Research on Public Trust in the Police in Turkey

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TESEV
DEMOCRATIZATION
PROGRAM

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TESEV

**Türkiye Ekonomik ve
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Democratization Program

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TESEV PUBLICATIONS

Table of Contents

FIGURES

TABLES

Foreword

Özge Genç / Berkay Mandıracı
TESEV Democratization Program

Turkey's current transition to democratic and civilian rule have brought the country's chronic social problems into the spotlight and made the strengthening of democratic institutional and legal structures an urgent necessity. As this transition goes on, diverse segments of society express with ever increasing frequency a demand for an understanding of the state that is rendered legitimate by the public sphere through its service to citizens. Some of their highest-priority demands include a restructuring of the Turkish security apparatus which has traditionally been prone to authoritarian and anti-democratic practices as well as a change in the mentality pervading these structures. Without doubt the police force—the segment of the security apparatus that has the closest contact with public on a daily basis—also has to change and adapt as a part of this democratization process.

In addition to its traditional role in ensuring the safety of citizens, the Turkish police force is charged with defending the full set of core state values and preserving public order in the name of the state. It thus plays an important role in determining how citizens from various segments of society behave towards the state/the system. In a 2013 report entitled *The Spirit of the Police Laws in Turkey: Legislative Discourses, Instruments and Mentality,* TESEV analyzed the kind of order which the state attempts to establish through the police and how the police are used to establish a relationship between state and citizen. That report used the content of laws as well as their application to argue that in both cases, the security of the state was prioritized over the safety of citizens.

It is critical that a mindset of reform and democratization be reflected in the security apparatus as well, at a time when Turkey finds itself at a critical stage in its reform process, particularly with regard to the Kurdish Resolution Process, seeking a laying down of arms by Kurdish rebels, a recognition of Kurdish rights and freedoms and the establishment of societal peace. The police have an important responsibility in this regard in ensuring that the reforms and systematic changes achieved are made visible and are spread in society.

Over the last few years of police reform, we can say that there is indeed a will to move from an understanding of the police as a mere provider of security to one in which police serve democratic and civilian purposes. On the other hand, the attitudes and behaviors exhibited by police to oppositional groups in particular indicate that there is movement in the opposite direction as well. Complaints frequently raised in the public sphere include incidents in which the police have gone unpunished for rights violations, the excessive use of force against protest marches and demonstrations, the existence of a powerful group within the police force that has a certain political and ideological bent and makes it easy for the police to misuse its powers and responsibilities as well as the unequal and unfair application of laws and regulations to different segments of society.

Because it is rare that the police in democratizing societies carry out their duties using fear, threats or force, it is of critical importance that citizens in such societies have faith in the police force and that the behaviors and attitudes they expect of a police force before cooperating with them be known. The expectations and

perceptions that various segments of society have towards the institution of the police, particularly their trust in this institution, have to be investigated systematically in order for it to attain a "democratic" and "citizen-oriented" structure. There are very few studies in Turkey that examine in detail the factors constituting trust in the police. With this report titled *Police and Public: Report on Police Trust in Turkey*, TESEV aims to eliminate this gap and, through this report's conclusions, contribute to the reform towards a democratic police force by examining the mechanisms affecting trust towards police.

The current report outlines the level of trust in police and perceptions of police legitimacy and effectiveness held by various segments of Turkish society using in-depth quantitative research methods. This analysis is the first in Turkey to take international models of police perception/trust as its basis and uses data obtained from a wide scale survey to understand the components shaping public's trust in the police and the factors promoting cooperation with and obedience to police. By comparing the results of police studies made around the world with those in Turkey, this report measures the perception of *trust, legitimacy* and *effectiveness and performance* that various segments of society hold towards the police and, in so doing, establishes how differences in perception affect cooperation with police, obedience to police and tolerance to police misconduct.

This feature allows this report to shed light on public's expectations from police and the police system, and in so doing, enables the development of recommendations on how a democratic understanding of and approach to policing can ensure positive change in the perception of police. The dimensions of "trust", "legitimacy" and "effectiveness" that various demographic groups ascribe to the police force become important criteria for the establishment of a democratic regime. It is important, particularly in the development of positive perceptions of "trust" and "legitimacy" that the police obey the law and follow the rules, provide services to all segments of society equally and without regard to differences among them and behave fairly. In this way, this report not only demonstrates how the public perceives the police and the police system, it also hints at how various segments of Turkish society approach the state and laws more generally.

The report first outlines a conceptual map by assessing the concepts of *trust, legitimacy* and *effectiveness* from a theoretical perspective. The sections that follow include a comparative discussion of international literature on public perceptions of police. Examples taken from around the world help us understand the results of the present study. The final chapter includes findings from a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the data.

The TESEV Democratization Program has followed reforms in the security sector for a long time. Arguing that reform in this sector is a priority for the democratization of Turkey, TESEV previously published two comprehensive reports titled *Turkey Almanac 2005* and *Turkey Almanac 2008*. TESEV then continued with a shorter political analysis in 2013, *Military, Police and Intelligence in Turkey: Recent Transformations and Needs for Reform*. The last study published on the issue of security-sector reform was *The Spirit of the Police Laws in Turkey: Legislative Discourses, Instruments and Mentality* in 2013.

Studies on police reform have to measure what public thinks about the police. Previous studies have shown that when police believe the public trusts them, they behave in a more positive way. When they doubt whether individuals or the public as a whole trusts them, however, they can display more negative behaviors and attitudes. Policy-makers should lay the basis for a program of police reform with the aim of positively shaping the bonds of trust between police and citizens by supporting studies that seek to understand the dimensions and components of this trust.

One of the issues frequently debated today is the process of restructuring of the training program, administrative

hierarchy and mindset of the police force. As a part of this process, we hope that this study serves the following purposes: providing guidance to policy-makers, decision makers and civil society in terms of ensuring that citizens are better able to access services for their safety and security; ensuring that police use nonviolent intervention techniques in protests and demonstrations; increasing the legitimacy of the police and the police hierarchy in the eyes of the population; ensuring that police misconduct does not remain unpunished; providing police services to all regardless of region or identity; and introducing democratic policing and respect for differences as a component of police training.

Executive Summary

MAIN QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY

TESEV's *Research on Public Trust in the Police in Turkey* seeks answers for the following questions: (1) What are the reasons for public trust or distrust in police? (2) Do perceptions of trust or distrust in police overlap with the actual data—to what extent are they proportionate with or independent from these? (3) What are the consequences of trust or distrust in police?

- Trust towards Police: How much do citizens of Turkey trust the police? Do citizens believe that they can go to the police when they need security and public order? Do they think that the problems for which they appealed to the police will be solved?
  Are citizens willing to go to the police station to file complaints? Does the public believe that the police will serve them equally when in need, without discrimination on the basis of ethnic, religious, and political identity, gender and marital status?

- Demographic and Regional Factors: How much do demographic factors such as religious and ethnic identity, age, gender, income, educational background and region of residence affect the perception of public's trust in police?

- Legitimacy of Police: Do citizens believe that police treat them equally, respectfully, and fairly and produce just results accordingly? Does the public perceive the institutional framework of the police force as legitimate? Does the public believe that police act in accordance with the law, that the rules and procedures used by the police are fair, that the police allow unfair decisions to be corrected by the citizens and that the police refrain from abusing their power? How fair do the police act in their actions (procedural fairness), are such police practices considered fair by the public (outcome fairness), and how do criteria of lawfulness affect confidence in the legitimacy of the police? How do positive or negative perceptions of police legitimacy affect trust in police and the public-police relationship?

- Police Effectiveness: What are the differences between how well trained, competent and efficient police are; the police's real performance in crime-prevention, decreasing crime rates and apprehending offenders; and public's abstract beliefs toward these issues in general? What do these differences tell us about trust in the police?

- Cooperation with Police: How does trust in police affect citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police, to help the police voluntarily, to provide the police with information, and to call the police when in need?

- Obedience to the Police: How does trust in the police affect citizens' willingness to accept the decisions and authority of the police and to obey their warnings and instructions?

- Tolerating the Violations of the Police: Does trust in the police influence the patience and tolerance of citizens toward rights violations and unlawful practices on the part of the police? To what extent and under

what circumstances do different segments of society tolerate police misconduct, the use of excessive force or torture, illegal telephone tapping and tracking, and other violations and unlawful practices?

- Interaction with Police: How do citizens' experiences with the police in daily life, at the scene of a crime, at a police station, at demonstrations, at sports competitions, etc. affect their trust in the police?

In this study, the questions that directly measure respondents' trust are considered dependent variables in order to answer the questions outlined above. This study attempts to understand the dimensions of the trust perception expressed by citizens of Turkey (avg. 3.89 - out of a 5 point scale) as well as its perception of legitimacy and effectiveness by examining how these perceptions and trust affect cooperation with the police, obedience to the police and tolerance towards police misconduct/violations of the law.

Sample of the Study:

The study was applied to a sample of 3,207 people across Turkey. Multistage stratified random sampling was used to represent the population that was 18 years and older, living in urban areas. Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) data on the 2011 general elections were used as the basis for the regional distribution of the general population. The first level of the new Classification of Statistical Region Units (SRE), consisting of 12 regions and adopted by TURKSTAT in accordance with the European Union Regional Statistics System (NUTS), is used for the purpose of representing regions in Turkey. The individual streets, buildings, and households of the neighborhoods in which the survey was carried out were chosen by a random-sampling method during the field stage.

FINDINGS AND RESULTS OF THE STUDY

1. Trust in the Police

The results produced by this study show that the perception of the police expressed by society is positive (avg. 3,89, ss. 0,86, cronbach 0,66). While the value of 3.89 out of 5 points seems high, it should be underlined that this perception is generally positive across comparative police studies. In international studies, values of 4 and above represent countries where trust in police is high, and around 2.5 in unstable countries where trust is low.

This is the point at which the legitimacy and effectiveness (performance) of the police, two of the factors that affect trust in the police, become important. It became evident in this study that trust in police in Turkey is affected by positive and negative social perceptions of police legitimacy and effectiveness (performance).

Nine propositions were used to measure the level of trust in police as expressed by society (i.e. stated trust). Respondents were asked, among other things, whether the police would be called to act when security and public order was needed, whether the police would solve the problems they were asked to solve, whether a person would refrain from going to the police station personally, and whether they believed that the police would serve all citizens equally irrespective of ethnic, religious, and political identity, marital status, or gender.

It was observed that when respondents were asked whether they trust the police, they answered in terms of their ideological, sociocultural, emotional or political loyalties. When respondents' values or political views coincided with those represented by the police (for instance, Sunnis, Turks, Justice and Development Party (AK Parti) or Nationalist Action Party (MHP) voters), trust in the police increases. It is an expected result that those who consider themselves at a peripheral position in the system to which the police belongs to, have less trust in police. Those segments, such as Kurds, Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) or Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP)

voters, and Alevis, who don't feel represented as much as other segments in the current system, have low trust in police. At the same time, when police are considered as a tangible or an actual person, for instance at the stadium, in traffic, at demonstrations, etc., they are considered to be more trustworthy. This increases the possibility of cooperation with police.

The answers given to questions concerning trust in police demonstrated that the group with the highest trust in the police are AK Parti voters, and the group with the lowest trust in the police are BDP/HDP voters. Trust, as expressed among the groups who defined themselves as Kurdish or "other", is significantly lower compared to those identifying themselves as Turks and Arabs. When the perceptions of effectiveness and legitimacy, which constitute the concept of trust, and demographic factors (ethnic and religious belonging, political party, regional differences, etc.) were examined in more detail, however, the relatively high value found in the 'stated trust' measure (i.e. answer to single question of how much one trusts police) was found to be lower.

2. Factors Affecting the Perception of Trust: Perceptions of Police Legitimacy and Effectiveness

Differences in the perception of police legitimacy are the most significant variable affecting the perception of trust in police. While taking small steps in police legitimacy may quickly improve the perception of police trust, it became evident that bigger and more fundamental steps are required in order to change trust through improving the perception of effectiveness. This relationship is valid in both a positive and a negative direction. A small-scale change in the perception of legitimacy may affect effectiveness on a larger scale.

The police's own attitudes and actions, which affect the perception of legitimacy in Turkey, also affect the society's tolerance towards rights violations/police misconduct as well as their cooperation with police. The perception of legitimacy and effectiveness may shape the way in which individuals act towards police at critical moments. The change in the perception of legitimacy and effectiveness of the police may affect such tolerance, cooperation, as well as obedience to the police, the law, and regulations. The impact of the positive changes in the perception of legitimacy and effectiveness may contribute to a more democratic and stable atmosphere in the country. It has been found that the small steps taken towards improving the perception of legitimacy and effectiveness have a large impact in increasing trust, especially among demographic groups whose religious, ethnic, and political identity is different than that of the majority of the population.

3. Perception of the Legitimacy of the Police

The legitimacy of the police in Turkey is seen as an important part of public trust in police. In order to increase trust in the police in Turkey, steps should be taken not only to increase the police's performance in crime-prevention, decreasing crime rates, and apprehending offenders, but also towards increasing their legitimacy.

The criteria to measure the legitimacy of the police force in the eyes of the public are as follows:

- The criterion of *procedural fairness* or *attitude of the police*: This criterion is used to measure public perception of how fair the police act in their practices and attitudes.

- The criterion of *outcome fairness* or *distribution of services*: This criterion is used to understand if the public considers that police actions produce just results, independent of police's attitude and behavior toward public. On other words this criterion tries to delineate to what extent public believes that police provide concrete services in accordance with their function.

- The criterion of *lawfulness*: This criterion is used to understand whether the police represent public's common values and the law, both in the eyes of the public and within the general legal/institutional/administrative *system* of which the police is a part of.

- The criterion of *shared common values*: One of the criteria in Turkey unlike those found in studies conducted in other countries, distinguished from the criterion of police lawfulness.

The criterion of procedural fairness is lower than the other dimensions across all demographic distributions. This shows that the public's belief that the police respond to citizens' needs sensitively and fairly is negative compared to its belief that the police force distributes services equally and acts lawfully. The perception of procedural fairness police is the factor which requires the most improvement, since it has the lowest perception. Trust is affected most by the police's lawfulness and by factors related to the legal system. However, the perception of the actual behavior of the police and the belief that the police sensitively and fairly respond to needs of citizens are both relatively negative. **Thus, it has been observed that public distinguishes the system in which police act from police itself. The public is not satisfied with how the system causes the police to act. The conclusions demonstrate that the police do act in accordance with the law, yet the system constituting that law itself falls short.**

The most important among the factors that determine trust in police in Turkey, is the dimension of police lawfulness or the system (see Table 24: Multiple Fix Effect Regression of Legitimacy and Trust). Several factors enter into how society defines police lawfulness: equal and just application of rules and practices by the police force for all; opportunities to correct unjust decisions; impersonal and fact-based decision-making on the part of police officers, punishment of police officers who violate the law, and consistent application of police services; several measures that can be taken to improve the perception of police lawfulness emerge when considering such factors.

Thus, this study found that taking even small steps to change the system had a significant effect on perception. The citizens already acknowledge that the system is problematic. In order to change the perception of police behavior, however, more significant measures have to be taken. Ensuring that police behave justly emerged out of this study as a general trust-building factor, albeit not across every single demographic or regional group. In addition, **punishing police officers who violate the law and sharing the fact that this punishment has occurred with the public would contribute to increase public's belief that the police behave lawfully**.

Based on such criteria, in examining the extent to which police legitimacy rises and falls in the eyes of the public, the belief that the police observe (or do not observe) the principle of equality among different ethnic, political, and religious groups emerges as a significant part of public's perception of police legitimacy. While groups closer to the political center have a higher level of legitimacy, legitimacy decreases the farther one moves away from the sociopolitical center.

Based on international studies, we see that in homogeneous societies, the difference in perception between police actions/just behavior and their concrete distribution of services is low, while in heterogeneous societies the difference between these two factors is higher. In Turkey, with its heterogeneous society, different groups (particularly those farther from the center) are concerned about discrimination. The perception of police legitimacy among Alevis is much lower than that of Sunnis. For Alevis' perception of police legitimacy to increase, it is important that police behavior (procedural fairness) and distribution of services (outcome fairness) be improved. Respondents who indicated that they voted for the AK Parti were shown to have a higher

perception of police legitimacy compared to other party voters. This points to a general trend in studies on trust perception of police. In societal groups representing an ideological or ethnic majority, the belief in police legitimacy is consistently shown to be higher. The perception of police legitimacy among CHP (Republican Peoples Party) voters is more negative than that of AK Parti voters, but higher than that of BDP voters. In comparison with Turks, Kurds have a stronger belief that police represent the laws and form a part of the system. In evaluating this result, one must keep in mind that a majority of Kurds do not perceive this 'system' positive.

Considering that changes in the perception of legitimacy generally affect trust in police, any improvement in the relationship between police and public in Turkey or in the trust in police would require the police force to take the following three measures:

1. Because "police lawfulness" is the variable along the "legitimacy" dimension that most quickly affects trust in police, the first step that ought to be taken by the police force in the short term is to **strengthen public's belief that police officers act within the framework of current laws**. For example, one of the most important suggestions that could affect the perception of police lawfulness would be for police officers to allow citizens to correct the implementation of unjust decisions. However, it was observed that only 53% of respondents believed that police officers allow this all the time or most of the time.

   Another step that could improve the perception of police lawfulness would be **the establishment of mechanisms and institutions to which citizens could apply to correct decisions they feel were taken unjustly** and for such **institutions to operate independently**. For example, citizens ought to be able to appeal a traffic violation by applying to a public inspector or independent ombudsman. At the same time, **citizens ought to be able to speak with police on the spot and should be able to explain their problems with greater ease**. The necessary changes to police training should be made in order to increase the police's willingness to follow through on this issue.

2. After improvements in the perception of legitimacy and trust in police, a second set of measures to be taken would be to change perception of outcome fairness (related to the distribution of services) and of procedural fairness (related to police behavior). Therefore police ought to **treat citizens not only politely, but also fairly irrelevant of their social/political identity or background.**

3. A third step that ought to be taken to change the perception of police legitimacy is to change the ideas held by citizens who do not feel a strong political affiliation or those who associate with parties outside the political center. Because trust in police of groups who have strong political bonds operates independently of this group's perception of police legitimacy, improving the perception of legitimacy has a stronger impact among other groups. One important measure to be taken in this regard would be to restructure the police force to make it more transparent. An effective way to change the perception of police legitimacy would be for them **to respond quickly and transparently to requests for information by citizens and NGOs representing social groups with low levels of trust in police**.

4. Perception of Police Effectiveness

The following criteria emerged in this study as measures of public perception of police effectiveness:

1. An abstract idea or *normative criterion* to determine belief in the police's effective implementation of what is expected of them, their impartiality, respectful treatment of citizens at demonstrations, and their competence and effective training.

2. A criterion of *fight against crime (crime-fighting)* used to measure perception on topics like crime prevention and reduction, used to understand perception on performance related to traffic violations, drug issues and smuggling, economic and financial crimes, and the maintenance of order at football games and other sport events.

3. A criterion of *apprehending offenders,* used to measure the perception of police performance when it comes to apprehending those who commit crimes like burglary, pickpocketing, petty crimes, sexual harassment, rape or murder.

According to the study, public perceives police to be the most effective in the second dimension, that of crime-fighting. Perception of apprehension of offenders or normative notions of police effectiveness are lower.

According to the statistical analysis, the dimension that most significantly improves trust in police is the 'normative' criterion. The impact of abstract belief in police effectiveness among Kurds and Alevis in particular has a strong impact on their trust in police. Increasing the perception that the police are effective and successful, for example by making guarantees that the police will act impartially, increases trust in police.

The societal group with the highest perception of police effectiveness is the Sunni Muslim group, whereas this perception is lowest among Alevis or those who do not believe in any religion. Among the latter groups, outside of concrete measures of police performance, the belief in the normative effectiveness or success of the police force is also low. At the time the field work was conducted, respondents who said they would vote for the AK Parti showed a higher perception of police effectiveness compared to respondents who said they would vote for other parties. The abstract belief that police would always act effectively and competently is high in the Aegean region and lower in the Southeast Anatolian region. The lowest perception of police effectiveness among Kurds relates to the 'apprehension of offenders' criterion.

According to the results of the study, trust in police of groups who did not profess a strong sense of political belonging would be significantly affected even by a small change in their perception of police effectiveness. Steps should be taken to improve the perception of police effectiveness of these groups in order to increase their trust.

Based on the influence police effectiveness has in transforming public's trust in police, it is important that in situations where the police come in direct contact with the public, for example at football matches or at demonstrations, that they are more effective, so that the relationship between police and public in Turkey can be improved and societal trust in police can be increased. In situations like these, where police come face to face with the public, police must not only act equally and justly to all, but they should also be effective at establishing order. In this regard, **policies should be effectively developed to control crowds without resorting to violence/ excessive force and police officers should be trained on this issue.**

5. Cooperation with the Police and Obedience to Police

To what extent do the perception of trust, effectiveness and legitimacy examined in this study affect citizens' cooperation with police, their heeding of police warnings and obedience toward police orders, and the tolerance they show toward police misconduct? When trust in police is high, one would expect that attitudes toward police would be more positive, but is this the case in Turkey as well?

According to the study, the tendency for respondents to cooperate with police by, say, calling the police at a time of need or reporting a criminal situation witnessed, is higher than the trust they expressed in police. Although

the public might have little trust in police to solve problems, they are more open towards cooperating with them. In some countries (for example, Scandinavian countries), citizens do not cooperate with the police if they do not trust the police, in Turkey, the general trend is towards cooperation with the police regardless of the level of trust.

The tendency towards cooperation with police in Turkey is higher than the tendency to accept and obey police decisions and warnings. Activities like cooperation with police, assisting police willingly, providing information or calling police at a time of need mean obeying police and accepting police authority and decisions.

The dimension of police behavior, which constitutes the perception of their legitimacy, is the dimension that least affects public's motivation to cooperate with police or obey them. If the goal is for society to cooperate with police, then **one must prove that police can behave more justly and impartially toward citizens. It is important that this point be stressed more during police training.** In addition to restructuring the training method, **telling the public** that such training exists and sharing information about its content will strengthen this perception. Even if they are in the minority, those people who feel a strong sense of belonging to a political party tie their cooperation with police not to police performance, but to their political leanings. Respondents who did not express a strong sense of political belonging tie their tendency to cooperate with police to police performance. In this respect, we might say that the police force ought to adopt various policies. In regions like the southeast or western cities, where there is a high concentration of potential BDP/HDP voters, it is even more important for the police to try and improve the perception of legitimacy. In the Aegean region in particular, which received a high number of Kurdish immigrants from the southeast, even a small improvement in the perception of police legitimacy would ensure a significant increase in the tendency to cooperate with police.

6. Tolerance to Police Misconduct

In countries where the belief in police legitimacy and trust in the police are high, individuals have a higher tendency to tolerate police misconduct/violations of the law. Tolerance shown toward police violations is directly proportional to trust in police. This result confirms similar data from studies conducted around the world.

We see that the general trend in Turkey is that tolerance of police violations is higher (a) among segments of society who believe that the system represents them, and (b) to the extent that police are effective in applying the law.

Trust in police and tolerance towards their violations were seen to be directly proportional among societal groups that represent the majority and in regions where trust in police was high. In outlying regions or among minority groups, trust in police does not mean tolerating their violations or extra-legal activities. In such regions, increasing trust in the police would not necessarily increase tolerance toward police violations. Among societal groups or regions where trust in police is low, the problematic relationship established with the police has resulted in a situation where much more is expected of the police force in general. For example, in the Aegean and Southeast regions, and among Kurds, increasing the trust dimension of police legitimacy does not increase tolerance toward violations. In other words, when police are seen as more legitimate, they are expectation that they will not violate the law increases. **In regions with a denser Kurdish population, measures including the appointment of police officers who are more sensitive to the societal dynamics of the region still may not increase tolerance, due to the serious and unpunished violations suffered there in the past. Among citizens living in these regions, the only way to improve legitimacy and tolerance would be an increase in the belief that the law represents them.**

In Central Anatolia or among AK Parti voters, belief that the police are legitimate and effective point to a tendency toward tolerating minor rights violations committed by the police.

In regions where the relationship between the police and public is weak, police violations result in more serious consequences and tolerance to such violations is lower. There, citizens' suspicion of violations is high even during routine practices. Among segments of society where trust in police is high, however, we see that even serious violations are tolerated more. When we consider that suspicions of **violations increase the gap between public and the police force**, it becomes even more important that **the bonds of trust between police and public are strengthened**.

Due to serious violations of rights and the law in the past, **societal groups who have a low level of trust in police should be included in the police reform process in order to increase their trust in police**. Such a program was implemented in Ireland successfully. It would be helpful to analyze this program in more detail.

7. Interaction and Experience

According to the results of the study, as in other examples around the world, trust in police is lower among those who encounter police for whatever reason or those who interact with police. Interestingly, however, this same group shows an increase in perception of police legitimacy, tendency to cooperate and tolerance of the police misconduct that is directly proportional to its interaction with the police. In other words, the notion of the police is more negative than the police themselves (in reality).

1. Introduction

Citizens' cooperation with police and their willingness to obey the law are important for democratic administrations. In democratic societies, where laws and cultural norms protect freedoms and personal privacy, legal authority relies on the cooperation and approval of the public. The way people envision or evaluate the police shapes the way they respond to police, their political approach to the police, their cooperation with the police, their willingness to obey the law, and their participation in the fight against crime. For society not to trust the police, as well as the resulting lack of obedience toward the law, could lead to dire political problems.

Trust in institutions and legitimacy of legal authorities help sustain social and political institutions and regulations and ensure their legitimacy. The notions of trust and legitimacy emphasize the moral and practical bond between citizens and societal systems. In a democratic society, individuals enjoy the right to live inside a system that is ruled by law, that is broadly accepted to operate effectively and justly, and that is able to demonstrate to itself and to citizens that it possesses sole legal authority. Institutions develop when they can demonstrate to citizens that they are trustworthy and that they possess legal authority. In societies undergoing transition, trust in police has become a much more important issue, as the legitimacy and accountability of the state and of legal authorities are defined by the relationship the police have with society. Public's trust towards police may appear to be an indicator of police performance, it also comprises an important dimension of political trust and generally reflects the broader economic, political and cultural atmosphere of a country. In economically developed, liberal democratic countries, the police force is the most visible and symbolic representative of coercive state power on the ground. Such societies permit the police force to improve their trustworthiness and justice to uphold the rule of law, to preserve social order and to increase the welfare of all citizens. Only when citizens perceive the police as a legitimate actor can the state fulfill such basic responsibilities. A state's failure to fulfill these responsibilities may eliminate that state's legitimacy and threaten its very existence. The attitudes, emotions and behaviors that citizens display when it comes to the police can also be read as a sign of the police's attitude toward citizens and more generally as a way to read the trust in a liberal democratic state's success in fulfilling its share of the social contract toward citizens. It is for this reason that trust in police is now widely seen as one of the most important indicators of police legitimacy and the fairness of the judicial system. (Tyler 2007)

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Despite the fact that there has been a way of measuring public's faith and trust in the police through various mechanisms and reforming police force structures and procedures on this basis since the institutionalization of police activity under nation-states (Bellman 1935), only in the last twenty-five years has there been a sharp increase around the world in the number and diversity of studies on the relationship between the public and the police force (Brown and Benedict 2002).

Public surveys are the most widely used method in studies attempting to establish the factors that shape public perception of police or measure trust in the police. The first examples of this method used answers to a single

question ("How much do you trust the police force?") that was added to surveys on satisfaction with state-provided services in general and police trust in particular. More recent studies have pointed out the difficulties of analyzing a concept as complex as "trust" on the basis of one question and have argued that public trust in the police should not be measured using a single, direct question but rather by establishing which factors motivate public's trust in the police and by measuring the varying extent to which these factors affect such trust.

Studies on the public perception of police have determined that three different factors make up public's trust in police. These are: demographic factors; public's perception of police performance in carrying out their duties; and belief in police legitimacy. Demographic factors (including age, political and ethnic identity, region of residence, level of education and income) are seen as having a significant effect on trust in the police. These were the factors compared in single-question surveys on police trust. Second-generation studies on the perception of police argued that trust in the police could best be measured by observing police effectiveness. In other words, such research hypothesized that society trusted the police to the extent that they could protect citizens, maintain public order and prevent crimes. Third-generation studies on the perception of police, meanwhile, concluded that demographic factors and police perception factors were insufficient in explaining what made people trust the police. Thus, rather than looking only at police officers, police perception researchers from this period focused more on public trust towards police with respect to whether laws in general were applied fairly, arguing in other words that trust was shaped through more abstract concepts. This third dimension of public trust in the police has been termed 'police legitimacy'. Nevertheless, as legitimacy is a vaguely defined concept that has been debated by social scientists for centuries, researchers have preferred to examine the concept by dividing it into smaller, more measurable components. With respect to police studies, these components include: procedural fairness, outcome fairness, and lawfulness. Today, studies that aim to explain the perception of trust in police take three groups of variables into consideration: demographic factors, police effectiveness and police legitimacy.

In addition to defining public's trust in police, these three groups of variables also demonstrate the motivations for citizens to cooperate with police and to obey them, studies show. In other words, the more positive public's perception of police legitimacy and effectiveness is, the higher their trust. And as trust increases, so do citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police and obey the police. Furthermore, as trust increases, citizens are more inclined both to justify and to reject police officers' violations of the law or misconduct. The chapters that follow include a theoretical discussion on police legitimacy and effectiveness and the ways in which these dimensions are perceived across different societal groups.

In light of the developments described above, it is possible to say that there are two main approaches in studies on the perception of the police. In the first approach, public's perception of police and their trust in police are directly proportional to police performance. According to the second, police effectiveness may partially explain societal trust and willingness to cooperate with the police, but there are other, more important factors shaping trust in police. According to this model, known as the Legitimacy Model, public's belief that police represent a legitimate force is an important determinant in understanding and explaining both trust in the police and the tendency to cooperate with police; this is because the police force's effective solving of crimes and enforcement of order are not sufficient for the public to trust the police. The attitudes and behaviors exhibited by the police while on duty give important messages to societal groups. Police officers who display respectful, fair attitudes and behaviors convey to citizens the message that they are an important part of society and that they share common values (K. Murphy, Tyler and Curtis 2009). Citizens' feeling like they are a part of society significantly shapes their own attitudes toward institutions that represent that society (Giddens 1994; Tilly 2005).

Studies have shown that the first approach—the claim that police effectiveness shapes public's perception of the police—is valid only under certain circumstances. In situations where the police do not carry out their duties or fail to confront crime and disorder in a way that hampers the flow of normal life, then studies show that police effectiveness plays a significant role in shaping public's perception of police (Tankebe 2007, 2008, 2009). In orderly, stable societies, however, it has been observed that police effectiveness affects both public's trust in police and its tendency to cooperate with them less (Bradford et al., 2011). More importantly, in stable societies, it is known that perceptions of police effectiveness and legitimacy overlap to an extent that they cannot be precisely distinguished. In such societies, the relationship between the belief in police legitimacy and the trust felt towards police is strengthened, with the perception of effectiveness being lost in that of legitimacy. This means that in such societies, police effectiveness has ceased to be an important factor in securing public trust toward the police and requiring cooperation, but rather has become one dimension in the general perception of the police force.

While this will be described in more detail below, the general framework of recent police studies can be described as follows: There are three factors which affect public's trust in the police. These are demographic factors, public's perception of police effectiveness and public's belief in the legitimacy of the police. The components making up public's belief in police legitimacy, meanwhile, are public's perception of the police's adherence to the law (i.e. lawfullness), outcome fairness and procedural fairness. These components directly shape a public's trust in the police. Trust in the police, meanwhile, directly affects citizens' tendency to cooperate with police and the tolerance they show for police misconduct. All of these factors are taken into consideration in the present study (see: Figure 1).

FIGURE 1: A CONCEPTUAL MAP OF FACTORS CONSTITUTING TRUST PERCEPTION OF THE POLICE
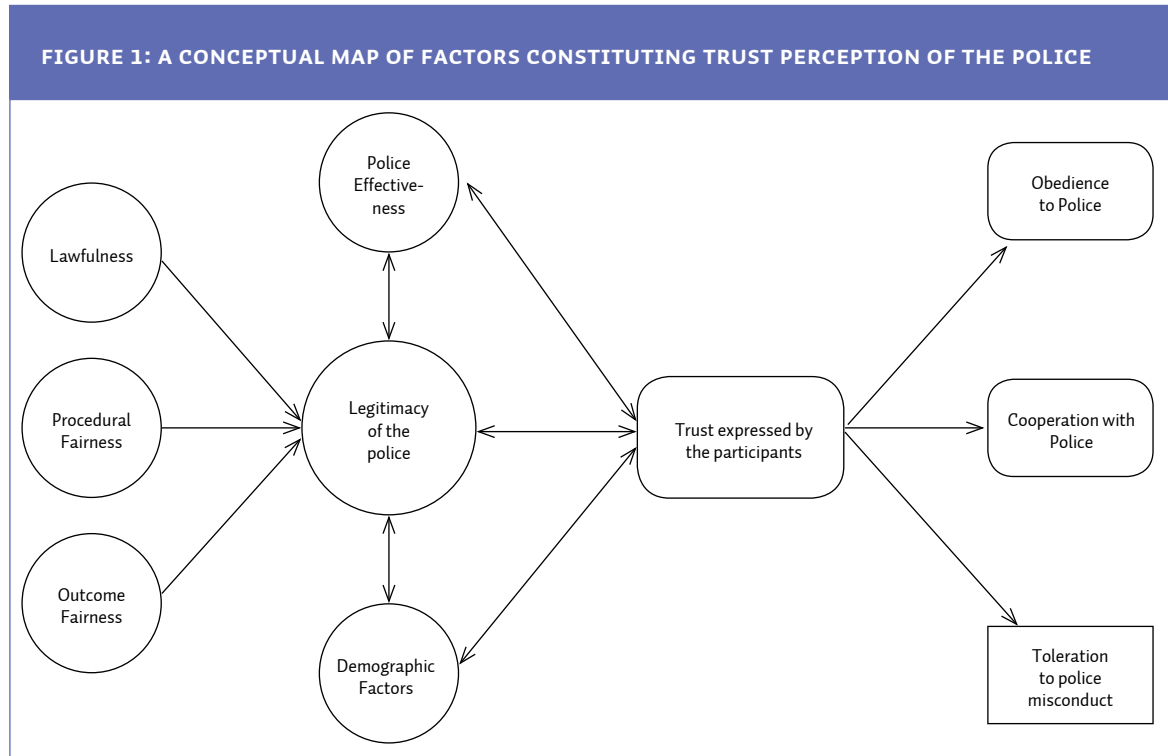
1.2 STUDIES ON POLICE IN TURKEY

Despite the strong rise in the number of studies on the relationship between police and public, and perception of police around the world in recent years, studies of police perception in Turkey are quite limited and have remained at the single-question level. The most consistent data have been collected since 1990 in the framework of the World Values Survey. Nevertheless, these data rely on a single-indicator question of trust. Respondents are asked about their trust in police with the question "How much do you trust each of the following institutions?" and told to rate their trust in the police, courts, parliament, the education system and other institutions as "trust completely," "trust somewhat," "do not really trust" or "do not trust at all" (WVS 2014). This survey was conducted in Turkey in 1990, 1996, 2001, 2007 and 2011.

FIGURE 2: TRUST IN THE POLICE IN THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY (TURKEY)
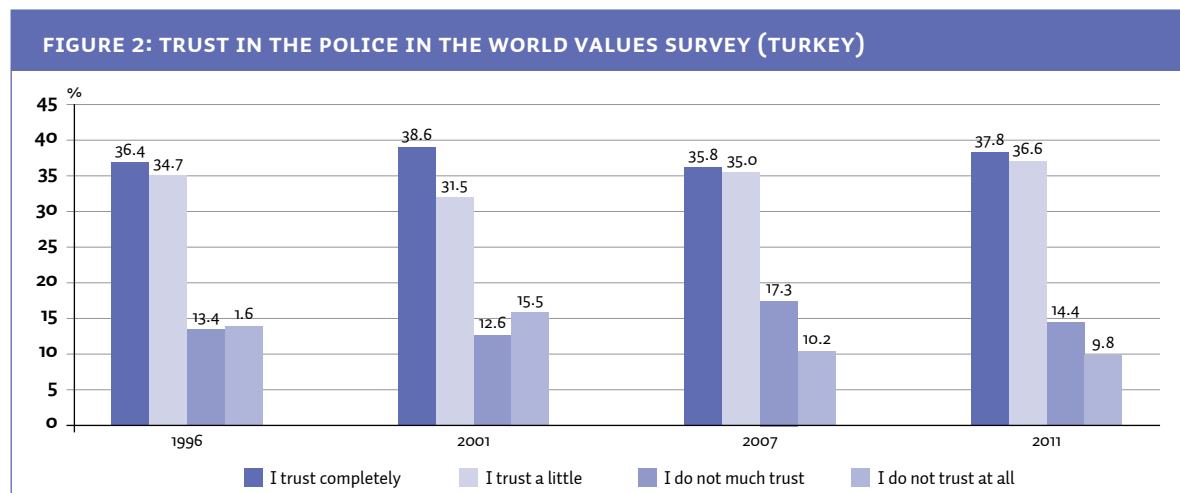
In the 1990 survey, 29.7 percent of respondents said they trusted the police completely, while 14.5 percent said they didn't trust the police at all. 2001 was the year in which the highest number of respondents indicated a complete lack of trust in the police; 2011 was the lowest (see: Figures 2 and 3).

FIGURE 3: AVERAGE TRUST IN THE POLICE IN THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY (TURKEY)
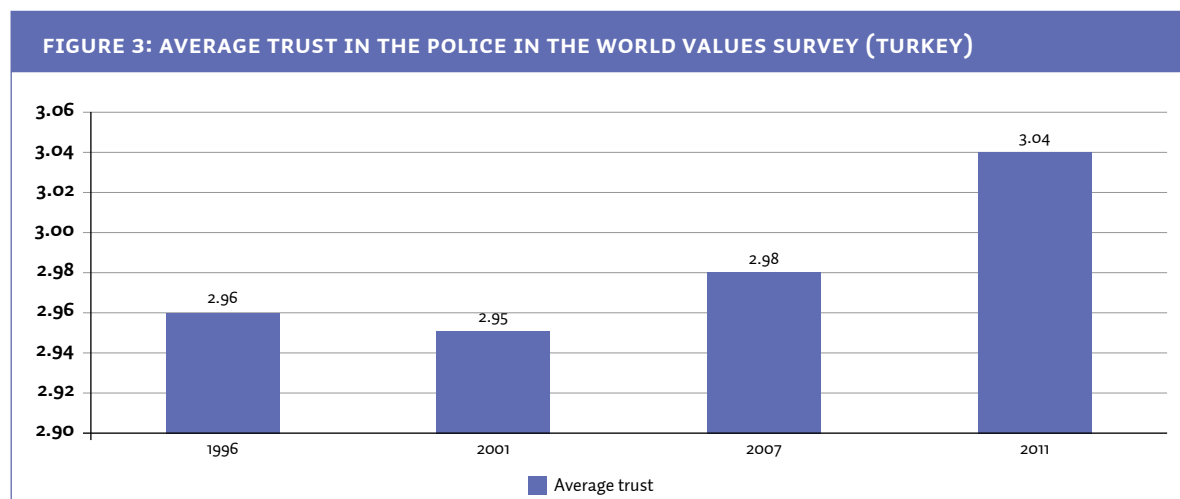
To compare, in the fourth wave of the World Values Survey (2000-2004), average trust in the police in Turkey was 2.95 (on a four-point scale), while in Canada, this number was 3, in the U.S. and China, 2.81, and in Spain and Sweden, 2.6. Trust in the police saw a rise in Turkey in the years that followed.

1.3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The basic motivation of this study is to eliminate the gap in Turkey opened up by the fact that studies on perception of and trust in the police have remained one-dimensional and by the fact that the functional and procedural police perception models that make up the basis for police-perception studies today have never been applied in Turkey. Understanding the characteristics the public wishes to see in a police force and the factors that make up trust in police carries great importance in democratizing societies. Because it is rare that the police in democratic societies carry out their duties using fear, threats or force, it is of critical importance that citizens in such societies have faith in the police force and that the behaviors and attitudes they expect from a police force before cooperating with them are known.

In this respect, this study was designed with the aim of understanding the factors that shape trust in police in Turkey and thereby ensure cooperation with the police in a way that would provide an opportunity to publicly evaluate the belief of police legitimacy and effectiveness. In line with developments in the field of police-perception studies, this study aims to explain the following aspects of public's perception of police in Turkey:

  i. What are the factors that comprise public trust in the police? To what extent do the factors of legitimacy and effectiveness, widely cited in the literature, also shape public's trust in the police?

  ii. What are the factors affecting the public's perception of police legitimacy in Turkey?

  iii. What are the factors affecting the public's perception of police effectiveness in Turkey?

  iv. How does the public's belief in the legitimacy and effectiveness of the police affect its cooperation with and obedience towards the police?

  v. How does public's belief in the legitimacy and effectiveness of the police affect the tolerance towards police misconduct?

Aiming to answer these questions, this study used respondents' direct statements about their trust in the police as a dependent variable. The following steps were then taken:

  1. Establishing the dimensions of public perceptions of police legitimacy in Turkey;

  2. Determining whether police effectiveness is one of these dimensions;

  3. Suggesting how the perception of police legitimacy might affect trust in police, cooperation with police and tolerance to police misconduct/violations of the law.

2. Public Perception of Police: A Theoretical Framework

Studies that examine the relationship between the public and the police force and public dispositions and attitudes towards the police have conceptualized the public perception of police in various ways. They have attempted to measure concepts like trust in police, confidence in the competency of the police force, and its legitimacy. These abstract concepts have mostly been used interchangeably. However, recent studies have argued that people distinguish these concepts from each other and that trust in police and legitimacy of police do not always overlap. Accordingly, they discuss what trust, confidence, and legitimacy mean and how these concepts fit in police studies theoretically and in doing so have developed different questions, which measure public perceptions on these concepts.

2.1 TRUST IN POLICE

Theoretical sociologist Charles Tilly defines the concept of trust as the belief that one would act as expected and argues that trust lies at the heart of all social relations (Tilly 2004). This corresponds to the public expectation and belief that police would act in a particular way. In other words, trust in police is the expectation that police officers would not act arbitrarily and would act according to particular social norms (Giddens 1994). This expectation may be positive or negative. For instance, studies conducted during the period of Latin American dictatorships indicated that public trust in police was relatively high. The public assumed that police would act in particular ways under dictatorial rule. Police officers' actions may have included violence or tended towards suppressing the public rather than solving crimes/problems. However, public trust in the police would continue to be high as long as the public expects these actions from the police. Thus, it has been observed that regardless of the nature of regimes, the level of public trust in the police was higher under stable regimes and lower under regimes undergoing a transition period (Cao, Lai, and Zhao 2012).

In other words, most of the public trust in police depends on the consistency of their actions. However, another aspect of trust in human relations is that the person or institution with which a relationship is formed has the ability to perform the expected actions. In this context, beyond the expectation that the dispositions and attitudes of police would be compatible with the social order and norms, trust in police also includes the expectation that the police would protect the current social order and norms and provide security for the public in line with these norms (Goldsmith 2005).

For instance, Nigeria is an example that is frequently used to point out the consequences of a lack of public trust in the police. The Nigerian police force is known for corruption, violence against the public, and lack of police training (Hills 2008). Studies conducted on the use of force by the police and public perception of the police show that the public not only does not trust in the fact that the police would act consistently, but also does not believe that the police would provide security under any given circumstances. Numerous cases were recorded in which police failed to adequately protect the public from armed gangs (Okereke 1993). Thus, before the police reform of 2005 in Nigeria, citizens rarely called the police when they suffered a crime. Furthermore, citizens quite often did

not obey the police directives and got into violent confrontations with the police. The lack of public trust in the competency of the police led the public not to take the police seriously and exacerbated the country's climate of instability and conflict (Alemika and Chukwuma 2000).

The reason for high trust in police under stable authoritarian regimes is that police both act consistently and possess the ability to secure public order. The low level of trust in police in societies, which are polarized or which have failed to provide democratic stability, is also based on this fact (Mishler and Rose 1998). However, theoretically, there is a third aspect to trust not found in these regimes. This is that the public expects the police to act consistently and fairly in addition to securing public order. Since fair treatment by police is not a part of the normal flow of life under stable authoritative regimes, it is possible to say that it also does not figure into the equation of trust.

Yet, under democratic regimes, or to be more precise, under regimes that accept the rule of law, trust in the police include the expectation that the police would act fairly within the framework of the law, in addition to acting consistently and being competent. Confidence in the justice of the police is the hardest to define and measure among the components that form the perception of police (Jackson and Bradford 2009). It varies in proportion to public's definition of justice and the confidence in the legitimacy of executives of a country. Studies showed that the most important factor in evaluating whether police act fairly or not is the belief on part of the police as to whether they feel to be representing public values (Jackson and Sunshine 2007). In other words, citizens want to see that the police act in accordance with the public interest.

As discussed above, public trust in police comprises various aspects such as stability and consistency, competency, fair treatment, and sharing common values. However, it cannot be expected from the respondents to evaluate all of these aspects when asked about their trust in police. The respondents' answer to the question of "how much you trust in the police" was an instinctive answer including all aspects (Bradford, Jackson, and Stanko 2009). However, the researchers are required to differentiate between these aspects in order for the meaning of the public trust in the police to give way to political change. Therefore, the recent studies on police studies have included different question groups to understand these different aspects, which form the public perception on the police.

2.2 POLICE EFFECTIVENESS

The difficulties in defining and measuring the concept of trust led researchers to define and measure the aspects that form the concept of trust. An approach to perception of the police has argued that the basis of public trust in modern societies depends on the perception on how competent and efficient the police force is. This approach has figured that trust in police force whose duties are securing the public order, providing security for the citizens, and decreasing the crime rates would increase as the police fulfill these duties. Police's success in fulfilling these duties has been considered as the most important, in fact the sole factor, which formed public perception on the police (Skogan 2009).

This approach has been widely used in England and the United States until past couple of years. Public trust in the police in England has been directly examined by the British Crime Survey and the data obtained from this survey has been compared with the competency of the police force. The relationship between trust and competency has been tried to understood by comparing the competency of the police force with the police records, which report the police force's success on solving the murder cases in their region, finding the offenders, and securing the region in general; the regional police budget and procedures has been determined accordingly

(Bradford and Jackson 2010). However, in 2008, it has been agreed that this data is not a valid measurement to assess public trust in the police, hence different methods to measure public trust in the police has been started to develop (Home Office 2008).

Similarly, several data, such as the number of cases in a year, the expenses of the police force, the regional robbery and murder rates, and the rates on solving these cases, which were assumed to measure the competency of the police force in the United States, have been compared with the trust surveys, which ask direct questions to the public; more often than not, it has been found that there is no relationship between them (Swindell and Kelly 2000; Kelly 2003). However, studies conducted in the regions in which the crime rate is critically high have showed that the perception that the police force is not competent has affected public trust in the police. In a study, which has been conducted in a neighborhood with a high crime rate in Washington D. C., one of the cities that has the highest murder rate in the United States, it has been found that public trust in the police is lower than the national average rate and this distrust has been associated with high crime rates (Weitzer and Tuch 2008). Likewise, an international comparative study of public perceptions of the police has presented that there is a positive correlation between crime rates and trust in police (Jang, Joo, and Zhao 2010).

In summary, while the perception that the police force is competent and capable of fulfilling its duties affects public trust to the police, it does not constitute the whole concept of trust. Especially, it could be argued that the effectiveness of the police force has less influence on public trust to the police in the regions in which the crime rate is not as high. In other words, the effectiveness of the police influences public trust to the police when they are considerably inadequate. However, there are other factors that shape public trust to the police.

2.3. LEGITIMACY OF THE POLICE FORCE

The inadequacy of the effectiveness of the police force in explaining public trust to the police led the researchers to resort to the theories of 'legitimacy' within political theories. One of the prominent researchers in this field, Tom Tyler's book published in 1990 has been considered a mile stone in police studies and in examining the relationship between the public and the police (Tyler 1990). Tyler, who discusses the above-mentioned 'deterrence' methods of the police, has posited that the questions asked to understand the relationship between the public and the police were wrong. Tyler, who underlines that the deterrence approach to policing tries to understand why citizens violate the law, argues that the question of why citizens abide by the law or cooperate with the police should be investigated rather than why the public is needed to be deterred, in understanding the relationship between the public and the police (Tankebe 2013). In other words, until 90s the studies, which have tried to understand why citizens violate the law, after the 90s have given their place to the studies, which have been trying to understand why the citizens abide by the law.

Studies, which try to understand why citizens abide by the law, obeyed to and cooperated with the police, presented that public trust to the police is the belief that police represent the common values of the public, share the same beliefs with the public, and more importantly appear as the representatives of an administration, which comes to power by the consent of the people, in addition to the effectiveness of the police and the trust declared by the people. The researchers, who conceptualize this belief as the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public, tend towards measuring the extent and the impact of legitimacy on public obedience to and cooperation with the police (Sunshine and Tyler 2003).

The concept of legitimacy, which has been widely studied by political scientists, to be adapted in the context of police force has shed light on the formation of public perception of the police. The most well-known study in the

political science theory belongs to Max Weber. Weber (1978) has argued that there are three types of 'legitimate power'— traditional authority, charismatic authority, and legal-rational authority. Traditional authority draws its strength from customs, charismatic authority takes its source from personal qualities of the leader. Legal and rational authority is grounded in a belief in the legality of the enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority to issues commands under such rules (Weber 1978). According to Weber (1978, 37), legality is the keystone of legitimacy in modern states. However, Weber takes this argument a step further and makes it a tautology. That is to say, he equates legitimacy with legality of the laws (Lassman 2000, 88).

Beetham (1991), who argues against this tautology of Weber, propounds that the concept of legitimacy misrepresents the relationship between people's beliefs and suggests that the phenomenon of legitimacy depends on different beliefs that varies from one society to another. According to Beetham, legitimacy is based on three conditions. These are legality, common values, and consent (Beetham 1991, 22). The researchers, who address Beetham's study in the context of police force, argue that the concept of legitimacy has been considered differently in Saudi Arabia, the United States, and Nigeria; however, these tree conditions determine whether the police force is legitimate or not. While the police force is perceived as legitimate by the people in Saudi Arabia; the police force is perceived as non-legitimate by the black people in the United States. Similarly, although the people of Nigeria believe in the legality of the police, they do not believe that police represent common values and serve the public based on the public consent (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012).

In order for an instrument such as a survey to be successful as part of this approach, it should take into account all three aspects of the concept of legitimacy. In understanding the ways in which these aspects are operationalized, their meaning should be briefly discussed. The first aspect, legality, is related to how government possesses power. This aspect questions whether government possesses power in accordance with the prevalent norms or by other means (Beetham 1991, 16). If the customary government in a society is a monarchy and holds power not by force, then it is considered legal. However, legality means that this power is possessed in accordance with the legal order in modern states. In the context of the police force, this is where police draw its authority from. For instance, on which power do police depend on to stop and search citizens or imprison criminals? Another respect of legality in the context of the police force is how police use their authority. What is the extent of power, which police draw by their legality? For instance, why do police have to inform the suspects of their rights or provide them with legal representation? Can the police arbitrarily arrest suspects or should they follow particular procedures? In summary, legality, which is one dimension of legitimacy of police in the eyes of the public, is the public perception concerning the police's authority to use power and the ways in which they use this power.

Legality is measured by two different theoretical constructions. The construction of 'lawfulness', which examines the legality of power of the police force, asks questions concerning where the police force draws its authority from. In this construction, the respondents are asked to express their opinion on the issues such as whether police act in accordance with the law or not and whether police have knowledge about the law. The second construction is related to how the police force uses its authority. The procedural fairness aspect of the concept of legitimacy has been constructed by Tyler and Sunshine and has been differentiated from outcome fairness. Procedural fairness is the measurement of whether police treat citizens equally and fairly regardless of the outcomes obtained.

The second aspect of legitimacy examines public opinion on whether police secure public interest and share common values. Beetham argues that laws and regulations are not accepted just because they are drafted as

law; on the contrary, the reason for written laws to be accepted is the belief of the public that these laws and regulations represent their moral sentiments and values (1991, 69). In the context of perception of police, this is the belief that the situation that comes up as a consequence of police to fulfill their duties is a fair result, in addition to the belief that the police officers represent the public. In other words, it is the belief that the results that are obtained as the police fulfill their duties represent common values of the public. This aspect is operationalized as 'outcome fairness' in measuring the perceptions of the police.

The third aspect of legitimacy, consent, is not discussed as part of police studies. The reason for that is that the consent of the public is an extension of its consent for the regime in power. Thus, legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public is measured by three constructions—outcome fairness, procedural fairness and lawfulness. However, recent studies showed that the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public could not fully explain public trust in the police. Therefore, it is obvious that there are other factors that play a role in shaping public's trust toward police, as well. These factors change from one society to another. For instance, the effectiveness of police could not explain public trust in police in the United States and in England as mentioned above. However, studies have presented that the effectiveness of police, is considered together with the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public within the framework of public trust in the police, as a separate factor. Nevertheless, studies conducted in the countries like China, Taiwan, Korea, and Brazil have shown that the effectiveness factor is not as significant as in the United States and England.

The legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public is an important aspect, because the public is prone to cooperate with the police force, which the public considers legitimate, and thus is to accept the decisions of the police. Police are considered as successful as much as they cooperate with the public and have the public accept its decisions in critical moments in democratic regimes. After it was realized that policies of fear and deterrence are not adequate to establish cooperation with the public, the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public became the most important factor studies focused on. Early studies conducted to measure public trust in the police assumed that the legitimacy of the police and public trust in the police have the same values. However, examples in which trust in the police is low even if the public considers the police legitimate or on the contrary; the public has trusted the police, yet did not consider them legitimate, led this theory to be reconsidered.

The factors that shape public trust in the police in different societies are discussed by several examples. The theoretical map of the factors that form public perception of the police is presented in the Figure 1.

3. Police Perception Around the World

Public trust and confidence in the police are important indicators for democracy and democratization. Many observers around the world have sought to develop mechanisms to measure public perceptions of police in the best way possible. The difficulty inherent in defining and measuring abstract concepts such as trust and perception have led to the development of a number of different methods and mechanisms. Discussions are ongoing as to what concepts are to be included in the public perception of police, what the best indicators of trust are as well as how these ought to be measured. Today, it is thought that public perception of the police consist of a number of factors such as trust in the police, confidence in police legitimacy and motivation to cooperate with police, and a variety of survey mechanisms are used to measure these factors.

Surveys are used as a means of asking citizens direct or indirect questions about such concepts, and, with their answers, aim to measure public's trust in police through statistical analyses. Aside from data obtained from surveys measuring police-force effectiveness and public's perception of the police, data like regional rises and falls in the crime rates, number of court cases reaching a verdict, complaints filed about police officers and number of investigations launched are frequently used in comparison with survey responses. This chapter looks at surveys developed to measure public's perception of police and the values that such surveys attempt to measure.

3.1. POLICE PERCEPTION SURVEYS

Since the concept of trust is a value that is itself complex and difficult to measure, it has been quite a challenge to define it in the context of police studies. Thus, rather than defining trust directly, researchers for this report first sought to determine the factors that affect trust.

3.1.1 First-Generation Police Surveys

First-generation studies in this field consisted of a single question. The answers given to this single question were compared with demographic factors by examining factors such as residential district, crime rates in that district, how often citizens were victims of crime. However, studies conducted in different districts showed that demographic factors were not a consistent indicator of public perceptions of the police, and that they did not have as significant of an effect on trust in the police as other factors.

Public trust (or confidence) in the police has been measured by surveys since the 1930s. Studies conducted in England at that time pioneered in measuring public perception of police. Initially, a single question was added to the surveys, which measured overall public satisfaction with government services. Public trust was considered merely based on the answer given to this question. Although a similar method had been used in the United States in the 1950s, the results of these surveys were not used until the 1990s (Bradford and Jackson 2009). These questions took different forms in different countries. For instance, the question added to the population census survey in the United States was: "Please indicate how much you trust the institutions below"; respondents were expected to choose among four responses ranging from "I have a lot of trust in this institution" to "I have very little trust in this

institution" (Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) 2007). In England, this question took the following form: "Do you believe that the police force fulfills its duties efficiently?" In this case, the answers were used to determine the distribution of the annual budget as well as the duties of the police force (Bradford, et al. 2009).

The World Values Survey, which has been conducted once every four years since 1981, measures public trust in police using a single question. In the World Values Survey, similar to the population census in the United States, the police force is listed alongside other institutions, and respondents are asked how much they trust these institutions. The respondents choose from among the following answers: "I have complete trust in this institution", "I have some trust", "I have little trust" or "I have no trust" (WVS 2014). No matter what way this question is expressed, some have argued that measures of perception consisting of a single question provide a reliable basis for measuring the public perceptions of the police (K. Brown and Coulter 1983). Academic studies have used this question as a dependent variable that can be compared with questions developed to measure other factors affecting the perception of the police[1]. The reason for this is that the concept of trust, like all abstract concepts, is a complicated one that includes many different factors. Since all factors making up the concept of "trust" cannot be scientifically defined, they are compared with other concepts that are hypothesized to explain public perceptions on police (Jackson, et al. 2011).

3.1.2 Second-Generation Police Surveys

Considering that there have been many aspects and levels of perception of any issue, it has become evident that a single question approach is not enough to run a meaningful analysis in a short span of time. Measures consisted of a number of questions have been developed in the second generation studies of perceptions of police, since public perceptions on police have many levels and different dimensions (Bradford ve Jackson 2009). These studies have continued to put emphasis on demographic factors and argued that the most important factors, which shape perceptions on the police, are how secure the citizens feel in the district they live in, their feelings about crime rates in their districts, their interactions with police, their socio-economic status, and their expectations from police. The studies, which have focused on regional factors, have shown that the factors, race and ethnic background, contrary to previous assumptions, were not significant and perception differences among ethnic groups could be explained by regional factors albeit partially.

For instance, one of the earliest studies to use this method asked five questions regarding public satisfaction with police services. Respondents were asked about the police's responsiveness to crimes committed in their district, their success in solving conflicts between neighbors, their success in preventing crimes and satisfaction with the police's treatment of victims. Their responses were collected under a single measure called "public satisfaction with the police" (Sampson and Bartusch 1998). When the results obtained from this measure were compared with demographic and regional factors, it was observed that these factors could not explain either public perception of police or public cooperation with police.

Another approach developed through these second-generation studies argued that public trust in police can be explained by performance factors, such as decreasing crime rates, securing public order and helping citizens when they need it. This current, which began in the United States, has been called the *functional model.* However, as noted above, studies of this issue have drawn attention to the fact that the effectiveness of the police force cannot entirely explain public trust in the police, and that level of trust is low in areas where police are highly effective and high in areas where police are less effective.

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1   **This method is the one used by this study.**

The fact that the functional model cannot completely explain public trust in police has led researchers to develop a second model. According to this model, which is also known as *legitimacy model,* the most important factor which constitutes public trust in the police is how legitimate the police are in the eyes of the public. This approach, which argues that the concept of legitimacy is related to how police act *vis-à-vis* rules/laws and how fairly they treat citizens points out that the concept of legitimacy is different in every culture.

3.1.3 Third-Generation Police Surveys

Confusion regarding precisely which concept is measured in the studies in which the measures of perception of the police is used led researchers to consider the following factors in the public perception of police: "trust", "contentedness", "satisfaction" and "legitimacy". In doing so, the researchers attempted both to measure these concepts and the extent to which these concepts persuaded public to obey to and cooperate with the police. Appropriate means were developed to measure these concepts and tried to understand the relationship between them. Studies that have used this method hypothesized that the most important factor in the public perception of police was the police's success in decreasing crime rates and thus sought to measure the relationship between police effectiveness and public trust in the police.

This method, which is especially common in the United States, Australia and Western Europe, views police services as a commercial product and studies seek to measure a sort of "customer satisfaction". British researchers, however, have argued that the public perception of the police is a concept far more complicated than satisfaction from services. They measure the public legitimacy of the police using data on the impact of police perception on public cooperation with police (Sunshine and Tyler 2003). In this regard, two models, known as Operational and Procedural Police Perception Models, today form the basis for studies aiming to measure the public perceptions on police.

The advantage of studies that aim to understand public perception of police by developing a variety of different scales is that they acknowledge that this perception may have different dimensions and that, while society may be satisfied with the police work in one field, it may find police dissatisfactory in another. However, there are disadvantages of developing such a scale. In order to turn the data collected along these scales into meaningful analyses, the questions collected under the same scale are required to measure different dimensions of the perception of the police. Scales that bring together disparate questions may produce wrong results, since they do not reflect the actual public perceptions on the police. Studies on the perception of the police in countries outside the U.S., England and Australia, have not yet reached this level. However, there are a number of initiatives in this direction. As they assist in the implementation of democratic regimes, such surveys have become the norm, especially in the context of countries undergoing democratic transitions. In particular, studies conducted in Ukraine (A. Beck and Chistyakova 2002), Russia (Reynolds, Semukhina and Demidov 2008), Ghana (Tankebe 2008; Tankebe 2010), China (Wu and Sun 2009), Latin America (Malone 2010), Finland (J. Kääriäinen 2008; J. Kääriäinen and Sirén 2011) and Belgium (Van Craen and Ackaert 2006) have made significant contributions to the literature. In Turkey, there have not yet been any studies (with the possible exception of unpublished Ph.D. theses) to measure the public perception of police. Papers concerning the formation of public perceptions of the police in Turkey have as yet been produced on the basis of the single-question method in the World Values Survey (Cao and Burton 2006; Karakus, McGarrell and Basibuyuk 2011). In addition to the difficulty of measuring the perception of the police, the fact that demographic and regional factors differ from each other among countries make it difficult to conduct comparative studies. However, there are important studies in this area that shed light on the formation of perception of the police. For instance, comparative studies of the U.S. and Japan (Cao, Stack and Sun

1998), China (Cao and Hou 2001), Germany (Cao 2001) and nine Latin American countries (Cao and Solomon Zhao 2005) have shown that trust in police is low in these countries compared to the U.S. It has been observed that trust in the police is low in Canada, Nigeria and Bangladesh compared to the U.S. (Lambert et al. 2010). Comparative studies conducted in Asia have shown that trust in police is high in China compared to trust in Taiwan (Lai, Cao and Zhao 2010). A comparative study of sixteen countries in Europe has shown that trust in police is higher in Scandinavian countries and lower in Eastern European countries (J. T. Kääriäinen 2007). Another comparative study of twenty-eight countries has confirmed this finding (Ivković 2008).

3.2 DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Demographic factors are the first that comes to mind among the factors affecting public trust in the police. Thus, numerous studies have been conducted to measure how and to what extent factors like race, ethnic background, age, gender, income and educational background affect public perception of trust. It became evident that only race and ethnic background are factors which consistently affect the perception of trust. Other demographic factors were not consistent among groups and could not explain public trust *per se*.

3.2.1. Age and Gender

First-generation police studies have argued that age and gender are important factors in constituting public perception of the police. The first studies conducted in Western countries such as the U.S., England, Australia and New Zealand have shown that trust in police increases as age increases (K. Brown and Coulter 1983; Jesilow and Meyer 1995; Cao, Frank, and Cullen 1996; Reisig and Correia 1997). The fact that women trust police more than men is one of the conclusions that are frequently repeated (Reisig and Correia 1997; Cao, Frank, and Cullen 1996). However, studies conducted in different contexts have shown that factors of age and gender do not significantly affect trust in police.

According to the studies that examine the effects of the demographic factors on public trust in police, the higher the age, the higher trust toward police. This situation was explained by three reasons: i) more integration of elder citizens to the system; ii) the fact that elder citizens are more conservative; iii) the fact that they do not have much to lose (Bayley 1990). Limited number of international comparative studies have supported this finding. For instance, according to the results of the World Values Survey, the comparative study conducted with fifteen countries (Jang, Joo and Zhao 2010) and a study with fifty countries have shown that there is a positive correlation between age and trust (Cao, Lai and Zhao 2012). Similarly, the comparative study conducted in sixteen countries has shown that this tendency exists in European countries, as well. However, it has been observed that this general tendency changes from culture to culture and that when there are stronger factors that affect trust, age loses its significance.

For instance, studies conducted in the US have shown that there is a positive correlation between age and public trust in the police. It has been observed that trust in police increases, as the citizens' age increases even in regions such as North Carolina in the US where trust in police is low compared to the national average and the citizens are predominantly black African Americans (Priest and Carter 1999). However, it has been observed that there is a negative correlation between age and trust in longitudinal studies conducted in the city of Harrisburg in the US (Sims, Hooper, and Peterson 2002). Another study argued that there are more negative experiences between police and the citizens in this city. This resulted in a change of perception according to age. However, similar studies approved that the experience of interaction with police is more significant than demographic factors (Gau 2010). Similarly, it has been observed that age is not a significant factor of trust in the police in the

city, Cincinatti, in the US, which is known for the tension between police and the citizens (Cao, Frank and Cullen 1996).

Contrary to previous studies, recent studies conducted in England and Wales have shown that there is a negative correlation between age and trust in police. The higher respondents' age, the less they trust police (Myhill and Bradford 2012). Since this result is significantly different from previous studies, researchers tended towards examining the factors, which have changed this result. Interaction with police as a factor has appeared as more significant than age in these regions, as well (Bradford, Jackson and Stanko 2009). Researchers in Asian countries, such as Taiwan, China, and Japan, have thought that the memory of the recent authoritative past in these countries might lead to a more negative perception of police. However, results obtained from different studies showed that this assumption is wrong. It has shown that trust in the police and positive perception increase as the age increases in these countries, despite their authoritative past. Moreover, these results have shown that age has a statistically significant meaning concerning the perception of the police in these countries (Cao and Solomon Zhao 2005; Cao, Stack and Sun 1998; Wu 2009; Wu 2012). It has been verified that the onward tendency of trust in police, associated with age, has been changing in recent years, at least in China, by the research findings. While a study, which has been conducted in the same city in China and with a similar demographic group in 2001, has shown that age is statistically not significant (Cao and Hou 2001); another study conducted in 2012 has concluded that there is a positive correlation between age and trust. However, studies conducted in Mexico have contradicted this tendency. Depending on the results reached in Latin American countries, it has been thought that trust in police will increase as age increases in Mexico, as well. However, it has been observed that trust in police deceases as age increases in the studies conducted in different times with different groups (Morris and Klesner 2010; .Kwak, San Miguel and Carreon 2012). The fact that police misconduct in Mexico is commonly known by the public may be a factor, which explains this tendency (Davis 2006).

Similarly, gender is not a consistent factor in estimating trust in police. The studies conducted in the 1980s and 1990s in Western countries have shown that women trust in the police more compared to men (B. Brown and Benedict 2002). The results obtained by international comparative studies have verified this general tendency; however, presented that gender has a low impact on trust in the police (Jang, Joo and Zhao 2010; Cao, Lai and Zhao 2012). Nevertheless, a study, conducted in New Zealand, has suggested that women trust in police more than men and that the difference between the two groups is considerably high (Jonas and Whitfield 1986). Some studies conducted in the US have shown contrary results. A study, conducted in the state of Washington, has put forward that women trust police less than men (Correia, Reisig and Lovrich 1996). This study, which has been repeated in four different cities later, has presented that women's trust in police in the US is even lesser; however, it has been observed that it only represented the white women's perception of trust in police (Reisig and Giacomazzi 1998). Another study, conducted to understand the reasons behind women's trust in police is contrary to the general tendency in the US. This study suggests that these results depend on the size of the premise. In other words, women trust police more than men in smaller cities, while they trust in police less than men in big cities and metropolis (Nofziger and Williams 2005). While studies conducted in Canada evidenced that women trust police more than men; however, this difference is minimal. A longitudinal study on perception of police, conducted in Germany, affirmed that gender does not affect public trust in police (Cao 2001). It has been found that women's trust in police is higher than men in China (Wu 2012). It could be argued that women trust police more than men in the societies where women were victims of crime more frequently than men.

In sum, age and gender affect public trust in police under certain circumstances. However, as understood from the studies mentioned in this section, it is possible to argue that these factors vary by culture, that they do not significantly affect perception of police, and that their impact is significantly lower.

3.2.2 Income and Educational Background

First-generation police studies assumed that income and education background are important factors in the perception of police; however, studies have shown that these two factors do not have a consistent influence on perception of the police. As it is discussed above, it could be argued that there is a general tendency that despite the differences in the effect of age and gender on perceptions of police, the factors of age and gender do not have significant effect on trust in the police. It is not possible to refer to such general tendency for income and education background. One of the reasons is the assumption that there is a strong connection between the level of education and income and the thought that trust in police decreases as the level of education and income increases in Western countries that pioneered in police perception studies (B. Brown and Benedict 2002). For that reason, measuring the independent effects of income and level of education in these countries has been difficult. The studies have shown that trust in police decreases as the level of education increases (D. W. Murphy and Worrall 1999; Jesilow and Meyer 2001). It has been argued that one of the reasons of the contrary relationship between the level of education and trust is that educated people attach more importance to civil rights and freedoms, thus, trust in police is less (Carlan 1999).

However, a study, conducted in Chicago presented results that are different from this view. It has become evident that the more educated, groups trust in police more (Frank, Smith ve Novak 2005). Studies conducted in Canada have shown similar results (O'Connor 2008). By contrast, it has been observed in a study conducted in Germany that low level of education increased trust in police (Cao 2001). Similarly, trust in police decreased as the level of education increased in Japan (Cao, Stack, and Sun 1998) and in Mexico.

International comparative studies have shown that the level of education does not have a statistically significant effect on trust in police. For instance, it has been observed that the level of education does not affect trust in police in a statistically significant way in India (Nalla and Madan 2012), China (Wu 2009), and Pakistan (Akhtar et al. 2012). This situation has been explained by reasons such as the negative correlation between levels of education and income and high income level, independent of education (Brown and Benedict 2002).

The effect of differences in the level of income on trust in police is statistically not significant although this factor seems more consistent. The first generation studies conducted in the US have presented that trust in police is low in low income groups (Hindelang 1974; K. Brown ve Coulter 1983). However, studies conducted in following years, have indicated exact opposite results (Cao, Frank and Cullen 1996; Correia, Reisig and Lovrich 1996). The comparative study conducted in Europe has shown that the level of income has increased trust in police (J. T. Kääriäinen 2007). It has been observed that there is a negative correlation between level of income and trust in police in Latin America (Cao and Solomon Zhao 2005); however, it has been observed that level of income is statistically not significant (Myhill ve Bradford 2012).

Level of income affects trust in police under certain circumstances. For instance, a study, conducted in the US, has argued that the relationship between level of income and trust in police is meaningful only in the cases where there is increased media coverage of police and the police misconduct. It has been observed that there is a negative correlation between levels of income and the trust in police (Dowler 2002). Studies conducted in China and Taiwan have shown that levels of income affect trust in police, but this trust was interrelated to political power. In other words, if the level of income does not bring with it political power, it does not have an effect on trust (Sun et al. 2014). Another study, conducted in the U.S., has pointed out that the level of income increases trust in the police among the black African American citizens; however, decreases among white citizens (Hagan, Shedd and Payne 2005). Studies conducted in recent years have shown that regional factors explain the inconsistency in the effect of income level.

3.2.3 Racial and Ethnic Background

The first demographic study to measure perception of police focused on racial and ethnic background. It has been observed that trust in police is generally low among ethnic and minority groups compared to majority groups (Brown ve Benedict 2002). In particular, studies conducted in the U.S. have shown that trust in police is considerably lower among black citizens compared to white citizens (Murty, Roebuck and Armstrong 1994; Sampson and Bartusch 1998; Weitzer and Tuch 2002; Weitzer and Tuch 2005b). Similarly, studies conducted in England, the Caribbean and Southern Asia evidenced that citizens' perception of police is negative compared to majority groups (Smith, Graham and Adams 1991; MacDonald 2007; Bradford, Jackson and Stanko 2009).

In the studies conducted among the ethnic groups in the US, it became evident that ethnic groups generally have low trust in police and that they abstain from cooperating with police. For instance, the citizens of Latin American origin have low trust in police; however, it is not as low as black citizens' trust. Furthermore, it has been observed that the citizens of Latin American origin can express their distrust in police easier than white citizens (Weitzer and Tuch 2005a; Weitzer and Tuch 2004; Weitzer and Tuch 2006).

Although it has been accepted that generally racial and ethnic background sginificantly affect public trust in police, some studies have shown that the large difference in trust between ethnic groups is based on not only racial and ethnic background but also on regional factors.

For example, among the reasons for African-Americans lower level of trust in police may be that the rate of crime in the areas where they live is higher or that the police do not show enough effort in solving crimes suffered by the residents of these areas; both of these issues have been shown to have an influence on police perception (Weitzer and Tuch 2005b; Weitzer and Tuch 2005a). Studies focusing on race and ethnic groups' trust in police, have been conducted in urbanized regions where crime rates are high. However, studies conducted in the regions where these factors are equal, have evidenced that there is no significant difference between ethnic groups' trust in the police (Halim and Stiles 2001). A study conducted in the city of Detroit in the U.S. showed that black citizens trust police more than white citizens. The study, conducted in this city where black citizens are the majority and white citizens are the minority, has verified that the feeling political and social exclusion in the region they live is one of the factors, which affects trust, in addition to race and ethnic background (Frank et al. 1996). Another study has suggested that even black police officers have low trust in police. According to this study, while the factor which creates stress among white police officers is the possibility to kill someone on duty, the factor which causes more stress among black police officers is not being supported by their colleagues. The perception of trust is low among black citizens, who are police officers, because of their colleagues' attitudes and dispositions (Violanti and Aron 1995). Studies conducted among immigrant groups, have also shown that these groups have low trust in the police force compared to the majority group. However, trust in the police significantly differs among immigrant groups. For instance, the studies, conducted in Australia, showed that immigrant groups have less trust in police than the local population; however, immigrants from Vietnam have more trust in police than immigrants from China and thus, these groups cooperate with police more. Therefore, the researchers suggested that immigrant groups' perception of police is affected by the circumstances in the country that they come from and the discriminatory policies that they faced in the country in which they live (K. Murphy and Cherney 2011). The studies showed that Aborigines is the group which trusts the police the least among minority groups in Australia and they are followed by immigrants from Arab countries and Eastern Asia countries. It was observed that the groups which trust police the most are groups from Europe and the U.S. (Sivasubramaniam and Goodman-Delahunty 2008). Studies concerning minority and immigrant groups'

perception of police in European countries are not as common as in the US and in Australia. In France, the riots that broke out in 2005 have increased the studies conducted on the ethnic groups' perception of institutional legitimacy; however, these studies have not focused on public perceptions on police (Mucchielli 2009; Duprez 2009). Nevertheless, a limited number of studies have shown that minority and immigrant groups' trust in police in European countries remained below the countries' average.

The fact that the factors that play an important role in the formation of police perception differ from those that affect the general population, provides important clues about the formation of police perception. Before making an inference from these differences, it should be underlined that immigrant groups' perception of police in countries that they come from may affect the perception of police in the country to which they immigrate (Menjivar and Bejarano 2004). For instance, in studies conducted among Chinese immigrants living in San Francisco, immigrants have transferred the perception of the Chinese police onto the U.S. police (Chu ve Hung 2010). Similarly, studies conducted among Latin American immigrants living in the city of Missouri in the U.S., have presented that immigrants projected their distrust in police in the regions that they came from onto the U.S. police and the language barrier has strengthened the negative perception (Culver 2004). In addition, this impact does not have very high statistical explanatory power. The most important result of the studies conducted on this issue is that the factor, which affects the immigrant groups' trust in police, is related to how much they feel included in the society in which they live. Another study, conducted among Latin American immigrants evidenced that participants regularly attending church have more trust in police (Correia 2010). According to these studies immigrants who attend church regularly, adapt to the American culture more quickly and establish social bonds with their community through religious practice. Thereby they feel part of the society they live in and this in turn helps increase their trust in the police force.

In sum, it is possible to argue that the conditions of the regions in which minority groups live in, the relationship between police and the society in the country where they come from and their relationship with the state in which they live significantly affect public's trust in police. However, the most important factor in the formation of police perception is that of how much the minority group considers itself as legitimate part of society and community they live in. Studies conducted on the perception of procedural fairness have clearly evidenced this fact.

3.3. REGIONAL FACTORS

Demographic factors fall short in both explaining public perception of police and developing policies to strengthen the relationship between police and the society. Researchers who have examined controllable factors to change and strengthen public perception of police have tried to measure crime rates in a region, public perception of security and size of the premise. Thus, studies focus on regional factors in the formation of the perception of police. However, regional factors fall short in explaining how the perceptions on police are formed.

3.3.1 Security and Crime Rates

Researchers hoping to explain the effect of racial and ethnic background on perception of police in the studies conducted especially in the U.S., have found that regional factors play a role in the influence of ethnic background on police perception. Researchers who have observed that crime rates in residential areas and neighbors' feeling of security have serious impact on public perception of police. They have also pointed out that regional factors may be interpreted as ethnic factors from time to time (Jesilow and Meyer 1995).

The fact that ethnic minorities in the U.S. and Australia are concentrated in specific regions and the fact that crime rates are higher and police presence is felt less in areas where the socioeconomic level is lower than the areas where whites live, significantly affects trust in police in these areas (Reising and Correia 1997).

More recent studies have posited that citizens' feeling of security does not depend on crime rates in the region or an actual/concrete threat. The fact that the citizens feel they are under a threat, whether actual or not, affects trust in police (Bridenball and Jesilow 2008; Weitzer and Tuch 2005a). Moreover, it could be argued that trust in police can be influenced by not only threats to security but also disorderliness in the neighborhood. For instance, factors such as the fact that young people gather on streets and socialize aloud, draw graffiti affect public perception of police. These results verify the Broken Window Policing theory of criminologists Wilson and Kelling. According to this theory, if there are broken windows and neglected buildings in a neighborhood, the possibility of committing a crime is higher (Kelling and Wilson 1982). The society considers police responsible for increase in crime rates due to urban degeneration. This situation leads to a decrease in trust toward police in these regions. (Skogan 2005). Studies conducted in different regions have shown that public trust in police is significantly low in regions where crime rates are comparatively high. For instance, in a study conducted in Canada, it has been found that there is a negative correlation between minorities' high perception of crime rates and their trust in police (O'Connor 2008). Studies conducted in the neighborhoods where black African Americans and Hispanics live in the U.S., have shown that there are disadvantages which intensified in this area, leading to a negative perception on the police force (Schuck, Rosenbaum and Hawkins 2008). It has been observed that the intensified socio-economic factors explain the effect of race and ethnic background on police trust (Weitzer and Tuch 2005a). Some international comparative studies have compared murder rates and public trust in the police at the macro level, instead of the respondents' perception of security, and posited that trust in police is low in countries where murder rates are high (Jang, Joo and Zhao 2010).

3.3.2 Settlement Size

As much as crime rates and security perception, it has been observed that trust in police is also affected by the settlement size and proximity to a metropolis. It has been observed that disorderliness factors, which affect public trust, such as listening to loud music, young people to group at the street corners, minor violations such as drawing graffiti have significant influence on public trust in police (B. Brown and Benedict 2002). In other words, while ordinary violations have negative effect on public perception of police in rural areas, this effect is less in urbanized areas (Taylor and Lawton 2012). On the other hand, it has been observed that citizens living in rural and small settled areas have high trust in police and more confidence in the legitimacy of the police (Weitzer and Tuch, 2005a; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005b). Studies conducted especially in the U.S. and Australia, have shown that there is a significant difference between rural and urban areas. This difference can be explained by the fact that there are small and agricultural settlements in these countries and the distances between rural and urban areas are long. Studies conducted in England where these distances are short and the boarders between rural areas and cities are not very clear-cut, have shown that settlement size does not have a statistically significant effect on trust in police (Jackson and Bradford 2009).

3.3.3 Social Bonds

Another factor, presented by studies which examine regional factors on the perception of police is the social connections in the regions in which the respondents live. It has been observed that factors such as social networks in the regions where the citizens live, how concerned they are with the governance of the region, and

whether they are part of the civil society have considerable effect on trust in police (Reisig and Correia 1997). It has been found that individuals, who have strong social connections trust in police more (Macdonald and Stokes 2006). For instance, it has been found in studies conducted in India that physical depreciation or crime rates in the region do not affect trust in police in a statistically significant way. Instead, it has been observed that factors like the respondents' social capital, connections and acquaintanceship between local police force and the public considerably affected trust in police (Nalla and Madan 2012). Similarly, a study, conducted in Taiwan, has posited that regional degeneration or disorderliness does not affect police perception. Nonetheless, it has become evident in the same study that disorderliness decreases trust in police when it is considered as a factor, which disrupts social integrity (Sun et al. 2014).

In other words, factors such as citizens' perception on people living in the same neighborhood (e.g. as relatives or neighbors), socialization possibility they have with people in the region/neighborhood, and the belief that they belong to the social fabric/community increase trust in police. If police officers are also a part of the social network or pay attention to being a part of this network, trust increases even further (Crank and Giacomazzi 2007). It is possible to argue that one of the reasons that trust in police is high in small premises compared to the national average, is the existence of these types of social networks (Correia 2000). It has been observed that local social activities carried out in various districts increased trust in police especially in big cities. For instance, it has been evidenced in various studies that even a picnic organized by the local police force in the state of Idaho in the U.S. with the residents of the neighborhood on weekends once a year, has a positive effect on public trust in police (Crank ve Giacomazzi 2007). In other words, if citizens feel that they belong to the region in which they live in and, more importantly, they believe that police officers are a part of this social network, their trust in police increases. This finding partially explains the fact that immigrants and ethnic minority groups' trust in police is lower than the national average in all international comparative studies (Menjivar and Bejarano 2004).

Studies which examine the importance of social connections in the formation of trust in police, have shown that the information given by parents to their children plays an important role in children's trust in police (Wu, Lake, and Cao 2013). In fact, the perception of police acquired from relatives and social connections plays a more important role than ethnic background and other demographic factors (Sargeant and Bond 2013). Since demographic and regional factors do not show consistency in the formation of public trust in police in studies conducted, it was found that these two factors were of secondary importance in the formation of trust in police. The factors, which are effective in terms of trust in police were measured by functional and procedural approaches.

3.4 FACTORS OF POLICE EFFECTIVENESS

We have discussed that the duties of the police force have changed following the change in the function of the police in society after democratization. The new conception of the police has been directed to solve crimes, to develop methods for responding to calls for help more quickly and to apply preventive strategies to decrease crime rates. Traditional police procedures, focusing on patrolling, or policies of fear such as pressuring groups living in impoverished neighborhoods do not comply with the new notion of policing and these damaged the relationship between society and the police, and in turn decreased police effectiveness considerably (Thurman, Zhao and Giacomazzi 2001). The image of police as an ineffective force has led to serious problems in democratic regimes in which accountability of the state against the society ought to be high and the success of police, especially in the U.S. and Australia became a determinant factor for the outcome of local elections (Oettmeier and Wycoff 1999). However, police's success in preventing crime and decreasing crime rates does not always

increase trust. As a matter of fact, longitudinal tests conducted in the U.S. have evidenced that public satisfaction decreases as the police succeeds in decreasing crimes (Cao et al. 2010). It should be underlined that police's success in decreasing crime rates and solving crimes does not lead the society to trust police more. The same relationship can be found between the police's failure to solve crime and public trust in police. In other words, when police effectiveness has decreased so much so that it attracts the attention of the public, this situation causes a decrease in public trust in police. The underlying reason for the public trust in the police in England to decrease to the lowest point in history in the 1960s and 70s is that police could not handle the crimes effectively, which at that time dramatically increased (Reiner 2010). Similarly, a longitudinal study conducted among New York residents, has shown that the society considered the police responsible for the increase in crime rates in the 1980s (Sunshine and Tyler 2003).

The comparative study on perceptions of police, conducted in South African countries (Cao and Solomon Zhao 2005), and two international comparative studies have pointed out similar conclusions (Cao, Lai and Zhao 2012; Jang, Joo and Zhao 2010). The increase in crime rates and the decrease in the public perception of security have considerably decreased trust in police. However, the fact that police keep crime rates under control in a stable way has not been equally effective in increasing public trust in the police. More importantly, an extensive study conducted in Australia, has shown that public confidence in police effectiveness has a positive effect on confidence in the legitimacy of police (Hinds and Murphy 2007). In other words, although society does not consider police effectiveness as part of legitimacy of the police force, the fact that the police is effective, increases confidence in its legitimacy.

In sum, expected performance of police is an important part constituting public perception of police. However, the effect of the performance of police on public trust in police changes in accordance with social conditions. Studies conducted in stable societies, have shown that the society attaches less importance to police performance when compared to other factors. For instance, it became evident in the studies, conducted in Switzerland, Germany, the U.S., and England, that police effectiveness affects public trust in police less. However, police effectiveness come into prominence more in societies which are in a transition period or which have gone through a long period of instability. Police studies conducted in New York before and after the 9/11 attacks, have shown that while police effectiveness had less influence before the event, the significance of police effectiveness on public trust increased after it (Tyler and Fagan 2008).

The Republic of Ghana is an important example to understand the role of police effectiveness on public trust. Violent crimes such as murder and armed robbery in Ghana have remained low until 1999 and the relationship between police and the public has continued in a stable way. However, since the beginning of 2000s, crimes such as murder, armed robbery, and theft have tripled for a variety of reasons (Tankebe 2008b; Tankebe 2008a). This situation has severely hampered the country's stability and started to threaten democracy. This has reached such a point that experts argued that the failure of the police force is the reason for the collapse of democracy in the country (Karikari 2002). Studies conducted before and after the increase of crimes in Ghana, have shown that police effectiveness has become a stronger factor in the formation of public trust in the police (Tankebe 2009).

Studies conducted to understand under which conditions the public asserts that police is effective or unsuccessful, draw attention to the fact that there are three factors that shape police effectiveness in the eyes of the public. First, the factor of in how far citizens feel secure in a certain region. As it was discussed in the regional factor section, a run-down state in a neighborhood and the visibility of ordinary crimes affect this perception to a considerable extent. Second is the role of the media. The fact that media has increasingly unfolded the failure of

police has contributed to the perception that police is unsuccessful (Weitzer and Tuch 1999). The third and most important factor is the effectiveness of police officers on the crime scene and in the course of the solving the case (Hawdon and Ryan 2003; Skogan 2009; Larsen and Blair 2009). Public's effectiveness perception is important because it directly affects citizen's cooperation with police (Macdonald and Stokes 2006; Skogan 2009). In other words, if society thinks that police are effective in solving crimes, they will call the police when they are the victims of a crime, and will not hesitate to give information to police when they witness a crime. The functional approach, which argues that performance of police would ensure public cooperation and obedience, considers citizens as rational decision makers. According to this approach, it is to the benefit of the public to cooperate with police and to obey the law. Therefore, police effectiveness also has a deterrent function (Nagin 1998).

However, empirical studies have shown that there is a link between police effectiveness and public willingness to cooperate. In other words, even if the confidence in police effectiveness is positive, this does not mean that citizens would cooperate with the police or report crimes committed. Yet, it has been observed that there is a link between negative perception of police effectiveness and public cooperation with the police or reporting crimes committed against them (Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Tyler and Fagan 2008). For instance, a study conducted in Slovenia, has shown that society, who thought that the police force was efficient in solving crimes and capturing offenders, resorted to the justice of the vigilantes and majority of the public desisted from reporting unjust treatments to the police force (Reisig, Tankebe and Mesko 2014).

The fact that the effect of the factors concerning police performance on trust in police in the eyes of the public is inconsistent and that they do not lead to public motivation to cooperate with the police, led researchers to examine the most important factors affecting public cooperation with police.

3.5 FACTORS RELATED TO LEGITIMACY

If neither demographic and regional factors nor police effectiveness completely explain public trust in police and public's motivation to cooperate with police, what factors do explain public cooperation with police in democratic regimes? As noted above, surveys in the field of political theory have indicated that public's acceptance of legal, political and administrative authority is related to their belief in the legitimacy of these institutions. Legitimacy theories posit that one of the main reasons the public accepts legal, political or administrative authority is the belief that the authorities use their power fairly and equally (Tyler 2001).

In this regard, researchers carrying out police legitimacy surveys argued that the factor leading people to trust the police and to cooperate with police was not 'police performance', but rather was related to how fair (or unfair) police treated citizens (Thibaut and Walker 1975). Furthermore, these researchers posited that societies attach more importance to the fairness of police compared to other institutions (Edwards 1999). In other words, police officers' behavior toward the public, their attitudes and manners, and the decisions they take while on duty are important factors in the eyes of the public. Fairness of the police force is much more important than fairness of other institutions (Edwards 1999, 148).

Police-perception surveys have indicated that a perception of the police's attitude and behavior as fair is not enough; societies also differentiate between outcome (or distributionalist) fairness and procedural fairness. Citizens thus expect police officers to produce fair results and behave respectful and equally towards public while producing those results (Tyler 2000; Tyler 2005). In this regard, researchers examining public trust in police and the motivation to cooperate with police posit three reasons for the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public. These are: the lawfulness of the police force, outcome fairness and procedural fairness.

3.5.1 Lawfulness of the Police Force

The most important factor for the legitimacy of institutions is for society to perceive the source of authority of those institutions as legitimate. For the public, police power is as legitimate as the laws they follow and carry out are (K. Murphy and Cherney 2012). In other words, police officers that ignore the law or abuse their power lose their legitimacy in the eyes of the public. The best example of this is the death of two young African-Americans (Rodney King and Malice Green) as a result of the police's use of force while the two were being detained.

This event caused a major loss of legitimacy for the police both in Los Angeles and Detroit and provoked violent demonstrations against the police force (Sigelman et al. 1997). For example, Russia is known as one of the countries with the least public trust in the police. In police perception surveys carried out there, it was observed that the most important reason for the lack of legitimacy of the Russian police in the eyes of the public is the police's failure to act within the scope of the law (T. P. Gerber and Mendelson 2008). Similarly, in another survey carried out in a Norwegian prison, it was shown that the more prisoners perceive guards acting within the law, the more they see them as legitimate and in turn the more willing they are to cooperate (Mathiesen 2012).

Another point to underline about the contribution of the lawfulness of the police power in the eyes of the public is that it is actually contradictory. The lawfulness of the police, which means police acting within the law, may decrease the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public under some conditions. It is possible to see the best example of that in the results of a survey conducted in order to understand the root causes of the uprisings that occurred in the region of Brixton in England in 1981. According to this survey, the "Operation Swamp" carried out by the police there underlies the root cause of the conflict between police and the citizens in the region. Due to increasing rates of crime, the local police started to carry out "stop and search" procedures. However, because citizens who were stopped and searched were young blacks in a neighborhood where African immigrants predominantly lived, wide scale protests erupted (Williams 1982). Lord Scarman, in his report on the topic, established that the police force needs to be able to foresee that the implementation of the law, as it is, may sometimes cause disorder, not order. Therefore, the police force should act more carefully than the other institutions in applying the law (Lord Scarman 1982).

In brief, the lawfulness of police force is a part of the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public. Hence the police force may decrease their own legitimacy and damage the social relations if they do not act fairly. One of the important consequences of Scarman's report was that the police power should consider public demands when they are in a dilemma between implementation of the law and ensuring public order. The report has also pointed out that police should always prioritize public order. This means that sometimes police can refuse to practice the law (and ensure public order by violating the law, if needed) for the sake of preserving their legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

3.5.2 Procedural Fairness

It is clear that fair treatment by police is one of the important aspects contributing to the public perception of police legitimacy. However, surveys on the subject have shown that the public distinguishes the fairness of the decisions taken in the exercise of the police's duties (i.e., procedural decisions), from the fairness of the results attained. The notion of procedural fairness implies that the police act neutrally and irrespective of citizens' identities and demographical characteristics during an event or an investigation and that they treat everybody respectfully while performing their duties. Furthermore, it implies that police carefully listen to all sides and that

they promise to consider the sides' ideas when taking decisions (Tyler and Fagan 2008). It signifies the police's neutrality and police officers' application of "the rules and the law consistently for all citizens" (Tyler 2005, 329). Police who change their treatment and attitude from citizen to citizen suffer a considerable loss in legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

The procedural approach to police perception surveys has shown that a public perception of fair treatment by the police encourages the citizens to cooperate with the police and obey the police's decisions (Sunshine and Tyler 2003). There are several reasons for this. The first is that even though citizens may not agree with a certain law, they keep obeying the law if they acknowledge the legitimacy of the institution or the representative that carries out the law. The second is that if the public thinks that they do not share common moral and social values with police, they challenge not only the legitimacy of the police force but also the legitimacy of the law itself (Hough and Ark. 2010). In other words, people lose their trust in police because they think that police officers violate social norms and values, prompting citizens to violate these values, as well.

There are two factors that influence procedural fairness. The first is the fairness of the police's decisions. This includes the trustworthiness of the police's decision taken on-scene, the inclusion of the citizen's opinion in the decision-making process, police's respect to people, and the possibility of the reclamation in cases where a wrong decision is taken. The second one is the fairness in the police's behavior and attitudes. This aspect includes respectful, kind and equal behavior and attitude regardless of the background/identity of individuals. For instance, the fact that police followed different procedures according to the detained citizens' political and social-economic status in transitional countries after the rise of third wave democracy caused the police to lose their legitimacy in the eyes of the public. The police lost their legitimacy even in the eyes of the groups that were shown preferential treatment (Tyler 1990). The most important reason for that is that an increase in procedural fairness increases the legitimacy of police in the eyes of the public. The message of procedural unfairness for the public is that they are not a valuable part of the society. As discussed above, for citizens to view themselves as a part of society and to consider police as a representative of this society increases their trust in the police force, and guarantees their cooperation with police.

In studies conducted in the U.S. and Australia the importance public attaches to procedural fairness has been reconfirmed (Hinds and Murphy 2007; Cherney and Murphy 2013). Similar results were reached in studies conducted in Israel (Jonathan-Zamir and Weisburd 2013), Trinidad and Tobago (Kochel, Parks and Mastrofski 2013), England and Wales (Jackson and ark. 2012). A three-stage study carried out in Belgium has clearly exhibited the effect of procedural fairness on the formation of the trust in police. This study in Belgium, first applied to the general population and then to immigrant groups such as Turkish, Moroccan and Polish, has shown that citizens' trust in police is directly related to how discriminated they feel. In Belgium, public trust in police was abused because the first serial killer of the country could not be caught; the political party leaders were killed with a bomb in their cars; they did corruption in the tenders initiated for the equipment for the police forces, including helicopter, and these events caused a stir after being publicized in the media (Parmentier and Vervaeke 2011). Then, the Belgian police force was widely reformed in 1998, and trust in the police started to be neatly surveyed. The studies in this regard have shown that even though trust in the police increased in time, it remained considerably lower in comparison to European averages. Surveys conducted on the biggest immigrant groups in the country, including Turkish and Moroccan, have shown that trust in both groups in police is below average. However, these surveys have also evidenced that Turkish immigrants trusted in the Belgian police more compared to Moroccan immigrants. The formation of both group's perception of police is influenced by the effectiveness of the police, the participant's social bonds and the perception of procedural fairness. Studies on

this concluded that two groups have similarities on the social bond and the effectiveness of the police dimensions. Researchers also pointed out that the difference in trust might arise from differences in the perception of procedural fairness (Van Craen 2012).

Both groups stated that they had been subject to serious discrimination. A bigger part of the Moroccan immigrants in proportion to the Turkish ones have stated that they believed police acted in a discriminatory manner. Respondents who had had interaction with police stated that they faced discrimination during an event and that they believed Belgian police treated people who look different in a discriminatory way. Respondents who had never had any interaction with police also expressed that the Belgian police exhibited discriminatory behavior against their group. Only a small proportion of the Turkish respondents claimed that the Belgian police acted in a discriminatory manner. It was thus demonstrated that Turkish immigrants' perception of procedural fairness is more positive than that of Moroccan immigrants' (Van Craen 2013).

The same study was later repeated for Polish immigrants living in Belgium. Even though Polish immigrants were new to Belgium, and thus had a lower social bond compared to the other two groups, their trust in the police force was determined to be close to the national average. A large segment of Polish respondents stated that they believed they face discrimination by the Belgian police. Polish immigrants' perception of procedural fairness was identified to be higher than that of the Turkish and Moroccan immigrant groups. Therefore, it is possible to account for the low police trust of immigrant groups in Belgium with their negative perception of procedural fairness (Van Craen and Skogan 2014).

3.5.3 Outcome Fairness

Outcome (or distributive) fairness includes public's perception of fairness emerging out of the results of police's actions. There are two dimensions to outcome fairness. The first relates to the distribution of police duties and services. The equal distribution of police functions across all socioeconomic and ethnic groups in decisions like whom to stop in traffic or whom to arrest are all components of outcome fairness. For instance, if black citizens of the U.S. were stopped for traffic violations more than white citizens, even though the former represents a minority, this would point to a lack of outcome fairness. The arrest of Henry Gates, an African-American professor at Harvard University, while he was trying to force his way into his own door after he forgot his keys, caused a flare up in the debate on racial discrimination in the U.S. and caused many academics to question whether the police were singling out suspects on the basis of their demographic characteristics (Thompson 2010). For police to focus on offences committed by citizens of a certain background or in regions with a certain crime rate is part of this as well. As in the Brixton example discussed above, the use of extreme pressure in certain regions against citizens of a certain background ought to be evaluated as an aspect of outcome fairness.

The opposite of inequality in the distribution of police services is also possible. For instance, differences in the amount of time police spend in responding to calls for help in different regions points to inequality in the distribution of police services. Studies conducted in New York showed that while the police force responded to calls in Harlem in 12 minutes, they responded to calls from the Upper East Side in 3 minutes (Loader and Walker, 2001). For police patrols to be sparser in different poor neighborhoods than in other neighborhoods and a failure of police to protect citizens in the former could be considered another example of unequal distribution of police services (Natapoff, 2006). The second dimension in the perception of outcome fairness covers public's expectations from police. We noted above that the public expects the police force not only to reduce crime rates and ensure public order, but also to represent shared social values. In the formation of societal trust towards

police, the perception on whether police fulfill what is expected of them plays an important role. The experience of being a victim of a crime, for instance, may change what citizens come to expect from the police. Studies have confirmed that citizens across all demographic and ethnic groups demonstrate similar, coherent expectations from the police after being the victims of a crime (Vancluysen, Van and Ackaert 2011).

Outcome fairness is even more important in the police perception of citizens whose notion of security changes after having been the victim of a crime. In this case, beyond the behavior of police, the results that they can achieve become more important. As in the example of Ghana given above, when society sees its standard of living under threat, they expect the police to fight crime and ensure order in the most effective way possible.

In a study of Western European and Scandinavian countries carried out to determine what aspects constituted the perception of police legitimacy in Europe, it was observed that in Denmark, Finland and Sweden, outcome fairness and the perception of police lawfulness had a greater impact (compared to procedural fairness) on public's motivation to cooperate with police and obey their orders (Hough, Jackson and Bradford 2013). One explanation for this outcome is that these societies are more homogeneous than other European countries. In countries where the political regime has a long history of stability and where there is no social distancing, the perception of procedural fairness becomes a secondary issue.

To summarize, contextual factors have the ability to change the relative effect of procedural or outcome fairness on the formation of societal trust in the police. Under stable regimes, during periods when the risk of being a victim of a crime is low, the perception of procedural fairness may have a greater impact on societal trust than outcome fairness or police lawfulness. Despite these differences, all of the studies carried out with the aim of evaluating the procedural approach have confirmed that public's trust in police is related to its belief in the legitimacy of the police force. Even more importantly, a significant majority of these studies have shown that, despite differences, the lawfulness of police force, procedural and outcome fairness are components of the perception of police legitimacy. By showing a correlation between police effectiveness and the perception of police legitimacy, they revealed that the former had a contextual effect in the formation of police trust.

In most studies where perceptions of procedural and outcome fairness are tested separately as implicit constructs, it is observed that societies distinguish between procedural and outcome fairness. In all studies carried out in Australia, the U.S. and England, it was observed that the effect that perception of procedural justice had on trust in police was stronger. In the Belgian studies noted above, respondents distinguished between their perception of procedural fairness (i.e. the belief that the police behaved differently towards different societal groups) and their perception of outcome fairness (i.e., the belief that the police applied more stringent policies to ethnic minority groups); the effect of these two scales on trust, however, was not analyzed separately. On the other hand, the studies conducted in Taiwan and China showed that these societies did not distinguish between procedural and outcome fairness. This outcome may be partially explained by the fact that these societies are relatively more homogeneous.

3.6 EXPERIENCES OF INTERACTION WITH POLICE

First generation police perception studies assume that along with demographic factors interaction with the police has an important role in formation of trust towards police. In this approach it was asserted that the trust in police would increase if the experience of interaction with police was positive and would decrease if the experience was negative (Brown and Benedict, 2002). For example, in a comparative study which was conducted with data of the World Values Survey it was seen that police perception in China was much lower when

compared to the U.S. This was explained with the Tiananmen Square incident in 1990 whose results were still fresh in the memories of the citizens (Cao and Hou, 2001). Similarly, in Nigeria the main reason for trust in police was specified as the excessive use of violence by the police in interactions with the public (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2000).

Recent studies have revealed two important findings regarding the influence of citizens' interaction with the police on trust. The first finding was that the influence of public's interaction with police on the general police perception was at a negligible level since a very small segment of the citizens did not have a direct interaction with police (Maguire and Johnson, 2010). A study on the interaction of public with police has asserted that information obtained via acquaintances and media have a stronger effect on police perception (Rosenbaum et al. 2005). Similarly, studies conducted in the regions where social networks were strong have shown that citizens' police perception was determined by the social networks that they belonged to rather than interaction with police (Brunson and Weitzer, 2011). The second finding shows that even if the presence of a negative interaction with police dramatically affects police perception, the presence of a positive interaction does not increase police perception in the same way (Jackson et al 2013). Other police studies revealed that where subjects had a negative experience with police, these citizens shared their experiences with their social circles and thus these experiences were adopted by their social groups, as well (Hough et al. 2010).

Along with these general tendencies, it can be said that the interaction with police affects trust in police differently. For example, studies conducted in India have manifested that public's police perception originated from their relationship with local police officers (Kumar, 2012; Nalla and Madan, 2012). Although general trust in police was quite low in India especially due to police corruption news, in regions where the strategies of "community based police services" were implemented, trust of residents in police was relatively higher than the national average. This showed that interaction with police is a determinate factor in police trust. In survey studies, it became evident that trust in police was lower when respondents did not know the police officers who were appointed to their neighborhoods (Kumar, 2012). On the other hand, studies conducted in Canada have shown that positive or negative interaction with police did not have a statistically significant influence on public's general police perception (Roberts, 2007; O'Connor, 2008).

Early results of police perception studies in the U.S. have put forward that interaction with police negatively influenced police perception of Americans (Jesilow and Meyer, 1995). Studies conducted afterwards have demonstrated that the influence of the perception changed based on the interaction type. It was propounded that this perception changed with regard to whether police or the citizen started the interaction. It was asserted that the interactions started by the police were generally negative whereas the interactions initiated by the help call of the citizens were generally positive (Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Wells, 2007).

However, studies conducted more recently in big metropolitan areas of the U.S. like New York, Los Angeles have propounded that the influence of the interaction with police on police perception is independent from the way the interaction has been initiated (or whether the interaction has resulted in favor of the citizen or not) (Tyler and Wakslak, 2004). Studies conducted in England confirmed that the most defining factor in positively influencing citizens' police perception after interactions with police was related to how polic treated citizens during the interaction (Bradford, Stanko and Jackson 2009; Jackson 2012; Jackson et al. 2012). To put it another way, polite and respectful behavior on part of police officers during their interaction, police forces' obedience to the rules, and refraining from discrimination based on demographic characteristics or ethnicity caused an increase in respondents' trust towards police.

3.7. OUTCOMES OF HIGH PERCEPTION OF TRUST

High police legitimacy in the eyes of the public and public's trust in police means that the public has the tendency to cooperate with police, society accepts the decisions of the police and the public obeys police instructions. As mentioned before, before changing the understanding regarding activities of the police as a result of democratization, it was thought that police threatening citizens with the use of violence and punishment would lead citizens to cooperate with and to obey police. However, recent studies have shown that there was an important difference between public's cooperation with police and public's obedience to police (Tankebe, 2012). It became evident that even if fear politics and use of force compel society to obey, they did not motivate society to cooperate with police (Jackson and Bradford, 2010; Murphy et.al. 2008; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). While cooperation with police is defined as voluntarily helping the police, giving information and calling the police when it was needed, obedience to police denotes accepting the authority and the decisions of the police. In the literature of recent police studies, it has been commonly accepted that public's motivation to cooperate with police and public's tendency to obey were closely interrelated with the legitimacy perception of police. Recent studies emphasize another consequence of public's positive police perception. According to this new approach, public's trust in police and the belief in the legitimacy of police also affect the extent of the tolerance towards police misconduct. In other words, in societies where there is high trust in police, more tolerance is shown towards the excessive use of force by the police in comparison to corruption or other misconduct. In this section, these two results of public's high trust towards police will be discussed.

3.7.1 Cooperation with Police and Obedience to Police

Tendencies of calling the police when necessary, cooperation with police and obedience to instructions of the police are evaluated as a result of public's trust towards police, rather than being factors that shape police perception. In the previous sections of this study, it was frequently underlined that public's high trust toward police further motivated the public to cooperate with the police. Studies conducted on this subject by performing SEM (analysis of causation) analysis have shown that the legitimacy of police influenced citizens' cooperation with and obedience to police (Jackson and Bradford, 2010; Murphy et al., 2008; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003).

A study seen as a turning point in efforts to transform the policy of coercing society into cooperation and obedience through fear and pressure into one of trying to win societal trust in terms of a community based understanding of policing was conducted in 1990 in Chicago with 1,575 individuals who had interacted with police (Tyler 1990). Through this study a correlation between legitimacy perception of police in the eyes of the public and the motivation to cooperate with police and obedience to police was established (Tyler, 2006). Another study which was repeated in New York in 2003 has revealed the difference between cooperation with police and obedience to police and has propounded that the legitimacy perception of police was directly related to these two concepts (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). In a similar vein, a study conducted in Los Angeles has shown that even if punishment threats and fear politics forced citizens to obey, they could not compel citizens to cooperate (Tyler and Huo, 2002). It became evident that the most determining factor in citizens' giving information to police in a voluntary way, helping them while performing their duties or preferring to call the police when a problem emerged was the 'legitimacy' of the police (Tyler, 2006). In other words, citizens who do not trust police and do not accept police as a legitimate force, do not voluntarily give information to the police and do not inform police when unjust treatments occur. The most known example of this is "The Troubles" in Northern Ireland. In this period, people of Catholic belonging rejected to interact with police since they did not trust the police forces. As a consequence, IRA members constituted a union that served as police and the members of this union were held

responsible for ensuring order between Catholics and Irish people in the neighborhoods (Weitzer, 1995). Problems such as not giving the required information to the police or misinforming the police come to the forefront in societies which do not believe in the legitimacy of the police. Studies conducted in Ukraine and Russia have shown that society rejected to give information to the police even if it was able to capture perpetrators, or solve crimes (A. Beck and Chistyakova, 2002; T. P. Gerber and Mendelson 2008; Reynolds, Semukhina and Demidov, 2008).

In order to have a positive legitimacy perception which would enable public both to cooperate with and obey to the police, the public needs to believe in the lawfulness of the police, police's fairness in terms of procedure and the fair distribution of the results produced by the police. It was seen that these three dimensions which constituted the legitimacy of the police had an influence on cooperation with police and accepting police's authority. However, here the following question needs to be asked: Which of these three dimensions has more influence on cooperation with police? The answer is that this, changes based on the context. According to different studies, in multicultural societies, the most determining factor in the motivation for the cooperation with police is the perception of procedural fairness. Especially in the U.S., the studies conducted between different ethnic groups have shown that procedural fairness in the eyes of the public was directly proportionate to trust in police and cooperation with police (Reisig, Bratton and Gertz 2007).

With a police study in Muslim neighborhoods in New York one of the important contributions to this field was made by Tyler et al. This study found that the only factor determining whether citizens who suffered from discrimination after the 9/11 attacks cooperated with police was whether they had a positive perception of procedural fairness. It was seen that the tendency to cooperate with police was higher in Muslim populated regions where there was a higher legitimacy perception regarding police. However, it was also seen that having a positive perception of outcome fairness did not have significant influence on the motivation to cooperate with police (Tyler, Schulhofer and Huq, 2010). Similarly, a detailed study conducted in the UK has shown that the most determining factor in ethnic minorities' and migrant groups' cooperation with police was the belief in the legitimacy of police forces (Bradford and Jackson, 2010).

The most influential factor affecting cooperation is procedural fairness. This is closely related to social distancing theory. This model of Lind and Tyler (1988) asserts that procedural fairness gives the message of "you are a valuable part of this society" to the citizen. The relationship between the social bonds and trust in police are also explained by this approach. People with stronger social bonds trust police who represent the values of the society more. Social distance is related to where the individuals see themselves within social networks. Groups who feel closer and more integrated in society trust entities that represent that society considerably more (K. Murphy and Cherney, 2012). Unequal attitudes and behaviors alienate citizens from common values. For example, the interactions with police which start with impolite or rude attitudes drive citizens to a resistance position. However, polite and egalitarian behaviors reduce the distance between the citizens and common values (Braithwaite, 2004; Braithwaite, Murphy, and Reinhart, 2007). In this regard, procedural fairness of police gains importance. The more social bonds increase, the more society has a tendency to cooperate with police (Skogan, 2006). However, the positive influence of procedural fairness might not be present in groups which feel excluded/alienated from society (Braithwaite, 2009). The study mentioned above and which was conducted on Turkish and Moroccan migrants in Belgium is a good example for this. According to this study, in comparison to Moroccans, Turks consider themselves closer to Belgian society and this can partially explain their higher police trust.

In brief, since procedural fairness perception minimizes social distance between marginal groups and society, procedural fairness perception plays a crucial role in public's trust in police. In studies conducted in multicultural countries like Australia, England and the U.S. it was observed that perception of outcome fairness was not as influential as procedural fairness in influencing cooperation with police (Cherney and Murphy 2013; K. Murphy and Cherney 2012; K. Murphy and Cherney, 2011; Reisig, Bratton and Gertz, 2007). On the other hand, it was seen that there was a strong tie between the perception of the effectiveness of police and the motivation for cooperation with police in societies where the insufficiency of police hinder the flow of daily life. For example, as mentioned above, it became evident that in Ghana, the most determining factor in terms of cooperating with police was the perception of the effectiveness of police (Tankebe, 2009). In a study conducted in Canada among Chinese migrants, it was seen that the most influential factor on the police perception of this segment was the behavior of the police in calls for help (Chu and Song, 2008). This includes both procedural fairness and effectiveness factors in the field. In a study conducted in England only among young individuals, it was seen that both the effectiveness of police and procedural fairness was determinate in motivating citizens to cooperate with police (Tankebe, 2013; Jackson et al., 2012).

The dimensions of procedural fairness and effectiveness shape the motivation for cooperation with police. Along with this, another important finding that emerged in the studies was as follows: Obedience to police is closely related to what extent the police can represent society and common values that are widely accepted. In other words, it was seen that the relationship between obedience to police and the lawfulness of police which forms the legitimacy perception, was stronger. In a study conducted in England among the respondents who defined themselves as British citizens, it was observed that the lawfulness of the police forces (the belief in representation of common values by police) was an important factor not only for cooperation with police but also with regard to obedience to police (Bradford, 2014). One of the reasons for this might be a decrease in social distance at a level that would enable social unity and thereby decrease the importance of the perception of procedural fairness. Public's belief in terms of public institutions' and laws' representation of common values brings along obedience to authority.

To summarize, public's cooperation with police and obedience to police appear as two different concepts. The most determining factor in public's cooperation with police is procedural fairness. The most important factor that determines obedience to police is representation of common values closely linked to the perception of police lawfulness.

3.7.2 Tolerance to Police Misconduct

Studies that focus on the excessive use of force by the police have raised the question of the extent to which police involvement in misconduct and abuse of authority affect public trust in police and the perception of police legitimacy. The early examples of police studies literature suggested that extensive use of force, corruption, and the perception of misconduct reduces public trust in the police (Jesilow and Meyer 2001; Weitzer and Tuch 2004). The assumption that high profile cases, such as Rodney King case in the U.S. for example in which police were involved in misconduct, reduce trust in police is widely accepted (Weitzer 2002). However, studies conducted to test these theories have shown that trust in police generally continued to be stable despite a decrease immediately after such high profile cases (Chermak, McGarrell and Gruenewald 2006). In other words, police cases that appear in the media can have a negative effect on the public trust to police, albeit being temporary.

Studies that focus on the relationship between race and trust in the police have shown that there is a significant

relationship between trust in the police and the perception of police misconduct. Publications of cases of police misconduct cause the perception that 'the police certainly abuse their power' to settle in areas and societies where trust is already low. In other words, it became evident that the extensive use of power did not decrease public trust in police; however, the fact that public trust is low has increased the perception that the likelihood of police misconduct is higher (Weitzer and Tuch 1999; Weitzer and Tuch 2002; Weitzer 2002; Weitzer and Tuch 2004; Weitzer and Tuch 2005b; Weitzer and Tuch 2006). In various studies conducted mainly in Europe and the U.S., it has been observed that the residents of the regions where trust in police is low have more often reported mistakes of police to authorities. Similarly, it has been presented that in Europe, citizens thought that the possibility of the police to be corrupt is less than in societies in which trust in the public institutions and the perception of legitimacy is high in general (Ivković 2008; J. Kääriäinen and Sirén 2011; Jackson et al. 2011). These results are sufficient to question the claim that police misconduct causes distrust, although there is no fully causal relationship between these.

A study, aimed at measuring the relationship between the perception of police misconduct and trust in police in Trinidad and Tobago, has shown that police corruption cases to be heard do not affect trust in police in the long term (Kochel, Parks and Mastrofski 2013). It could be argued that the assumption that 'the perceptions of police corruption or excessive use of police force decrease trust in the police' is not always correct.

These observations raise the questions of the circumstances under which and the extent to which public tends to show tolerance towards police misconduct. Before answering these questions, it should be underlined that there are two different situations in which the claims of police misconduct do not affect public trust. In the first situation, it has been observed that these cases do not affect the general trust in police in societies in which police corruption is prevalent and use of police force is considered normal. The second situation is that police actions are not perceived as wrong or it has been thought that the police is right, even though their actions are perceived as wrong. The best example for the first situation is Russia and Brazil. The public in Russia accepts that there is police corruption in general (T. P. Gerber and Mendelson 2008; Reynolds, Semukhina and Demidov 2008). The studies conducted in Brazil have shown that public trust in police is low; however, tolerance towards use of the police force is high. It has been observed that the reason for that is the expectation that police would use force anyways, not tolerating the mistakes of the police (Paes Machado 2002; Skogan 2013). Similarly, the fact that the police in Nigeria and Bangladesh is involved in gun smuggling and robbing vehicles in highways is considered normal and has not received reactions from the society (Lambert et al. 2010). The best example for the second situation is the U. S. For instance, a study conducted in Washington D.C. and repeated in a region where belief that police discriminate black citizens is prevalent, has shown that respondents' believe that police commit racial profiling, in other words, the police have treated them as suspects based on their skin color and background. This study posited that the perception of the residents of this region is open to mistakes of the police and that they more frequently report mistakes to authorities (Weitzer and Tuch 2002; Tyler and Wakslak 2004; Weitzer and Tuch 2008). In other words, there needs to be a perception that police could make mistakes, in order for police misconduct to affect trust.

Even though the events that were reported in the media caused an uproar in the public, because the perception that police would commit corruption in general did not emerge, such an outcome is explained in two ways. The first approach, known as the "bad apple approach," sees an event reflected in the media not as a normal use of police authority but as a breaking of the rules by one police officer (the "bad apple"). If the police force fires the officer responsible or if the police chief resigns, this creates the impression that the police force is repairing a fault in the system, and public trust in police carries on as normal. In other words, in societies where belief in the

legitimacy of the police is high, mistakes on part of the police which are reported in the media are viewed as exceptional cases (Kane and White 2009; Waddington 2010).

The second approach is that of "noble cause". According to this approach, police can violate the rules in the name of justice when it remains incapable of restoring justice. According to this approach police misconduct has a dignified and necessary explanation. This approach is resorted to especially in small settlements where there is high trust in the legitimacy of police (Caldero and Crank, 2010). Violations of the law by employing methods like producing fake evidence or telling lies by the police in specific cases like saving someone who is in danger is tolerated. For example, in a study conducted in New York it has become evident that if the police could not prove the crime of the perpetrator with the evidence, the production of the fake evidence could be evaluated as an acceptable practice by the public (Goldschmidt, 2008). A good example to the approach of noble cause is Israel. In comparative studies Israel is a country where police trust is lowest (Jackson et al., 2011). However, studies which were conducted among Arabs and Jews who live in Israel have shown that trust in police was low both in Christian Arabs and Muslim Arabs but Christian Arabs had higher trust in police in comparison to Muslim Arabs. Furthermore, the same studies have shown that despite Jews' high trust in police, radical religious Orthodox Jewish citizens' trust in police was as low as that of Arab citizens (Hasisi 2007; Weitzer and Hasisi 2008). Studies carried out in Israel concluded that the public highly values procedural fairness. This shows us that the public accepts the need for police to use force in the specific contexts.

For example, a study conducted in Israel showed that the police's violation of the norms of procedural fairness at airports were seen not as a misuse of authority but as a necessity to establish security (Hasisi and Weisburd, 2011). In this regard, even if trust in police is low, police legitimacy can be high.

The general trend in studies on police can be summarized as follows: When police abuse their authority, public's trust in police goes down. In addition, the results of studies conducted until now have shown that in societies where the perception of trust in police is high, cases of abuse of power by the police are ignored (tolerance to misconduct is higher). Therefore, we can say with confidence that public trust toward police and its perception of legitimacy is directly proportional to the tendency to show tolerance when police break the rules.

4. Methodology

The basic motivation of this study is to eliminate the gap in Turkey opened up by the fact that studies of public's perception of and trust in the police have remained one-dimensional and by the fact that the functional and procedural police perception models that make up the basis for police-perception studies today have never been applied in Turkey. Understanding the characteristics society wishes to see in a police force and the factors that make up trust in police carries great importance in democratizing societies. Because it is rare that police in democratic societies carry out their duties using fear, threats or force, it is of critical importance that citizens in such societies have faith in the police force and that the behaviors and attitudes they expect of a police force before cooperating with them are known. In this regard, we aimed to test the functional and procedural police-perception models that aim to determine the factors enabling public's cooperation with police and dimensions shaping trust in police; and this study has been designed accordingly.

As mentioned above, there are two main approaches in terms of new policing that develop as a result of democratization. In the first approach, society's perception of the police and their trust in the police are directly proportional to police performance. According to the second, police effectiveness may partially explain societal trust and willingness to cooperate with the police, but there are other, more important factors shaping trust in police. According to this model, known as the Legitimacy Model, a society's belief that police represent a legitimate force is a good predictor to understand both trust in police and compliance behavior; this is because the police force's effective solving of crimes and enforcement of order are not sufficient for a society to trust police. The attitudes and behaviors exhibited by police while on duty give important messages to society. Police officers who display respectful, fair attitudes and behaviors convey to citizens the message that they are an important part of society and that they share common values (K. Murphy, Tyler and Curtis 2009). Citizens' feeling like they are a part of society significantly shapes their own attitudes toward institutions that represent that society (Giddens 1994; Tilly 2005).

Studies have shown that the first approach—the claim that police effectiveness shapes society's perception of the police—is valid only under certain circumstances. In situations where the police do not carry out their duties or fail to confront crime and disorder in a way that hampers the flow of normal life, then studies show that police effectiveness plays a significant role in shaping society's perception of the police (Tankebe 2007, 2008, 2009). In orderly, stable societies, however, it has been observed that police effectiveness affects both society's trust in police and its tendency to cooperate with them less (Bradford et al., 2011).

More importantly, in stable societies, it is known that perceptions of police effectiveness and legitimacy overlap to an extent that they cannot be precisely distinguished. In such societies, the relationship between the belief in police legitimacy and the trust felt towards police is strengthened, with the perception of effectiveness being lost in that of legitimacy. This means that in such societies, police effectiveness has ceased to be as important a factor in securing public's trust for police and requiring cooperation, but rather has become one dimension in the general perception of the police force.

4.1 QUANTITATIVE METHODS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Some of the biggest difficulties encountered in social sciences include measuring abstract concepts like social perception, trust and reliability, then understanding these concepts and interpreting them in a meaningful way in order to develop policies. Trying to measure and evaluate such abstract concepts through the use of numeric surveys can be, by their very nature, problematic. It is almost impossible to differentiate the values that social sciences attempt to measure or to measure the independent influence of a given factor on a certain value (A. S. Gerber, Green and Kaplan, 2004). Studies designed to discover the influential factors constituting perceptions try to delineate *observable* relationships between values and attitudes, behaviors and manners rather than establish *certain and limited* relationships (Gelman, 2009). Over time social scientists have developed various methods in order to make more accurate interpretations of the relationship between values and behavior (Gelman and Hill, 2006).

Data analysis in the social sciences includes a problem that is not encountered in the physical sciences: The relationship between variables and the values that they measure is not always clear. For example, there is no doubt that mercury in a thermometer measures heat. However in order to prove that the proposition of "Police always listen to citizens' problems" measures the perception of police legitimacy, one needs to establish a correlation between the proposition and the value that is measured. One of the best examples of this are consumer-satisfaction surveys, which are widely used at present. In these surveys it is commonly accepted that the proposition asking about the probability of re-using the product or recommending it to friends indicates product satisfaction. Similarly, in studies that seek to measure public perception, the first step is establishing the link between the proposition and the values that one hypothesizes it measures.

However, it is not enough to prove that there is a link between the proposition and the values that it measures. The internal consistency among different propositions hypothesized to point to the same value have to be understood, too. To purchase a product again and to recommend it to a friend are propositions that are interrelated. However, locating the proposition of "I buy the products that I see on TV" in the proposition that attempts to understand the product satisfaction might change the internal consistency of the proposition. It is not possible to tell that this proposition points to product-related satisfaction.

Similarly, in the present study the internal consistency among propositions in each scale should be tested. In other words, "convergent validity" is the name given to the consistency of the relationship between a set of propositions and the values hypothetically measured by these propositions. For example, as expected, in order to understand if propositions like "The police listen to the citizens' problems" or "It is easy to communicate with the police" point to the perception of procedural fairness, a test should be applied. To put it in a different way, the strength of the relationship behind the implicit construct must be proved (T. A. Brown, 2006).

The internal consistency of propositions and the presence of a strong relationship with the values that they measure are not enough for data obtained to be considered reliable. Furthermore, it should be determined that each proposition only has a relationship with the value that it aims to measure and that they do not display a strong link with other values (discriminant validity). However, even if it is easily to say that the statement "Police always listen to citizens" is related to the legitimacy of the police, it is not possible at all to say that this statement represents the effectiveness of police in the eyes of the survey participant. To clarify with an example from physical sciences, the heat and density of water can be measured as independent values. However a person's confidence in the police and her feelings towards the government cannot be measured as independent values. In these circumstances, statistical analyses tries to make meaningful interpretations of the conditions

where the influence of the environmental or related factors on a value is at a minimum and the influence of the factor being investigated is at a maximum. With respect to this study, *discriminant validity* means testing whether propositions related to the perception of police legitimacy can be measured as a concept different from and relatively independent from other values.

To summarize, in order to make a statistically significant analysis for perception studies the first step is to develop a model that fits public perception by making an informed and educated guess. Both the presence of a strong interrelation and having a relationship with only a single dimension of the value it hypothetically measures should be taken into consideration in the propositions concerning this model. Propositions that are related to two dimensions make it difficult to differentiate the factors that affect perception (Cortina, 1993).

After obtaining the data the second step of the quantitative analysis in social sciences is to test how the statements are perceived in society where the surveys were conducted using factor analysis and to prove the links between the statements and the values they measure. The data can be accepted as robust to the extent that they show that the relationship between certain propositions is strong but with other concepts is weak. In this level, different methods of factor analysis can be applied. In this study, two types of factor analysis have been applied. Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) is a heuristic analysis which aims to clarify the dimensions of the concepts like legitimacy, confidence or effectiveness. The aim of EFA is to explain the differences in the data in the most inclusive way. In this analysis, the researchers do not need to develop a model. The important part is to interpret the emerging dimensions (new factors) in the analysis results. EFA can show that a group of propositions might measure different dimensions of perception; however, it cannot explain the interrelation of these dimensions or their influence on perception. Also, EFA does not indicate the extent to which a model is suitable for measuring a desired value. Since one needs to be sure that there is both a strong relationship between the propositions and a weak relationship with other concepts and values, Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) is usually applied in social sciences in addition to EFA. This analysis helps develop a hypothesis and understanding if the obtained results are applicable to this model or not. In the context of this study, CFA analysis tests the success of the developed models of legitimacy, effectiveness and cooperation in measuring police perceptions. In other words, it shows the proximity or distance of the data obtained from the surveys to/from the hypothesis. At this level, researchers can explain the dimensions of perception based on the results of their analysis or can make interpretations regarding whether the model fits society.

However, this analysis does not explain the interrelationship between values. In order to explain the relationship between two or more variables, a regression analysis is needed. This can be seen as the third step in quantitative social-science analysis. Regression analysis gives information about the presence of a relationship between variables and explanatory power of this relationship. For example, the relationship between rain levels and wheat harvest volume can easily be found by carrying out a linear regression analysis. However the difficulty in analyzing legitimacy and trust in police stems from the non-distinguishability of these two variables from each other categorically. For this reason, in social sciences, values that emerge as a result of regression analysis are lower. Moreover transforming statistical analysis conducted in this area into significant and informative texts requires researchers interpretation.

Despite the difficulties related to quantitative data analysis in social sciences, it should be underlined that especially those studies conducted with large sample groups are very beneficial in terms of discovering the factors that constitute the perception in society on any subject and in terms of understanding the extent to which perception has an influence on social behavior paradigms.

4.2 RESEARCH STEPS TAKEN IN THE PRESENT STUDY

The statistical analysis of the present study has followed the steps summarized above. First, a model hypothesized to explain trust in police, tendency to cooperate with the police and tolerance towards police misconduct in Turkey was developed in the light of the models widely accepted in police studies around the world. The values that the model seeks to measure are operationalized by the theories in the literature and by the propositions which were formulated in the specific context of this study.

In the second stage, the factor structures and factor analysis of the survey items (propositions) were analyzed and verification analysis (construct validity) was performed. The data obtained from the survey were subjected to two different analyses by splitting them into two. Taking a part from the sample and performing EFA analysis on this part, while subjecting the rest of the data to CFA analysis is an accepted technique in this field (Schmitt, 2011). The factor distribution of the data obtained from the survey was examined by EFA analysis and the fit of the police perception models to the data obtained from Turkey was measured by CFA analysis.

In the third stage, variables emerging as a result of the structures found in the factor analysis were subjected to a regression in the framework of logical patterns found in the literature and whose existence was being tested in this study; a regression analysis was then conducted to establish which of these variables specific to Turkey had an impact on the dependent variables and to what extent.

In the fourth stage the average of the answers were found using descriptive statistics of scale variables and the demographic distribution of these averages were examined. A variance analysis was applied in order to determine the most influential descriptive statistics on these values.

With respect to the flow of this report, we found it more suitable to provide a methodological explanation of the concepts listed above (descriptive statistics and regression) in the specific sections where these were used. On the other hand, since construct validity made through factor analysis requires a deep methodological explanation depending on the study and the type of data used and at the same time since it affects the validity of some variables used in the study and so affects the whole study, construct validity will be discussed under a separate heading.

4.2.1 Police Perception in Turkey: Model Design and Scale Formation

The formation of a theoretical model, as the first stage of the study, began with a literature review of worldwide studies on police perception. The following four hypotheses were developed as a result of the literature review:

H1: Public's perception of police legitimacy significantly affects trust in police.

H2: In Turkey, police effectiveness is a dimension of police legitimacy.

H3: Public's perception of police legitimacy is directly proportional to the tendency to cooperate with police and to obey police.

H4: Public perception of police legitimacy in Turkey is directly proportional to the tolerance citizens show toward police misconduct.

First, the values that were hypothesized to make up police perception in Turkey were determined by taking the developments in the field of police perception studies in the last ten years into consideration alongside the results of the studies conducted in different countries. It was expected that the perception of legitimacy in

Turkey would display at least three dimensions. These dimensions were described as procedural fairness, outcome fairness and the lawfulness of the police force. In order to measure the perception of police legitimacy, three separate scales and one unified scale were formed. Second, an effectiveness scale was formed in order to measure the effectiveness of police. Third, the influence of the perception of police legitimacy and of trust in the police on cooperation with police and on tolerance to police misconduct. In order to perform this measurement, trust, cooperation and tolerance scales were formed.

The propositions in the scales known as "latent construct" were designed in line with the propositions widely accepted in this area. The reason for measuring the relationships for which results are expected is to minimize the influence of environmental and irrelevant factors on trust in police, cooperation with police and tolerance towards police misconduct (Reisig et.al, 2007). Similarly, statistical analysis was performed in four levels in order to minimize the influence of factors that can skew researchers' inferences regarding results.

One of the studies from which the propositions used in this study were taken was the Mastrofski Model. This model is the base of the operational model outlined above and consists of question sets which present six characteristics of police. These are: police attentiveness, reliability, fairness, manners, responsiveness and competence. These questions aim to consider public's perception of police from many perspectives. However, studies conducted in the U.S. have shown that the public did not consider effectiveness of police alone in these dimensional contexts. In other words, even if this model produces consistent results in the areas to which it was applied, it did not fulfill the six dimensions expected by the researchers.

Considering these constraints of the Mastrofski Model, the Sunshine and Tyler Legitimacy Model has also been applied to greater success in newer studies. Scholars who formulated this model argued that public's perception of police could not be explained by constructs that measured customer satisfaction and claimed that there were many factors that constituted public's perception of the police. As discussed above, the researchers argued that these factors were procedural fairness, outcome fairness and police lawfulness. Therefore questions that measure these aspects were developed. In this study the widely used questions of the Mastrofski Model were distributed according to the legitimacy model construct. In this respect, the following nine scales were developed: legitimacy of police (composite), procedural fairness, outcome fairness, police lawfulness, police effectiveness, trust in police expressed by the public (stated trust), cooperation with and obedience to the police and tolerance towards extralegal police practices/police misconduct.

Legitimacy of Police
Aiming to measure public's perception of police legitimacy, this implicit construct was formulated by adding the questions in the Mastrofski Model to the questions developed in the Sunshine and Tyler Model. The questions were organized by modeling Tankebe's study (Tankebe, 2013). The legitimacy scale ($\alpha=0.87$) consists of 26 propositions in total. Fourteen of the questions examined procedural fairness, seven of them examined outcome fairness and five of them examined lawfulness (see 2.3 The Legitimacy of the Police). The five Likert scale was used in the propositions. This study aimed to test the four hypotheses regarding the implicit construct of police legitimacy.

Procedural Fairness
Procedural fairness ($\alpha=0.79$) is a scale developed in order to understand the extent to which the decisions taken by police and attitudes and behaviors of police towards public were fair in the eyes of the public (see 3.5.2 Procedural Fairness). As mentioned above, independent from the results reached by the police, this is a

perception regarding whether the police treat citizens equally while performing their duties and whether the procedures they follow are fair or not. However, in the present study, because such questions were relocated, this scale was renamed "attitudes of police".

Outcome Fairness

Independent from the attitudes and behaviors of the police towards citizens, the scale of outcome fairness (α=0.72) represents public's perception of whether the results obtained by police action are fair or not (see 3.5.3 Outcome Fairness). In this study, the scale of outcome fairness was made up of seven questions taken from the Sunshine and Tyler (2003), Mastrofski (1999) and Tankebe (2013) models. This scale was renamed as "distribution of services".

Police Lawfulness

Police lawfulness (α=0.62) indicates whether police represent common values and laws in the eyes of society (see 3.5.1 Lawfulness of the Police Force). In this study, societal perception of police lawfulness was evaluated using a five-question scale. This scale was defined as "the application of law and rules".

Effectiveness of Police

The operational approach to police perception includes factors like police politeness and sensitivity of police as a factor in the effectiveness of the police force. However, the procedural approach to police perception defines the effectiveness of police in terms of the ability to fight certain crimes (see 3.4 Factors Depending on Police Effectiveness). In this study, both types of questions were included in the scale of police effectiveness (α=0.81). The results related to this scale, evaluated by 12 questions in total, will be taken into consideration in the "findings" section.

Trust Expressed by Respondents (Stated Trust)

In the literature, studies of trust in the police commonly consist of the questions that ask directly about trust in police. In line with the literature (see 2.1. Trust in the Police) questions that would measure trust in police and a scale of confidence in police in society (α=0.66) were prepared for use as dependent variables in the study.

TABLE 1: SCALE OF TRUST IN THE POLICE EXPRESSED BY RESPONDENTS
I am (1) not at all confident ... (5) very confident that I would call the police when I have a safety or security problem.
I (1) do not believe at all ... (5) fully believe that the police will solve a problem I present to them.
I am (1) very cautious ... (5) very comfortable when it comes to personally going to the police station to appeal to the police.
I would (1) not dare at all ... (5) be very comfortable asking the police to show an official ID when necessary.
I (1) do not believe at all ... (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my ethnic identity.
I (1) do not believe at all ... (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my religious identity.
I (1) do not believe at all ... (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my political identity.
I (1) do not believe at all ... (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my marital status.
I (1) do not believe at all ... (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my gender.

Obedience to Police and Cooperation with Police

The ways in which legitimacy of police motivated obedience to police and cooperation with police was discussed above. In the twenty-first century, if the public did obey police, no country's police force could perform their duties and coercive and preventive responsibilities. This is why, in terms of the policies to be applied, it is very important to understand the belief in the legitimacy of police and more importantly which dimension of this belief has an influence on cooperation with police.

In current studies on police perception, the motivation for cooperation with police and obedience to police were considered as two different variables and these studies have shown these two concepts correlate with different dimensions of police legitimacy (see 3.7.1 Cooperation with Police and Obedience to Police). In this study, two implicit constructs have been organized around seven questions in total. As a result, scales of cooperation with police (α=0.76) and obedience to police (α=0.58) were obtained.

Tolerance to Police Misconduct

It is observed that tolerance to the violations of rules/laws by the police (i.e. police misconduct) is high in countries where confidence in police and the belief in police legitimacy is also high (see 3.7.2 Tolerance against Police Malpractice). In this study, the tolerance of society towards violations of rules by police was operationalized by 12 questions and a tolerance scale was obtained (α=0.67).

4.2.2 Construct Validity

After obtaining the data, the second stage of the study was to measure the reliability of the implicit constructs and to test the suitability of the data to the model. As discussed above, the effectiveness of the police is seen as a part of the legitimacy perception in some countries and in other countries the effectiveness of police affects trust in police as a concept as distinct from the general perception of legitimacy. In this respect, two models were developed in order to understand whether the effectiveness of police in Turkey was a part of the perception of police legitimacy or an independent variable making up the concept of trust in police. The first model considered the effectiveness of police as a dimension of police legitimacy, while the second model asserted that these were two different concepts. A three-level test was applied in order to understand which model was more applicable with the data obtained and, more importantly, in order to see whether significant results would be obtained as a result of subjecting them to this analysis. These included: measuring the sample to see whether it was suitable for the data analysis and testing the fit of the model to PCA, Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis.

Measuring Sample Adequacy

The sample size used in the study leaves no room for uncertainty, since it is quite above the sample size accepted in the literature (Guadagnoli, 1988). As frequently noted in the literature, two different samplings were taken using PCA and EFA in order to get robust results and to increase the reliability of the factor structure obtained (MacCallum et.al, 1999). The sample, consisting of 3,207 respondents, was divided into two by stratified sampling. Thus, it was guaranteed that the demographic groups in the study would appear in both parts and also made random selection possible. The fit of the sample for the analysis was measured by Bartlett's test of sphericity and it was established that the variables were statistically significant (0, p < 2.20E-16). Furthermore, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin sample adequacy test was applied, showing that KMO value was above 0.6 for all scales. These results showed that the survey propositions and sample were suitable for factor analysis (Reisig, Bratton and Gertz, 2007).

TABLE 2 KMO VALUES	
SCALES	KMO VALUES
Legitimacy	**0.91**
Procedural Fairness (Attitudes of Police)	0.84
Outcome Fairness (Distribution of Services)	0.78
Lawfulness (Enforcement of Laws)	0.71
Police Effectiveness	0.87
Tolerance to Police Misconduct	0.72
Obedience to Police	0.60
Cooperation with Police	0.74
Trust	0.71

Factor Analysis

In order to conduct the most efficient Principal Component Analysis (PCA), the first stage in our factor analysis was to determine the minimum number of articles that could explain the information from the questions in the most effective way, while the rest were eliminated. In the next stage, the structure of the remaining propositions were subjected to Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA).

While performing factor analysis, a correlation matrix suitable for the data type was used. Under Maximum Likelihood (ML), which is used in many studies and is the default factor analysis method in many quantitative analysis programs, a Pearson R correlation and ordinal scale were used. The literature frequently discusses whether data obtained using a Pearson R correlation and ordinal scale (like the Likert scale used in the study) point to significant results (Morata- Ramírez and Holgado-Tello, 2013). As a result of the studies conducted on this subject, Kendall, Spearman or Polychoric correlation are possible methods that can be used depending on factors like sample size for the data in the Likert scale (Choi, Peters and Mueller, 2010). As expected from the conducted test analysis, contrary to similar studies in the literature, an ML method using a Pearson correlation could not establish a factor structure and had the tendency to gather all propositions analyzed under one factor.

As a result of the test analysis, conducted using the methods based on other correlation matrices mentioned above, a Kendall correlation has given the most efficient and effective results in terms of calculation load. Thus, this correlation was used in factor analysis. Since factors are distinguishable, promax rotation was chosen as the rotation method best suited to the nature of factor behavior and the data used (Hetzel, 1996). Considering that the factor structure emerged as a result of exploratory factor analysis, it was observed that factors on the legitimacy scale explained 57% of the variance in the data, while the factors that constitute the effectiveness scale explained 64% of the variance in the data (see Tables 9 and 10). Even if it was expected that factors would explain the variance in data for at least 70% in the physical sciences, in social sciences the obtained cumulative variance is statistically significant due to the problems discussed above (e.g. validity) (Gau, 2011).

TABLE 3 FACTOR LOADINGS AND VARIANCE OF LEGITIMACY			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
SS Loadings	3.789	2.939	0.982
Proportion Variance	0.316	0.245	0.082
Cumulative Variance	0.316	0.561	0.642

TABLE 4 FACTOR LOADINGS AND VARIANCE OF EFFECTIVENESS				
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
SS Loadings	3.849	3.747	3.506	0.769
Proportion Variance	0.211	0.182	0.141	0.032
Cumulative Variance	0.211	0.393	0.534	0.566

It was observed that the legitimacy scale was ideally explained by four factors, and the effectiveness scale by two factors in the factor structure emerging from a factor analysis. The results of this factor analysis have been considered in the related sections of this study. Cronbach's alpha and correlation values were calculated in order to test the internal consistency of the scales, or in other words, to test the relationship of propositions with each other (see Table 9).

TABLE 5 INTERNAL CONSISTENCY OF THE SCALES			
Scales	Cronbach's alpha	Mean	Standard Deviation
Legitimacy	0.87	3.50	0.67
Procedural Fairness (Attitudes of Police)	0.79	3.43	0.70
Outcome Fairness (Distribution of Services)	0.72	3.62	0.88
Lawfulness (Enforcement of Laws)	0.62	3.63	0.72
Effectiveness	0.81	3.56	0.80
Tolerance to Police Misconduct	0.67	2.67	0.94
Obedience to Police	0.58	3.77	0.99
Cooperation with Police	0.76	4.05	0.84
Trust	0.66	3.89	0.86

The Determination of the Fit Model (Confirmatory Factor Analysis)

The fit of the designed model to the data was measured by chi-square goodness-of-fit test, comparative fit index (CFI) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). As discussed above, propositions forming the police-effectiveness scale were added along with the three scales hypothesized to form the perception of legitimacy. All propositions making up the effectiveness and legitimacy scales were subjected to CFA analysis in order to understand whether the data fit the model including effectiveness or the model viewing effectiveness as a separate concept. Then, the legitimacy propositions were subjected to CFA analysis by eliminating the effectiveness propositions. The model-fit test revealed that the data better fit in the model that did not include the effectiveness propositions (RMSEA=0) (see Table 10). Contrary to expectations, it was observed that the legitimacy scale of legitimacy was explained by four factors. Nevertheless, the inter-factorial distribution of the propositions was still found to be very close to the expected model, as this fourth factor included only one proposition. In line with these results, we chose a model for legitimacy along four factors excluding effectiveness.

TABLE 6 MODEL FIT TEST						
	RMSEA	RMSEA 90% CI	RMSEA p-value	Std. Root Mean sq. residual	CFI	TFI
Two Stage Legitimacy CFA with Police Effectiveness	0.22	(0.00, 0.045)	0.981	0.49	0.994	0.995
Two Stage Legitimacy CFA, no Police Effectiveness	0	(0.00, 0.07)	1.00	0.24	1	1.019
4 Factor Legitimacy CFA, with Police Effectiveness	0.14	(0.00, 0.042)	0.992	0.043	0.998	0.998
4 Factor Legitimacy CFA, no Police Effectiveness	0	(0.00, 0.00)	1	0.022	1	1.02

4.2.3 OLS Regression Analysis

In the third stage of the data analysis, an ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression analysis was applied in order to measure the relationship between trust in police, cooperation with police, obedience to police and tolerance towards police misconduct on the legitimacy scale. This was the last step in the factor analysis conducted. The results of the analysis will be presented in the "findings" section (Section 5).

4.2.4 Significance Test

In the fourth stage of the analysis, the answers were averaged by using descriptive statistics of scale variables. The demographic distribution of these averages was also examined. Public's perception of police was analyzed by nine scales in line with the concepts described above. The analysis we conducted demonstrates that the questions developed for this study measure the implicit constructs in a meaningful way (see Table 13). In other words, the questions asked in the survey to understand the effectiveness of police successfully measured the effectiveness of police, and the propositions prepared to understand trust in police were successful in measuring this trust. The sole construct that was partially unsuccessful in terms of internal consistency of the propositions was obedience to police. After calculating the scale averages, the data were subjected to variance analysis in

order to test the influence of demographic variables on these scales. In this direction, the legitimacy and effectiveness scales were subjected to multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), and analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed for the other scales.

TABLE 7 SIGNIFICANCE TEST FOR THE SCALES		
Scales	p-val	95% CI
Legitimacy	< 2.20E-16	(3.480174, 3.526629)
Effectiveness	< 2.20E-16	(3.534093, 3.590100)
Tolerance to Police Misconduct	< 2.20E-16	(2.641476, 2.706770)
Cooperation and Obedience	< 2.20E-16	(4.026406, 4.084743)
Trust	< 2.20E-16	(3.857970, 3.917486)

According to the results of this analysis, it was seen that the demographic variables that had a statistically significant effect on the perceptions of police legitimacy and effectiveness were gender, geographical region, religious and ethnic belonging and political identity. It was observed that income level, education level, age group and occupation did not have a significant effect on public's perception of the legitimacy and effectiveness of the police.

TABLE 8 MANOVA VALUES FOR THE LEGITIMACY AND EFFECTIVENESS SCALES			
Variable	Num df	Den df	Pr(>F)
Region	580	12024	< 2.20E-16
Gender	4	3003	1.55E-07
Religious Belonging	44	12024	< 2.20E-16
Political Identity	68	12024	< 2.20E-16
Ethnicity	44	12024	0.02083

The scale formulated to measure the tolerance of police misconduct was subjected to ANOVA analysis, and it was observed that the variables which had a statistically significant effect on this scale were geographic region, religious belonging and political identity. However it became evident that ethnic identity also had a minor effect on public's toleration towards police misconduct.

TABLE 9 ANOVA VALUES FOR TOLERANCE SCALE					
Variable	Df	Sum Sq.	Mean Sq.	F Value	Pr(>F)
Geographical Region	145	1061	7	13.34	< 2.20E-16
Income	1	0	0	0.07	0.7919
Gender	1	2	2	3.301	0.0693
Age Group	6	3	0	0.835	0.5425
Occupation	7	5	1	1.216	0.2898
Religious Belonging	11	38	3	6.225	3.19E-10
Political Identity	17	80	5	8.561	< 2.20E-16
Ethnicity	11	9	1	1.498	0.125

Similarly, it was observed that the variables which had a statistically significant effect on stated trust were geographic region, religious identity and political identity. Ethnic belonging, income and gender were observed to have lesser influence on stated trust.

TABLE 10 ANOVA VALUES FOR TRUST SCALE					
Variable	Df	Sum Sq.	Mean Sq.	F Value	Pr(>F)
Geographic Region	145	823.6	5.68	11.918	< 2.20E-16
Income	1	2.1	2.068	4.339	0.0373
Gender	1	2.7	2.668	5.598	0.018
Age Group	6	2.4	0.402	0.844	0.5356
Religious Belonging	11	18	1.636	3.432	9.22E-05
Political Identity	17	66.8	3.928	8.243	< 2.20E-16
Ethnicity	11	5.3	0.478	1.003	0.4411

4.3 SAMPLE[2]

In this section, the selection method and the characteristics of the sample will be considered.

4.3.1 Sample Selection

This study was applied to a sample of 3,207 people. In constituting the research sample, multilevel stratified random sampling was used in order to represent the population above 18 residing in urban areas in Turkey. In order to do this, a sampling plan was devised which would enable the sample size to be proportional to the size of the main geographic regions of Turkey. TÜİK (Statistical Authority of Turkey) 2011 General Election data was taken as the basis in the regional distribution of regional size. Prior to the study, TÜİK adopted a new Statistical Region Units Classification compatible with European Union Regional Statistical System (NUTS), and this new Statistical Region Units Classification was used to represent twelve top-tier regions. In the sampling, "district" was used as the primary sampling unit and the districts that would be included in the sample size were chosen by Sampling

2   This section was taken from the evaluation report of Social Research Center (Sosyal Araştırma Merkezi-SAM) which conducted survey studies. The text does not belong to the author.

with Probability Proportional to Size (PPS). According to the second main principle of the PPS sampling method, after the completion of selection process, equal number of interviews should be conducted in each of the chosen districts. Otherwise the population weight would be included for a second time, and conducting more interviews in metropolitan settlements would lead to a significant deviation in favor of these settlements. These two basics of PPS require determining of the number of interviews in districts (the primary sampling unit) in advance. The way to do this is to determine the reasonable interview numbers that will be conducted in each secondary sampling unit (neighborhoods). Taking the expertise and the sample size of the survey into consideration, these numbers were determined as follows:

- Ten interviews each for secondary sampling units.
- Two secondary sampling units each selected per district. By this count, the number of interviews held in each district was calculated at 20. Because of the large size of the population in some districts, the number of interviews in those districts were multiplied by a factor proportional to the district population size.

To sum up, the sampling process was carried out in the stages described below:

To determine the primary sampling units, the PPS method was applied to every cell shown in the table below under the average column, and one out of the 20 districts found in this column were selected. A representation proportional to the population has been provided for each of the cells. In each cell the districts were arranged by socio-economic and cultural development levels and since the selection was made systematically by PPS method, districts at different development levels were included in the sample. In the ranking of socio-economic and cultural development, "Socio-economic Development Index" (calculated by the State Planning Organization of Turkey (DPT) and updated in 2004) was used. Thus, a district distribution which represented Turkey's population in terms of region and socio-economic development was obtained.

TABLE 11 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY SURVEY NUMBERS			
Region	2011 Urban 18+ Electorate Population	Proportional Distribution	Planned Distribution
Istanbul	9.296.580	769	560
Western Marmara	1.445.810	120	220
Aegean	5.074.036	420	300
Eastern Marmara	4.096.214	339	240
Western Anatolia	4.405.040	364	260
Mediterranean	4.471.335	370	280
Central Anatolia	1.811.100	150	220
Western Black Sea	1.892.205	157	220
Eastern Black Sea	991.811	82	220
North Eastern Anatolia	718.465	59	220
Central Eastern Anatolia	1.282.854	106	220
South Eastern Anatolia	2.952.155	244	220
Total	38.437.605	3.180	3.180

In the selection of secondary sampling units (neighborhoods), systematic random sampling was used. Two secondary sampling units were chosen in each district. During the study, the only source available, the electorate numbers published by TÜİK in 2011 Parliamentary Elections, were used. This is why for the neighborhood selection electorate numbers were used and the sampling was applied on the basis of PPS. The streets, buildings and houses in the neighborhoods where the surveys would be carried out were chosen by random sampling during the fieldwork stage. The table below shows the survey numbers calculated to be proportionate to population distribution as well as the numbers determined in order to carry out surveys at the required level:

TABLE 12 DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEY NUMBERS BY REGION		
Region	Planned Distribution	Actual Distribution
Istanbul	560	564
Western Marmara	220	217
Aegean	300	309
Eastern Marmara	240	239
Western Anatolia	260	259
Mediterranean	280	291
Central Anatolia	220	220
Western Black Sea	220	220
Eastern Black Sea	220	221
North Eastern Anatolia	220	220
Central Eastern Anatolia	220	220
South Eastern Anatolia	220	227
Total	3.180	3.207

4.3.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

49.8% of the interviewees in the context of the research were female and 50.2% were male. The mean age of the interviewed people was 40. The 25-34 age group constituted slightly more than a quarter of respondents, while the 35-44 age group constituted slightly less than a quarter. The largest segment consisted of people aged 45-64 (at 30%). Three out of four respondents were married and 19% of them were single. The sum of divorced and widowed participants was approximately 5%. 5% of survey respondents did not attend school. The sum of respondents who had graduated from primary and middle school was at 53%. High-school graduates and vocational school graduates made up 30% of respondents, and university graduates (or higher degrees) 8%. 36% of respondents were housewives. 33% of respondents were fulltime employees. Retirees and students constituted 16% and 7% of the sample, respectively. 28% of respondents' total monthly household income was below 1000 TL. 29% of total monthly household income was between 1000-1700 TL, while 5% of total monthly household income was above 3000 TL. The average household income was calculated at 1668 TL. 81% of the interviewees declared their ethnic identity as Turkish and 13% of the interviewees defined themselves as Kurdish. 87% of the respondents were Sunni and 5% were Alevi. 3% of respondents refused to choose among the selection of sects posed to them and answered this question as "Muslim".

5. Findings

In light of the literature presented above, this report tried to understand the relationship between public perceptions of police legitimacy and trust in police, tendency to cooperate with police and tolerance towards violations by police (police misconduct) in Turkey.

The conclusions of this study show, in general, that citizens of Turkey have a positive public perception of police. It has been observed that public trust in police (avg. 3.89 – out of 5, ss. 0.86, cronbach 0.66) is quite high. While this value does indeed appear high, it should be underlined once again that studies of citizens' perception of police often turn out to be numerically high. Therefore, going beyond such general results, the values of the specific factors affecting trust in police and the relationship between these factors are of considerable importance. The statistical analysis has posited that public's perceptions of legitimacy of police in Turkey has a direct correlation with trust. Similar to the examples of England and the United States, but unlike Korea and China, it has become evident that public perceptions of police effectiveness have become part of the general legitimacy perception. In Turkey's case this is the result that distinguishes it from world examples. The findings show that the public both differentiates between police legitimacy and effectiveness, and legitimacy and effectiveness perceptions are proportional to one another.

## FIGURE 4 AVERAGES OF MEASURED FACTORS
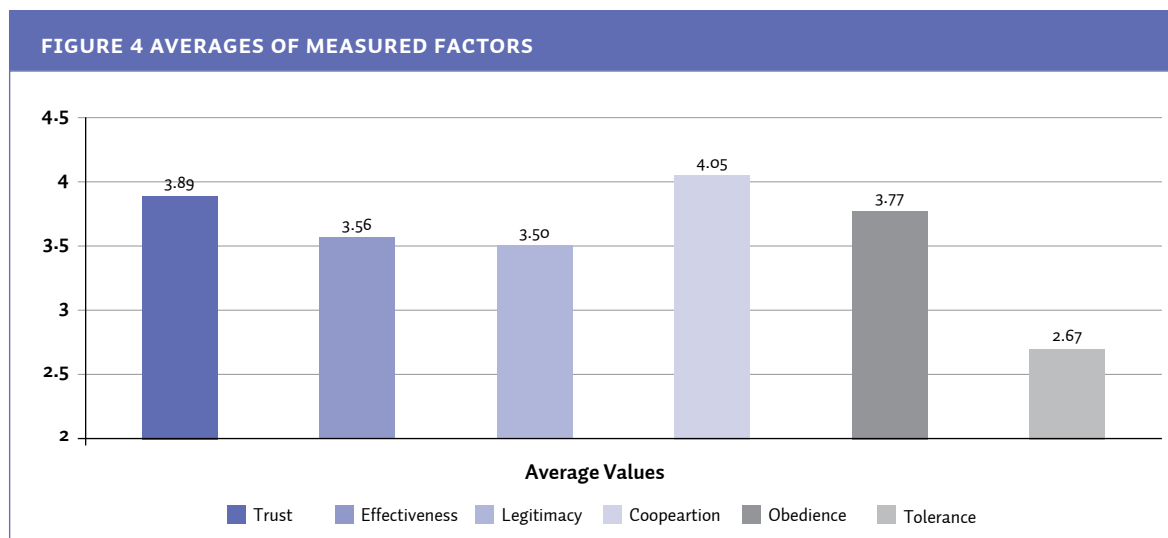
5.1 LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION OF POLICE

Three latent variables with regard to the legitimacy construct were measured. In this respect, a factor analysis has been run on three proposition groups to measure the constructs of procedural fairness, outcome fairness, and lawfulness. Based on these results, it can be seen that legitimacy perception in Turkey is comprised of 4

different factors. These are the following: procedural fairness, outcome fairness, lawfulness (just like in international examples). However, some of the propositions were placed under different factors. In the following section the dimensions of police legitimacy perception in Turkey will be discussed.

5.1.1 Dimensions of the Perception of Legitimacy in Turkey

The scale to measure the perception of legitimacy consisted of 26 propositions. When a factor analysis was run on this scale, it was observed that the public perception of legitimacy was explained by four factors. In other words, the outcomes of this analysis indicate that the public perceives the propositions concerning the legitimacy of the police force in four different dimensions. As was discussed above in international police studies three dimensions of legitimacy are usually emphasized. These are procedural fairness, outcome fairness and lawfulness. In Turkey propositions falling under these factors have changed in some cases. Legitimacy perception has thus been divided into 4 factors: "attitudes of police (procedural fairness)", "enforcement of laws (lawfulness)", "distribution of police services (outcome fairness)" and "common values".

FIGURE 5 AVERAGES OF DIMENSIONS OF LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION
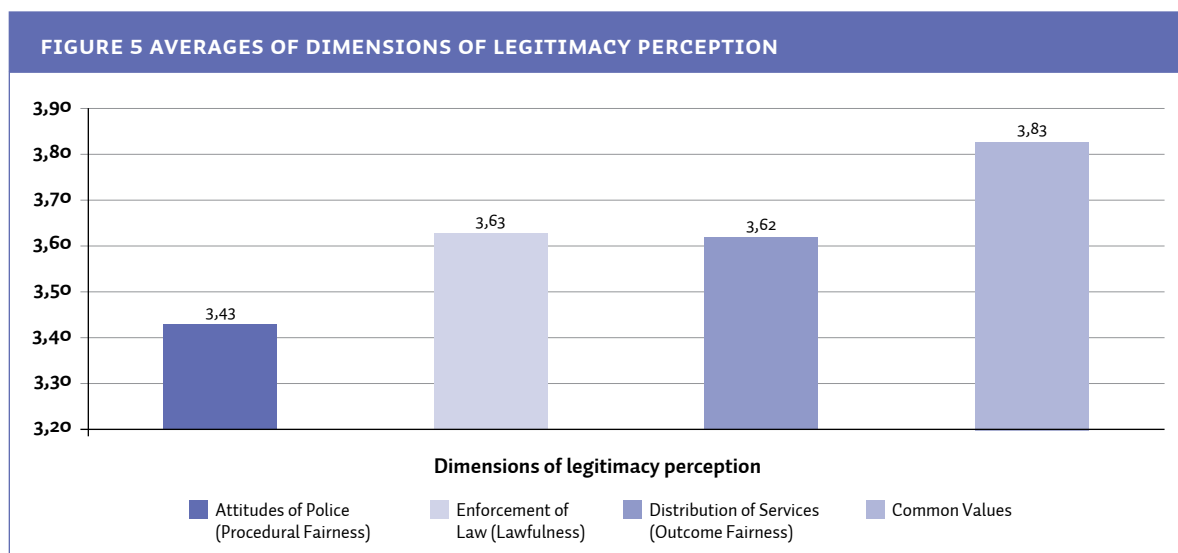
Police Attitudes (Procedural Fairness): When compared to the questions falling under the other factor groupings, it was observed that the first factor propositions falling under "police attitudes (procedural fairness)" are related to the attitudes of police while performing their duties. When we consider the first factor grouping, we have observe that public opinion in Turkey accepts the ease of communication with the police, fair and equal treatment by the police, and the police's ability to resolve the citizens' problems as a dimension of legitimacy. This distribution differs from the questions concerning procedural perception in other countries. The public in Turkey considers police's responsiveness to the citizens, paying attention to their complaints, being open to communication, and continuing such attitude without discrimination as dimensions of legitimacy.

Enforcement of Laws (Lawfulness): When considering that the second factor grouping is related to in how far police enforce existing laws/regulations this factor was named "Enforcement of Laws (Lawfulness)". When we examine the questions under the second factor grouping, we see that these questions correspond to the measure of 'lawfulness' of the police in light of the theoretical studies presented above. A major difference in Turkey, however, is that public opinion differentiates police from the system of which police are a part of. All

propositions under the second factor are based on the system represented by the police and on the police's capacity to represent this system.

Distribution of Police Services (Outcome Fairness): When propositions falling under the third factor grouping were closely examined, it became clear that the outcome was oriented towards changing the results and distribution of police services. Therefore, this factor was named "Distribution of Services (Outcome Fairness)". We see that the respondents of this study grouped these propositions within the framework of distribution of police services. We have observed that public's expectations from police also include the expectations that they provide a secure environment and that police investigations produce fair results for all. An important point here is that the respondents see police courtesy and equal attention to all citizens as part of the distribution of police services.

TABLE 13: FACTORS OF LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION				
	Procedural Fairness (Attitudes of Police)	Lawfulness of the Police Force	Outcome Fairness (Distribution of Services)	Common Values
Police listen to citizens' problems	0.805			
Police respond to appeals in a timely fashion	0.767			
It is easy to communicate with police	0.763			
Police treat the pubic fairly	0.571			
Police treat the people equally	0.474			
Police have knowledge of rules and laws	0.606			
The police resolves citizens' problems	0.633			
The rules and the actions carried out by the police are fair for all		0.768		
The police allow unfair decisions to be corrected by the citizens		0.906		
The police do not decide based on their own opinion, but on facts/reality		0.814		
Police officers, who violate the law are punished		0.673		
Police services are provided consistently		0.738		
Police address citizens politely			0.532	
Police care about citizens			0.562	
Police treat you respectfully when you appeal to them for whatever reason			0.605	
Police are clearly accountable for their actions to the people concerned			0.546	
Police always treat the people living in my neighborhood lawfully			0.579	
People often get fair results when they go to police			0.553	
When they go to police, people often get results within the framework of the rights granted by the law			0.538	
Police provide a secure environment			0.585	
Police fulfill their duties and responsibilities to the citizens			0.602	
Police are responsive to the demands and needs of the public			0.564	
The law represents the moral values of people like me				0.48

Common Values: There appears to be a fourth factor part of public's legitimacy perception in Turkey. We observed that this unexpected result consisted of a single proposition. In addition to considering the proposition "The law represents the moral values of people like me" as part of the perceptions of legitimacy of police, as anticipated by the theoretical discussion, respondents distinguished this question from that of the lawful behavior of police. In other words, *the way in which the police represent the laws and to what extent the law represents shared values are considered as two different dimensions of legitimacy.* Although approximately 65% of respondents stated that the law represents their values, it is important that this question constitutes a separate dimension under the factor analysis because it is distinguished from public's belief in the lawful behavior of police. This is an important point, because it shows that the public clearly differentiates between "common values" and "enforcement of the laws (lawfulness)" factors. In other words, contrary to other world examples, in Turkey there appears to be a distance between the police's representation of common values and the law's representation of common values. One interpretation of this finding could be that the public's 'social distance' to police is less than its 'social distance' to the laws. This interpretation is part of the informed opinion of the researcher and is not based on clear statistical findings. In order to delineate public's legitimacy perception with regard to the laws and the judicial system, a separate study needs to be conducted.

FIGURE 6. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF REPRESENATION OF THE LAW
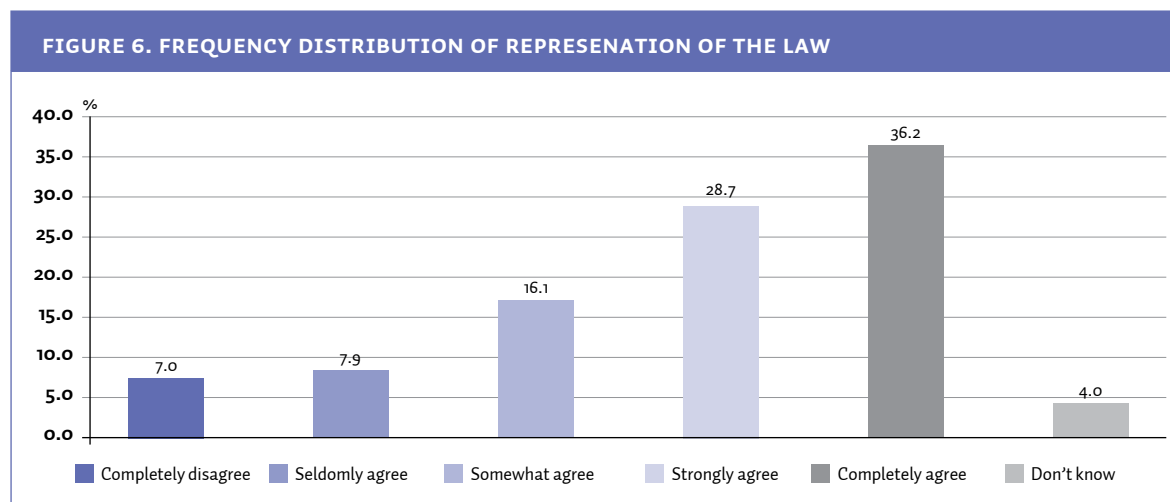
Comparison of Legitimacy Dimensions in Turkey with International Studies

Although there appear to be significant differences in legitimacy perception in Turkey, 'police attitudes', 'distribution of services' and 'enforcement of laws' dimensions more or less similarly correspond to 'procedural fairness', 'outcome fairness' and 'lawfulness' dimensions frequently referred to in international studies. Tankebe, a researcher testing the legitimacy model created by Tyler and his team in different societies, has pointed out that the lawfulness of the police force and the constructs of procedural fairness and outcome fairness, which constitute the public conception of legitimacy, are conceived differently in each society and that it is not easy to differentiate between procedural fairness and outcome fairness (Tankebe 2010). However, a team specialized on this issue in London School of Economics tested the questions that were used in global studies on the perception of the police and argued that legitimacy does retain these three dimensions, even when the groupings of questions were changed cross-culturally (Jackson et al. 2011). This finding has been confirmed by studies conducted in Trinidad and Tobago, in Dominican Republic and the United States by Kochel and Mastrofski (Kochel, Parks, and Mastrofski 2013).

The fact that legitimacy perception is divided into different factors and the fact that there is a sharp difference between these factors gives important clues on public's legitimacy perception. While public opinion in countries such as the United States, Australia, England and Belgium differentiate between procedural fairness and outcome fairness, it has been observed that this difference is not as severe as in Scandinavian countries as it is in Turkey. It can be argued that procedural fairness becomes much more prominent in societies whose ethnic structure is more heterogeneous, considering that the most major difference between Scandinavian countries and the United States, Australia, England, and Belgium is their demographical structure.

In this respect, it might be suggested that the underlying cause of the differentiation made by the public in Turkey between procedural fairness (despite defining it differently) and outcome fairness is the heterogeneous structure of society, despite the fact that the public in Turkey defines procedural fairness differently. In other words, the perception that police pays attention to equality between groups becomes an important part of the perception of legitimacy in societies where there are different ethnic, political and religious groups.

Furthermore, just like in the US, England and Australia, public in Turkey sees police's fair and equal treatment as part of procedural fairness. However, public in Turkey views polite and respectful attitude of police towards public as part of outcome fairness (distribution of services). In short, public in Turkey does not see politeness and respectful attitude as part of procedural fairness. *Therefore, police's disrespectful or impolite behavior is differentiated from police's equal/fair treatment irrespective of ethnic background or political identity.*

5.1.2 Demographic Factors Influencing Legitimacy Perception

The demographic factors affecting society's perception of legitimacy in a statistically significant way, as indicated above, include gender, geographical area, religious and ethnic belonging, and political identity. In this respect, when society's perception of legitimacy was examined, we observed that the perception of legitimacy is highest in North-Eastern Anatolia region (approx. 3.98). This is followed by the perception of legitimacy in the Aegean region (approx.3.72). We observed that the perception of legitimacy is lowest in the Central Anatolia region (approx. 3.19).

The strongest factor affecting the positive legitimacy of the police in North-Eastern Anatolia appeared to be the lawful behavior of the police force. In this region, despite the fact that the perception on procedural justice and outcome-oriented justice is higher than the other regions, we observed that the level of confidence in the lawfulness of the police (approx. 4.25) appears to be significantly higher than in other regions. In the Aegean region perception on distribution of services (outcome fairness) is more positive than the perception on lawfulness.

FIGURE 7: LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY REGIONS
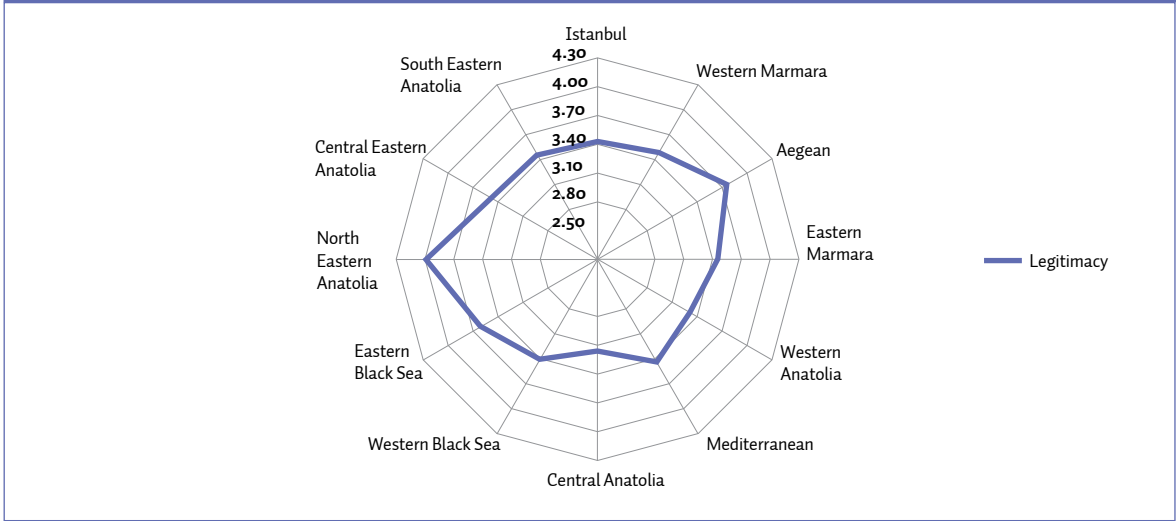
When looking at legitimacy perception by regions all factors constituting legitimacy are generally seen to be proportionally distributed in each region. In addition, in all regions the attitudes of police (procedural fairness) dimension appears to be more negative compared to other legitimacy dimensions. When the questions under this dimension are considered, it is possible to argue that the public perception in Turkey that the police act responsively and fairly toward citizens' needs is more negative compared to the perception on police's distribution of services and the lawfulness of their behavior.

FIGURE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF LEGITIMACY DIMENSIONS BY REGION
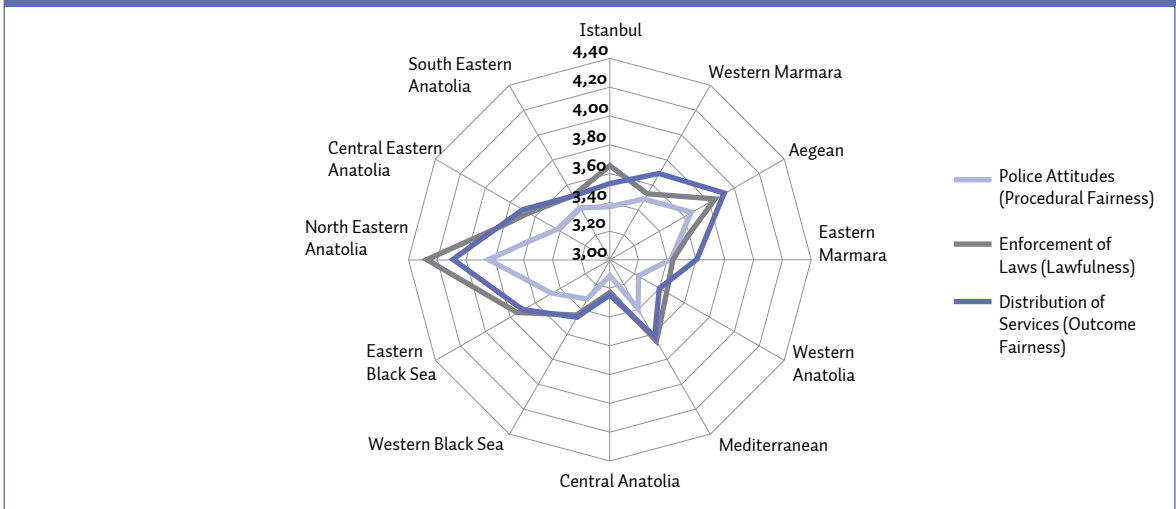
Distribution of averages of legitimacy perceptions by region are listed in the table below:

TABLE 14: LEGITIMACY DIMENSIONS BY REGIONS	Police Attitudes (Procedural Fairness)	Enforcement of Laws (Lawfulness)	Distribution of Services (Outcome Fairness)
Istanbul	3.36	3.64	3.52
Western Marmara	3.48	3.52	3.69
Aegean	3.66	3.84	3.91
Eastern Marmara	3.43	3.44	3.61
Western Anatolia	3.23	3.46	3.41
Mediterranean	3.40	3.66	3.62
Central Anatolia	3.12	3.24	3.26
Western Black Sea	3.33	3.46	3.47
Eastern Black Sea	3.48	3.75	3.71
North Eastern Anatolia	3.85	4.26	4.10
Central Eastern Anatolia	3.41	3.65	3.69
South Eastern Anatolia	3.41	3.51	3.51

Another factor that has statistically significant impact on public's legitimacy perception is religious identity. In this study religious identity was determined by a list of options presented to survey participants. A small number of respondents identifying themselves as Hanafi or Shafii were combined under the Sunni category. Since the number of Shiites, Christians, Jews and participants not belonging to any religion was quite low, these were combined under the "Other" category. Participants who responded as "I don't know" or "I don't want to answer" were combined under the "No answer" category. Since some participants insisted on the "Muslim" category (N=96) which was not among the options presented, this category was evaluated separately.

FIGURE 9: LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

Sunni 3.47, Alevi/Bektashi 3.00, Muslim 3.46, Other 2.59, No answer 3.48
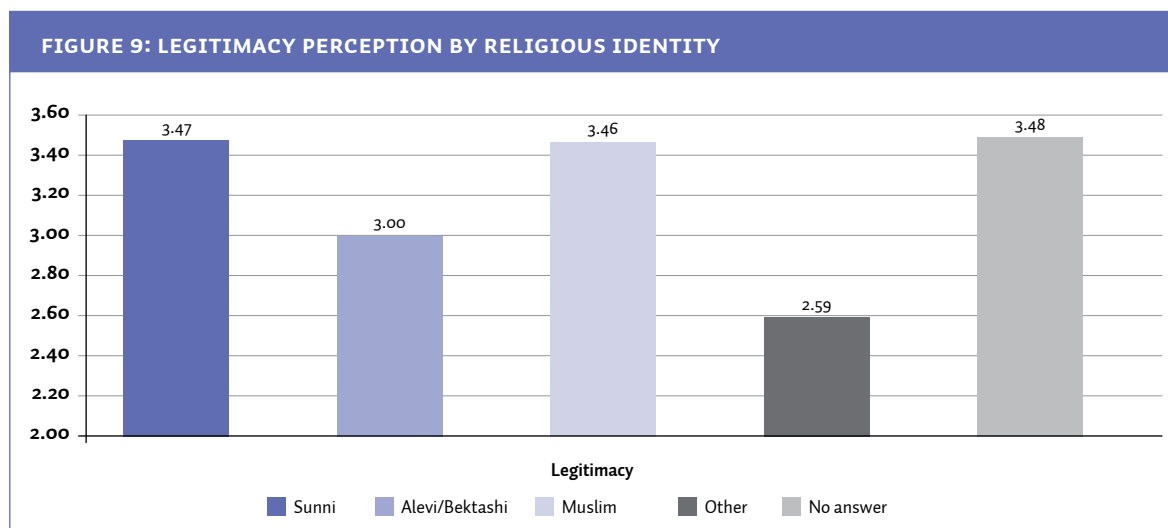
In this study, it was observed that the perception of police legitimacy (avg. 3.0) is low among those respondents who identified themselves as Alevi. The fact that the groups whose religious belonging is different than the social majority have lower trust in the police supports the results of the studies in Ireland and Israel, discussed above. In other words, confidence in police legitimacy with regard to religious identity depends on the fact that religious identity differs from the religious identity of the social majority, rather than the presence of religious belief itself. It became evident that both of two groups' confidence in police lawfulness is stronger than other dimensions of the perceptions of legitimacy (avg. 3.09). *One of the reasons could be that the groups who indicated their religious belonging believe that police act in accordance with the law: However, this does not necessarily mean that they believe police services are distributed fairly or that police would act in a procedurally fair way.*

It was observed that among Sunnis the procedural fairness (attitudes of police) dimension was lower than the outcome fairness (distribution of services). Even if their faith in the procedural fairness of the police force was higher than that of other identity-groups, the fact that this dimension was lowest among all dimensions *within* the Sunni identity group means that even the Sunni population believes the police force has to work on strengthening procedural fairness perception of the public. The fact that the perception of procedural fairness has the lowest value in all identity groups supports this result.

The fact that the perception of lawfulness of the police force is high in general points to interesting results. It could be argued that the questions, which constitute this measure, are an abstract evaluation of the concept of police force. *In other words, public's confidence that the police is a legal institution in the abstract sense is more positive than its confidence that the police force actually acts responsively and fairy towards citizens'.* It has been observed that the perception of police legitimacy among respondents (avg. 3.48), who did not wish to indicate their religious identity resembled the results of those who indicated they were Sunnis (avg. 3.47).

When looking at legitimacy perception by religious identity, the perception appears to be worst among "Other" (avg. 2.59) and "Alevi-Bektashi" (Avg. 3.00). As stated above it can also be observed that among all groups the perception with regard to attitudes of police (procedural fairness) compared to outcome fairness (distribution of services) and lawfulness is lowest. Among participants categorized under "Other" the lowest factor value is outcome fairness (distribution of services).
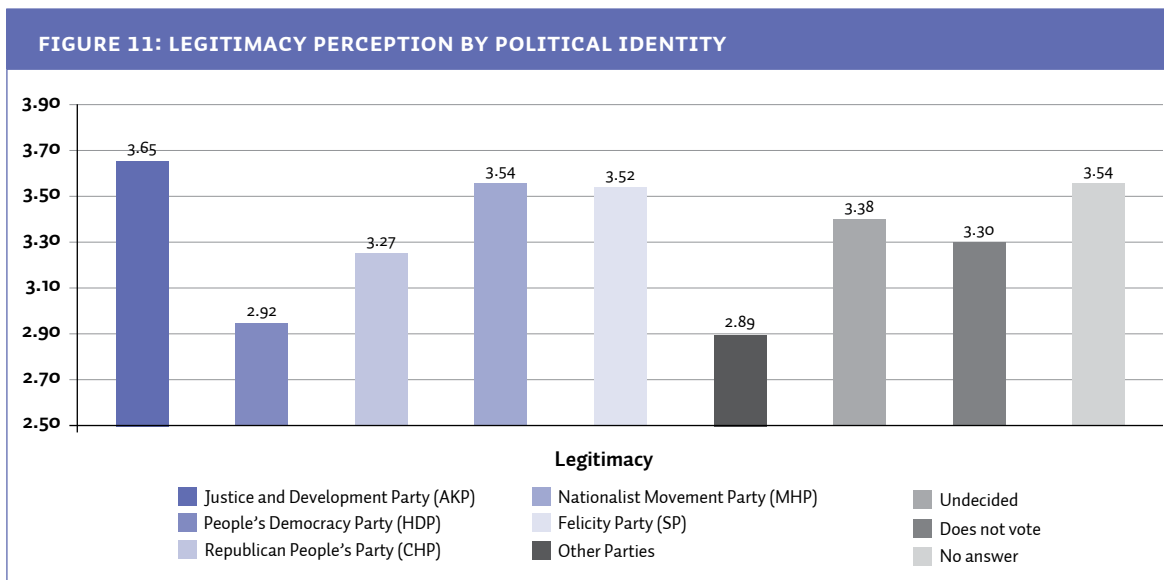

FIGURE 10: DIMENSTIONS OF LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY RELIGIOUS IDENTITY
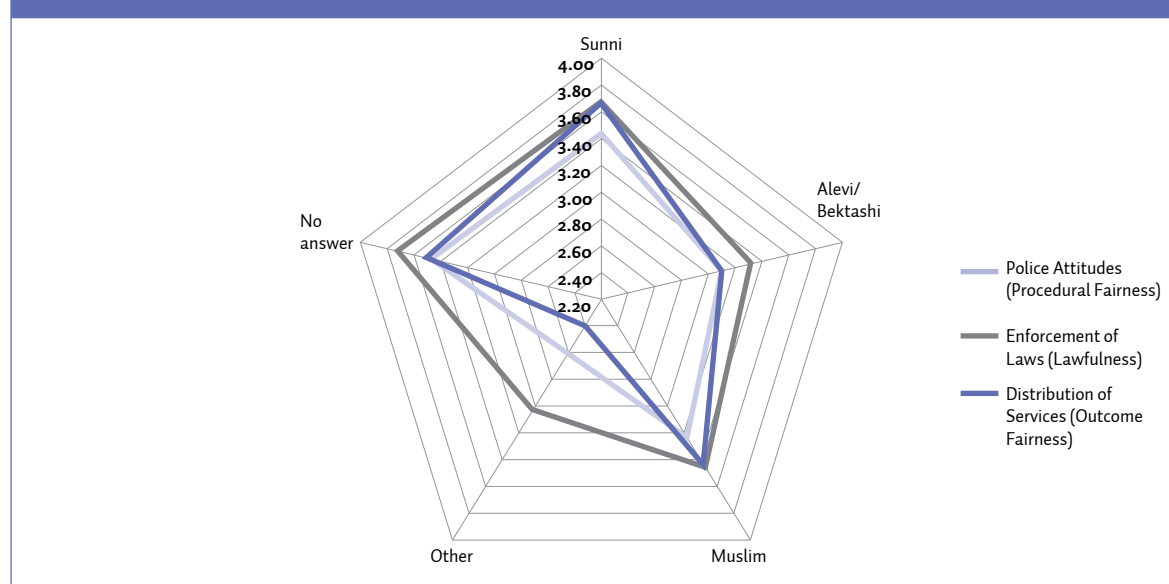
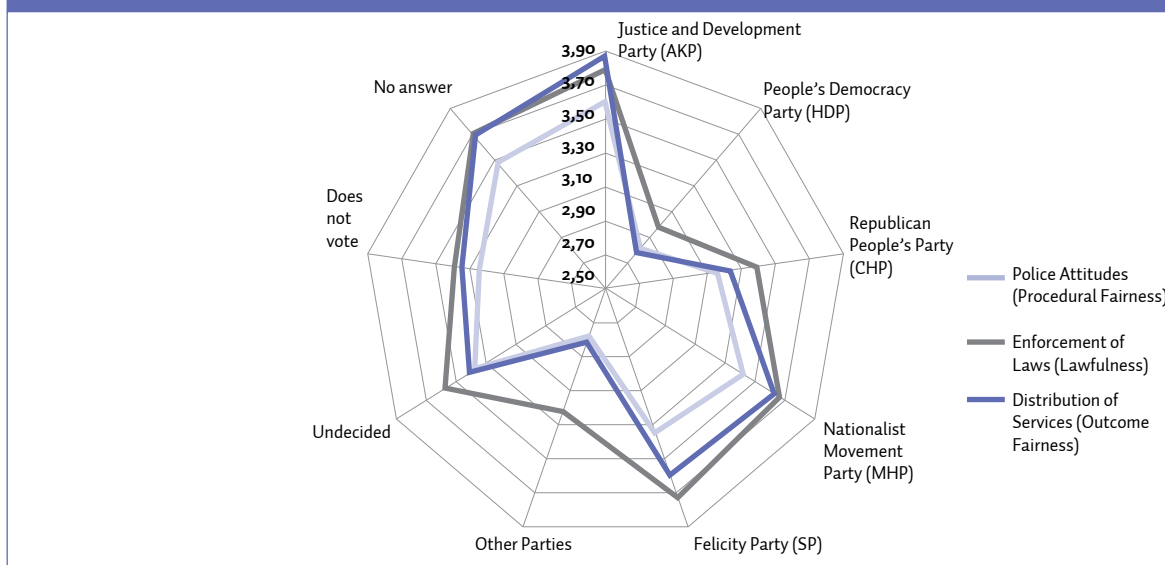| TABLE 15: DIMENSIONS OF LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY RELIGIOUS IDENTITY			
	Police Attitudes (Procedural Fairness)	Enforcement of Laws (Lawfulness)	Distribution of Services (Outcome Fairness)
Sunni	3.46	3.67	3.67
Alevi/Bektashi	2.88	3.09	2.88
Muslim	3.41	3.62	3.59
Other	2.62	3.06	2.37
No answer	3.48	3.69	3.52

Another factor affecting perception of legitimacy is political identity. Two questions concerning respondents' political identity were asked in this study: "For which political party did you vote in the 2011 general elections?" and "For which political party would you vote if general elections were held today?" The table below presents the distribution of the political parties with regard to the answers given by the respondents.

Since there were 17 participants who stated they would vote for Felicity Party (SP) these were evaluated under a separate category. The number of participants who stated they would vote for other parties (BBP, DP, DSP, İP, ÖDP, HÜDAPAR, TKP and SDP) was below 5. Therefore, these were categorized under "Other Parties". An interesting result is that 86 of the respondents declared that they have never voted for any political party and would not vote in the upcoming election, while 560 respondents refused to answer this question. This is a large number for a study with a sample size of 3207. However, it was observed that the perception of police legitimacy among respondents voting for AKP was also quite high. *This points to a general tendency in police perception studies. Among social groups who constitute the ideological or ethnic majority, perception of police legitimacy is always higher.*

FIGURE 11: LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY POLITICAL IDENTITY

As can be seen in Figure 12, legitimacy perception of police on all its dimensions is lowest among HDP (People's Democracy Party) voters. HDP voters' perception of police lawfulness (avg. 2.97) is comparatively higher than their perception of police attitudes (procedural fairness) (avg. 2.83) and outcome fairness (distribution of services) (avg. 2.78). The same trend can also be observed among respondents categorized under "Other parties".

FIGURE 12: DIMENSIONS OF LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY POLITICAL IDENTITY

Among participants who did not wish to answer this question, perception of lawfulness and outcome fairness (distribution of services) perceptions are higher than the attitudes of police (procedural fairness) perception.

TABLE 16. DIMENSIONS OF LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY POLITICAL IDENTITY			
	Police Attitudes (Procedural Fairness)	**Enforcement of Laws (Lawfulness)**	**Distribution of Services (Outcome Fairness)**
Justice and Development Party (AKP)	3.58	3.76	3.84
People's Democracy Party (HDP)	2.83	2.97	2.78
Republican People's Party (CHP)	3.16	3.38	3.25
Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)	3.44	3.67	3.65
Felicity Party (SP)	3.35	3.75	3.62
Other Parties	2.77	3.22	2.81
Undecided	3.39	3.58	3.40
Does not vote	3.24	3.40	3.34
No answer	3.46	3.71	3.67

Since the impact of ethnic identity on police legitimacy is somewhat significant (p=0.021), the perception of legitimacy of the police by ethnic identity has been visualized in the table below. An important fact to be remembered at this point is that the differences in perception of the police among different ethnicities disappears in studies which examine regional factors and social connections (Skogan 2005). In this study besides participants identifying themselves as Turkish or Kurdish, there were 43 participants who stated they are "Arabic". Therefore, "Arabic" was accepted as a separate category. Participants who identified themselves as Bosniak, Laz, Circassian or 'other' were combined under "Other". Since 25 participants did not want to respond, they were considered as a separate category.

FIGURE 13. LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY ETHNIC IDENTITY

Turkish 3.53 · Kurdish 3.39 · Arabic 3.44 · Other 3.05 · No answer 3.60

Legitimacy

■ Turkish   ■ Kurdish   ■ Arabic   ■ Other   ■ No answer
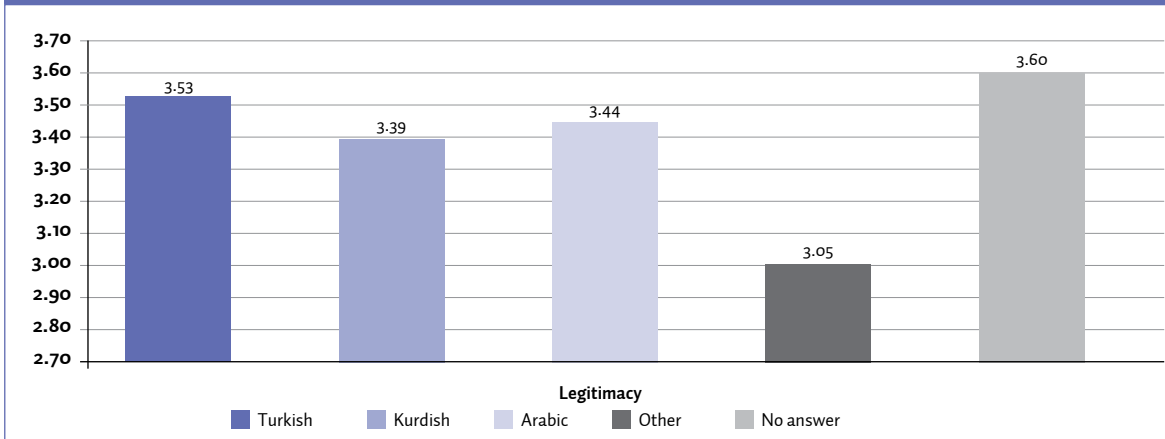
Participants categorized under "Other" have the lowest police legitimacy perception.

FIGURE 14. DIMENSIONS OF LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY ETHNIC IDENTITY

Police Attitudes (Procedural Fairness)

Enforcement of Laws (Lawfulness)

Distribution of Services (Outcome Fairness)
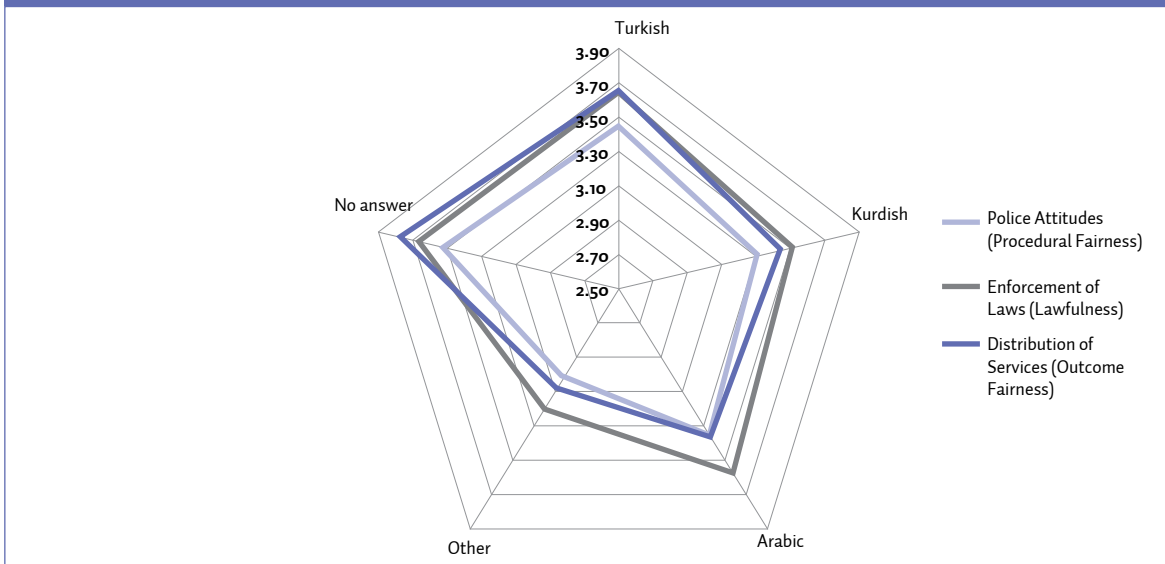
The perception of attitudes of police (procedural fairness) among all groups is more negative than other legitimacy dimensions.

TABLE 17. DISTRIBUTION OF LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY ETHNIC IDENTITY

	Police Attitudes (Procedural Fairness)	Enforcement of Laws (Lawfulness)	Distribution of Services (Outcome Fairness)
Turkish	3.45	3.66	3.66
Kurdish	3.30	3.50	3.44
Arabic	3.37	3.60	3.38
Other	3.00	3.19	3.07
No answer	3.53	3.67	3.78

Among "Kurdish" and "Other" respondents the perception with regard to attitudes of police (procedural fairness) is lowest. Perceptions with regard to "lawfulness" and "outcome fairness (distribution of services)" is highest in groups who identified themselves as "Turkish" and those who did not want to respond.

In Turkey gender also has an effect on police legitimacy ($p=1.55E-07$). Women's perception of police legitimacy (avg. 3.57) is higher than police legitimacy perception of men (avg. 3.44)

5.2 Police Effectiveness in the Eyes of the Public

As discussed above, recent studies on perception of the police attempted to understand whether the perception of effectiveness of the police is a part of the perception of legitimacy, or whether it was an independent factor. It became evident that this perception changes in accordance with the social conditions (see 3.4 Factors on Effectiveness of Police). When a factor analysis was run on questions concerning the effectiveness of the police in this study against questions concerning legitimacy of the police, the question of effectiveness turned out to be perceived as distinct from the question of legitimacy. It was thus decided to consider effectiveness as a separate measure.

In other words, the effectiveness of police in the eyes of the public in Turkey is not a dimension of the perception of legitimacy, as in England and the United States, but a factor affecting public cooperation with police, tolerance to police misconduct and trust in police. This finding points out an interesting result when considered along with the perception of legitimacy. As is discussed above, it was observed that the respondents in studies conducted in Taiwan, Korea, Ghana or Nigeria did not differentiate between the legitimacy dimension (such as procedural fairness and outcome fairness). Thus, in these countries effectiveness of the police force independently affects the public perception of police. However, in countries like the United States, England, Canada, Australia, Finland and Belgium, which do not differentiate between outcome fairness and police lawfulness, the effectiveness of police is considered as one of the subheadings within the general perception of police rather than a separate factor. We observed that Turkey stands in the middle of these two poles. While public believes police behaves consistently enough to distinguish between procedural fairness and outcome fairness, it believes them to be just inconsistent enough to consider their effectiveness as a separate factor. This may indicate that public in Turkey navigates between a stable democracy and the expectation of instability.

5.2.1 Dimensions of Police Effectiveness

Despite the fact that no grouping concerning effectiveness of police was made, the answers present different dimensions of effectiveness of police in the eyes of the public. The answers corresponding to police effectiveness in Mastrofski's theory make up their own separate group. In other words, the public differentiates the general effectiveness of police from their success in fighting certain crimes. Furthermore, the public associates respect for citizens' rights in public demonstrations with the general effectiveness of police, not with the answers that may be deemed a crime. In other words, the public in Turkey considers respect shown by police towards citizens' rights in public demonstrations as part of police's inherent duties.

TABLE 18. FACTOR LOADINGS OF POLICE EFFECTIVENESS MEASURE			
	Normative propositions	Fight Against Crime	Apprehending Offenders
Police fulfill what is expected of them	0.876		
Police do not take sides	0.966		
Police take necessary steps to solve problems	0.817		
They respect citizen's right to make public demonstrations	0.772		
Police are well-trained	0.825		
Police is effective in catching those guilty of ordinary crimes such as theft, pickpocketing			0.426
Police is effective in catching those guilty of sexual crimes such as sexual arrestment and rape			0.639
Police is effective in catching those guilty of murder			0.564
Police is effective in preventing traffic-related crimes		0.688	
Police is effective in fighting organized crime such as drug dealing and smuggling		0.891	
Police is effective in fighting economic and financial crimes		0.947	
Police is effective in maintaining order at football games and other sports events		0.613	

It was observed that respondents' attitudes on police effectiveness coalesced under three different dimensions. Examining propositions grouped during factor analysis, we observed that the first group consists of theoretical or normative propositions. In other words, general theoretical/normative propositions were perceived separate from definite crime-fighting categories.

It was observed that propositions concerning the prevention of traffic-related, economic or financial crimes as well as the maintenance of order at football games and other sports events were found to be related with one another. These were also separated from propositions concerning the arrest of those guilty of ordinary crimes such as theft or pickpocketing and sexual crimes like harassment or rape. Examining answers given to the questions in groups formed through factor analysis, despite the lack of a significant difference, it was observed that respondents found police more efficient in fighting crimes in the second group.

It needs to be emphasized that public's confidence that police can be efficient in theory is greater than its confidence that the police is effective in practice. In other words, not only is the public confident that the police force has the potential to be competent and successful; it also believes that the police force was unable to realize this potential at the time this survey was conducted.

FIGURE 15. DIMENSIONS OF POLICE EFFECTIVENESS
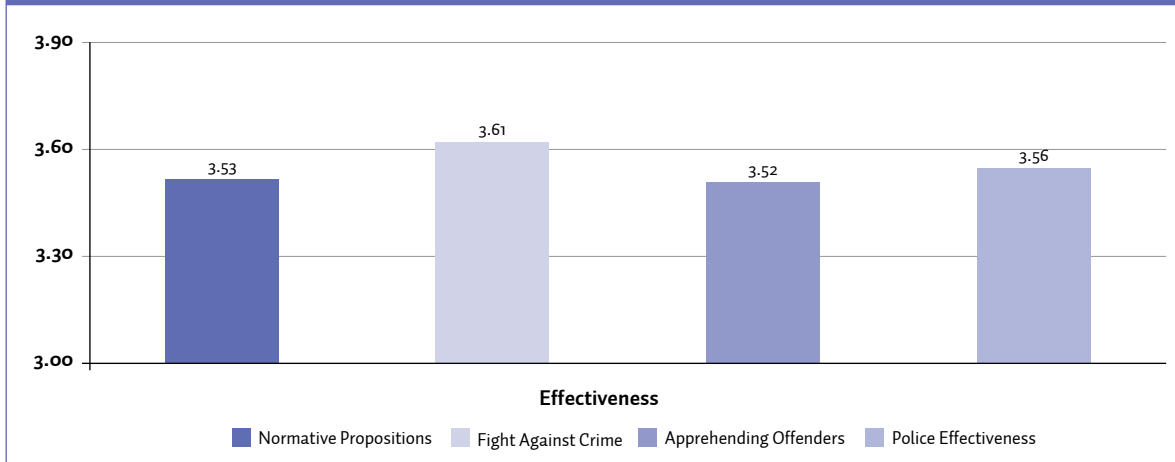
5.2.2 Demographic Factors Affecting Police Effectiveness

It has been stated above that the demographic factors that shapes the police effectiveness are geographical region, religious belonging, political and ethnic identity. It should be emphasized that ethnic identity has lesser impact on the perception of police effectiveness compared to other demographic factors.

FIGURE 16. EFFECTIVENESS BY REGIONS
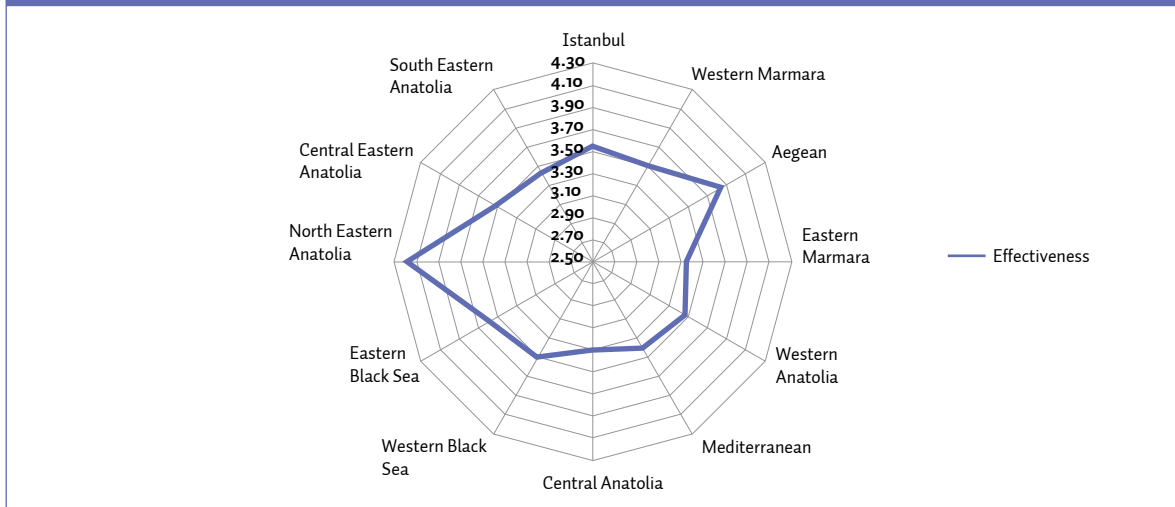
Police effetiveness perception in highest in the Northeast Anatolain region (avg. 4.20), followed by the Aegean region (avg. 3.84). Police effectiveness perception is lowest in the Eastern Marmara region (avg. 3.37).

FIGURE 17. POLICE EFFECTIVENESS DIMENSIONS BY REGIONS
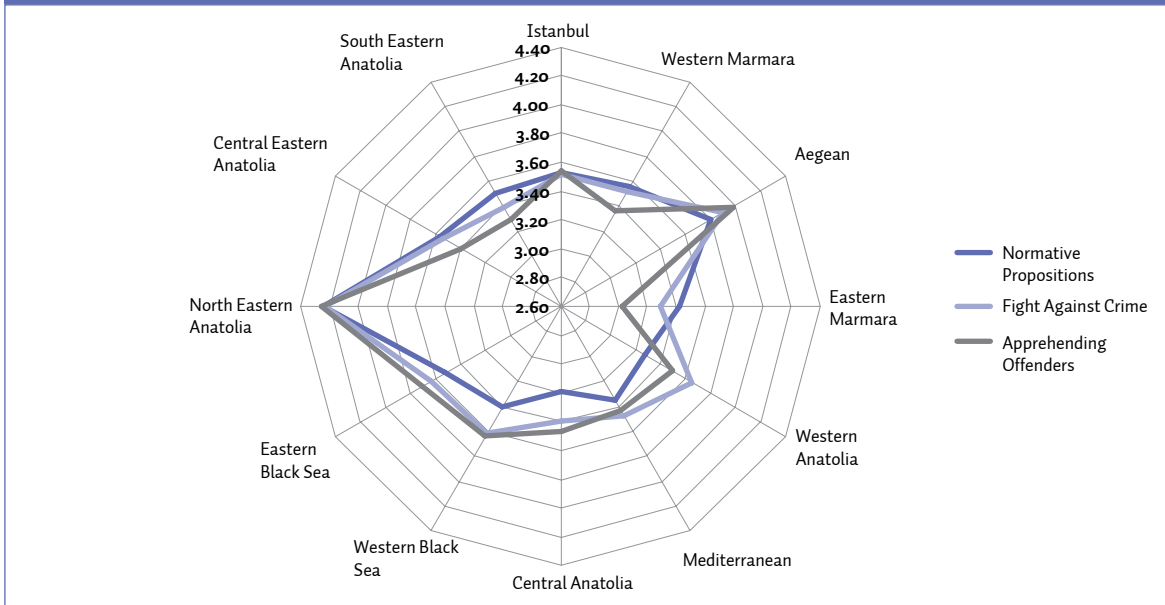
It can be observed that effectiveness by regions and legitimacy are parallel to one another. The perception of police effectiveness in Eastern Marmara ($avg_{Effectiveness}$=3.37, $avg_{Legitimacy}$= 3.49), Mediterranean ($avg_{Effectiveness}$=3.42, $avg_{Legitimacy}$=3.48), and Southeastern Anatolia ($avg_{Effectiveness}$=3.43; $avg_{Legitimacy}$=3.46) is lower than police legitimacy. The perception of police effectiveness in Aegean ($avg_{Effectiveness}$=3.84; $avg_{Legitimacy}$=3.72) and Northeastern Anatolia ($avg_{effectiveness}$=4.20; $avg_{legitimacy}$=3.98) is higher than police legitimacy.

TABLE 19. POLICE EFFECTIVENESS DIMENSIONS BY REGIONS			
	Normative Propositions	Fight Against Crime	Apprehending Offenders
Istanbul	3.53	3.52	3.55
Western Marmara	3.56	3.52	3.37
Aegean	3.81	3.90	3.98
Eastern Marmara	3.42	3.30	3.03
Western Anatolia	3.28	3.65	3.49
Mediterranean	3.35	3.47	3.44
Central Anatolia	3.19	3.40	3.46
Western Black Sea	3.40	3.62	3.64
Eastern Black Sea	3.52	3.64	3.71
North Eastern Anatolia	4.24	4.23	4.25
Central Eastern Anatolia	3.57	3.53	3.40
South Eastern Anatolia	3.50	3.39	3.30

FIGURE 18. EFFECTIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY REGION

FIGURE 18. EFFECTIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY PERCEPTION BY REGION
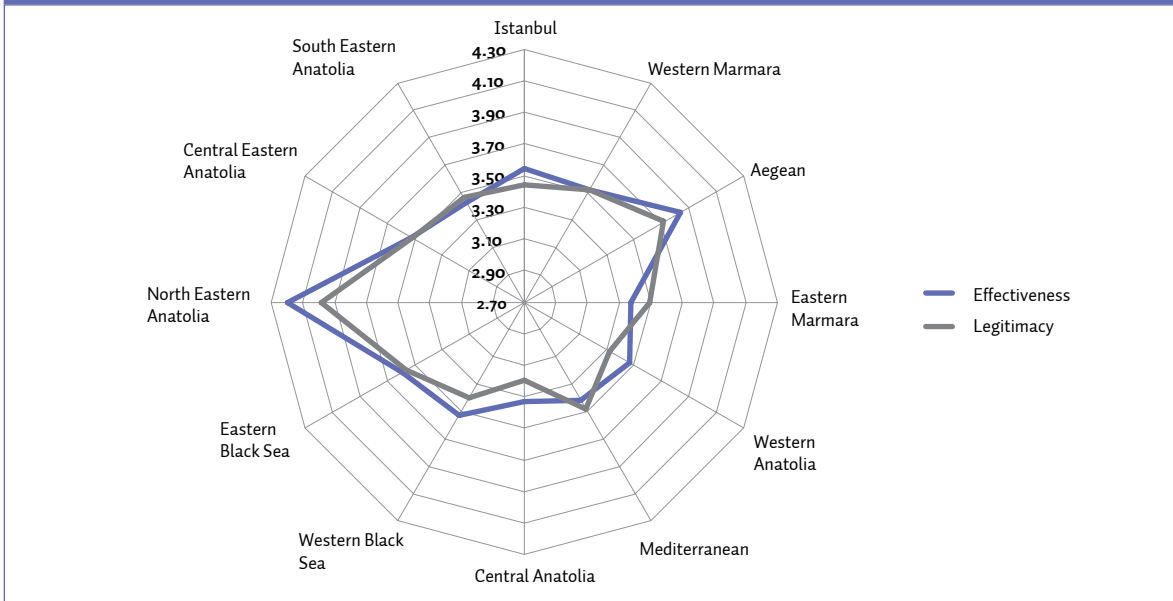
We have observed that religious identity is an important predictor of the perception of police legitimacy (p < 2.20E-16). It became evident that the perception on police effectiveness is strongest among Sunnis (avg. 3.54). Perception of police effectiveness is low among Alevis (avg. 2.97). It was observed that the perception of police effectiveness and of police legitimacy are parallel to each other with reference to religious identity. The perception of effectiveness is high among Sunnis (avg$_{Effectiveness}$=3.54; avg$_{Legitimacy}$=3.47), lower among Alevis (avg$_{Effectiveness}$=2.97; avg$_{Legitimacy}$=3.00) and highest among respondents who did not want to disclose their religious identity (avg$_{Effectiveness}$=3.58; avg$_{Legitimacy}$=3.48).

FIGURE 19. POLICE EFFECTIVENESS PERCEPTION BY RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

FIGURE 20. DIMENSIONS OF POLICE EFFECTIVENESS PERCEPTION BY RELIGOUS IDENTITY

Normative Propositions
Fight Against Crime
Apprehending Offenders

It has been observed that the perception on police effectiveness is high among respondents, who stated that they would vote for Justice and Development Party (AKP) (avg$_{Effectiveness}$=3.76; avg$_{Legitimacy}$=3.65). It has been observed that the perception of police effectiveness of respondents who stated that they would vote for other parties (BBP, DP, DSP, İP, ÖDP, HÜDAPAR, TKP and SDP), is relatively lower (avg$_{Effectiveness}$=2.87; avg$_{Legitimacy}$=2.89).

FIGURE 21. POLICE EFFECTIVENESS BY POLITICAL IDENTITY

Effectiveness

- Justice and Development Party (AKP)
- People's Democracy Party (HDP)
- Republican People's Party (CHP)
- Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)
- Felicity Party (SP)
- Other Parties
- Undecided
- Does not vote
- No answer
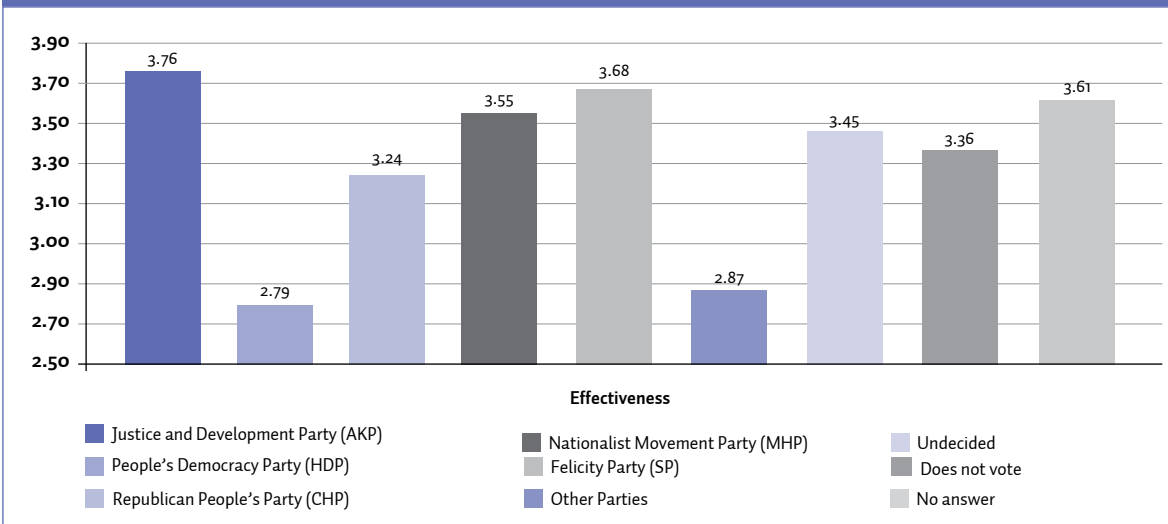
FIGURE 22. EFFECTIVENESS DIMENSIONS BY POLITICAL IDENTITY

	Normative Propositions	Fight Against Crime	Apprehending Offenders
Justice and Development Party (AKP)	3.81	3.82	3.75
People's Democracy Party (HDP)	2.59	2.85	2.69
Republican People's Party (CHP)	3.03	3.26	3.20
Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)	3.52	3.56	3.59
Felicity Party (SP)	3.62	3.64	3.84
Other Parties	2.67	2.68	2.80
Undecided	3.44	3.61	3.30
Does not vote	3.53	3.56	3.51
No answer	3.59	3.69	3.62
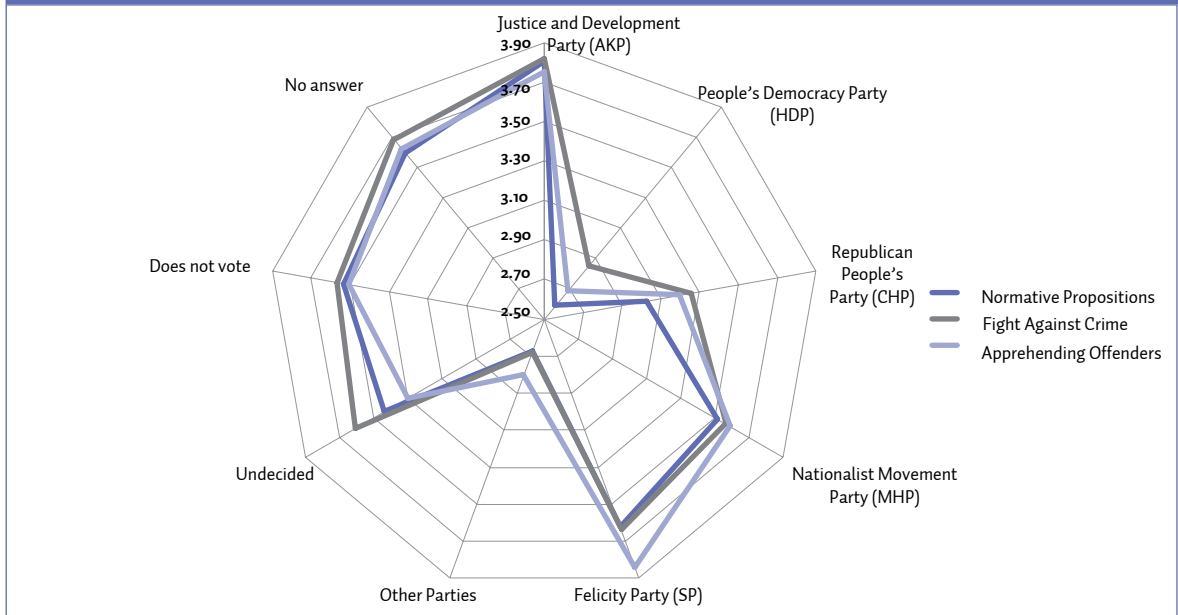
TABLE 20. EFFECTIVENESS PERCEPTION DIMENSIONS BY POLITICAL IDENTITY
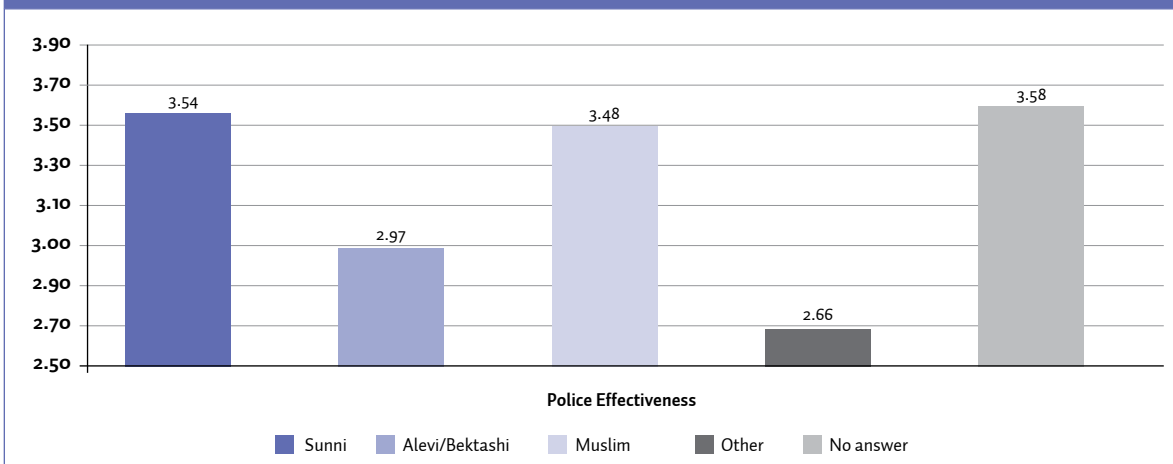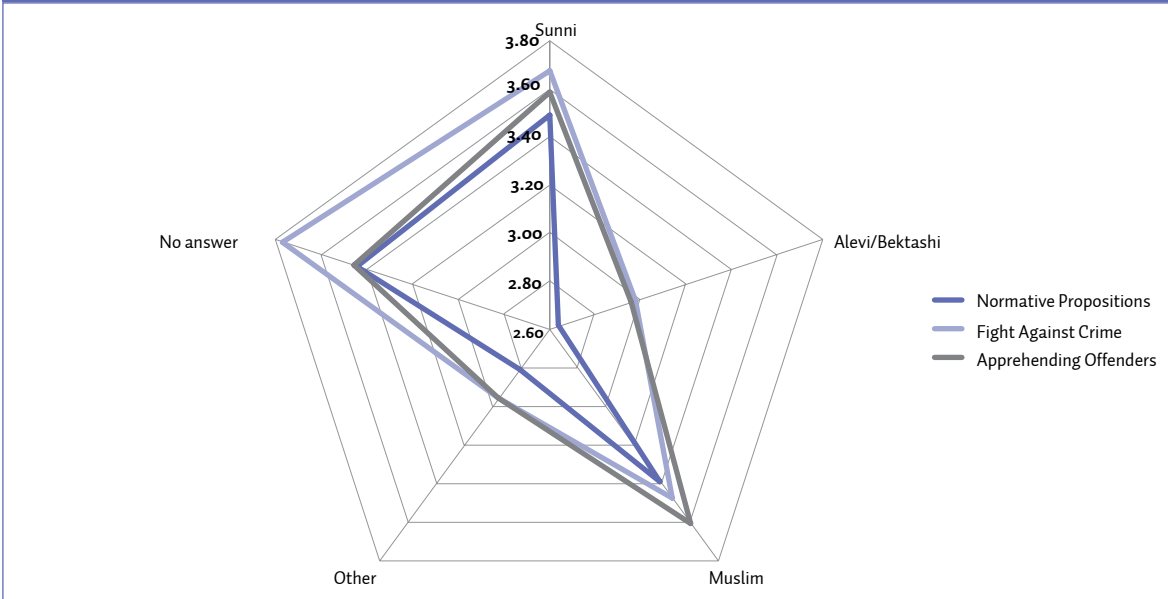
FIGURE 23. POLICE EFFECTIVENESS PERCEPTION BY ETHNIC IDENTITY

FIGURE 23. POLICE EFFECTIVENESS PERCEPTION BY ETHNIC IDENTITY
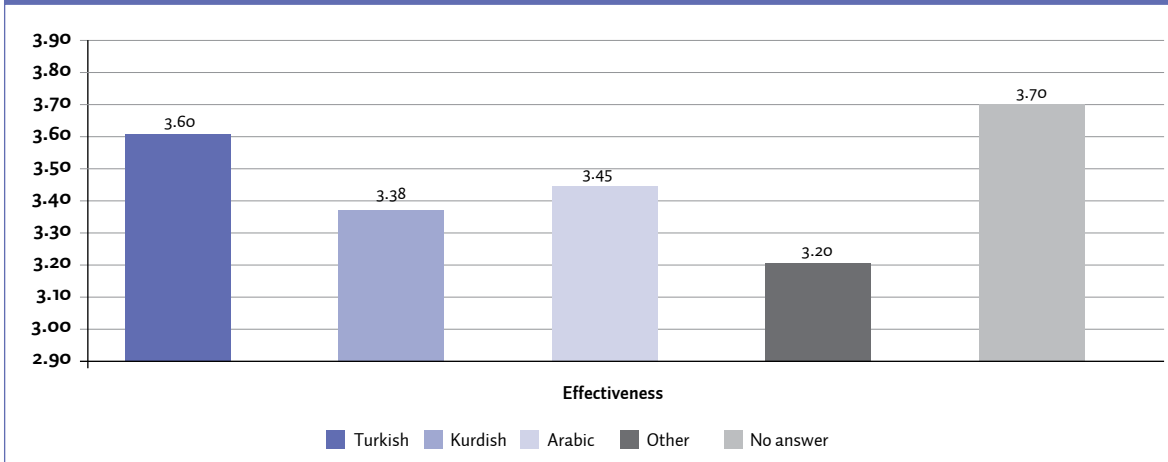
It has been observed that the perception of police effectiveness is lowest among Kurds ($avg_{Effectiveness}$=3.38; $avg_{Legitimacy}$=3.39). The perception of police effectiveness is high among respondents who did not want to disclose their ethnic identity ($avg_{Effectiveness}$=3.70; $avg_{Legitimacy}$=3.60).

FIGURE 24. DIMENSIONS OF EFFECTIVENESS PERCEPTION BY ETHNIC IDENTITY
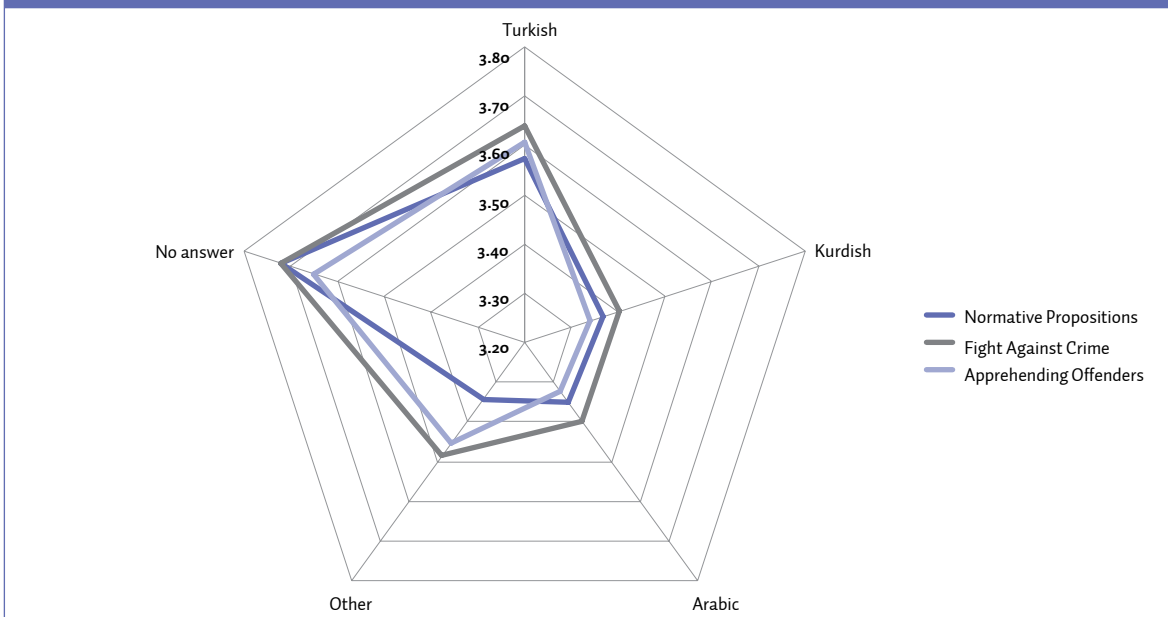
5.3 TRUST EXPRESSED BY THE RESPONDENTS (STATED TRUST)

As was stated above, respondents' trust in police being the dependent variable, consists of nine propositions. These are used to understand the relationship between the respondents' perception of legitimacy and stated trust (based on single question).

TABLE 21. PROPOSITIONS USED TO MEASURE 'STATED' TRUST IN POLICE
I am (1) not at all confident … (5) very confident) that I would call the police when I have a safety or security problem.
I (1) do not believe at all … (5) fully believe that the police will solve a problem I present to them.
I am (1) very cautious … (5) very comfortable when it comes to personally going to the police station to appeal to the police.
I would (1) not dare at all … (5) be very comfortable asking the police to show an official ID when necessary.
I (1) do not believe at all … (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my ethnic identity.
I (1) do not believe at all … (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my religious identity.
I (1) do not believe at all … (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my political identity.
I (1) do not believe at all … (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my marital status.
I (1) do not believe at all … (5) fully believe that the police provide equal services to me when necessary regardless of my gender.

5.3.1 Trust in Police by Demographic Factors

Trust is highest in the Northeast Anatolain region (avg$_{Trust}$= 4.3 and lowest in the Central Anatolian region (avg$_{Trust}$= 3.32).

FIGURE 25. TRUST BY GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS
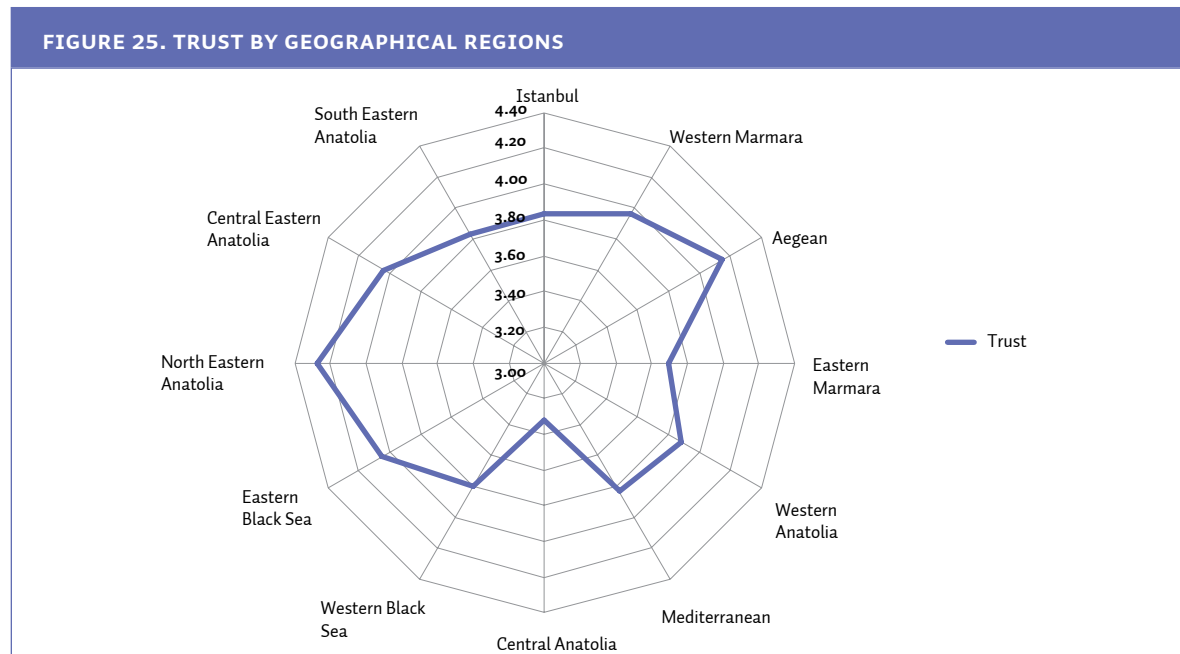
The graphic below represents the averages of perceptions on police effectiveness, trust and legitimacy. We observe that trust in police is higher in all regions except Central Anatolia (avg_{Trust}=3.3; $avg_{Effectiveness}$=3.33). This is the case especially in countries that are in a democratic consolidation process. In Argentina, public trust in police has been considerably higher than police effectiveness for a long time (Monjardet 2010). Regularly conducted police studies have shown that trust in police has been understood as trust in maintaining law and order by repressive policies under the junta; however, as the idea of democratization becomes engraved in the society, trust in police decreases and effectiveness starts to increase more slowly (L'Heuillet 2010).

FIGURE 26. TRUST, EFFECTIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY BY REGIONS
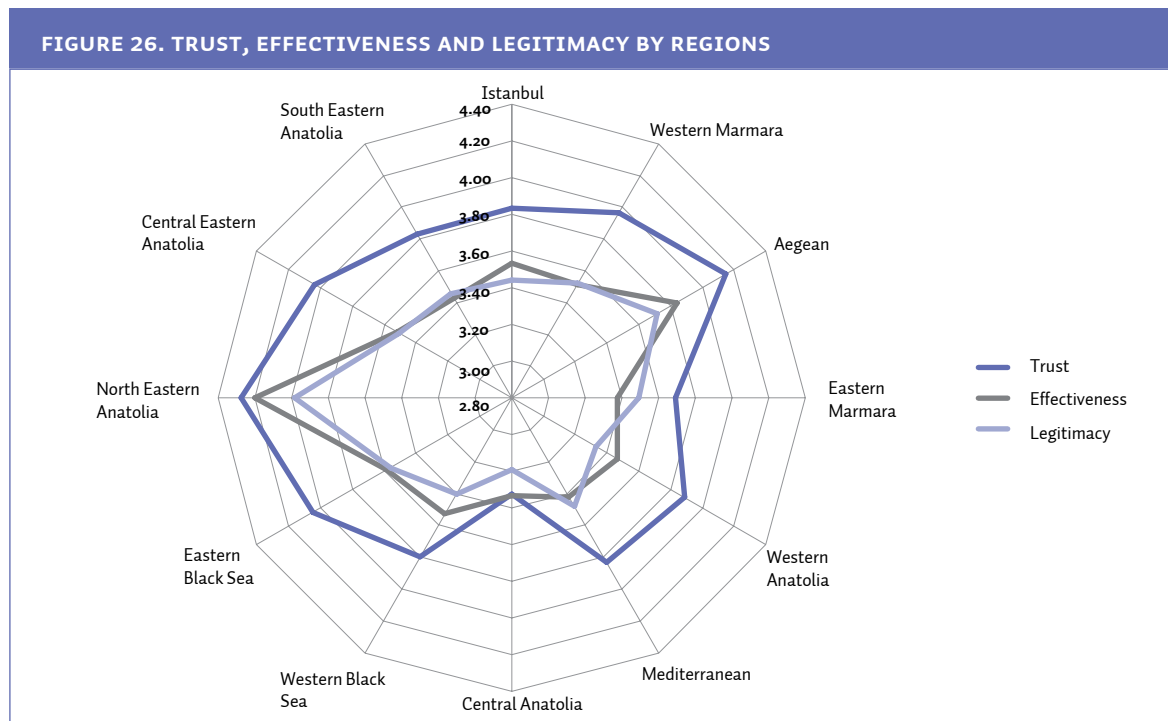
It has been observed that the factors, which explain trust in police the best, are geographical regions (p<2.20E-16), religious identity (p < 9.22E-05), political identity (p<2.20E-16). It has been found that ethnic identity has no impact on trust in police in a statistically significant way.

TABLE 22. TRUST, EFFECTIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY BY REGIONS

	Trust	Effectiveness	Legitimacy
Istanbul	3.83	3.54	3.44
Western Marmara	3.97	3.52	3.52
Aegean	4.15	3.84	3.72
Eastern Marmara	3.69	3.37	3.49
Western Anatolia	3.89	3.47	3.33
Mediterranean	3.83	3.42	3.48
Central Anatolia	3.32	3.33	3.19
Western Black Sea	3.80	3.53	3.40
Eastern Black Sea	4.05	3.59	3.56
North Eastern Anatolia	4.28	4.20	3.98
Central Eastern Anatolia	4.04	3.52	3.51
South Eastern Anatolia	3.84	3.43	3.46

FIGURE 27. TRUST, EFFECTIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY BY RELIGIOUS IDENTITY
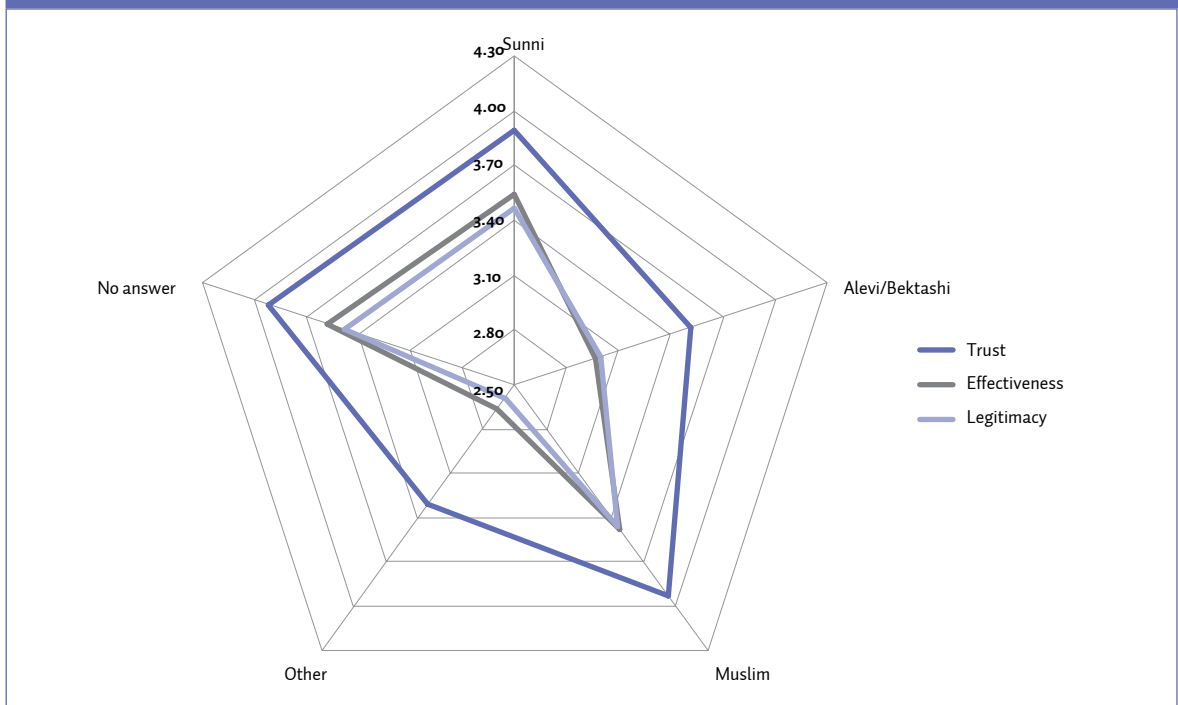
It has been observed that trust in the police is the highest among the Justice and Development Party (AKP) voters (avg$_{Trust}$=4.03; avg$_{Effectiveness}$= 3.76; avg$_{Legitimacy}$ = 3.65) and those who did not want to disclose the party they vote for (avg$_{Trust}$= 3.91; avg$_{Effectiveness}$=3.61; Avg$_{Legitimacy}$= 3.54).

FIGURE 28. TRUST, EFFECTIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY BY POLITICAL IDENTITY
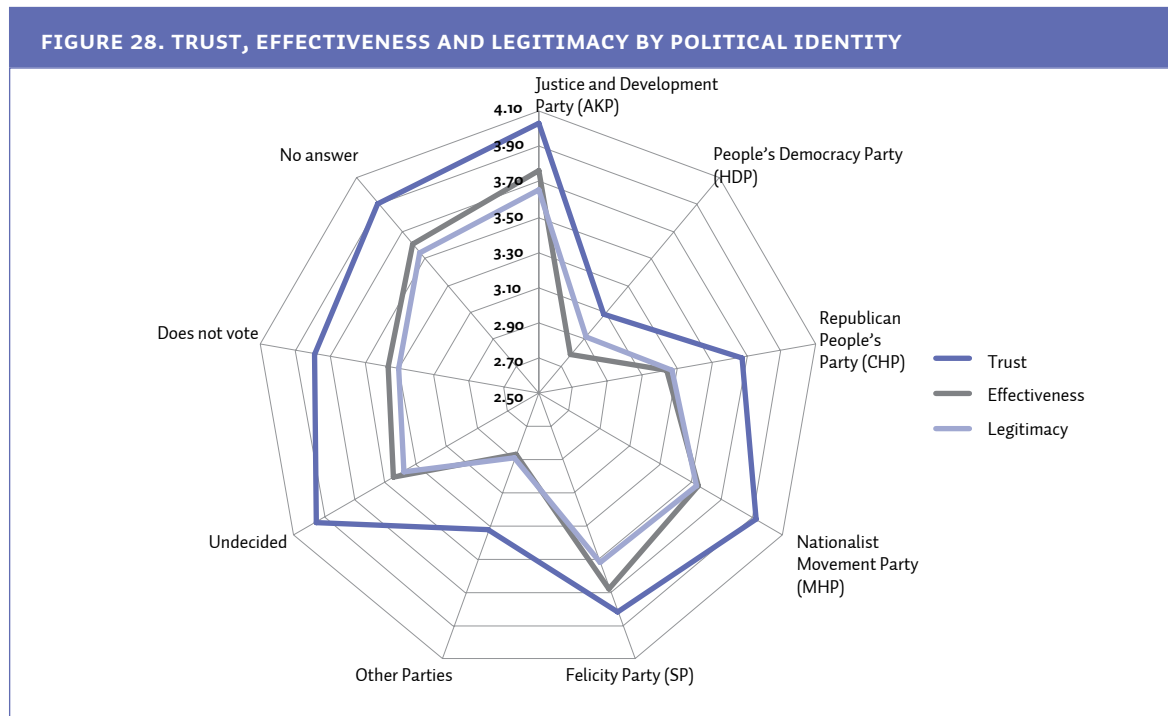
Trust in the police is the lowest in the segment who votes for People's Democracy Party (HDP) (avg$_{Trust}$=3.08; avg$_{Efficinecy}$=2.79; avg$_{Legitimacy}$=2.92).

TABLE 23. TRUST, EFFECTIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY BY POLITICAL IDENTITY			
	Trust	Effectiveness	Legitimacy
Justice and Development Party (AKP)	4.03	3.76	3.65
People's Democracy Party (HDP)	3.08	2.79	2.92
Republican People's Party (CHP)	3.68	3.24	3.27
Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)	3.93	3.55	3.54
Felicity Party (SP)	3.82	3.68	3.52
Other Parties	3.33	2.87	2.89
Undecided	3.96	3.45	3.38
Does not vote	3.78	3.36	3.30
No answer	3.91	3.61	3.54

Although ethnic identity has no statistically significant effect on stated public trust, below you can see the distribution according to ethnic identity. Stated trust among "Kurds" and groups falling under "Other" is considerably lower than stated trust among "Turks" and "Arabs". *In all groups it can be observed that participant's stated trust is considerably higher than measured effectiveness and legitimacy perceptions.*

FIGURE 29. TRUST, EFFECTIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY BY ETHNIC IDENTITY
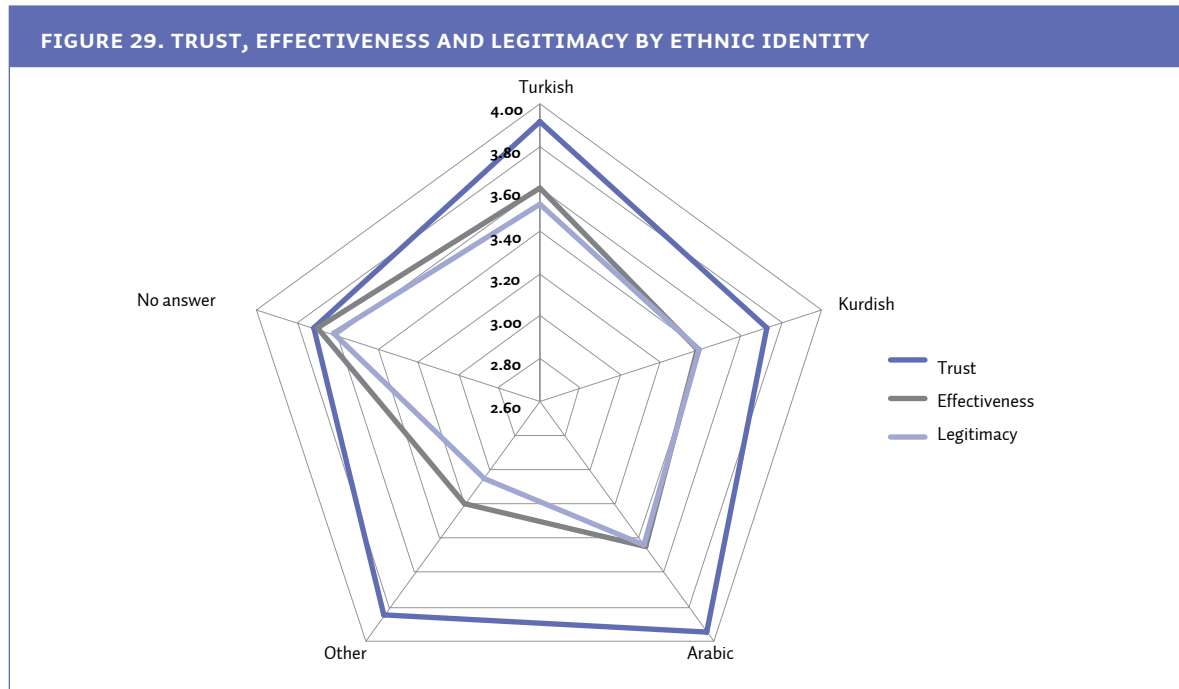
5.3.2 Legitimacy and Trust

According to the regression analysis, public trust in police legitimacy explains trust in the police by 32%. We observed that the legitimacy dimension, which affects the public trust the most, is 'lawfulness' of the police force. The attitudes of police (procedural fairness) dimension is statistically the most significant dimension affecting police trust.

We observe that the regions which has the strongest relationship between perception of legitimacy and trust are Istanbul, Eastern Marmara, Eastern Black Sea, Central Eastern Anatolia, and Southeastern Anatolia. In other words for citizens living in these regions small changes in legitimacy perception increase trust in police more than for citizens living in other regions. A one-point change in the perception of legitimacy in Istanbul, for instance, increases the perception of trust by 6%.

TABLE 24. LEGITIMACY AND TRUST REGRESSION WITH MULTIPLE FIXED EFFECTS

Dependent Variable: Trust

	Approximate Inclination	Standard Error	T-Value	Statistical Significance (p)
Region				
Istanbul	0.32057	0.124771	2.569	0.010237
Eastern Marmara	-0.146079	0.055389	-2.637	0.008398
Eastern Black Sea	-0.127046	0.05677	-2.238	0.025297
Central Eastern Anatolia	0.121944	0.062112	1.963	0.049701
South Eastern Anatolia	-0.146582	0.061224	-2.394	0.016716
Employment Status				
Unemployed and not looking	-0.237356	0.119775	-1.982	0.047601
Religious Belonging				
Does not know to which religious group s/he belongs K095 (99)	0.773688	0.355531	2.176	0.029618
Political Belonging				
Does not know for which party s/he would vote	0.145512	0.064146	2.268	0.02337
Dimensions of legitimacy				
Procedural fairness	0.054938	0.015004	3.662	0.000255
Lawfulness	0.228908	0.015262	14.999	<2.00E-16
Outcome fairness	0.147292	0.013822	10.657	<2.00E-16
Common values	-0.008285	0.012134	-0.683	0.494767

$R^2_{adjusted} = .32$

$p \leq .05$ = Statistically significant, $p > .05$ = Statistically insignificant

Police trust among participants' not stating to which religious group they belong to, is sensitive to changes in legitimacy perception and is directly proportional to these changes. Similarly, police trust perception of participants who do not know which party to vote for, is sensitive to changes in legitimacy perception. When considering legitimacy and effectiveness perceptions together, procedural fairness (attitudes of police) and outcome fairness (distribution of services) dimensions are most effective in changing public's trust perception on police.

TABLE 25. LEGITIMACY AND EFFECTIVENESS REGRESSION WITH MULTIPLE FIXED EFFECTS				
Dependent Variable: Trust				
	Approximate Inclination	Standard Error	T-Value	Statistical Significance (p)
The Dimensions of Legitimacy				
Lawfulness of Police	0.18	0.0165665	10.071	<2.00E-16
Outcome Fairness	0.1158438	0.0141363	8.195	3.62E-16
Police Effectiveness				
Normative Propositions	0.1299741	0.0164766	7.888	4.19E-15
Apprehending Offenders	0.0450852	0.0132905	3.392	0.000702
$R^2_{adjusted}$ = .33				
p ≤ .05 = Statistically significant, p > .05 = Statistically insignificant				

5.3.3 Police Effectiveness and Trust

When considering police performance per se, we have observed that there were regional effects. Especially in Istanbul, a small increase in police performance considerably increases trust in police.

An interesting finding suggests that trust in the police is far more dependent on performance for respondents who disclosed that they are not going to vote for any political party. Furthermore, police trust of Felicity Party (SP) and Republican People's Party (CHP) voters is influenced considerably by changes in police effectiveness perception. This means that for citizens who feel closer to the biggest opposition party and distanced to the government or who do not feel a political affiliation, trust perception in police is sensitive to changes in police effectiveness.

Among police effectiveness dimensions 'fight against crime' is the factor that is most significant. However, compared to 'normative propositions' the effect of this factor on trust is less. This means that although the most significant factor in constituting effectiveness is the 'fight against crime' dimension, its effect on trust is less compared to other factors. For instance, small changes in 'normative propositions' lead to important changes in trust perception.

Therefore, the effect of normative propositions on trust compared to other factors is much stronger. A one point increase in normative propositions, increases trust perception by 6%.

TABLE 26. EFFECTIVENESS REGRESSION WITH MULTIPLE FIXED EFFECTS				
Dependent Variable: Trust				
	Approximate Inclination	**Standard Error**	**T Value**	**Statistical Significance (p)**
Region				
Istanbul	0.304877	0.124771	2.392	0.01684
Aegean	-0.121237	0.052361	-2.315	0.02066
Eastern Marmara	-0.159161	0.056976	-2.793	0.00525
Central Eastern Anatolia	0.121944	0.062112	1.963	0.049701
Religious belonging				
Does not know which group s/he belongs to	0.090222	0.040841	2.209	0.02724
Political Belonging				
Would vote for Republican People's Party (CHP) if the elections were held today	0.090222	0.040841	2.209	0.02724
Would vote for Felicity Party (SP) if the elections were held today	0.409676	0.161699	2.534	0.01134
Does not know which party s/he will vote for	0.135074	0.06563	2.058	0.03966
Declares to cast invalid vote	1.952555	0.714898	2.731	0.00635
Effectiveness Dimensions				
Normative Propositions	0.277324	0.013275	20.891	<2.00E-16
Fight against Crime	0.032568	0.014274	2.282	0.02258
Apprehending Offenders	0.058115	0.013703	4.241	2.29E-05
$R^2_{adjusted}$ = .34				
$p \leq .05$ = statistically significant, $p > .05$ = statistically insignificant				

5.4 COOPERATION WITH POLICE AND OBEDIENCE TO POLICE

We have discussed in previous sections that one of the major consequences of the confidence in the legitimacy of police is the increase in the probability of cooperation with and obedience to police. While obedience to police mostly includes behaviors like abiding by their decisions, cooperation with police includes behaviors like calling the police in cases of unjust treatment or informing police about an event witnessed. In Turkey we see that the tendency of people to inform police about unjust treatments or about a crime witnessed is higher than accepting the decisions of police and abiding by them. This section will first discuss demographic factors affecting public's tendency to cooperate with and obey police, followed by a discussion of how public's perception of police legitimacy and effectiveness influence such cooperation.

5.4.1 Demographic Factors Affecting Cooperation with and Obedience to Police

In Turkey, it was observed that the following factors influence public's obedience to and cooperation with police in a statistically significant way: geographical region, religion, political identity and income level. Similar to other scales, it was found that ethnic identity does not create a statistically significant difference. Excluding the Northeast Anatolian region ($avg_{Obedience}$=4.33; $avg_{Cooperation}$=4.27), it was seen that the rate of cooperation with police was higher than obedience to police in all regions.

FIGURE 30. OBEDIENCE AND COOPERATION BY REGIONS
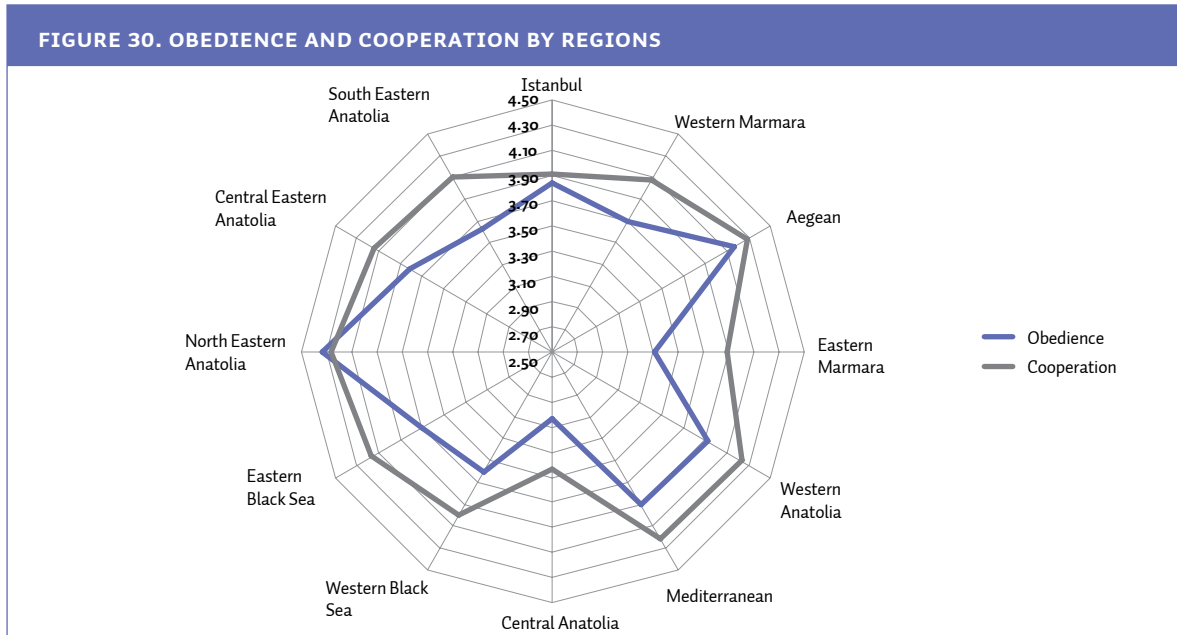
Changes to obedience and cooperation by regions occur on a similar line. Except for the Northeast Anatolian region, in all regions cooperation with police is higher than obedience to police.

TABLE 27. OBEDIENCE AND COOPERATION BY REGIONS	Obedience	Cooperation
Istanbul	3.8	3.9
Western Marmara	3.7	4.1
Aegean	4.2	4.3
Eastern Marmara	3.3	3.9
Western Anatolia	3.9	4.2
Mediterranean	3.9	4.2
Central Anatolia	3.0	3.4
Western Black Sea	3.6	4.0
Eastern Black Sea	3.7	4.2
North Eastern Anatolia	4.3	4.3
Central Eastern Anatolia	3.8	4.1
South Eastern Anatolia	3.6	4.1

The inclination of public to cooperate with police is even higher than trust perception itself. This means that the public in Turkey does not really need to trust police in order to cooperate with it.

FIGURE 31. TRUST, OBEDIENCE AND COOPERATION BY REGIONS
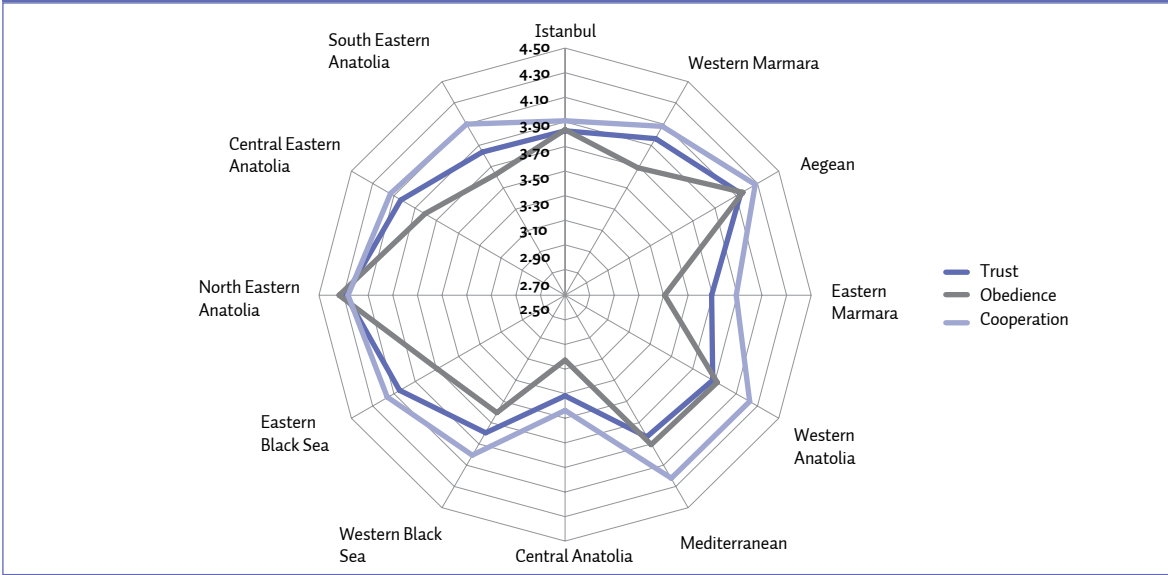
FIGURE 32. TRUST, OBEDIENCE AND COOPERATION BY RELIGOUS IDENTITY

FIGURE 33. TRUST, OBEDIENCE AND COOPERATION BY POLITICAL IDENTITY
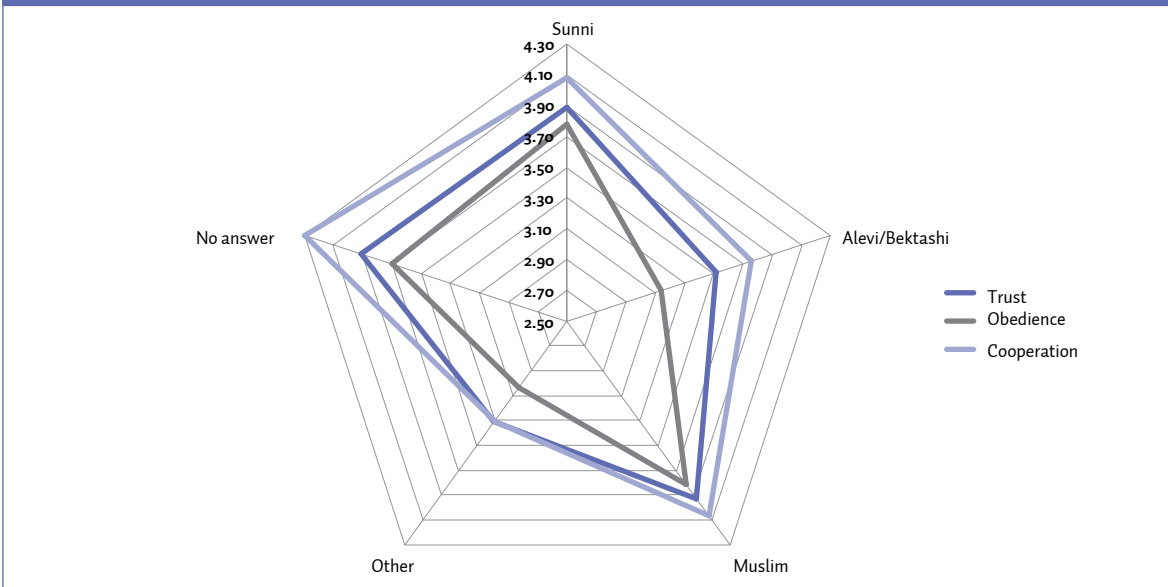
FIGURE 33. TRUST, OBEDIENCE AND COOPERATION BY POLITICAL IDENTITY
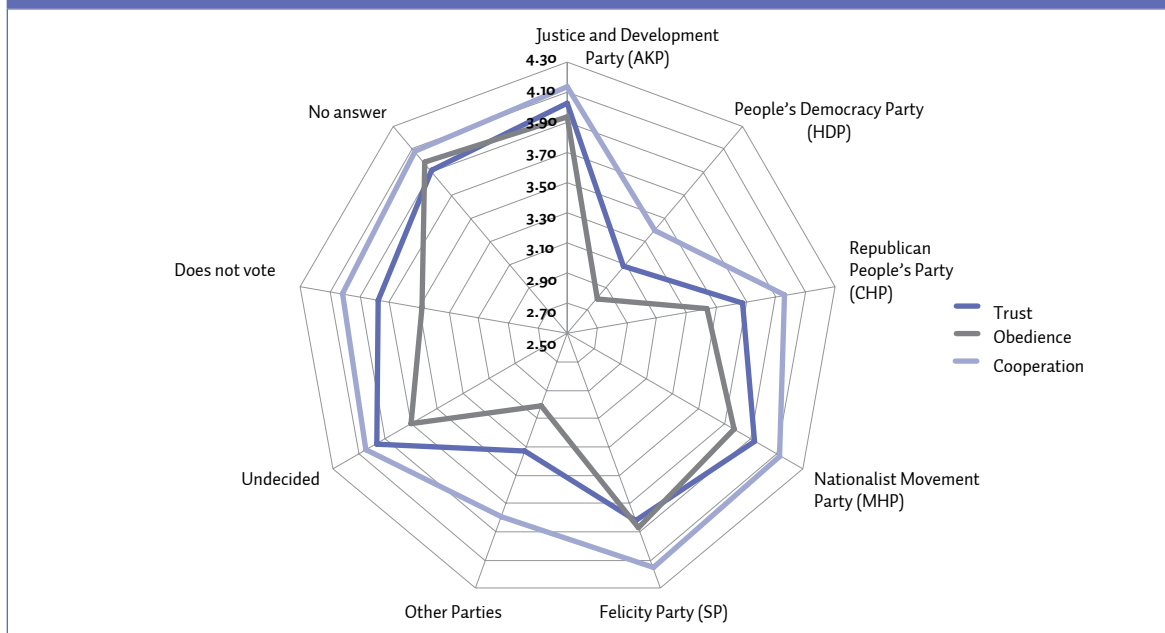
TABLE 28. TRUST, OBEDIENCE AND COOPERATION BY POLITICAL IDENTITY

	Trust	Obedience	Cooperation
Justice and Development Party (AKP)	4.03	3.93	4.14
People's Democracy Party (HDP)	3.08	2.80	3.39
Republican People's Party (CHP)	3.68	3.43	3.96
Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)	3.93	3.77	4.13
Felicity Party (SP)	3.82	3.87	4.15
Other Parties	3.33	3.01	3.79
Undecided	3.96	3.70	4.05
Does not vote	3.78	3.48	4.02
No answer	3.91	3.98	4.08

Different from other scales, another demographic factor affecting obedience and cooperation is income level. Although the difference among income levels with regard to cooperation is not much, income level appears to be a significant factor.

FIGURE 34. OBEDIENCE AND COOPERATION BY INCOME LEVEL
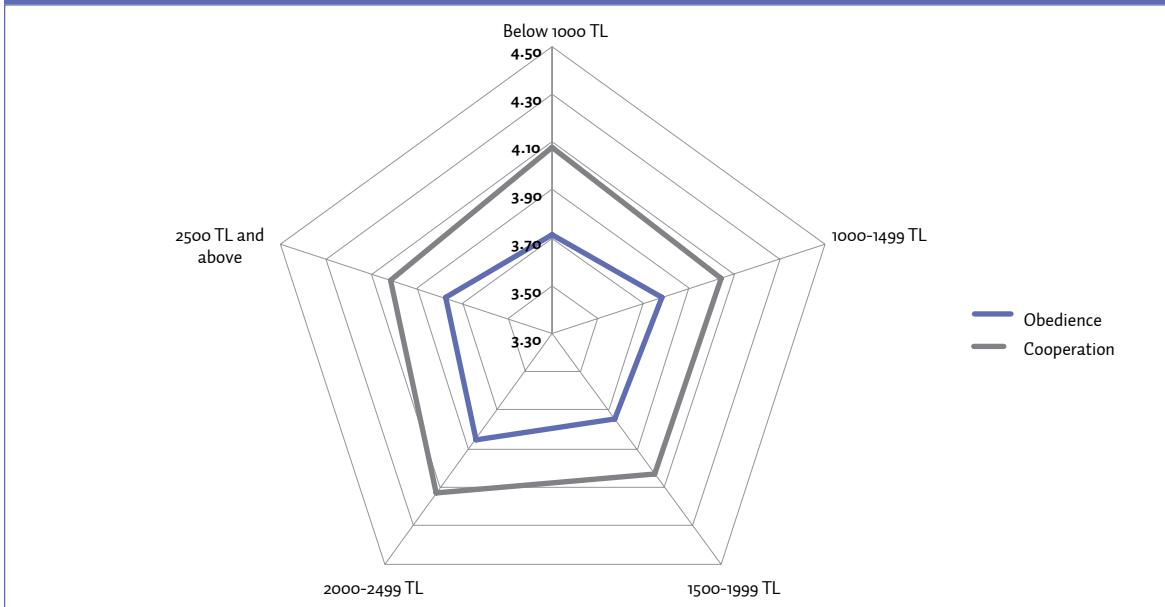
5.4.2 Legitimacy, Obedience and Cooperation Relationship

When considering the relationship between police legitimacy, cooperation with police and obedience to police, it becomes evident that geographical region and all dimensions of legitimacy perception significantly affect trust in police. In İstanbul, and the regions of Mediterranean and Central Eastern Anatolia, cooperation with and obedience to police factors are highly sensitive to small changes in police legitimacy perception.

We see that the motivation to cooperate with police among respondents who do not feel a particular political belonging is significantly affected by the perception of police legitimacy.

"Attitudes of police (procedural fairness)" and "common values" dimensions affect public's cooperation with and obedience to police in the most significant way. In other words, changes in police attitudes and changes to laws/regulations representing common values, affect cooperation with and obedience to police. What is interesting here is that there is an inverted correlation between 'attitudes of police' and cooperation with/ obedience to police. Positive changes to the perception of 'attitudes of police (procedural fairness)', decreases public obedience to and cooperation with police. Therefore the following inference can be made: Police's negative attitudes affect willingness to cooperate with and obedience to police. Cooperation with police can be achieved forcefully. This kind of situation is usually present in countries that come out of authoritarian regimes and are in the process of democratic consolidation. It usually takes time for public motivation to cooperate to turn from forceful action to increase in legitimacy and effectivness.

TABLE 29. LEGITIMACY, OBEDIENCE AND COOPERATION REGRESSION WITH MULTIPLE FIXED EFFECTS				
Dependent Variable: Obedience and Cooperation				
	Estimated Slope	Standard Error	t -value	Statistical Significance (p)
Region				
Istanbul	1.085701	0.151736	7.155	1.04E-12
Mediterranean	0.765783	0.065391	11.711	<2.00E-16
Central Eastern Anatolia	0.381441	0.074444	5.124	3.17E-07
Political Belonging				
Do not know which party to vote for	4.110909	0.840464	4.891	1.05E-06
Dimensions of Legitimacy				
Attitudes of Police (Procedural Fairness)	-0.022162	0.017978	-1.233	0.2178
Lawfulness	0.148747	0.018274	8.14	5.66E-16
Outcome Fairness	0.116682	0.016549	7.051	2.18E-12
Common Values	0.007997	0.014526	0.551	0.582
$R^2_{adjusted}$ = .41				

$p \leq .05$ = statistically significant, $p > .05$ = statistically insignificant

When considering the relationship between police legitimacy, cooperation with police and obedience to police, it becomes evident that in İstanbul, and the regions of Mediterranean and Central Eastern Anatolia, cooperation with and obedience to police factors are highly sensitive to small changes in police legitimacy perception. When legitimacy and effectiveness dimensions are considered together, 'attitudes of police (procedural fairness)' and 'normative propositions' are the dimensions that affect cooperation with and obedience to police the most. An increase in the 'attitudes of police (procedural fairness)' dimension, decreases public willingness to cooperate and to obey. However, an increase in the 'normative propositions' dimension (part of police effectiveness) increases cooperation with and obedience to police.

TABLE 30. LEGITIMACY AND EFFECTIVENESS REGRESSION

Dependent Variable: Obedience and Cooperation

	Estimated Slope	Standard Error	t-value	Statistical Significance (p)
Region				
Istanbul	1.082625	0.151736	7.155	9.45E-13
Mediterranean	0.786537	0.065135	12.075	<2.00E-16
Central Eastern Anatolia	0.324823	0.075211	4.319	1.62E-05
Political Belonging				
Do not know which party to vote for	4.065822	0.838171	4.851	1.29E-06
Dimensions of Legitimacy				
Attitudes of Police (Procedural Fairness)	-0.046374	0.018534	-2.502	0.0124
Lawfulness	0.112451	0.020001	5.622	2.05E-08
Outcome fairness	0.096064	0.017067	5.629	1.98E-08
Dimensions of police effectiveness				
Normative Propositions	0.053455	0.019889	2.688	0.00723
Apprehension of Offenders	0.07092	0.016047	4.419	1.02E-05
$R^2_{adjusted}$ = .42				

$p \leq .05$ = statistically significant, $p > .05$ = statistically insignificant

5.4.3 Relationship between Police Performance - Obedience and Cooperation

When we look at the relationship between society's tendency toward obedience towards and cooperation with police and police performance, as in the relationship with police legitimacy, we observe the effect of geographic region. An interesting finding here is that among citizens identifying themselves as "Muslim" obedience to and cooperation motivation is negatively correlated with police effectiveness perception. Among 'Muslim' citizens an increase in police effectiveness perception, decreases the motivation to cooperate with or show obedience to police.

TABLE 31. EFFECTIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY REGRESSION WITH MULTIPLE FIXED EFFECTS				
Dependent Variable: Obedience and Cooperation				
	Estimated Slope	**Standard Error**	**t-value**	**Statistical Significance (p)**
Region				
Istanbul	1.037484	0.150157	6.909	5.87E-12
Mediterranean	0.801646	0.065583	12.223	<2.00E-16
Central Eastern Anatolia	0.408015	0.075017	5.439	5.77E-08
Religious Belonging				
Muslim	-0.239623	0.086243	-2.778	0.00549
Political Belonging				
Do not know which party to vote for	4.604578	0.842047	5.468	4.90E-08
Dimensions of Police Effectiveness				
Normative Propositions	0.1308918	0.0152265	8.596	<2.00E-16
Fight Against Crime	0.0422234	0.0161678	2.612	0.009058
Apprehension of Offenders	0.0750369	0.0150166	4.997	6.16E-07
$R^2_{adjusted}$ = .4124				
$p \leq$ .05 = statistically significant, $p >$ .05 = statistically insignificant				

The effectiveness dimension affecting police cooperation and obedience to police the most is "fight against crime". Public motivation to cooperate with police increases as public believes police is effective in fighting/ solving crimes.

5.5 FACTORS AFFECTING TOLERANCE TO POLICE MISCONDUCT

As discussed above, it appeared that more tolerance was shown to legal violations committed by the police in societies where there was a high confidence in police legitimacy and trust in the police force. This section discusses, first, factors that affect societal tolerance toward police violations, and second, the influence of the perceptions of police legitimacy and effectiveness on tolerance of police misconduct.

5.5.1 Dimensions of Tolerance

This scale was operationalized using 12 questions. We attempted to measure in what given scenario the tolerance level of respondents would be highest. Similar to results about police effectiveness, we see that respondents differentiate between general propositions and limited violations in questions regarding tolerance.

TABLE 32. TOLERANCE FACTOR LOADINGS

	Factor 1	Factor 2
If it would prevent a possible illegal action, the police can conduct unlawful eavesdropping: (1) This is never justified (5) This is always justified	0.697	
If it would prevent a possible illegal action, police can resort to torture: (1) This is never justified (5) This is always justified	0.504	
Police can keep people who are suspected of illegal actions in prison until their innocence is proven	0.454	
Police can monitor online activities of citizens in order to uncover potential criminals	0.547	
Police can act unlawfully from time to time for the public benefit.		0.463
Use of violence by police against a threat to public order is legitimate		0.823

Similar to police effectiveness, it has been found that the public tolerance to police misconduct has one normative and one special dimension.

5.5.2 Demographic Factors Affecting Tolerance

Considering the statistical significance, we see that the factors that affect the tolerance towards the violations of law by the police are geographic region (p<2.20E-16), religious identity (p=3.19E-10) and political identity (p<2.20E-16). We observe that ethnic identity does not have a statistically significant effect on tolerance of police violations.

FIGURE 35. TOLERANCE BY REGIONS
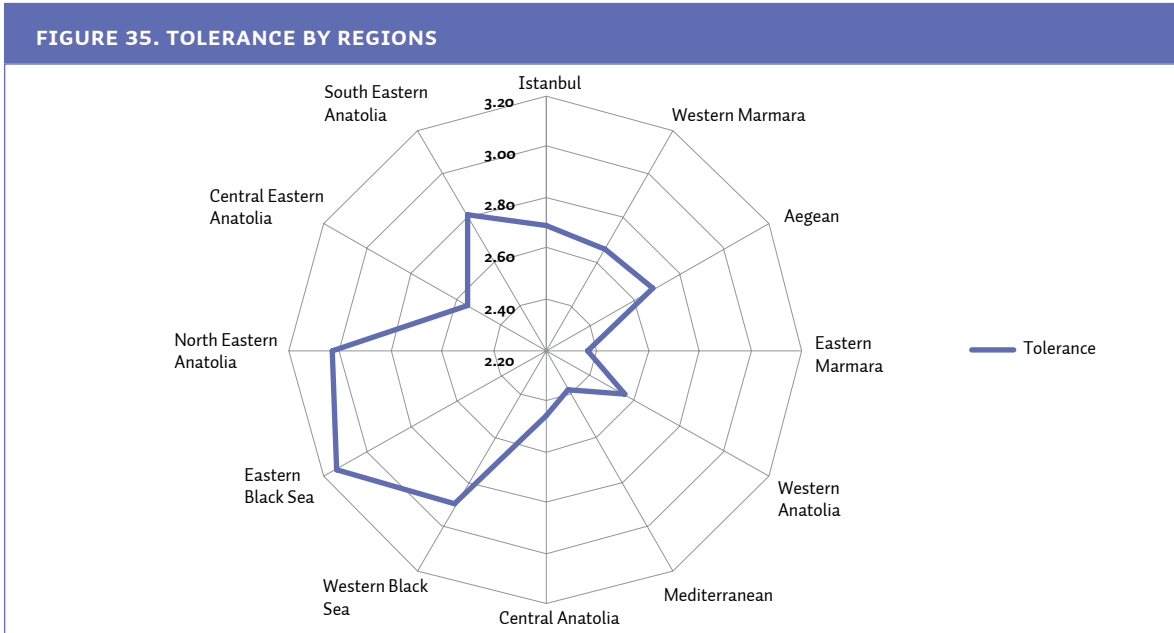
Highest levels of tolerance to police misconduct are found in the Eastern Balck Sea and in the Northeast Anatolian regions.

FIGURE 36. TOLERANCE BY POLITICAL IDENTITY

Tolerance towards police misconduct is directly proportional to police trust among majority religious identities, whereas tolerance towards police misconduct is negatively proportional to police trust among "Alevi" groups or religious groups combined under "Other". While tolerance to police misconduct increases with higher trust in police among majority groups; tolerance to police misconduct decreases with higher trust in police among minority groups. In other words, the more the trust of minority groups towards police, the more they expect police to abide by the rules/laws. The less they trust police, the higher the expectation that police will be engaged in misconduct.

This validates the findings of other studies conducted worldwide. It is possible to say that news regarding corruption and abuse of power by the police has a broader repercussion in societies where police have lower effectiveness and legitimacy perception is low (Dowler 2002; Dowler and Sparks 2008).

FIGURE 37. TOLERANCE BY POLITICAL IDENTITY
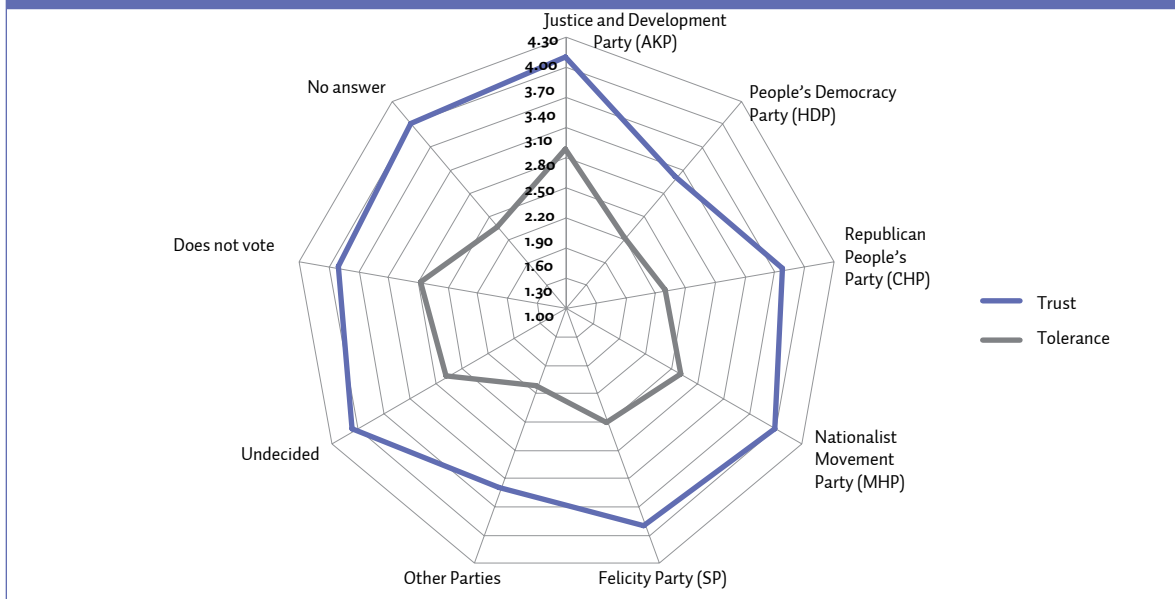
The study has shown that tolerance and trust are negatively proportional among HDP (People's Democracy Party) and "Other Parties" voters. Among other groups police trust and tolerance to police misconduct are directly proportional. *This means that the more HDP (People's Democracy Party) and "Other Parties" voters trust in police, the less their tolerance to police misconduct. Since there is an expectation of police misconduct among groups who have low trust in police, increasing trust among these groups will lead to less tolerance to police misconduct.*

5.5.3 Relationship between Legitimacy and Tolerance

When the relationship between legitimacy perception and tolerance is subjected to regression analysis, public's legitimacy perception of police explains public tolerance to police misconduct by 47%. In the Mediterranean and Southeast Anatolian regions police legitimacy and tolerance are negatively proportional. In these two regions, which are statistically highly significant, positive changes to police legitimacy perception decrease tolerance to police misconduct. In the Central Eastern Anatolian region, on the other hand, legitimacy and tolerance are directly proportional.

Among participants identifying themselves as "Kurdish", police legitimacy and tolerance to police misconduct is inversely proportional. This relationship which is statistically highly significant, could mean that currently police perception among Kurdish citizens also includes police misconduct (or Kurdish citizens believe that police are involved in unlawful activities). Once, however, legitimacy perception changes positively, the expectation that police will be involved in misconduct decreases. In other words, the more they regard police as legitimate, the more they expect police to stay within the boundaries of the law. Tolerance and legitimacy perceptions are directly proportional among citizens who preferred not to give information on their ethnic identity.

TABLE 33. LEGITIMACY AND TOLERANCE REGRESSION WITH MULTIPLE FIXED EFFECTS				
Dependent Variable: Tolerance				
	Estimated Slope	**Standard Error**	**t-value**	**Statistical Significance (p)**
Region				
Mediterranean	-0.177195	0.050196	-3.53	0.000421
Central-Eastern Anatolia	0.288574	0.057118	5.052	4.62E-07
Southern-Eastern Anatolia	-0.146582	0.061224	-2.394	0.016716
Ethnic Belonging				
Kurdish	-0.085739	0.040419	-2.121	0.03398
No Ethnic Belonging	0.368649	0.157595	2.339	0.019386
Political Belonging				
Would vote for Republican People's Party (CHP) if elections were held today	-0.102354	0.036741	-2.786	0.005371
Dimensions of Legitimacy				
Attitudes of Police (Procedural Fairness)	0.057673	0.013797	4.18	2.99E-05
Lawfulness	0.199711	0.014034	14.23	<2.00E-16
Distribution of Services (Outcome Fairness)	0.207587	0.01271	16.332	<2.00E-16
Common Values	0.038795	0.011158	3.477	0.000514
$R^2_{adjusted} = .47$				
$p \leq .05$ = statistically significant, $p > .05$ = statistically insignificant				

The dimension that is statistically highly significant is the "common values" factor. The more public believes that laws/regulations represent their own values/beliefs, the more they will tolerate police misconduct. Furthermore, a positive change in the public's perception on the attitudes of police (procedural fairness) dimension, in general increases tolerance to police misconduct. When evaluating regression analyses results on legitimacy and effectiveness together, it can be observed that the 'common values' dimension is the factor that affects tolerance to misconduct the most.

TABLE 34. LEGITIMACY, EFFECTIVENESS AND TOLERANCE REGRESSION				
Dependent Variable: Tolerance				
	Estimated Slope	**Standard Error**	**t-value**	**Statistical Significance (p)**
Dimensions of Legitimacy				
Lawfulness of Police	0.1022	0.014844	6.885	6.95E-12
Distribution of Services (Outcome Fairness)	0.154221	0.012666	12.176	<2.00E-16
Common Values	0.031792	0.010733	2.962	0.00308
Effectiveness of Police				
Normative Propositions	0.289967	0.014763	12.868	<2.00E-16
Fight against Crime	0.090868	0.012516	7.26	4.85E-13
$R^2_{adjusted}$ = .46				
$p \leq .05$ = statistically significant, $p > .05$ = statistically insignificant				

5.5.4 Relationship between Police Effectiveness and Tolerance

When the relationship between the data on police performance and public tolerance towards police violations is evaluated, we see an interesting result. In the Western Marmara, Eastern Marmara, Mediterranean, Western Black Sea and Eastern Black Sea regions, an increase in the perception of police performance decreases the tolerance shown towards police violations. In other words, as the public perception of police effectiveness becomes more positive, public's tolerance to police misconduct decreases.

TABLE 35. EFFECTIVENESS – TOLERANCE REGRESSION WITH MULTIPLE FIXED EFFECTS

Dependent Variable: Tolerance

	Estimated Slope	Standard Error	t-value	Statistical Significance (p)
Region				
Western Marmara	-0.153375	0.054802	-2.799	0.00516
Eastern Marmara	-0.160505	0.051472	-3.118	0.00184
Mediterranean	-0.153614	0.050301	-3.054	0.00228
Western Black Sea	-0.151003	0.052998	-2.849	0.00441
Eastern Black Sea	-0.117044	0.052376	-2.235	0.02551
Central Eastern Anatolia	0.268689	0.057536	4.67	3.14E-06
Ethnic Belonging				
No Ethnic Belonging Felt	0.4818818	0.1607837	2.997	0.002748
Dimensions of the Police Effectiveness				
Normative Propositions	0.2942169	0.0129289	22.756	<2.00E-16
Fight against Crime	0.1196851	0.0137282	8.718	<2.00E-16
Apprehending Offenders	0.0750369	0.0150166	4.997	6.16E-07

$R^2_{adjusted} = .46$

$p \leq .05$ = statistically significant, $p > .05$ = statistically insignificant

Among citizens who do not profess an ethnic belonging, we see that the tolerance shown towards the police strongly depends on the perception of police performance. A small increase in the perception of police performance considerably increases the tolerance shown towards police. It has becomes evident that the most influential dimension among the dimensions of police performance is "fight against crimes".

5.6 INTERACTION WITH POLICE

Other country examples have made it clear that interaction with police negatively influences trust in police. In Turkey too, social groups which have the most interactions with police express low trust in police. Interestingly, however, with more interaction, an increase is observed in the perception of police legitimacy, respondents' tendency to cooperate with police and respondents' tolerance shown towards police misconduct.

FIGURE 38. LEGITIMACY, EFFECTIVENESS, COOPERATION, TOLERANCE AND TRUST BY POLICE INTERACTION
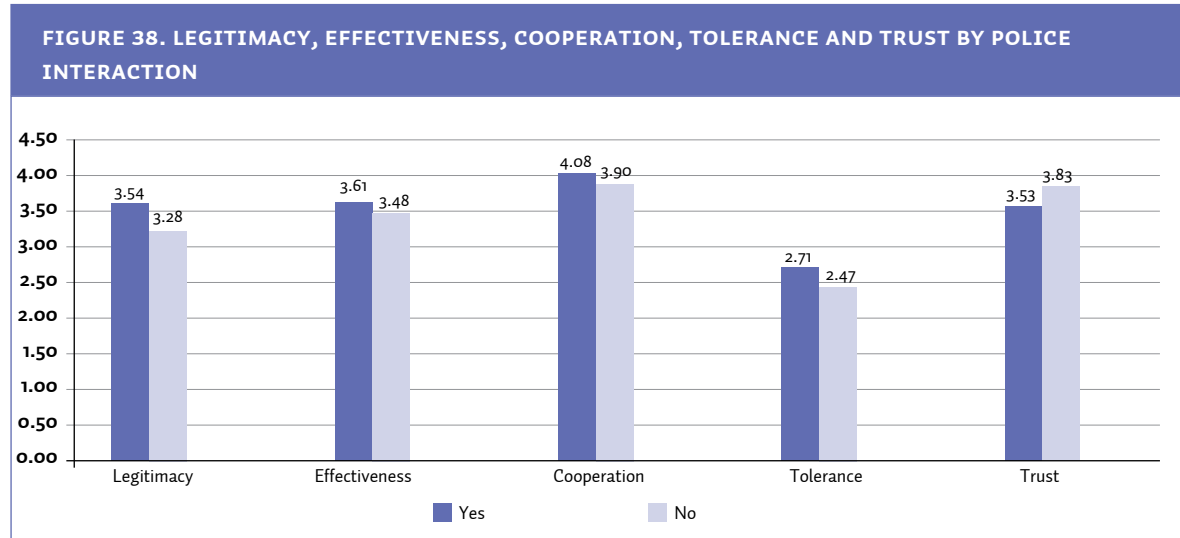
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