.) In that case, still using the same survey design, all offender characteristics and situational factor variables could have been included in a single model. Unfortunately, this randomization process is too complex to handle with the survey software and the HTML coding that were used in the data collection process in this study.

variable is reduced into a dichotomy as 0 = 10 years or less experience, 1 = 11 years or more experience.

“Weekly work hours” variable was also measured as a categorical variable (1 = “45 hours a week or less,” 2 = “46-55 hours a week,” 3 = “56-65 hours a week,” 4 = “66 hours a week or more”), These categories were defined based on average weekly work hours in typical shifts that are usually called 12/12, 12/24, and 12/36 referring to the number of on and off-duty hours in a shift cycle. For the multinomial logit analyses, the variable recoded as 0 = 45 hours a week or less, which corresponds to the normal weekly work hours, and 1 = 46 hours a week or more, which corresponds to extended weekly work hours.

“Work load” variable was measured by asking officers “How do you consider your work load to be in your current assignment?” The five response categories in the data collection instrument were coded into two categories as 0 = “not heavy,” and 1 = “heavy” and included in the models.

The survey item measuring “past injury” asked “Have you ever had a job related injury that required treatment?” Officers who reported that they had an injury in the line of duty were coded as 1 and other as 0.

Two survey items, “Considering over all aspects of your current assignment, how satisfied are you with your job?” and “How satisfied are you with your current financial situation?” measured officers’ “job satisfaction” and “financial satisfaction.” The response categories for both variables were 0 = “dissatisfied,” and 1 = “satisfied.”

“Perceived police-public cooperation” was operationalized by asking officers whether they believe citizens in their jurisdiction are willing to cooperate with the police in solving crime problems. Officers’ responses were categorized as 0 = “not cooperative,” and 1 = “cooperative.”

Perceived risk of injury variable is based on officers’ evaluations of situational factors in four cases. Following the case scenarios number 1, 4, 7, and 10, officers were asked to assess the risk of officers being harmed in these case scenarios. An additive index of situational risk was computed based on the scores from these four items. The scores on the index varied between 4 (low risk) and 20 (high risk). The average risk score was 14.01 with a standard deviation of 3.23.

The survey item measuring officers unit assignments had nine predefined categories. In order to introduce this nominal measurement into the models, two dichotomous variables were coded. In one of these dichotomous unit variables, officers deployed in crime prevention units were coded as 1 and others as 0. Similarly, in the second dichotomous unit variable, officers deployed in anti-terrorism units were coded as 1 and others as 0. The two units were particularly selected since officers in these units have been left under the suspicion of being more tolerant of use of force and using excessive force (Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003; also see “Uncontrolled effects of organizational and cultural factors” section above for more detailed discussion).

“Southern” variable refers to the regional distribution of participants. Again, officers deployed in Southeastern provinces of Turkey have long been claimed to be more frequently utilizing coercive policing tactics (Human Rights Foundation of Turkey,

1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003). In order to control the impact of officers' regional assignments on their attitudes toward use of force, participants from Southeastern provinces were assigned a value 1, and others 0.

"Subjective norm of use of force" or "cultural norm of use of force" is measured by asking officers their beliefs about other officers' conceptions of reasonable force. Following eight case scenarios participants were asked "How reasonable would most officers in your agency consider the force used by the officer in this case to be?" Officers' responses to the eight items following the case scenarios were used in computing an index variable. Scores on this index varied between 5 (lowest level of approval of use of force) and 40 (highest level of approval of use of force). The average index score was 28.16 with a standard deviation of 4.45.

Another variable related to organizational culture was "cultural alienation." A survey item asking officers whether they agree with the statement: "No one else can understand the real nature of police work." Officers who reported that they disagree with this statement were categorized as "not feeling alienated" and assigned a value 0. Those who reported that they agree, were categorized as "feeling alienated," and were assigned a value 1.

The last variable in the models was "attitude toward organizational norms." Participants were asked to report whether they agree with the statement: "Always following the rules is not compatible with getting the job done." Officers who disagreed with the statement were categorized as "strict" and coded as 0. Those who agreed were categorized as "flexible," and were assigned value 1.

Rank, training, perceived work stress, perceived police role, and department leadership's orientation variables were not included in the models since bivariate analyses did not reveal meaningful association between these variables and attitude toward use of force<sup>7</sup>.

### *Model specification*

Attitude 1-10 variables served as the dependent variables respectively in the first ten models. In Model 11, attitude index variable served as the dependent variable. All of these dependent variables have three levels: (1) unreasonable, (2) somewhat reasonable, and (3) reasonable. "Somewhat reasonable" was selected as the reference category in all models. Selection of "somewhat reasonable" as the reference category allows exploring the factors diverting officers from the main stream of reasonable force conception, in other words, what makes them more or less favorable of use of force compared to the officers displaying moderate approach. Hence, a general multinomial logit model for the data can be specified as follows:

$$g_1 = \log \left( \frac{P(\text{unreasonable})}{P(\text{somewhatreasonable})} \right) = B_0 + B_1 X_{\text{Group}} + B_2 X_{\text{Experience}} + B_3 X_{\text{W\_hours}} + B_4 X_{\text{W\_load}} + B_5 X_{\text{Injury}} \\ + B_6 X_{\text{Job\_sat}} + B_7 X_{\text{Fin\_sat}} + B_8 X_{\text{Public\_coop.}} + B_9 X_{\text{Risk\_2}} + B_{10} X_{\text{Unit\_1}} + B_{11} X_{\text{Unit\_2}} \\ + B_{12} X_{\text{Southern}} + B_{13} X_{\text{Culturalnorms}} + B_{14} X_{\text{Org\_norms}} + B_{15} X_{\text{Alienation}}$$

$$g_2 = \log \left( \frac{P(\text{unreasonable})}{P(\text{somewhatreasonable})} \right) = B_0 + B_1 X_{\text{Group}} + B_2 X_{\text{Experience}} + B_3 X_{\text{W\_hours}} + B_4 X_{\text{W\_load}} + B_5 X_{\text{Injury}} \\ + B_6 X_{\text{Job\_sat}} + B_7 X_{\text{Fin\_sat}} + B_8 X_{\text{Public\_coop.}} + B_9 X_{\text{Risk\_2}} + B_{10} X_{\text{Unit\_1}} + B_{11} X_{\text{Unit\_2}} \\ + B_{12} X_{\text{Southern}} + B_{13} X_{\text{Culturalnorms}} + B_{14} X_{\text{Org\_norms}} + B_{15} X_{\text{Alienation}}$$

<sup>7</sup> These variables were included in preliminary multinomial logit models. None of these variables revealed meaningful coefficients after controlling for other variables in the models. Dropping these variables did not significantly reduced Pseudo R-square statistics.

where, for Models 1 through 10, the dependent variable is the attitude toward use of force measured by respective scenarios and the attitude index for Model 11, and  $X_{\text{Group}}$  stands for a different offender characteristic or situational factor variable in each model (except for Model 11).

#### *Model fits and predicted probabilities*

Log-likelihood statistics for all of the specified models were significant. Final models are significantly better than the intercept-only model. In other words, the predictors introduced in the models explained significant amount of variation in the dependent variables (see Tables 3.41 through 3.51 for log-likelihood statistics and chi-square tests for each model).

The models offered good fit to the data. Pseudo- $R^2$  statistics ranged from the lowest 47 percent in Model-1 (also in Model-3 and Model-10) to the highest 69 percent in Model-11, meaning that, in Model-1 the predictors explained 47 percent of the variation in attitude toward use of force measured by the first scenario (attitude\_1), and, in Model 11, the predictors explained 69 percent of the variation in the index of attitude toward use of force (see Tables 3.41 through 3.51 for Pseudo- $R^2$  statistics for each model).

The classification table (Table 3.39) also indicates a good fit. The table displays the results from comparisons of observed and predicted groups for each model. Overall all models did good / very good in predicting the distribution of subjects across the levels of dependent variables. For example, Model 1 correctly identified 62.5 percent of the officers who reported that the amount of force used in scenario 1 was “unreasonable.”

**Table 3.39: Percent of cases predicted correctly by the models**

	Percent predicted correct			
	Unreasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable	Overall
Model 1	62.5%	51.4%	91.0%	75.3%
Model 2	79.6%	69.0%	77.6%	75.6%
Model 3	70.8%	35.7%	76.0%	66.2%
Model 4	59.6%	14.4%	95.1%	79.1%
Model 5	74.4%	48.5%	96.4%	86.7%
Model 6	42.7%	60.8%	90.3%	70.6%
Model 7	84.5%	54.3%	89.6%	80.3%
Model 8	80.5%	56.1%	95.6%	83.7%
Model 9	98.8%	68.2%	74.2%	92.9%
Model 10	68.4%	38.2%	85.2%	71.8%
Model 11	70.4%	88.6%	88.9%	87.2%

The model correctly predicted 91 percent of the officers who reported that the force used in the scenario 1 was “reasonable.” The prediction rate for the “somewhat reasonable” category was relatively low (51.4 percent). Overall, Model one correctly predicted 75.3 percent of the subjects. Overall prediction rates for the other models varied between 66.2 percent in Model 3 and 92.9 in Model 9.

**Table 3.40: Likelihood ratio tests for the multinomial logit models**

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Intercept	537.97***	519.41***	607.41***	370.25***	309.14***	570.67***	489.99***	480.59***	252.42***	512.06***	397.11***
<i>Citizen / offender characteristics</i>											
Offender's gender	513.03*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Offender's age	-	568.95***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Offender's social class	-	-	540.02**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Offender's physical size	-	-	-	365.34***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Repeat offender	-	-	-	-	302.37	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Situational factors</i>											
Citizen demeanor	-	-	-	-	-	512.38***	-	-	-	-	-
Attack on officer	-	-	-	-	-	-	402.48***	-	-	-	-
Offender's sobriety	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	412.94***	-	-	-
Officer's response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	271.84***	-	-
Seriousness of crime	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	493.86***	-
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>											
Experience	510.36	506.82	540.09**	361.28***	306.05***	503.15**	380.65*	386.36	230.12**	498.66***	239.35
Weekly work hours	526.54***	531.80***	539.55**	350.82	305.99***	526.55***	408.60***	410.07***	225.42	489.65**	250.84***
Perceived work load	517.65***	504.93	535.53	367.35***	311.37***	502.98**	417.06***	385.94	251.14***	495.42***	288.80***
Job related past injury	512.92	527.19***	539.77**	358.43***	298.13	499.23	397.11***	391.06*	258.68***	484.34	237.02
Job satisfaction	542.50***	519.13***	532.83	361.15***	299.29	509.98***	410.58***	397.48***	224.01	505.74***	235.97
Financial satisfaction	530.22***	506.96	542.67***	352.95	299.04	498.49	406.54***	393.64**	275.12***	510.62***	237.18
Police-public cooperation	551.62***	523.02***	545.13***	351.98	298.90	499.44	394.35***	406.29***	242.48***	511.27***	236.15
Perceived risk of injury	513.59*	502.81	539.52**	358.57***	302.49**	498.52	396.30***	433.87***	231.81***	516.48***	268.96***
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>											
Unit (crime prevention)	511.48	505.64	553.55***	359.89***	301.23*	524.49***	407.62***	407.53***	230.54**	485.04	237.90
Unit (anti-terrorism)	514.95**	503.92	571.75***	374.63***	304.36***	527.48***	376.60	393.22**	258.91***	489.04**	240.94*
Region (southern)	509.26	526.83***	538.34*	374.83***	340.77***	513.09***	404.71***	389.52	227.78*	510.06***	235.87
Cultural norms of force	539.09**	526.20***	617.74***	405.69***	354.02***	594.72***	447.03***	435.39***	253.43***	508.25***	365.58***
Organizational norms	510.74	516.16***	535.41	365.99***	296.98	498.43	391.18***	390.69*	228.17*	486.99*	235.83
Cultural alienation	510.57	514.25***	539.99**	348.93	296.01	528.47***	383.10**	419.30***	223.00	496.82***	246.52***

“-“ Not included in the model; \* p < 0.10; \*\* p < 0.05; \*\*\* p < 0.01

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Likelihood ratio tests (see Table 3.40) show that several individual predictors made significant contribution in explaining attitude toward use of force. Generally consistent with the bivariate analyses presented earlier, except for repeat offender variable, (Model 5) all citizen/offender characteristics and situational factor variables were significant. Offender's social class and seriousness of crime variables, which were not significant in bivariate analyses, gained significance after controlling for other predictors in the models.

The significance of officer characteristics and organizational factors varied across the models. It is eye-catching that "cultural norms of force" variable was significant in all models. The findings from Model 11, where the dependent variable was the attitude index, should be considered to be more reliable, since other models are based on a single attitude item (one attitude question following each scenario), while the attitude index is a summary of all these items. Weekly work hours, perceived work load, perceived risk of injury, unit assignments (anti-terrorism unit), cultural norms of force, and cultural alienation were significant predictors of officers' attitudes toward use of force identified in Model 11.

**Table 3.41: Model 1 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 1)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	-1.11	1.98		-7.72**	1.82	
<i>Citizen / offender characteristics</i>						
Offender's gender	1.00*	.46	2.72	.65	.38	1.91
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	-.67	.47	.51	-.21	.38	.81
Weekly work hours	.74	.45	2.10	1.54**	.39	4.67
Perceived work load	-.07	.50	.93	1.05*	.44	2.86
Job related past injury	-.95*	.49	.39	-.68	.37	.51
Job satisfaction	4.11**	.82	60.69	1.91**	.73	6.76
Financial satisfaction	-1.35**	.49	.26	.41	.41	1.51
Police-public cooperation	-3.31**	.70	.04	-1.15	.66	.32
Perceived risk of injury	-.09	.07	.91	.04	.07	1.04
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	.81	.50	2.26	.18	.46	1.20
Unit (anti-terrorism)	-1.56*	.65	.21	-.91*	.46	.40
Region (southern)	-.31	.60	.73	-.56	.53	.57
Cultural norms of force	.08	.06	1.08	.23**	.05	1.25
Organizational norms	-.03	.43	.97	-.50	.36	.61
Cultural alienation	-.73	.47	.48	-.28	.37	.75

N = 367

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .47Log-likelihood = 508.11; X<sup>2</sup> = 235.65; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05

\*\* p &lt; 0.01

**Table 3.42: Model 2 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 2)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	.95	1.73		-5.91**	1.79	
<i>Citizen / offender characteristics</i>						
Offender's age	.79*	.38	2.20	-2.24**	.41	.11
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	.72	.40	2.06	-.08	.41	.92
Weekly work hours	-.35	.41	.71	1.78**	.41	5.95
Perceived work load	-.57	.41	.56	.06	.51	1.07
Job related past injury	-1.89**	.42	.15	-.29	.42	.75
Job satisfaction	2.56**	.67	12.97	1.08	.63	2.95
Financial satisfaction	-.08	.37	.92	.77	.42	2.17
Police-public cooperation	-1.69**	.47	.19	.13	.54	1.14
Perceived risk of injury	.00	.06	1.00	.03	.06	1.03
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	.70	.45	2.02	-.03	.49	.97
Unit (anti-terrorism)	-.63	.57	.53	-.26	.49	.77
Region (southern)	2.30**	.59	9.97	-.18	.64	.84
Cultural norms of force	-.03	.05	.97	.19**	.05	1.20
Organizational norms	-.83*	.36	.43	-1.38**	.41	.25
Cultural alienation	-1.22**	.38	.29	-.75*	.39	.47

N = 374

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .57Log-likelihood = 502.60; X<sup>2</sup> = 317.35; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05

\*\* p &lt; 0.01

**Table 3.43: Model 3 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 3)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	8.55**	2.23		-6.50**	1.97	
<i>Citizen / offender characteristics</i>						
Offender's social class	.86*	.43	2.37	-.13	.36	.88
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	.01	.44	1.01	.83**	.36	2.28
Weekly work hours	-.57	.42	.56	.38	.37	1.46
Perceived work load	.80	.52	2.22	.66	.45	1.94
Job related past injury	1.13*	.51	3.10	1.10*	.46	3.00
Job satisfaction	.23	.66	1.26	.16	.53	1.18
Financial satisfaction	-1.27**	.48	.28	-.09	.40	.92
Police-public cooperation	1.26**	.50	3.53	1.38**	.43	3.99
Perceived risk of injury	-.17**	.07	.84	-.11*	.06	.89
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	1.27*	.62	3.57	2.30**	.60	10.00
Unit (anti-terrorism)	-3.04**	.70	.05	.36	.43	1.43
Region (southern)	.82	.55	2.27	-.45	.49	.64
Cultural norms of force	-.25**	.07	.77	.21**	.06	1.23
Organizational norms	.65	.45	1.91	.57	.39	1.77
Cultural alienation	-.50	.42	.60	.46	.36	1.58

N = 371

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .47Log-likelihood = 532.67; X<sup>2</sup> = 233.67 ; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05

\*\* p &lt; 0.01

**Table 3.44: Model 4 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 4)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	15.02**	3.44		6.58**	2.29	
<i>Citizen / offender characteristics</i>						
Offender's physical size	-2.02**	.79	.13	.38	.46	1.46
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	1.20	.83	3.31	-.86**	.43	.42
Weekly work hours	-.96	.68	.38	-.56	.47	.57
Perceived work load	.27	.80	1.31	1.94**	.58	6.93
Job related past injury	-.32	.78	.73	1.08*	.50	2.94
Job satisfaction	3.76**	1.23	43.14	.80	.58	2.23
Financial satisfaction	.31	.77	1.36	-.66	.49	.52
Police-public cooperation	1.20	.72	3.33	.29	.50	1.33
Perceived risk of injury	-.30**	.12	.74	.00	.07	1.00
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	1.58	1.24	4.85	2.46*	1.02	11.70
Unit (anti-terrorism)	-5.25**	1.82	.01	-1.97**	.51	.14
Region (southern)	4.06**	1.00	58.05	.45	.59	1.57
Cultural norms of force	-.59**	.10	.56	-.23**	.06	.80
Organizational norms	2.76**	.74	15.85	1.03	.54	2.81
Cultural alienation	.21	.63	1.23	.23	.43	1.25

N = 374

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .49Log-likelihood = 348.65; X<sup>2</sup> = 252.82; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05

\*\* p &lt; 0.01

**Table 3.45: Model 5 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 5)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	12.72**	4.65		-2.18	1.98	
<i>Citizen / offender characteristics</i>						
Repeat offender	-1.90	1.35	.15	.67	.41	1.96
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	.88	1.42	2.40	-1.16**	.42	.31
Weekly work hours	-2.38**	.92	.09	-1.14*	.47	.32
Perceived work load	3.36**	1.25	28.69	1.64**	.51	5.13
Job related past injury	.34	1.00	1.40	-.54	.41	.58
Job satisfaction	-.60	1.73	.55	-1.11	.61	.33
Financial satisfaction	1.67	1.13	5.30	.51	.41	1.67
Police-public cooperation	1.35	1.51	3.86	-.54	.44	.58
Perceived risk of injury	-.26	.15	.77	.07	.08	1.08
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	-2.62	1.42	.07	.35	.51	1.42
Unit (anti-terrorism)	-4.86*	2.44	.01	-.57	.44	.57
Region (southern)	.40	1.57	1.50	-3.14**	.53	.04
Cultural norms of force	-.50**	.14	.61	.17**	.06	1.18
Organizational norms	-.04	1.01	.96	-.41	.41	.67
Cultural alienation	.08	.96	1.08	.11	.38	1.11

N = 374

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .48Log-likelihood = 295.92; X<sup>2</sup> = 243.99; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05

\*\* p &lt; 0.01

*Offender characteristics and attitude toward use of force*

Offender's gender has significant impact on justification of use of force. Relative to "somewhat reasonable" category, leaving all other conditions equal, a female offender, compared a male offender, increases likelihood of considering use of force as "unreasonable" by 2.72 ( $B = 1.00$ ;  $SE = .46$ ;  $p < .05$ ) (see Table 3.41). In other words, Turkish police officers are more likely to consider use of force against female offenders as "unreasonable." Relative to "somewhat reasonable" category, offender gender has no effect on officers' conceptions of "reasonable" force ( $B = .65$ ;  $SE = .38$ ;  $p > .05$ ).

Offender's age also has significant influence on justification of use of force after controlling for other factors. Relative to the "somewhat reasonable" category, officers are 2.20 times more likely to consider use force against young offenders (characterized with a fourteen year-old boy in the scenario) as "unreasonable" compared to against adults ( $B = .79$ ;  $SE = .38$ ;  $p < .05$ ) (see Table 3.42). Offender's age also decreases probability of "reasonable" force, but its impact is small. Relative to "somewhat reasonable" category, officers participating in the survey were .11 times less likely to consider use of force against young offenders as "reasonable" ( $B = -2.24$ ;  $SE = .41$ ;  $p < .05$ ). When the offender is elderly (characterized with a sixty year-old male in the scenario) officers were slightly (.08 times) less likely to consider use of force as "reasonable" compared to against adult offenders ( $B = -2.50$ ;  $SE = .43$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Being elderly did not significantly influence "unreasonable" force ( $B = 1.12$ ;  $SE = .39$ ;  $p > .05$ ) (The table is not presented).

Bivariate analysis did not find significant association between offender's social class and officers' attitudes toward use of force. After controlling for other variables in

multinomial logit analysis, offender's social class gained significance. Relative to "somewhat reasonable" category, Turkish police officers participating in the survey are 2.37 times more likely to consider use of force against a middle class suspect, characterized with a local business owner in the case scenario, as "unreasonable" compared to a lower/working class suspect, characterized with a worker in a local manufacturing business ( $B = .86$ ;  $SE = .43$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Offender's social class did not affect officers' conceptions of "reasonable" force ( $B = -.13$ ;  $SE = .36$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Offender's physical size slightly influences officers' "unreasonable" force decisions. Relative to "somewhat reasonable" category, officers' participating in the survey were .13 times less likely to consider use of force against physically larger suspects (characterized with a 120 kg, 190 cm male suspect) as "unreasonable" compared to physically smaller suspects (characterized with a 55 kg, 165 cm male suspect) ( $B = -2.02$ ;  $SE = .79$ ;  $p < .05$ ) (see Table 3.44). Relative to "somewhat reasonable" category, offender's physical size did not significantly affect "reasonable" force after controlling for other variables in the model ( $B = .38$ ;  $SE = .46$ ;  $p > .05$ ).

Finally, the signs of the B coefficients for repeat offender variable indicate that being a repeat offender increases the likelihood of justification of use of force against repeat offenders, however the coefficients are not significant at .05 alpha level (for "unreasonable" vs. "somewhat reasonable" comparison: ( $B = -1.90$ ;  $SE = 1.35$ ;  $p = .16$ ); for "reasonable" vs. "somewhat reasonable" comparison: ( $B = .67$ ;  $SE = .41$ ;  $p = .10$ ; see Table 3.45).

**Table 3.46: Model 6 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 6)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	9.74**	2.00		-5.67**	2.04	
<i>Situational factors</i>						
Citizen demeanor	-.48	.38	.62	-1.67**	.44	.19
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	-1.04*	.43	.35	-.78*	.40	.46
Weekly work hours	-1.95**	.43	.14	-1.92**	.43	.15
Perceived work load	-.14	.48	.87	-1.20*	.52	.30
Job related past injury	-.58	.42	.56	.03	.44	1.03
Job satisfaction	-2.35**	.67	.10	-1.15	.62	.32
Financial satisfaction	.54	.44	1.71	-.02	.41	.98
Police-public cooperation	-.06	.46	.94	-.71	.45	.49
Perceived risk of injury	-.09	.07	.91	-.05	.07	.95
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	1.63**	.53	5.13	2.65**	.56	14.21
Unit (anti-terrorism)	1.42**	.48	4.14	2.78**	.54	16.09
Region (southern)	-1.85**	.53	.16	-1.80**	.53	.17
Cultural norms of force	-.16**	.05	.85	.36**	.06	1.43
Organizational norms	-.35	.39	.70	-.61	.44	.54
Cultural alienation	-.38	.40	.68	1.63**	.41	5.10

N = 371

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .54Log-likelihood = 496.42; X<sup>2</sup> = 288.15; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05      \*\* p &lt; 0.01

**Table 3.47: Model 7 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 7)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	15.32**	2.91		-9.31**	2.34	
<i>Situational factors</i>						
Attack on officer	-1.02*	.53	.36	1.44**	.48	4.24
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	1.10*	.54	3.00	.07	.40	1.07
Weekly work hours	-2.84**	.61	.06	-2.30**	.53	.10
Perceived work load	2.01**	.67	7.48	3.36**	.59	28.93
Job related past injury	-2.39**	.62	.09	-.27	.52	.76
Job satisfaction	-3.85**	.83	.02	-3.14**	.69	.04
Financial satisfaction	2.65**	.59	14.11	1.95**	.46	7.00
Police-public cooperation	2.38**	.59	10.86	.83	.50	2.30
Perceived risk of injury	-.32**	.10	.73	.08	.08	1.08
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	2.88**	.86	17.78	3.76**	.82	43.08
Unit (anti-terrorism)	.22	.60	1.24	-.37	.47	.69
Region (southern)	-3.70**	.76	.02	-1.23*	.53	.29
Cultural norms of force	-.33**	.08	.72	.24**	.06	1.27
Organizational norms	-.04	.63	.96	1.70**	.53	5.47
Cultural alienation	-.61	.53	.54	.68	.47	1.96

N = 374

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .67Log-likelihood = 375.55; X<sup>2</sup> = 410.58; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05      \*\* p &lt; 0.01

**Table 3.48: Model 8 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 8)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	10.18**	2.43		-13.58**	3.23	
<i>Situational factors</i>						
Offender's sobriety	-.88*	.44	.42	1.39**	.46	4.01
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	-.01	.47	.99	-.31	.44	.73
Weekly work hours	-.61	.49	.54	-2.03**	.46	.13
Perceived work load	.22	.59	1.24	-.06	.56	.94
Job related past injury	.69	.48	2.00	1.06*	.48	2.88
Job satisfaction	-1.35*	.66	.26	1.01	.68	2.74
Financial satisfaction	.37	.50	1.45	-.99*	.51	.37
Police-public cooperation	1.54**	.52	4.64	-1.01	.56	.36
Perceived risk of injury	-.28**	.09	.76	.41**	.11	1.51
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	-.08	.67	.92	2.37**	.65	10.72
Unit (anti-terrorism)	-1.28*	.59	.28	.29	.53	1.34
Region (southern)	-.51	.61	.60	.76	.60	2.15
Cultural norms of force	-.21**	.07	.81	.25**	.07	1.28
Organizational norms	.00	.46	1.00	.92*	.47	2.52
Cultural alienation	.76	.46	2.13	2.56**	.50	12.97

N = 338

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .59Log-likelihood = 385.70; X<sup>2</sup> = 303.58; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05      \*\* p &lt; 0.01

**Table 3.49: Model 9 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 9)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	11.51**	3.22		-4.79	5.33	
<i>Situational factors</i>						
Officer behavior	4.10**	.91	60.45	2.18	1.18	8.83
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	1.72**	.69	5.59	2.27*	1.04	9.72
Weekly work hours	-.94	.56	.39	-.62	.98	.54
Perceived work load	-3.39**	.77	.03	-3.69**	1.29	.03
Job related past injury	-3.58**	.76	.03	-4.72**	1.22	.01
Job satisfaction	-.54	1.13	.58	-1.82	1.56	.16
Financial satisfaction	-3.82**	1.08	.02	-8.05**	1.50	.00
Police-public cooperation	-.96	.72	.38	2.83*	1.27	17.02
Perceived risk of injury	.12	.09	1.12	-.28	.16	.76
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	-1.63*	.77	.20	.40	1.25	1.50
Unit (anti-terrorism)	-.81	.77	.44	4.80**	1.31	121.90
Region (southern)	.54	.79	1.71	2.55*	1.21	12.84
Cultural norms of force	-.13	.08	.87	.47**	.15	1.60
Organizational norms	-1.23*	.53	.29	-.73	.87	.48
Cultural alienation	.44	.61	1.55	.24	1.03	1.27

N = 374

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .51Log-likelihood = 222.46; X<sup>2</sup> = 264.50; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05      \*\* p &lt; 0.01

**Table 3.50: Model 10 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force (Dependent variable = Attitude 10)**

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	9.88**	2.76		-2.00	1.64	
<i>Situational factors</i>						
Seriousness of crime	-1.09*	.54	.34	.45	.35	1.57
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	-1.74**	.55	.17	-1.25**	.36	.29
Weekly work hours	.02	.52	1.02	-.83*	.37	.43
Perceived work load	1.23*	.60	3.41	1.58**	.45	4.87
Job related past injury	-.08	.50	.92	.44	.40	1.56
Job satisfaction	-3.29**	.89	.04	-2.11**	.52	.12
Financial satisfaction	2.46**	.58	11.68	1.62**	.37	5.08
Police-public cooperation	2.92**	.60	18.62	1.10**	.39	3.01
Perceived risk of injury	-.47**	.10	.63	-.08	.06	.93
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	.70	.62	2.01	.73	.45	2.08
Unit (anti-terrorism)	1.50**	.62	4.49	.28	.48	1.33
Region (southern)	-3.53**	.82	.03	-1.58**	.43	.21
Cultural norms of force	-.13*	.07	.87	.13**	.05	1.13
Organizational norms	.86	.52	2.37	.82*	.39	2.27
Cultural alienation	-.95	.51	.39	.59	.36	1.81

N = 374

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .47Log-likelihood = 482.01; X<sup>2</sup> = 234.35; df = 30; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05      \*\* p &lt; 0.01

*Situational factors and attitude toward use of force*

The findings reveal that officer's behavior in police – citizen encounters is the situational factor with the largest impact on use of force attitudes. Relative to “somewhat reasonable” category, when an officer acts provocatively, officers participating in the survey are 60.45 times more likely to consider force used by the provocative officer as “unreasonable” compared to an officer initiating a formal contact with citizens ( $B = 4.10$ ;  $SE = .91$ ;  $p < .05$ ; see Table 3.49). The findings did not reveal significant relationship between officer's behavior and conception of reasonable force ( $B = 1.39$ ;  $SE = 1.18$ ;  $p > .05$ ).

Attack on officer is the situational factor with the second largest impact on justification of use of force. Relative to somewhat reasonable category, the likelihood of considering use of force as “reasonable” increases 4.24 times when a suspect attacks officer ( $B = 1.44$ ;  $SE = .48$ ;  $p < .05$ ; see Table 3.47). Being attacked by an offender also slightly decreases the likelihood of conceiving police use of force as “unreasonable” by .36 ( $B = -1.02$ ;  $SE = .53$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Offender's sobriety is another influential factor in determining reasonable force. Relative to “somewhat reasonable” category, an intoxicated offender (in the scenario, characterized with an offender under the influence of alcohol) increases the likelihood of justification of use of force by 4.01 ( $B = 1.39$ ;  $SE = .46$ ;  $p < .05$ ) (see Table 3.48). Offender's sobriety also slightly reduces the odds of considering use of force as “unreasonable” by .42 ( $B = -.88$ ;  $SE = .44$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Seriousness of crime has significant influence on officers' attitudes toward use of force as well. Relative to “somewhat reasonable” category, officers are .34 times less likely to conceive use of force against violent criminals as “unreasonable” compared to against non-violent criminals ( $B = -1.09$ ;  $SE = .54$ ;  $p < .05$ ) (see Table 3.50). Violent

nature of a crime has no influence on officers "reasonable" force decisions ( $B = .45$ ;  $SE = .35$ ;  $p > .05$ ).

Citizen demeanor also has significant influence on officers' attitudes toward use of force; however, the impact is rather weak and in the opposite direction from what is hypothesized. Relative to somewhat reasonable category, officers are .19 times less likely to conceive use of force against aggressive suspects as "reasonable" than against passive resistant suspects ( $B = -1.07$ ;  $SE = .40$ ;  $p < .05$ ; see Table 3.46)<sup>8</sup>. Aggressive suspect did not significantly affect the conception of "unreasonable" force ( $B = -1.52$ ;  $SE = .39$ ;  $p > .05$ ).

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<sup>8</sup> These findings from multinomial logit model must be taken cautiously. The relationship is in the opposite directions from what is hypothesized; because of the distribution of cases across the levels of the dependent variable in attitude by demeanor cross-comparison. The problem can be better identified in Table 3.27 (cross-tabulation for demeanor and attitude). For aggressive suspects category the distribution of cases across the levels of the dependent variable was 22.4%, 35.9%, and 41.6% for "unreasonable" "somewhat reasonable," "reasonable" categories. The distribution for passive resistant suspects was 31.3%, 23.8%, and 44.9% respectively. While the distribution for aggressive suspects follows a gradually increasing linear pattern, it is not the same for the passive resistant category (a non-linear pattern). The relationship between demeanor and attitude is not in the same direction at all levels of attitude. Technically speaking, the relationship between demeanor and the logits are not the same for all the logits: the lines for the two categories are not parallel (Norusis, 2005, p.74). In fact this is one of the reasons why ordinal logit was not the right multivariate technique for the data. Ordinal logit makes an assumption that the lines are parallel. Multinomial logit does not make such an assumption. Therefore, technically, multinomial logit is still the right methodology for the current data analyses. However, the method relies on two by two comparisons of categories of the dependent variable with one category being the reference in all comparisons. When the dependent variable is ordinal, and the lines are not parallel for independent variables, multinomial logit estimates of coefficients are problematic. For a nominal dependent variable this would not be a problem. However, in an ordinal distribution, when the lines are not parallel, looking at the comparisons of two groups at a time might be misleading and the results may not be in the same direction with the overall pattern. In this specific case, overall pattern suggests that use of force is more likely to be justified against aggressive suspects. However, leaving "unreasonable" category aside and comparing "somewhat reasonable" and "reasonable" categories the relationship appears in the opposite direction. Despite these shortcomings multinomial logit still does much better in identifying the relationships for other variables than binary logistic regression, which could have been another alternative methodology for the analyses. However, in that case the dependent variable must be reduced into a binary variable, which means loss of precision in measurement. In a number of logistic regression analyses that were estimated for the current data, several predictors that are found to be significant in multinomial logit lost their significance.

**Table 3.51: Model 11 - Multinomial logistic regression results for police officers attitude toward use of force** (Dependent variable = Attitude index)

	Unreasonable vs. somewhat reasonable			Reasonable vs. somewhat reasonable		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds ratio</i>
Intercept	16.32**	4.81		-30.22**	4.30	
<i>Officer characteristics / perceptions</i>						
Experience	1.31	1.18	3.69	-.68	.42	.51
Weekly work hours	-.79	.88	.45	1.81**	.52	6.11
Perceived work load	.53	1.17	1.70	4.64**	.91	103.61
Job related past injury	-1.59	1.26	.20	-.06	.66	.94
Job satisfaction	1.26	1.79	3.54	-.28	.63	.75
Financial satisfaction	-.02	1.18	.98	-.68	.49	.51
Police-public cooperation	.78	1.26	2.18	-.40	.55	.67
Perceived risk of injury	-.49**	.12	.61	.27**	.08	1.31
<i>Organizational / cultural factors</i>						
Unit (crime prevention)	-1.67	1.37	.19	.66	.70	1.94
Unit (anti-terrorism)	-.80	1.57	.45	1.42*	.64	4.13
Region (southern)	.40	1.65	1.49	-.43	.57	.65
Cultural norms of force	-.56**	.15	.57	.74**	.12	2.10
Organizational norms	.72	.92	2.06	.02	.47	1.02
Cultural alienation	-2.51*	1.22	.08	.96*	.45	2.62

N = 360

Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = .69Log-likelihood = 235.23; X<sup>2</sup> = 420.88; df = 28; p < 0.05

\* p &lt; 0.05

\*\* p &lt; 0.01

*Officer characteristics and attitude toward use of force*

Officer characteristics and organizational factors are reviewed in the attitude index model only (Model 11). These variables are in all of the models; however the reviews in this section are based on the last model only. Model 11 uses the attitude index variable as the dependent variable. The index is based on the officers' responses to the ten case scenario assessment items. The index variable, which serves as the dependent variable in Model 11 provides a better and more reliable measurement of attitude toward use of force, since other models are based on a single attitude item (one attitude question following each scenario), while the attitude index is a summary of all these items. Unfortunately, it is not possible to include offender characteristics and situational factors into this model for the reasons explained in detail before (see "Independent variables - Offender characteristics and situational factor" section on page 108 in this chapter and the foot note on page 113).

Weekly work hours and perceived work load both independently influence officers' conceptions of reasonable force. Relative to "somewhat reasonable" category, extended weekly work hours increases the likelihood of conceiving police use of force as "reasonable" by 6.11 ( $B = 1.81$ ;  $SE = .52$ ;  $p < .05$ ; see Table 3.51). Weekly work hours does not significantly influence the odds of conceiving use of force as "unreasonable" ( $B = -.79$ ;  $SE = .88$ ;  $p > .05$ ).

Perceived work load has much greater influence on justification of use of force. Relative to "somewhat reasonable" category, officers who perceive that their work load is heavy are 103.61 times more likely to conceive use of force as "reasonable" ( $B = 4.64$ ;

$SE = .91$ ;  $p < .05$ ; see Table 3.51). Perceived work load does not significantly influence the odds of conceiving use of force “unreasonable” ( $B = .53$ ;  $SE = 1.17$ ;  $p > .05$ ).

Perceived risk of injury in a given case has also significant influence on justification of use of force. Relative to somewhat reasonable category, higher risk conception increases the likelihood of justifying use of force as “reasonable.” For each unit increase in risk index, the odds of “reasonable” force increases by 1.31 ( $B = .27$ ;  $SE = .08$ ;  $p < .05$ ; see Table 3.51). Officers’ risk assessments influence “unreasonable” force conception as well. Relative to “somewhat reasonable” category, for each unit increase in risk index, the odds of “unreasonable” force decreases by .61 ( $B = -.49$ ;  $SE = .12$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Bivariate analyses revealed that experience, prior injury, job satisfaction, financial satisfaction, and perceived police-public cooperation are significantly associated with officers’ attitudes toward use of force. However after controlling for the other predictors in multivariate analysis, these variables lost their significance.

#### *Organizational/cultural factors and attitude toward use of force*

The survey revealed that officers’ unit assignments have impact on their conception of reasonable force. Relative to somewhat reasonable category, officers deployed in anti-terror units are 4.13 times more likely to conceive use of force presented in the case scenarios as “reasonable” compared to officers in other units ( $B = 1.42$ ;  $SE = .64$ ;  $p < .05$ ; see Table 3.51).

Cultural alienation also significantly influences justification of use of force.

Relative to “somewhat reasonable” category, officers who feel alienated are 2.62 times more likely to conceive use of force as “reasonable” ( $B = .96$ ;  $SE = .45$ ;  $p < .05$ ; see Table 3.51). Alienation also decreases the probability of “unreasonable” force conception by .08 times ( $B = -2.51$ ;  $SE = 1.22$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Subjective norms of force or cultural norms of force have very strong influence on justification of use of force. Relative to somewhat reasonable category, increased tendency to believe that other officers would conceive use of force in the case scenarios as “reasonable” increases the likelihood of justifying use of force as “reasonable.” For each unit increase in the culture of force index, the odds of “reasonable” force increases by 2.62 ( $B = .96$ ;  $SE = .45$ ;  $p < .05$ ; see Table 3.51). Believing that other officers would conceive use of force in the case scenarios as “reasonable” decreases the likelihood of justifying use of force as “unreasonable.” For each unit increase in the culture of force index, the odds of “unreasonable” force decreases by .08 ( $B = -.251$ ;  $SE = 1.22$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Attitude toward organizational norms, which in bivariate analysis identified as a significant factor contributing to officers’ attitudes toward use of force, lost its significance after controlling for other predictors in multivariate analysis.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **DISCUSSIONS and CONCLUSIONS**

Prior empirical works on police use of force in the literature provide significant amounts of information on the correlates of use of force and excessive force. Existing studies provide valuable theoretical background and important policy recommendations. However, what we know about police use of force overwhelmingly relies on the studies conducted in the United States. There are few studies from the other parts of the world investigating police use of force. Since this study has been the first in Turkey, the existing literature does not provide sufficient information regarding whether the correlates of police use of force show variation across borders and cultures, and if so, how they vary. Although this study by itself is not enough to answer this question, it is a contribution to the existing pool of knowledge that academics around the world share, and which hopefully someday will achieve sufficient levels to provide sound and reliable answers.

In addition to providing some support to what is already known about factors contributing to police use of force, this study identifies additional factors influencing officers' reasonable force conceptions which have not been considered in prior studies. Furthermore, the study provides a theoretical background for police use of force discussions in Turkey and contributes developing a "reasonable force" conception that all the concerned parties, from the general public to the political body and human rights activists to the police themselves, may agree upon. The findings also suggest specific policy implications that can help controlling excessive tolerance for use of force among police officers in Turkey.

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*Summary and discussion of the findings*

The survey data revealed that several officer-related variables have significant influence on officers' perceptions of reasonable force. Perceived workload is the variable with the strongest influence on officers' attitudes toward use of force among officer-related factors. Supporting the research hypothesis, officers who perceived that their workload is heavy showed more favorable attitude toward use of force. The findings also revealed that officers' weekly work hours, independent of perceived workload, influence officers' views of reasonable force. Officers who work more hours in a week were more likely to approve use of force against suspects. The results suggest that extended work hours and intensive workload cause frustration for officers and result in less tolerance toward suspects' behaviors and more favorable attitude toward use of force.

Perceived risk of injury is another factor influencing officers' attitudes toward use of force. The findings demonstrated that officers who perceived higher risks of being injured in given cases were more supportive of use of force. The findings indicate that officers' safety concerns play a highly important role in determining the level of force that they perceive reasonable. As officers' safety concerns increase, they become more inclined to approve higher levels or amount of force.

Other officer related factors, including experience, rank, training, prior injury, work stress, job satisfaction, financial satisfaction, perceived police role and perceived police-public cooperation, have no significant influence on officers' attitudes toward use of force. Experience, prior injury, job satisfaction, financial satisfaction, and perceived police-public cooperation were identified as significantly associated with officers'

attitudes toward use of force in bivariate analyses. However after controlling for other predictors in the multivariate analyses, these variables lost their significance.

The study hypothesized that suspect characteristics also have significant influence on officers' conceptions of reasonable force. Five variables measuring different suspect characteristic were included in the survey: suspect's gender, age, social class, physical size and prior offenses known to the police. Except for the prior offenses known to the police, all suspect related variables were found to be significant predictors of officers' attitudes toward use of force. Multinomial logit results revealed that officers are less supportive of use of force against female, young or elderly, physically small and middle class offenders.

The findings show that offender characteristics have considerable impact on officers' decisions about use of force. Less favorable attitude toward use of force against female, elderly, or young offenders indicate existence of a collective conscious among police officers restricting or limiting use of coercive policing tactics against vulnerable suspects. Of course, it is important to note here once again that the use of force scenarios in the survey involved slight to moderate injuries to officers. There was no imminent threat of life or injury to officers or others present in any of the scenarios. Therefore, a more prudent interpretation of the survey findings notes that when there is no threat of life or a risk of heavy injury, officers are less supportive of use of force against female, minor or elderly offenders. The outcome might be different when an offender poses a threat of life or serious injury.

The findings regarding the social class of the offender also should be evaluated carefully. The results show that a middle class offender increases the likelihood of

considering use of force as “unreasonable.” However, a lower/working class offender does not increase the likelihood of justifying use of force as “reasonable.” The results indicate something other than mere class discrimination. Numerous spontaneous responses in the survey indicate that use of force against a middle class suspect is more likely to result in a disciplinary action against officers compared to use of force against lower/working class suspects. It is logical to believe that middle class citizens are more likely to defend their rights against wrongdoing officers compared to lower/working class citizens. Moreover, a considerable number of officers believe that even an officer using force within the limits of departmental regulations may be disciplined if the suspect has the “proper” political connections. And again, the suspects with the “proper” political connections are more likely to be middle class citizens. When officers participating in the survey were asked whether an officer in their department engaging in the behavior described in the case scenario would get disciplined, several of them spontaneously answered “That depends on the connections of the suspect.” Officers’ spontaneous responses indicate that use of force against middle class suspects is like “poking a beehive” as commonly used in Turkish, which means “unreasonable” behavior, since being stung, or getting disciplined is very likely.

Situational factors, referring to the circumstances of the police – suspect encounters, and the interactions between officers and the suspects, play highly influential role in determining officers’ attitudes toward use of force. The study hypothesized and the survey data provided evidence that suspect’s behavior (interaction phase criminality), sobriety, seriousness of crime, and officer’s response to suspect have significant influence on officers’ attitudes toward use of force.

Interaction phase criminality (assault on officer in the case scenarios) affects officers' conceptions of reasonable force. In cases where an officer is assaulted by the suspect, use of force against the suspect is significantly more likely to be approved by the officers. While safety concerns might be the major drive in justification of use of force against an assaultive suspect, emotional factors, maybe even revenge, may also play role in officers' decisions.

Suspect's sobriety is another highly influential situational factor. When dealing with an intoxicated suspect, survey results show that, officers conceive significantly higher level of risk, which in turn increases likelihood of justification of use of force against such suspects. In a number of spontaneous responses in the survey, officers reported that "unpredictable" behaviors of intoxicated suspects are important in use of force decisions. One officer reported "You cannot read the letter of the drunk" meaning that it is not possible to foresee what he is going to do next. It is clear from the officers' responses that uncertainty of the situation and the pressure that it puts on the officer, which increases the approval of use of force against intoxicated suspects.

The seriousness of crime is another situational factor increasing the likelihood of justification of use of force. The study hypothesized and the findings supported that use of force is more likely to be justified against serious offenders. Friedrich (1980, p.90) explained this relationship in terms of informal sanctioning of serious offenders by the police or the increased level of resistance displayed by serious offenders. While informal sanctioning remains a potential explanation for the identified relationship, the survey design rules out the latter option. The case scenario measuring the impact of

seriousness of crime specified the same level of resistance for both serious and non-violent offenders. Therefore, level of resistance is not a factor in the current study.

An officer's response to a suspect is also a highly influential factor in deciding what force is reasonable or excessive. Supporting the research hypotheses, the findings revealed that officers are less supportive of use of force in situations where an officer acts provocatively. When an officer uses humiliating language or unnecessary physical interventions, Turkish police officers are less likely to approve coercive tactics which are necessitated by the actions of the officer.

Formal structure of the police organization and cultural elements of policing were also expected to be influencing officers' conceptions of reasonable force. The survey included officers' unit assignments, regional distributions and department leaderships' orientations as variables relevant to the formal structure of the organization.

Among the organizational factors, only one of the two dichotomous unit variables, anti-terrorism unit, was found to be a significant predictor of attitude toward use of force. The survey data revealed that officers deployed in anti-terrorism units are moderately more likely to justify use of force against suspects. Before discussing this finding any further, it is important to note that the hypothetical scenarios in data collection covered only ordinary crime cases. In other words, these scenarios were not directly relevant to the special tasks performed by the officers deployed in anti-terrorism units. The relationship identified by the current study should be further explored by future studies and administrative reviews before reaching any conclusions. Turkey's fight against politically and ethnically oriented terrorism over the last two decades should be considered in these future analyses. Over six thousands security officers, including

police officers, were killed and more than twice as many were injured in this period as a result of the attacks of the terrorists groups and organizations. While these dramatic losses have potential to influence the whole body of officers, officers deployed in anti-terrorism units, who are in the front lines in the fight against terrorism, are more likely to be affected from it. The specific risk of harm that these officers are exposed should be considered in future inquiries.

Regarding the impact of deployment in crime-prevention units and southeastern provinces of Turkey, although bivariate analyses identified significant relationships, after controlling for other variables in the multivariate model these variables lost their significance. Finally, the survey data did not reveal any significant relationship between department leaderships' orientations (crime fighting versus service providing) and officer's attitudes toward use of force.

The findings revealed that officers' level of association with organizational culture have significant impact on their attitudes toward use of force. The survey data included three culture variables: cultural (subjective) norms of force, cultural alienation, and attitude toward organizational norms.

The study hypothesized and provided strong evidence that subjective norms of use of force, measured in terms of perceived attitudes of other officers in the organization toward use of force, has an impact on officer's attitude toward use of force. When officers believe that their peers will be supportive of use of force in a given case, they are more supportive of use of force in such cases. It is clear from the survey results that a cultural atmosphere tolerant of use of force increases officers' tolerance for use of force.

Cultural alienation is another factor significantly influencing officers' conceptions of reasonable force. The study hypothesized that officers who believe "No one else can understand the real nature of police work; lawyers, academics, politicians, and the public in general have little conception of what it means to be a police officer" are more supportive of use of force. The findings indicate that feeling isolated from the society and also from the other components of the criminal justice system is associated with more tolerable attitude toward use of force. Obviously, some officers feel that despite the hardships that they experience in the course of their duties, they do not get the support that they expect from the public and other agencies. Even more, they feel that their service is not being appreciated. Feeling not supported and not being appreciated may be an excuse for higher level of tolerance for coercive police actions.

The last cultural factor analyzed in the study is officers' attitudes toward organizational norms. Although bivariate analyses revealed significant relationship, attitude toward organizational norms lost its significance after controlling for other predictors in multinomial logit analysis.

In addition to exploring the factors contributing to police officers' attitudes toward use of force, this study also aimed at answering how the police in Turkey view use of force authority and how they define what force is reasonable and what force is excessive. The findings revealed that overall 6.9 percent of the officers considered use of force cases presented in the scenarios as "unreasonable," 57.4 percent considered as "somewhat reasonable," and 35.7 percent considered as "reasonable" (these percentages are reported based on the attitude index variable).

It is important to mention that these figures are relative and particularly dependent on the case scenarios that were used in the study. Therefore, it will be wrong to interpret these numbers directly and conclude that Turkish police officers are moderately or highly supportive of use of force in police – public encounters. These results can be meaningfully interpreted only when compared to findings from other studies using the same methodology and the same data collection instrument. For instance, replicating the study in the future and looking at the attitude changes over time in the Turkish National Police, or surveying other concerned parties of police use of force, such as human rights activists, lawyers, politicians, and the public, by using the same set of scenarios and comparing their findings with the current study, or even administering the same survey to other countries' police organizations and comparing the findings with the current study can help make reasonable and logical comparisons and better understand the current situation of the Turkish police officers.

Similarly, it will be wrong to take officers' responses to any use of force scenario, say the first scenario, and conclude that officers are highly supportive of use of force in public demonstrations or riots compared to domestic violence cases, as simulated in the sixth scenario. These scenarios provide very specific, though very limited information on every case. While the current structure and the design of the survey instrument and the scenarios are sufficient to measure what is intended (which is the impact of certain factors on officers' attitudes toward use of force), they will be short of the details and misleading when used in answering other questions which are not within the scope of the study. As mentioned in the literature review chapter, police use of force is a very broad issue and different questions may require different methodologies to answer them.

Using the survey results in answering questions which are not directly intended by the study will be a misuse of the survey data and the answers will be inconclusive.

#### *Policy recommendations*

It is believed that the findings of the study can contribute to police policy formulation and administration in Turkey. A number of issues related to officers and their work conditions suggest important policy revisions.

The survey findings provide strong evidence that officers' work hours and work load have negative influence on their conceptions of reasonable force. Extended work hours and heavy work load are associated with more favorable attitude toward use of force. In order to decrease the frustration caused by these factors and prevent an organizational atmosphere tolerant of excessive force, officers' work load ought to be relaxed. Hiring new officers, which is the current decision of the political body and the police organization, can be one alternative response to this problem. Considering the fact that police/citizen ratio in Turkey is among the lowest in European countries, this is a reasonable alternative in the long term. However, selection and training process of sworn officers takes time. In the short term, other alternatives such as outsourcing personnel and services for non-core police operations, purchasing technologies and automated systems replacing personnel, and relocating sworn personnel from these duties into active police services may be considered. Additionally, an organization-wide work load assessment can help distribute sworn officers across regions and units optimally. Average number of work hours and number of cases processed per officer for each unit in all departments can be calculated and officers can be proportionally relocated in order to obtain a better work distribution across units.

Perceived risk of injury is another variable contributing to officers' attitudes toward use of force and suggests some potential policy implications. Situational risk assessment, or the level of risk associated with a given situation perceived by an officer, is mostly related to technical capacities of the officers such as professional skills, training, and their equipment. These factors directly influence officers' safety concerns. The risk factors in policing must be identified and the sources need to be addressed properly in order to reduce the safety concerns of officers when responding to calls for service. The first policy response to address this issue should be identifying potential situations that may result in injury. A national data collection of officers killed or injured in the line of duty covering specifics of each case and how officers responded in these situations can be a starting point. In fact, the Turkish National Police have compiled this data though not systematically. Unfortunately, these records are not analyzed and feedback is not provided to the officers in the frontlines. Lessons learned from these records can be used in developing in-service training programs providing officers with up to date threat sources, defensive tactics and other safety measures, which may help reduce the risk of being injured. In addition, a platform where officers can share their own experiences and provide suggestions to fellow officers can be created. Lawyers and scholars also can be invited to this platform in order to analyze points of concerns from different perspectives. A website maintained by the Department of Education, which is responsible for organization of in-service training programs can be the first step in developing such a platform. In addition to a website, paper-based news bulletins can be used to reach officers deployed in areas with limited internet access.

In addition to training officers for better situational risk assessment, purchasing technologies or equipments or modifying existing ones that will help improve officers'

safety, can be an additional measure for improving safety of officers. Police duty equipments, such as firearms, handcuffs, batons, flashlights, pepper sprays, and protective gears must be standardized, maintained properly and officers must be trained for proper use of these equipments. Additionally, depending on the specific needs of the different units, new technologies that can help improve safety of officers can be considered for adoption.

The survey data also revealed that cultural alienation and the feeling of isolation from the society and the other components of the criminal justice system are associated with tolerable attitude toward use of force. A policy response to the problem should aim at improving public relations and inter-organizational relations. Police public relations should be addressed at two levels: micro level (individual officer) and macro level (police department). In-service training programs dealing with police public relations can help address the issue by providing the necessary tools and skills to the officers that they will need in police-citizen encounters. The Department of Education, responsible for in-service training programs, has been organizing seminars on public relations, police ethics, and human rights for line officers and administrative personnel since 1998. The effectiveness of these seminars should be evaluated and the curriculum should be improved based on participants' feedbacks and program evaluations.

At the macro level, province police departments and the headquarters in Ankara should aim at improving police-community relations by identifying the special needs and expectations of the communities that they police and respond to their needs to the best of departments' capacities. Department leaderships should consider revising departmental policies and standard operating procedures when relevant.

Another dimension of cultural alienation involves problems in inter-organizational relations. Police organization is just one of the several components of the criminal justice system. In order for the system to function properly, the channels of communication between the components of the criminal justice system must be open. Leaderships of the province police departments and the headquarters in Ankara should communicate with the executive bodies of the relevant organizations and take the necessary steps to establish mutually supportive relationships.

#### *Limitations of the study*

The major shortcoming of this study is that even though the distribution of officers across the provinces, units, and ranks is considered in the sampling process, the convenience sample that is used in this study cannot be considered representative of the Turkish National Police and the findings of the study cannot be generalized to the population.

Selection bias, also partly related to the sampling process and the generalizability problem, might be another concern in this study. Participants are solicited for the study through mails and emails. However, officers who volunteered for the study may not be representative of the general population, or officers with certain characteristics may not have been willing to participate in the study. Probability samples can provide safeguards against selection biases to some extent by controlling for the response rates and looking for patterns among non participants when such information is available. However, there is no way of controlling for selection bias when using nonprobability sampling procedures. And drawing a probability sample in this study could not be made possible because of the time and budgetary limitations.

Also related to the sampling procedure, the results from the chi-square tests and multinomial logistic regression need to be interpreted carefully. The statistical tests that are used in the study require working with probability samples. However, the sample in the current study is a convenience sample, which is a non-probability sampling procedure. Therefore, one of the core assumptions behind these testing procedures is violated. However, it is now a generally accepted approach that when a probability sample is not apparently biased, statistical procedures can be employed without making any statistical inferences, or without generalizing the findings to the larger population. The interpretations of these test results can be used in logical inferences, and results can be regarded as logical assessments of the problem. In the current study, the researcher paid special attention in order to reach officers from different units and ranks from all the provinces of Turkey. The disproportionate distribution of ranking and line officers in the original sample is adjusted by employing a weighting procedure which is described in Appendix C in detail. The careful steps that are followed in data collection step and the weighting process used in data adjustment together are believed to be adequate safeguards against sampling bias. On these grounds chi-square tests and multinomial logit regression were employed in the data analyses. The readers are urged to be careful and not take the test results as population estimations. The findings presented in this report can be used in logical inferences about Turkish police officers approach to use of force in general.

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*Recommendations for further research*

There are two main suggestions for future research: first surveys of other populations by using the same data collection instrument; second, improving the methodological design.

As mentioned at the introduction of this chapter the findings of this study provide a *relative* assessment of police use of force in Turkey. The word “relative” is emphasized because using different case scenarios will reveal different views of the police in Turkey (i.e. if the scenarios include more excessive use of force cases, the approval rates will be lower; or if the scenarios present cases with severely injured officers, the approval rate among the officers will be higher). The survey instrument can be considered as a measuring rod of “reasonable force.” In order to better understand how “reasonable” or “unreasonable” Turkish police officers’ perceptions of “reasonable force” are, opinions of other concerned parties, including human rights activists, lawyers, politicians, and of course the general public must be measured by using the same measuring rod. Comparisons between the findings of the current study and these future studies can better help identify the real nature and situation of police officers’ approach to use of force. Additionally, the study of Turkish police officers can be replicated in the future and the changes over the time can be used as a relative measurement of change in the organization. Another alternative, the survey instrument can be administered to police officers in other countries and the findings can be used in cross-national comparisons. The “police integrity” survey instrument developed by Carl B. Klockars, Sanja Kutnjak-Ivkovic, William E. Harver, and Maria R. Haberfeld (2000) is a good example of this approach. The “police integrity” survey instrument has been used in various countries

and enabled cross-national comparisons and discussions of police integrity. The survey instrument in the current study, which is highly inspired by the “police integrity” study, can be reasonably replicated in the same way.

The second recommendation for future research is related to the methodology. The survey data were collected on the internet and officers were randomly assigned into two groups by computer software as they started answering the questions. Then they received one of the two sets of scenarios. For instance one group of officers received female, young, middle class, etc. versions of the scenarios, while the other group received male, adult, lower class versions of the scenarios. This design helped measure the impact of various offender characteristics and situational factors by comparing the two random groups. For instance, the two random groups in the first scenario referred to the two attributes of the offender’s gender variable (male and female), and to the two attributes of the offender’s age variable (young and adult) in the second scenario. The problem with this design is that in a multivariate analysis it is not possible to include all offender characteristics and situational factor variables measured by comparing the two random groups, into a single regression model.

One possible solution to this problem can be randomly assigning each scenario, not a set of scenarios, to the participants. In other words, the randomization process must be repeated for each scenario and the questions must be asked to a different set of two random groups of officers. Then, scenario assignments would not be constant across the random groups. For example, if you take only the three variables, gender, age, and social class, you will end up with eight different combinations of offender characteristics (1 - female, young, middle class, 2 - female, young, lower class, 3 -

female, adult, middle class, etc.). In that case, still using the same survey instrument, all offender characteristics and situational factor variables can be included in a single model. Unfortunately, this randomization process was too complex to handle with the survey software and the HTML coding that were used in the data collection process in this study.

### *Closing remarks*

Despite the shortcomings of the study, the findings of this research are still valuable and are a significant contribution to the literature. By asking questions about officers' own attitudes and their peers' attitudes toward use of force, the study provides a view of the Turkish National Police through the eyes of over six hundred officers at different ranks, deployed in various provinces and units across the country. Therefore, the study is not only an observation of six hundred officers, but an exploration of a national organization through these officers. It is a valuable contribution to the literature as a unique study of use of force in the Turkish National Police.

The methodology used in the study, introducing some elements of social science experiments into survey design, is a significant contribution to the existing literature as well. "Randomized-groups survey" design, as referred by the researcher, alternates the case scenarios among the participants and prevents respondent bias. While improving the internal validity of the study, this unique research design enables investigating additional relationships, which cannot be measured in a conventional survey design. Therefore the study is a valuable contribution to the social science research methodology as well.

## Appendix A: Survey Instrument

### Section A: Police Citizen Interactions

### Section B: Attitude toward the General Public and Work Related Matters

### Section C: Agency/Unit Information

### Section D: Officer Information

### Section A: Police Citizen Interactions

*In this section officers were presented 10 hypothetical scenarios of use of force in order to measure the impact of various citizen characteristics and situational factors on officers' attitudes toward specific use of force instances. All scenarios have two different versions and each respondent were asked only one version of the question. The different versions of scenarios were used in measuring the impact of certain factors on officers' attitudes. Scenarios were randomly assigned to the participants by the computer.*

#### **Scenario 1** (suspect's gender)

In an unauthorized demonstration, a small group blocks the traffic on a main street and despite repeated warnings they refuse to follow police orders to disperse. Among the group **[A] a female protestor / [B] a male protestor** yells at officers "Why are you hassling us? Go away!" and throws a soda bottle, causing slight injury to one of the officers. Immediately, officers break into the group to apprehend the person. As the person and other group members resist her arrest, officers use truncheons. The intervention causes severe bruises on the various body parts of the protestor and some other demonstrators.

#### **Scenario 2** (suspect's age)

What would be your response to the following questions if the suspect in the previous scenario were **[A] a 14 year-old boy? / [B] a 60 year-old man?**

#### **Scenario 3** (social class of suspect)

An officer responds to a call at a local restaurants and bars district of a drunk man causing public disturbance. Arriving at the scene, the officer discovers the drunken man, **[A] who happens to be a locally well-known and respected businessman / [B] who**

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**happens to be a worker in a local manufacturing business**, lying on the pavement with a bottle of liquor and verbally assaulting passerby. With the help of the other two officers arriving at the scene, the officer attempts to take the person in the police car. The person bites the officer's arm and the officer responds with a punch in the stomach in order to protect himself from further harm. Later the person was taken to the hospital without further incident.

**Scenario 4** (physical size of a citizen)

Two officers arrive in a suspect's residence with a felony warrant. As officers identify the person and display the arrest warrant, the suspect, who is **[A] a 120-130 kilogram and 1.9 meters huge man, / [B] a 50-55 kilogram and 1.6 meters tiny man**, heads toward the door and attempts to flee. Two officers directly tackle him and wrestle him to the ground causing scrapes on various parts of the body and a cut on the face.

**Scenario 5** (prior offences of citizen known to police) (Adapted from Klockars et al. (2000, p.4).

Two police officers on foot patrol surprise a man who is attempting to break into an automobile. **[A] Officers recognize the man who has high volume of prior arrest history for various violations / [B] (without the expression in bold face)**. The man flees. They chase him for about two blocks before apprehending him by tackling him and wrestling him to the ground. The intervention causes a broken nose and some bruise and scrapes on various parts of the body of the suspect.

**Scenario 6** (citizen demeanor)

Two officers responding to a domestic violence call see a female severely injured by her husband and bleeding as they entered in the apartment. As the victim tells the officers that she wants to file a complaint, officers order the man to walk out with them to the police car in order to take him to the police center. **[A] The suspect does not comply with the police orders, passively resists and tells the police that he will not go anywhere / [B] The suspect responses with threats and hostile manners. Using obscene language he asks the officers to get out of his apartment, but he never physically attacks or attempts to attack officers.** In response officer grab and forcefully drag the man out to the police car sometimes pushing and poking the man in

order to force him to comply. The intervention causes tissue trauma on the arms and shoulders of the suspect in addition to some scratches on various parts of his body.

**Scenario 7** (attack on officer)

Two police officers responding to a public disturbance case apprehend the suspect and order him to get into the police car. The person yells “You can’t take me any where! Do you know who am I?” and continuously curses at the officers. **[A] After repeated warnings the man still does not comply with the police orders and continues his verbal attacks on officers / [B] After repeated warnings the man becomes even more hostile and attacks on officers with throwing fists and kicks.** The officers grab the man from his arms and punch on the stomach and back for five or six times in order to prevent the suspect’s resistance and take him into the cruiser. They take the suspect to the police station without further incident.

**Scenario 8** (intoxication)

What would be your response to the following questions if the suspect in the previous scenario were under the influence of **[A] alcohol? / [B] drugs?**

**Scenario 9** (officer’s provoking behavior)

An officer stops a 19 year-old young motorist and his girl friend for red light violation. He approaches the vehicle and **[A] yells at the driver “Where the hell did you get your license you asshole?” / [B] asks for the driver’s license in a commanding voice.** The driver, feeling humiliated before his girlfriend, gets out of the car starts a verbal argument with the officer. The quarrel escalates and the driver attacks officer. Officer forcefully handcuffs the driver in order to control the situation.

**Scenario 10** (seriousness of offence)

Acting on intelligence, three police officers surprise **[A] a man suspected of rape and murder of a 6 year-old girl / [B] a man suspected of a series of thefts** in the apartment where he was hidden. The man attempts to escape from the window, but officers act quickly and prevent the escape. The suspect physically resists the arrest and officers respond with kicks and punches in order to control the suspect. The intervention causes a black eye and several bruises on the back and arms of the suspect.

**Case scenario assessment items**

- A.1. How reasonable do you consider the force used by the officer in this case to be?
1. Very unreasonable
  2. Unreasonable
  3. Somewhat reasonable
  4. Reasonable
  5. Very reasonable
- A.2. How reasonable would most officers in your agency consider the force used by the officer in this case to be?
1. Very unreasonable
  2. Unreasonable
  3. Somewhat reasonable
  4. Reasonable
  5. Very reasonable
- A.3. If an officer in your department had engaged in this behavior what, if any, discipline do you think would follow if the citizen in this case had filed a complaint against this officer?
1. None
  2. Verbal Reprimand
  3. Written Reprimand
  4. Period of suspension without pay
  5. Short term suspension
  6. Dismissal
  7. Something else (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- A.4. If the citizen in this case had filed a complaint against this officer, what if, any, discipline do you think should follow?
1. None
  2. Verbal Reprimand
  3. Written Reprimand

- 
4. Period of suspension without pay
  5. Short term suspension
  6. Dismissal
  7. Something else (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

A.5. How do you perceive the risk of officer being harmed in this case? (were asked for scenarios 4, 5, 7 and 10)

1. Very low risk
2. Low risk
3. Some risk
4. High risk
5. Very high risk

### **Section B: Attitude toward the General Public and Work Related Matters**

*The following questions ask about officers' general attitudes on a number of issues. Officers were asked to tell whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements.*

- |      |  |                            |                |                         |             |                         |
|------|--|----------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| B.1. | Most people in city/town that I am currently working in respect the police.  | 1.<br>Strongly<br>disagree | 2.<br>Disagree | 3.<br>Somewhat<br>agree | 4.<br>Agree | 5.<br>Strongly<br>agree |
| B.2. | The citizens in the city/town that I am currently working in are willing to cooperate with the police in solving crime problems.   | 1.<br>Strongly<br>disagree | 2.<br>Disagree | 3.<br>Somewhat<br>agree | 4.<br>Agree | 5.<br>Strongly<br>agree |
| B.3. | The attitude of <i>newspapers and televisions</i> toward the police use of force instances depends on the identity of the individual(s) (sex, ethnicity, ideology) who encounter the police. | 1.<br>Strongly<br>disagree | 2.<br>Disagree | 3.<br>Somewhat<br>agree | 4.<br>Agree | 5.<br>Strongly<br>agree |

B.4. The attitude of the <i>general public</i> toward the police use of force instances depends on the identity of the individual(s) (sex, ethnicity, ideology) who encounter the police.	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Somewhat agree	4. Agree	5. Strongly agree
B.5. The attitude of <i>NGOs</i> toward the police use of force instances depends on the identity of the individual(s) (sex, ethnicity, ideology) who encounter the police.	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Somewhat agree	4. Agree	5. Strongly agree
B.6. “No one else can understand the real nature of police work. Lawyers, academics, politicians, and the public in general have little concept of what it means to be a police officer.”	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Somewhat agree	4. Agree	5. Strongly agree
B.7. The primary role of a police officer should be preventing crime and apprehending criminals. Duties other than crime fighting should not be considered police work.	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Somewhat agree	4. Agree	5. Strongly agree
B.8. The chief of my department gives the priority to crime-fighting function of the police.	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Somewhat agree	4. Agree	5. Strongly agree
B.9. The chief of my department gives the priority to service-providing function of the police.	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Somewhat agree	4. Agree	5. Strongly agree
B.10. Always following the rules is not compatible with getting the job done.	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Somewhat agree	4. Agree	5. Strongly agree

- |  | 1.                | 2.       | 3.             | 4.    | 5.             |
|--|-------------------|----------|----------------|-------|----------------|
| B.11. Recent changes in the Criminal Procedures Code and the Penal Code help prevent police officers from abusing their authority.                     | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Somewhat agree | Agree | Strongly agree |
| B.12. Recent changes in the Criminal Procedures Code by limiting the authorities of the police caused weaknesses in fight against crime and terrorism. | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Somewhat agree | Agree | Strongly agree |

*The following questions are about job satisfaction, work stress, and risk of police work. Officers are asked to read each question and select the option that best explains their opinion.*

- |   |                      |                 |                       |                  |                         |
|---|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| B.13. Considering over all aspects of your current assignment, are you very satisfied, satisfied, somewhat satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with your job? | 1. Very dissatisfied | 2. Dissatisfied | 3. Somewhat satisfied | 4. Satisfied     | 5. Very satisfied       |
| B.14. How satisfied are you with your current financial situation?  | 1. Very dissatisfied | 2. Dissatisfied | 3. Somewhat satisfied | 4. Satisfied     | 5. Very satisfied       |
| B.15. How stressful do you consider your work to be?  | 1. Very stressful    | 2. Stressful    | 3. Somewhat stressful | 4. Not stressful | 5. Not stressful at all |
| B.16. Considering the over all aspects of police work, how risky (in terms of being injured or killed on duty) do you perceive your current assignment?                 | 1. Very High risk    | 2. High risk    | 3. Some risk          | 4. Low risk      | 5. Very low risk        |

- 
- B.17. Since becoming a sworn officer, have you taken at least one in-service training course on Interpersonal skills, interpersonal relations, human rights, leadership, or problem solving?
- |  |           |          |
|--|-----------|----------|
|  | 1.<br>Yes | 2.<br>No |
|--|-----------|----------|
- B.18. If yes, do you think this training was effective in terms of helping you better performing your assignments?
- |  |           |          |
|--|-----------|----------|
|  | 1.<br>Yes | 2.<br>No |
|--|-----------|----------|

### Section C: Agency/Unit Information

- C.1. What is your current unit?
1. Crime prevention / Crime control units
  2. Riot police units
  3. Support / Logistic units (IT, transportation, communication, etc.)
  4. Education - Training units
  5. Administrative units
  6. Organized crime / Narcotics units
  7. Anti-terror / Intelligence units
  8. Traffic units
  9. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- C.2. Which of the following best represent your normal work hours in this unit?
1. Less than 45 hours a week
  2. 46-55 hours a week
  3. 56-65 hours a week
  4. 66 hours a week or more
- C.3. How do you consider your work load to be in your current assignment? Would you say extremely heavy, quite heavy, somewhat heavy, not very heavy, or not at all heavy?

- 
1. Extremely heavy
  2. Heavy
  3. Somewhat heavy
  4. Not very heavy
  5. Not heavy at all

C.4. In what province are you currently working in?

*01-81 (province traffic codes)*

#### **Section D: Officer Characteristics**

D-1. For how many years have you been serving as a sworn police officer?

1. 1-5 years
2. 6-10 years
3. 11-15 years
4. 16 years and over

D-2. Have you ever had a job related injury that required treatment?

1. Yes
2. No

D-3. What is your current rank?

1. Line officer
2. Lower management (sergeant, lieutenant, captain)
3. Middle management (superintendent, assistant division director)
4. Upper management (chief of police, deputy chief, division director)

D-4. Do you think most officers would give their honest opinion in filling out this questionnaire?

1. Yes
2. No

D-5. Did you give your honest opinion in filling out this questionnaire?

1. Yes
2. No

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## Appendix B: Informed Consent

### Informed Consent Information Document

This study aims at exploring contours of use of force in Turkey through an analysis of police officers' attitudes. The study will permit an examination of how officer and citizen characteristics, along with the situational, departmental, and societal factors contribute to use of force decisions of officers. The study is conducted as a part of the requirements of Doctoral Degree in Criminal Justice at City University of New York.

The information for the study will be collected by a computer assisted questionnaire available at <http://web.jjay.cuny.edu/~mday/ANKET>. The instrument covers ten hypothetical scenarios of use of force followed by a number of questions asking participants opinion about the hypothetical case. Each scenario in the instrument simulates various police citizen encounters and use of force incidents. The instrument also covers additional questions asking about officer characteristics and organizational variables will help analyzing the impact of these factors on officers' attitudes. The questionnaire will take approximately twenty minutes to complete.

Sworn officers from the Turkish National Police have been solicited for participation in the study by using a number of mail and email listings obtained from Police Academy alumni groups. Participation in this study is voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating in the study. If you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer any particular question by selecting "don't want to answer" option provided for every question or discontinue participation at any time by selecting "exit without saving my responses" option provided at the end of each page. There is no penalty for not answering any particular question or canceling participation.

It is believed that a number of benefits might result from conducting this research. The Turkish National Police have been criticized for excessive use of force over the years. However, despite the long term concerns and great deal of interest on the topic, no empirical study in the literature has ever been directed toward exploring police use of force and abuse of force in Turkey. Understanding more about the contours of police use of force in Turkey can provide a good response to these criticisms and also

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may help revising organizational policies, practices, and training programs, if necessary, to better perform police duties and improve police public relations.

Confidentiality guidelines will be adhered to in data collection. In accordance with confidentiality standards, the researcher will not discuss any specific information obtained through the questionnaire with any staff members of the department. Information collected in this study will not be available to anyone who was not directly associated with this research. There will be no compensation for participation.

The principal investigator for this research is Superintendent Mehmet Dayioglu, from the Turkish National Police, Air Support Division. For further information about the study and concerns that you may have, you can contact the researcher at [mdayioglu@gc.cuny.edu](mailto:mdayioglu@gc.cuny.edu).

Thank you.

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**Informed Consent Signature Form**

I have read the information about the study and all questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that

- My participation is voluntary,
  - There is no penalty for not participating in the study.
  - I can discontinue participation at any time without penalty.
  - There will be no compensation for my participation.
- My responses will be confidential,
  - The researcher will not discuss any specific information obtained through the questionnaire with any staff members of the department.
  - Data collected in this study will not be available to anyone who is not directly associated with this research.

**I agree**

*[By clicking this button you will be directed to the survey instrument. You may always decide not to discontinue by selecting “exit without saving my responses” at the end of each page]*

**I don't agree**

*[You will be signed off without prejudice. If you decide to participate in the study you may return to the study site anytime until [data collection end date].*

## Appendix C: Weighting process

Table C.1: The weighting process

Levels	(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)
	N of officers in the population	Sampling ratio	Level weight	N of officers in the sample	Case weight
	f <sub>population</sub>	SR	LW	f <sub>sample</sub>	CW
Non-supervisor	165056	1 / 378	436	133	3.286
Lower management	8265	1 / 378	22	181	0.122
Middle management	2489	1 / 378	7	129	0.054
Upper management	3204	1 / 378	9	31	0.290
<b>Total</b>	<b>179014</b>	<b>1 / 378</b>	<b>474</b>	<b>474</b>	

The distribution of officers in the sample across management levels does not proportionately represent the distribution in the population. Without the weighting adjustments some groups of officers would be overrepresented, and some others would be underrepresented, leading biased inferences. In order to avoid bias, following the guidelines provided by Canada National Statistic Agency (2006) an adjustment has been made by using the following weighting process:

1. There were 179,014 sworn officers in the Turkish National Police at the time of the survey and 631 officers participated in the study. However, only 474 of these officers responded to the question regarding their rank. As the cases were weighted by their rank, only the valid 474 cases were used in the weighting process. Based on the frequency of valid cases in the sample, the sampling ratio (SR) was  $SR = 474 / 179014 = 1 / 378$ , meaning that about 1 officer from every 378 officers in the organization participated in the study.

2. A table showing the distribution of officers in the population across management levels was prepared (see column I in Table X).

3. Then the number of officers that should have been selected from every management level was computed by multiplying the number of officers at each level by

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the sampling ratio (SR) (see column III in Table X). Cell entries in this column represent Level Weight (LW) or the number of officers that we would have in the sample at each level if we had selected officers proportionately from the population.

$$LW = f_{\text{population}} \times SR$$

4. Finally, level weights (LW) were divided by the actual number of officers in the sample in each cell ( $f_{\text{sample}}$ ) in order to compute the weight of each case (CW) (see column V in Table X).

$$CW = LW / F_{\text{sample}}$$

As a result of this weighting process each line officer in the sample represent 3.286 line officers in the population, each officer from lower management represent 0.122 lower managers in the population and so on.

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