

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RISE OF DEMOCRATIC POLICING IN  
TURKEY: ADOPTION AND DIFFUSION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION  
*ACQUIS* IN THE TURKISH NATIONAL POLICE

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This study is an exploration of the European Union *acquis* adoption in the Turkish National Police. The research employed the Diffusion of Innovations, Democratic Policing, and historical background check theoretical frameworks to study the decision-making of the TNP regarding reforms after 2003 as a qualitative case study which triangulated the methodology with less-dominant survey and several other analyzing methods.

The data were collected from several sources including semi-structured interviews, archival records, documentary evidences and the European Commission Regular Reports on Turkey. The research interest was about the decision mechanisms of the TNP towards reforms and the rise of democratic policing in Turkey. During the study, internationally recognized human rights standards were given attention.

As the data suggested, the police forces are shaped according to their ruling governments and societies. It is impossible to find a totally democratic police in a violent society and a totally violent police in a democratic society. The study findings suggested that reforming police agencies should not be a significant problem for determined governments. Human rights violations should not be directly related with the police in any country. The data suggested that democratic policing applications find common application when the democracy gets powerful and police brutality increases when authoritarian governments stays in power. Democratic policing on the other hand is an excellent tool to improve notion of democracy and to provide legitimacy to governments. However, democratic policing is not a tool to bring the democracy, but a support mechanism for it.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	iii
LIST OF TABLES .....	vii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .....	viii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Scope, Goals, Objectives, Research Questions, and Justification for the Study .....	2
1.2.1. Scope of Study .....	2
1.2.2. Goal.....	4
1.2.3. Objectives. ....	4
1.2.4. Research Questions.....	4
1.2.5. Justification for the Research and Significance of the Study .....	5
1.3. Historical Background .....	10
1.3.1. Turkey: Continuity and Change.....	14
1.4. Current Support for Reforms and Human Rights .....	20
1.5. The European Union and Its Human Rights Policy.....	26
1.6. Summary .....	29
2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE .....	30
2.1. Introduction.....	30
2.2. Transforming the Turkish National Police .....	30
2.3. The Turkish Government’s Commitment.....	35
2.4. Theoretical Framework I: Diffusion of Innovations Theory .....	39
2.4.1. Innovation .....	42
2.4.2. Communication channels.....	44
2.4.3. Time .....	49
2.4.4. Social System.....	51
2.5. Theoretical Framework II: Democratic Policing .....	58

2.6.	Summary .....	69
3.	MATERIALS AND METHODS.....	71
3.1.	Introduction.....	71
3.2.	Background and the Definition of the Terms .....	72
3.2.1.	Government Commitment .....	72
3.2.2.	Police.....	72
3.2.3.	The Turkish National Police .....	75
3.3.	The Research Strategy: Qualitative, Exploratory Case Study and Accompanying Quantitative Methods .....	78
3.3.1.	Mixed-Method Research.....	78
3.3.2.	Qualitative Study .....	84
3.3.3.	Case Study .....	88
3.4.	Research Design.....	93
3.5.	Data Sources and Data Collection Activities.....	96
3.5.1.	Semi-Structured Interviews .....	97
3.5.2.	Documentary Evidence.....	104
3.5.3.	Comprehensive Member Check.....	106
3.5.4.	Historical Background Research.....	107
3.6.	Data Management and Analysis .....	109
3.6.1.	Analysis of Semi-Structured Interviews .....	112
3.7.	Credibility and Trustworthiness of the Study .....	116
3.8.	Limitations and Assumptions .....	124
4.	RESULTS AND FINDINGS .....	126
4.1.	Introduction.....	126
4.2.	Themes and Results .....	126
4.2.1.	Organizational Structure, Management Style, and Decision-making of the TNP.....	127
4.2.2.	Focus and Orientation of the EU <i>Acquis</i> Adoption and Reforms	132
4.2.3.	Relationships within the Police and with Other Entities .....	139
4.2.4.	Information Resources and Communication Channels.....	144
4.2.5.	Characteristics of the Information Resources .....	161
4.2.6.	Motivation and Participation in the EU <i>Acquis</i> Adoption Process .....	162

4.2.7.	Factors that Affected the Adoption Behavior .....	166
4.3.	Summary .....	174
5.	DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS .....	175
5.1.	Introduction.....	175
5.2.	Findings of the Study and Discussion.....	176
5.2.1.	Organizational Innovation .....	176
5.2.2.	Organizational Innovativeness of the TNP: A Comparative Analysis.....	228
5.3.	Findings.....	234
5.4.	Answers to Research Questions.....	246
5.5.	Implications for Future Study .....	249
5.6.	Recommendations.....	249
Appendix		
A	INTERVIEW PROTOCOL AND SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE .....	252
B	INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (TURKISH) .....	259
C	COMPREHENSIVE MEMBER CHECK TOOL .....	266
D	THE POLICE ACADEMY CURRICULUM.....	274
E	FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF SURVEY.....	278
F	INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS IN RESEARCH (IRB).....	288
G	THE TURKISH NATIONAL POLICE STUDY APPROVAL .....	290
H	CODEBOOK TREE .....	292
I	CODEBOOK .....	294
J	SAMPLE LIST OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE .....	299
K	CHRONOLOGY OF TURKEY - EU RELATIONS .....	301
L	EUROPEAN UNION DELEGATION PRESS RELEASE .....	310
	REFERENCES .....	313

## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
3.1 Types of Evidences in Case Studies .....	94
4.1 In-Service Human Rights Training in the Turkish National Police.....	151
5.1 Organizational Innovativeness Variables .....	178
5.2 The TNP Ranks, Titles, and Duties .....	206
5.3 35 Chapters of the EU <i>Acquis</i> for Turkey's Accession .....	211
5.4 Proposed Reforms for Justice, Freedom, and Security .....	212
5.5 Reforms to be Completed by the TNP in Justice, Freedom, and Security.....	214
5.6 Comparative Measures of Freedom (Inverted).....	217
5.7 The Content Analysis of the Democratic Policing Practices of 15 Countries .....	218
5.8 The Freedom House Data Inverted Ratings.....	220
5.9 Levels of Political Terror Scale .....	220
5.10 TNP's Organizational Innovativeness and Democratic Policing .....	229

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
1.1	Number of independent governments..... 14
1.2	BBC-Gallup public trust towards public institutions survey ..... 25
2.1	A factor model for organizational adoption decision making ..... 41
2.2	The formality dimension of communication..... 47
2.3	A model of stages in the innovation-decision process..... 50
2.4	Adopter categorization on the basis of innovativeness..... 51
2.5	The chasm..... 55
2.6	A model of the communication of innovation ..... 57
3.1	Theme building process ..... 115
3.2	Sample coded segment of interview data..... 116
4.1	Media’s effect on the EU adoption process ..... 157
5.1	TNP organizational structure ..... 183
5.2	Public trust trend towards the TNP..... 184
5.3	Public trust in the police in the European Union countries and Turkey ..... 184
5.4	Public trust in the police in Turkey and neighboring countries ..... 185
5.5	Public trust in the police in Muslim societies ..... 185
5.6	Degree of discretion during the EU <i>acquis</i> adoption process..... 187
5.7	Current degree of discretion..... 188
5.8	Decision-making powers without asking..... 189
5.9	Managerial tenure of the TNP Directors General ..... 194
5.10	Democracy-democratic policing correlation..... 219

5.11	Freedom and terror incidents relation in Turkey .....	222
5.12	Suspect use of right to counsel in anti-terrorism divisions of the TNP .....	225
5.13	The belief in reforms.....	226
5.14	The voluntariness in involvement into the adoption process.....	227
5.15	TNP organizational communication .....	251

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### **1.1. Introduction**

Joining the Western civilization and hence the European Union (EU) has been a national policy priority for all the governments of modern Turkey. Turkey applied to the EU for membership in 1959, at this time there existed the European Economic Community (EEC), and it was with the EEC that Turkey signed Ankara agreement in 1963. The relations since this time with the EU are provided chronologically in Appendix K.

A failed first attempt to become a full member of the European Union was made in 1987, and second attempt was made in December 2004 before Turkey began accessing the EU on 3 October 2005. The Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan is praised by the media, official and unofficial reports, by European Union authorities and by foreign statesman. Erdogan's dedication toward EU reforms brought a great deal of benefit to the Turkish Nation, and his commitment and its indication, swift reforms, have always been admired. The Government's commitment to the EU is explained through his words:

“EU membership is a manifestation of the objective of modernization, the foundation principle of our Republic.

This is why we have designated EU membership as a strategic target. Our guides in this process are common thought, the will of change of our nation and the high interests of our country. The most critical stages of the EU membership process, which continued for more that 40 years, are overcome with our strategic steps.

Today, Turkey continues its path to become an equal and honored member of the

European Union” (Erdogan, 2007)

The debate over Turkey’s EU bid is a test for the EU. If the EU has the capacity to digest the membership of Turkey with a population close to 70 Million and with traces of different cultural backgrounds or, more importantly, Turkey’s capacity to digest the EU *acquis* is the key for accession. Basically, Turkey’s test is not with the EU, but its internal dynamics like politics, bureaucracy, the military, political elites and the justice and police system. The developments make the proponents of the EU membership hopeful like Javier Solana who talked to German Bild Newspaper on 2 October 2004:

Turkey has made enormous progress in the past few years. This is indisputable. However, the conditions for accession have not yet been fulfilled. But nobody is calling for immediate accession... Mr. Erdogan has drastically increased the speed of reforms in his country. I do not doubt his political will to basically reform Turkey and to lead it into the EU ...Second, Turkey has an enormous potential of armed forces. Thanks to this, it can make a useful contribution to European crisis missions (Gaugele, 2004, para. 3, 7, & 16).

This study briefly covers the effect of the EU on the Turkish National Police during the EU *acquis* adoption process. The the following section lays out the scope, goal, and objectives of the study. The objectives are followed by the research questions and then justification for the study and a brief historical background to better understand the momentum of the reforms today.

## **1.2. Scope, Goals, Objectives, Research Questions, and Justification for the Study**

### **1.2.1. Scope of Study**

The purpose of this study is to identify, describe, and analyze the changes and decision-making behavior within the TNP during the EU *acquis* adoption process after 2003. To understand the momentum of the change in the TNP, the study looked at Turkish politics

between 1959 and 2003. Even though a historical perspective is not the main theoretical framework and Turkish politics is not the subject for this study, this paper will attempt to gain deeper understanding of the current reforms and transformation in the TNP. The study explained the historical trends in Turkey as required and investigated the process for reform and the relationship of the police, the police organization, and political commitment.

The study begins with 1959 when Turkey first applied for the EEC membership. However the emphasis is mostly on the date 2003, when the reforms were enormously swift, and sweeping the whole country. It was only after national elections in Turkey, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) quickly passed the new laws, amending the old ones. EU membership was not the first time for Turkey to look to change, but it was the first time it was that close. Relatively young members of the government were seeing the issues of Turkey differently and were very active making wide spread changes. As Cook (2007) mentioned, even the military was not immune to the scope of those changes. Most of those changes resulted from the requirements to be a member of the EU. Was the Government honest in being a member of the EU or was it only an excuse to clip the wings of the military and the politicians? While those questions are not in the scope of this study, the Government's commitment level and its enforcement of this commitment onto other institutions is definitely worthy of further scrutiny.

The study is limited to an investigation of changes in the area of democratic policing in the context of the TNP after 1959 with the accession relations of Turkey within the EU. The study will focus on information exchanges with politicians, other public and private institutions, and within the TNP; the changes in the TNP structure and policies; the changes in decision-making; and expected future developments with the EU institutions. The researcher will gather information from top TNP executives as it relates to the adoption process.

The diffusion and adoption of the EU *acquis*, its communication, conceptualization, and implementation are within the scope of this study. To develop a deeper understanding of the decision-making of the TNP during the EU *acquis* adoption process, the study looks at the relationships between the TNP's organizational structure, communication patterns and organizational innovativeness variables. The following research goal led the study which concludes with several research objectives and research questions.

### **1.2.2. Goal**

- Understand and describe the decision factors related with the EU *acquis* adoption process and to what extent the TNP has accommodated democratic policing principles.

To reach this goal, the study is designed to achieve two objectives. The first objective is designed to understand and define measurable outcomes of the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP. The second objective is designed to understand and defined subjective components which are perceptions of the TNP officials rather than measurable outcomes.

### **1.2.3. Objectives.**

- Identify and define the TNP's organizational structure, communication patterns and decision making process during Turkey's EU membership adoption period.
- Identify and understand how the changes of the last 4 years are perceived by the stakeholders from democratic policing principles standpoint.

The researcher tried to achieve these objectives by responding the questions in the following section.

### **1.2.4. Research Questions**

RQ1. What are the key decision factors that lead decision-makers to adopt or reject the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP?

- RQ2. What are the forces, motivations, activities, entities, and processes that affect the decision(s) to adopt or reject the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP?
- RQ3. To what extent has the TNP accommodated internationally accepted democratic policing principles?
- RQ4. What organizational and legal changes occurred in the TNP during the EU *acquis* adoption process and how have these impacted the police organization?

### **1.2.5. Justification for the Research and Significance of the Study**

The research goal has two objectives. The objectives are different facets of the case study. To reach the goal, two objectives set the foundation of the study. This foundation is also a justification for the study and explained in this section of the study.

U.S. Steel was the largest company in the world in 1912. Only 20 of the 100 largest companies in history have survived until today. Surviving companies were the ones which made business in new production fields such as petroleum, technology, chemistry and branded consumption products. Large companies today are developing with research and development studies for not to be destroyed by improvements they cannot catch on time. Large companies in business are vulnerable to loosing their “drive, focus and innovation ability.” They are ignorant of what other companies are doing and have the downside of “heavy structures” and “deep bureaucracy” which in turn brings with it various communication problems. Even though the communication problem is generally not catastrophic, it results either a lack of or a shortage in technology transfer and innovation (Figuroa & Conceicao, 2000). This is an example from corporate firms that innovativeness is very important for them to survive for extended periods of time. This analogy also extends to public institutions and tries to find an answer to how and why

the public institutions should justify and legitimize their existence. This justification calls police organizations for more democratic policing initiatives to better serve the citizens.

According to Hsieh and Woo (2000), organizations are composed of nodes and arcs. Work takes place at nodes and information is transported through arcs. In hierarchical organizations, the information flows from top-to-bottom, while materials and products flow from bottom-to-top. The size and structure of the organization is effective on the speed and content of the information. The bigger the organization, the slower the information flow is. Work will be delayed if more people are assigned to it. This depiction fits most large scale police organizations with tall hierarchical structures.

The Global Infrastructure/Standards Working Group (2004) stated: “Information sharing is a long-standing practice among justice agencies, particularly within the law enforcement community. As society becomes more mobile, the importance of sharing data to improve police effectiveness grows exponentially” (p.1). Even though the most advanced information-sharing capabilities across organizational lines have been seen in law enforcement and judicial agencies (Metagroup, 2003), law enforcement agencies are not in harmony even with their respective governments (Hassell, Zhao, & Maguire, 2003). American law enforcement system represents the most decentralized and fragmented organizations across the US. Thousands of agencies at the federal, state, and local levels are created for the sake of federalism and separation of powers to overcome fear of an authoritarian rule (Kesler & Rossiter, 1999, p.269). However, the downside to such a scattered structure became evident during its first response with September 11, 2001 (9/11) attacks on World Trade Center. The most significant DOI seen in police organizations was community policing. Its philosophy was to flatten the organizational structure to create clearer more efficient communication within the organization, with community, with businesses, and

more importantly with other federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. The events of 9/11 have proven the contrary (Hassell et al., 2003).

All those problems are pointing a major defect in law enforcement. This defect stems from difficulties in information sharing. Information sharing cannot be achieved for several reasons like technical, political, and organizational problems (Dawes, 1996). According to Rogers (1995), diffusion is “a special type of communication” (p. 5) in which the message content that is exchanged is concerned with a new idea (p. 17). However, there are few studies on how social and communication structure affects the diffusion and adoption of innovations in a system (p. 25). Organizational type is very important in shaping information flow patterns. More importantly, communication has the capability of shaping the nature and structure of police organizations (Drake et al., 2004, p. 79; Thibault et al., 2001, p. 131). According to MetaGroup (2003), the most advanced information-sharing capabilities across organizational lines are seen in law enforcement and judicial agencies. However, Henry (2002) opposes that idea, because new structures seen under FBI supervision to fight terrorism after 9/11 were found to be hiding information from local police departments.

While information was once a tool for organizational efficiency, it has become the most important asset used to fight terrorism today. All law enforcement agencies are highly structured hierarchical organizations and their information flow patterns are also highly structured. Organizational structure translates into work flow and information flow patterns. Thibault et al. (2001) pointed out the importance of information flow and effective feedback system in police organizations. If the information flow travels one way from top to bottom, there forms an autocratic management organization with little or no feedback from employees. This structure causes inefficiency for reaching organizational goals. Police organizations should develop

effective communication styles in a proactive manner. However, currently most police organizations choose bureaucratic hierarchical organizational structures, rather than a more open and flattened structure (Peak, Gaines, & Glensor, 2004). It is interesting even when community policing initiatives were at their peak during 1990s, the structure of most organizations didn't change fundamentally. One explanation for this situation comes from Slezak and Khanna (2000) who state that in opposition to today's approach, information flow in hierarchical organizations is superior to information flow in open systems like team management. Information is not announced to everyone. Every person or unit collects information individually and sends it to a central decision-making unit or person in hierarchical organizations. All the information which is not contaminated is evaluated. Hence, the information is not changed before reaching to this unit or person. Decisions are taken with all possible and most direct information. If this system is valid, then an answer will likely be found to the success of police organizations despite their limited information sharing capabilities. Hsieh and Woo (2000) support Khanna's findings and state that the size of the organization and the associated delay in information or work processes are inversely related unless the nodes of communication are too busy to handle the required performances.

Brown and Brudney (2003) defined community policing initiative as a tool that transforms police agencies fundamentally by viewing their officers as knowledge sources. Police agencies employ new information technologies to transform their officers to problem solvers by providing timely, accurate and useful information to advance their knowledge. There are two competing approaches to control information flow. The first approach is to take information as a signaling component to alert decision makers to enable them to adapt their organization to

turbulent environments. The second idea is to control information at every front and treat it as a symbolic agent to gain legitimacy for decisions.

There are many scholars who express that without the EU accession talks and hope for possible EU membership, it would not be possible in Turkey to carry out latest reforms. For example, Sahin Alpay (2006), Lecturer, Political Science and International Relations Department, Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul, states that he does not know even if he would vote for EU membership in case of a referendum. Alpay, however, is sure that the process of accession will continue to assist Turkey to consolidate its democracy and modernize its economy, because the EU is a union in which its foundations are universal values of human rights, rule of law, democracy and respect for cultural diversity (Alpay, 2006, p. 14).

There is no study on decision making and DOI in large scale police departments such as the TNP. The TNP has experienced major shifts in the last four years with an effort to adopt its structure and policies to the EU *acquis*. It is reported that there are many changes, from technology adoption to policy changes. The changes in the TNP are also visible in daily life as riot police were not enforcing the still-existing previous laws, which in most cases are definitely against the EU regulations, upon demonstrators in Diyarbakir and in Istanbul. 5 out of 9 EU adoption projects in the public sector were handled by the TNP in the beginning of the EU *acquis* adoption. Bearing in mind that the TNP has roughly 200,000 personnel, this research is the first to look at an innovation within the TNP. There were many technical innovations in the TNP during 1980s; however it is a privilege for the researcher to claim that a policy innovation process is now foremost in the TNP context. Even though it is hard to claim the results are generalizable to other police agencies, given the fact that all police agencies are bureaucratic and

hierarchical organizations, this study has a potential to provide valuable assertions, insights and probably evidences for policy makers in their approach to police organizations.

This study employed semi-structured interviews with eight top officials of the TNP and tried to find answers and explanations to the following questions which resulted in asking additional questions in the course of the interviews.

### **1.3. Historical Background**

Turkey's modernization efforts began during late 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire era and continued until current time in the modern Turkey. Turkey's position in its region was quite uncomfortable both internally because of rejection of Ottoman Empire inheritance and externally with a reason of leaving larger soil with many citizens behind who represent a threat to new rulers of the lands that remained out of current borders of Turkey. The volatile condition of the region affected Turkey and Turkish people at all layers of the society. Ulusoy (2005) summarizes this trend as "saving the state" which was developed in 19<sup>th</sup> Century against the effects of the French Revolution which still exists today not only in human rights issues, but also for the EU membership process. The value of the reforms in Turkey rests in history of "saving the state" ideology, because reforms require fundamental structural changes in republican regime which is deemed as holy by some layers of the society, if not all.

Understanding Turkey from the human rights standpoint depends on understanding the situation around 1920s when Turkish soil was invaded at large which ended with the 1920 Sevres Treaty. According to this treaty, Ottoman Empire soil would be divided up by ethnical areas. This treaty has never been welcomed by Turkish public and many army officials. Beginning with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, founder of the modern Turkey whose efforts to reinstate the Turkish land begin with a treaty called the National Commitment (Misak-i Milli) and has

resulted in the 1923 Lausanne Treaty which established the current borders of Turkey. The time between October 13<sup>th</sup> 1918 – when the Ally Navy anchored to Istanbul shores and Ataturk made his now famous statement “they will leave as they come” – and 24<sup>th</sup> July 1923 – when Treaty of Lausanne was signed – marks a period called the Independence War. During this war, all Turkish citizens fought for independence shoulder to shoulder and lost hundreds of thousands of their own to defend their land, a place where where ethnic differences were not recognised.

A second issue to consider from the human rights angle is the wave of democracy during 1950s and 1960s. Turkey’s multiparty democracy begins in 1946 with the foundation of the Democratic Party after 26 years of a one party system. The first elections brought this party into power when all the rising and falling of democracy begun. Actually, this trend continued not only for Turkey, but also for many other countries who opted to go with democracy over authoritarianism including Greece and many other Latin American countries. Many of them were faced with military takeover, while others became democratic only in name without the essential democratic institutions (Arat, 1991). O’Loughlin et al. (1998) reported a “strong and consistent evidence of temporal clustering of democratic and autocratic trends” (p. 545) from 1946 to 1998. Interestingly, the research revealed distinct changes “in regimes that run counter to the dominant aggregate trends of democratic waves or sequences, demonstrating how the ebb and flow of democracy varies among the world’s regions (p. 545). Considering that human rights are coupled with democratic practices (Arat, 1991; Poe & Tate, 1994) the state of human rights in Turkey shows parallel changes with the shift of government between democratic and authoritarian systems (Arat, 1991, p. 2).

The same happened in Turkey in different forms at different times. According to Ret. Col. Judge Umit Kardas, the army was in power in one way or another for the last 25 years

beginning with the 12 September 1980 Coup. Beginning with the 1961 Constitution of Turkey, judicial cases of the army fall under the jurisdiction of the military courts and the Turkish National Security Board becomes a constitutional institution which gives army officials the power to make national policy advises to the government. The 1980 Constitution of Turkey continues this trend and it became impossible to prosecute army officials in civil courts. Moreover, there is a practical impossibility to prosecute the chief of staff and chiefs of land forces, air force, navy and Gendarmerie due to the fact that a ruling judge in the court should be higher in rank. In this case only the Chief of Staff qualifies for this position, but he cannot preside over the court because of another limiting rule that states that an immediate supervisor cannot be a judge in court. So, it is practically impossible to prosecute the top five officials of the army (Kemal, 2006). However, the consequences of this reality are not always negative. Arslan (n.d) notes that, besides their defense duties, the army elites of Turkey have been assuming important roles to shape the strategic, social, and international economic policies of the country. As a result of being an agent of development and change in the country, they have been welcomed by the society and hence the coups they accomplished had been in non-violent nature. Especially during 1990s, despite their large impact on society and government, violence has never been an issue. Moreover, they build relations and coalitions with media, businesses, unions and universities and used their powers as a modern pressure group tactic. For those reasons, Perlmutter (as cited in Arslan, n.d.) calls Turkish Army as an ‘arbitrator army’ (Arslan, n.d.). Aras (2006) thinks that the position of the Turkish Army in Turkey is more a strategic choice than a strong desire to lead. “Obviously the military plays a much greater role in Turkish society than is acceptable for a candidate country” (para. 11) says Aras by pointing at the limitations of the EU on military involvement in Turkey. Military involvement is feasible given the internal

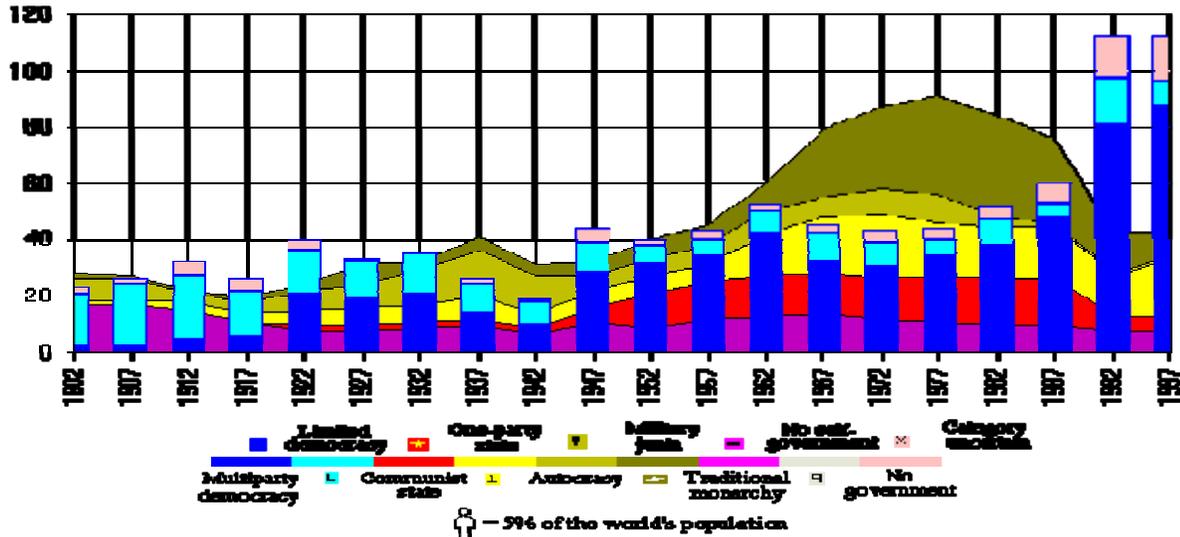
and external threats such as separatist PKK terrorism and the other problems emerging as a result of Turkey's geographical position.

The following Figure 1.1 (White, 2001) shows independent governments from 1902 to 1997 in the world. The number of military junta governments around the world begins to increase after 1950's and reaches to its peak after 1967 which continues until 1980s. The decrease in junta regimes comes after the 1990s. As it is explained before, the 27 May 1960 Coup was relatively peaceful takeover of the Turkish Armed Forces. Danilkina states that the military junta had scholars prepare the most liberal constitution ever in Turkish history and handed over the power to elected politicians (Danilkina, 2000). However, as O'Loughlin et al. (1998) and Danilkina (2000) reported, Turkey was not apart from rest of the world to elect authoritarian leaders, especially to presidency, until 1989 when second civilian politician, Turgut Ozal, was elected as President of Turkey after 28 years later. According to Mansfield & Snyder (2002), democratization has two distinct phases. First is called incomplete democratization. In this phase a country faces transition from autocracy to a mixed regime (p. 304). The second one is complete democratization. In this phase, a country experiences a transition to a coherent democracy when a regime develops "a political competition" and "full government accountability to a broad electorate" (Mansfield, & Snyder, 2002).

Turkey's case was shifting back and forth in between those types of democracy. The Turkish history recorded alternating governments between military regimes and multiparty electoral politics. The military regimes' downside was its effect on democracy that prevents it from being consolidated. To overcome this problem, the military elites tried to show that they rule on behalf of the popular will. Civilians on the other hand, try to show that they are supportive of national security (Mansfield, & Snyder, 2002, p. 306). What Klarevas (2002)

concludes in his article on “American Public Opinion and the Use of Force,” supports Mansfield and Snyder’s (2002) idea that populist policies and national interests gain more public support than regular international policy change cases.

Figure 1.1 Number of independent governments.



Adapted from White (2003).

According to Rustow (as cited in Arat, 1991), the end of the cold war would be the beginning of a safer democracy throughout the world. Arat (1991) states however, the conclusion Rustow reached did not prove itself, because democracies established after 1950’s and 1960’s shifted back and forth between highly authoritarian and democratic systems (p. 2). While quoting many scholars, Arat writes about political democracy and human rights that the legitimacy is the most important foundation of a government and she states that feudalism was legitimate in medieval times, but not in modern times, because what determines the legitimacy is the citizens’ perception of the role of the government (p. 4). It is possible to conclude that the history of democracy is closely related to the history of human rights.

### 1.3.1. Turkey: Continuity and Change

Turkey is a country in Eurasia by its geographical location, yet it represents both Western

and Eastern cultures by its community values. At least since the 1800s, Turkish officials, leaders, and intellectuals gave greater attention to and imported changing Western values, while also maintaining the continuity of traditional Turkish values and roots. In the twentieth century, the demise of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the founding of the new Republic of Turkey in 1923, assured the continuing direction of Turkey toward the West, in keeping with the articulated principles of Kemal Ataturk (1881-1938). The change from the large Ottoman Empire to a new smaller nation, now cornered among problematic neighboring countries, through the conflicts of World War II and the Cold War - all galvanized a new Turkish culture.

Turkey has experienced enormous transformation from a Middle-Eastern style of public administration to a more European design. However, a watershed year in the pace and direction of reforms was 2003. But why is the year 2003 so pivotal? Why, after all, Turkey's application to join the EU goes back to 1959. The Ankara agreement between Turkey and the EU, which was then called the ECC, was signed on 12 September 1963. After that date, Turkey's 45<sup>th</sup> Ozal Government had applied to become a member of the EU on 14 April 1987. At that time the application was denied by the European Commission (EC) on the merits of political and economic reasons as well as the dispute between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus and such. However slow the pace, relations continued until The Luxemburg European Council of December 1997, when Turkey's eligibility for accession into the EU was finally confirmed. Another major historical marker in relations between Turkey and the EU was the EU Helsinki Council in December 1999 and a decision to confirm the candidate status of Turkey in joining the EU. Turkey moved forward with the many concrete reforms that were developed, such as: completion of a pre-accession strategy, donation of 130 Million Euros for the period 2001 to 2003, the EU acceptance of the Accession Partnership Document for Turkey, and the launching

of the First Reform Package within Turkey to provide cohesion with the Copenhagen Criteria. Specifically, the First Reform Package included a new Turkish Penal Code, new strategies in combating terrorism, and changes of the State Security Courts. In June 2002, Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer presided over a national meeting in the House of Cankaya in which all leaders of the political parties of the Turkish national legislature assented to the intent of Turkey to become a member country in the EU. Also in June 2002, at the Summit of Sevilla, the presiding executives, governors, and other officials of state and local governments of Turkey assented to joining the EU and focused on satisfactory reforms which would strengthen Turkey's membership perspective in the EU.

With these many years of coalition-building, it was the November 2003 elections that marked a watershed year in the transformation of Turkey. The 2003 election placed a new political party in power and transformed the TGNA. This was only the third major political re-alignment in the history of the modern Republic of Turkey, since the re-alignments of the 1950 and 1983 elections (Akinci, 2002). Like the previous 1950 and 1983 re-alignments, it was unexpected that the voters would decree to change the majority party power in the Turkish national legislature. Like the 1983 re-aligning election in which 343 of 400 seats were suddenly changed to a new political party (85.75%), the 2003 re-aligning election changed 490 of 550 seats or 89.09% of seats in the national legislature (Belgenet, 2007). Like the previous 1950 and 1983 re-aligning elections, it was clear that the voters of Turkey in 2003 desired a new style in the operation of the existing government machinery and bureaucracy. A new national optimism on the prospect of accession into the EU had sparked the voters to seek sweeping changes in all of the political life and bureaucracy of Turkey. A new day had dawned.

It is not wise for new leaders to begin their reign by attacking the agencies and officials

under their care (Klitgaard, Maclean-Abaroa, & Parris, 2000). So did the 59<sup>th</sup> Government of the Republic of Turkey and showed wisdom in not attacking their own agencies and officials, but instead focused on settling the tensions of the country. How and why was the 59<sup>th</sup> Government able to overcome the problems of instability and change the “untouchables” so swiftly in just four years? Steven A. Cook, in Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey (2007), argues that this success may have been prompted by optimism of the prospect of accession into the EU. “Untouchables” in Turkey’s administrative regime included such as policies as the legislative oversight to military procurement budgets, removal of army officials from the Turkish Higher Education Council and broadcasting boards. The 59<sup>th</sup> Government succeeded in either abolishing or re-formulating such policies with greater legislative oversight. Many critics had faulted the Islamic roots of the newly ascendant political party and questioned if they were able to succeed. Yet, the 59<sup>th</sup> Government instead was greatly successful in carrying out hundreds of individual reforms in Turkey. For Cook (2007) and other analysts, it was the external power and attraction of the EU that made the difference. The “soft power” of the EU attractions, membership benefits, and economic development applied to improve both human rights and democracy in Turkey, as it had elsewhere in the world.

While Cook’s (2007) focus was mainly on the military’s role in politics, this dissertation is about the change in the Turkish National Police (TNP). The Turkish National Police is unique in many ways when compared with counterparts in other nations. The TNP have nearly 200,000 personnel, history dating back to antecedent institutions established in 1845, highly educated personnel, and have a long history of education like the military academies found in many other advanced democratic countries and Turkey. On the other hand, the Turkish National Police have

not been much different than the Turkish Military. Both have a formal or para-military organizational structure with ranks, basic or shared training, a general duty of defending and serving the nation, pride of profession and the uniform, combating terrorism - as just a few similarities. While army officials in Turkey were not allowed to oppose the reforms of the 59<sup>th</sup> Government, how did the Turkish National Police handle reforms and abolition of its bureaucratic practices? Did they welcome or refuse these changes that fundamentally altered the Turkish National Police, clipping many of the powers they had?

Further, it should be mentioned that the reforms implemented in the 59<sup>th</sup> Government were not new to Turkey, but were the result of nearly a century of national policy debates. After all, Turkey's application for the EU membership dated back to 1959. We must understand why the EU membership process has not concluded over the past 48 years to better understand why the reforms since 2003 were so quickly implemented. It is most important to note that Turkey's initial application to the EU in 1959 was not the result of a national priority stemmed from internal dynamics. It was rather in competition with Greece in these forums of international institutions and opinions. So, Turkey applied for the EU membership three months after Greece. The membership process was not completed for many reasons, either coming from Turkey or from the EU over these many decades. The reasons from Turkey in the delay of the EU membership process included instability, weak institutions, and lack of standards that resulted in chaos (Arat, 1991, p. 63). These three factors in turn related to the rise of a very powerful military in Turkey in three steps. First, the Turkish military became the best-organized group in a society of unstable and weak institutions. Second, the coercive power of military might combined with the best equipment and weapons. Third, in a time of chaos, the military represents authority with qualifications to restore order. On the other hand, the classic analysis

of Schumpeter (1950) concludes that the *sine quo non* of a successful democracy is a sufficient number of high quality members of government. Thus, when combining Arat's analysis of contemporary Turkey (1991) with Schumpeter's analysis (1950), it is clear that the delay of democracy in Turkey cannot be blamed as a direct result of a powerful army, but rather as the result of weak and unorganized politicians.

Like the Turkish military, the Turkish National Police - with their para-militaristic and hierarchical structure - got the message of the EU membership commitment of the 59<sup>th</sup> Government. This meant fundamental changes in policing in Turkey. The initial comments of TNP officials were on the impossibility of such reforms in Turkey. But in only a few months after the reforms of the Turkish Penal Code and Criminal Procedure, after allegations of illegal torture and police convictions - individual police officers themselves began to resist their immediate supervisors and police chiefs and sought to implement the reforms more fully. This study seeks to systematically understand the response of police to reforms - and the communication of this reform through the organization - of the Turkish National Police.

Thus, the success of reforms in Turkey, and elsewhere in the world, is dependent upon powerful, capable, and committed politicians who have determination, courage, solidarity with others, and a high quality human element. The 58<sup>th</sup> and 59<sup>th</sup> Governments of Turkey show remarkable solidarity and commitment toward reforms (Cao and Burton, 2006) - and so gained credibility and support from the public, the bureaucracy and even from the military. Arat's (1991) critique focuses on a blame of the influence of other Western nations and the politicization of military forces. It is not the focus of this dissertation to prove or disprove Arat's (1991) critique, however much this author disagrees with it, but rather to test this critique with the an analysis of the Turkish National Police and reforms in contemporary Turkey. This study

aims to find out how the Turkish National Police respond to a powerful governmental reform, even if it seems impossible to adopt. The assumption of this research, informed by years of experience in the Turkish National Police, is that police in Turkey cannot generally resist (for long) the reforms of a committed, organized and powerful government. The Turkish National Police cannot resist legitimate human rights reforms of criminal justice practices, just as the delay of democracy in Turkey cannot be blamed as a direct result of a powerful army, but rather as the result of weak and unorganized politicians.

#### **1.4. Current Support for Reforms and Human Rights**

The last five decades of Turkey's history have passed with several bouts of political instability during which the military has seized control and then handed over the power to the elected politicians. During 1990s, a saying in Turkish community has been widespread that it has become almost normal to have an army rule to balance the system every 10 years. These coups are named after their dates which are the 27 May 1960 Strike, the 12 March 1971 Memorandum, the 12 September 1980 Strike, and the 28 February 1997 Process. 12 March 1971 Memorandum and 28 February 1997 Process are basically not direct army strike but a form of being effective on policy making, polity and other institutions including courts. However, after the 12 September 1980 Strike, it seems that this vicious cycle has been broken (Üç Darbe, 1998), because last 27 years has passed without army presence as total takeover of the state control. 28 February 1997 process has been very effective on all layers of public institutions. The process has begun by overthrowing the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi), the biggest shareholder of ruling parties, from power. This was not direct army presence with arms present, but rather the shaping Turkish politics, judiciary, and the executive branch in a certain way. Some called this army presence in politics as a civilian bout, or tuning the balance of the government by the army. After 2003, the

trend of pushing the army out of politics has began by changing the structure of the National Security Council after adding more civilian members and giving the secretariat to a civilian bureaucrat.

The underlying reasons for army strike have been announced as to end the conflict and the instability of the democracy in the country. However, it is also claimed that the case was different. Coup d'état detained and jailed many other high-ranked army officials and bureaucrats including their own chief of staff Rüştü Erdelhun. They took over the civilian government and the bureaucratic positions. In the meantime there have been two unsuccessful attempts of army strikes on February 22, 1962 and May 21, 1963 by Colonel Talat Aydemir who thought that the previous strike was unsuccessful. These incidents have shown an interest of taking over the powerful positions as well as other justifiable reasons like general unrest in the community at large (Üç Darbe, 1998).

While all those reforms were taking place, what was happening with the Turkish National Police? The change across the Turkish National Police has been very visible in the last events occurred in Diyarbakir where police have been less aggressive than ever before. The change in policing style was really distinctive. This was because politicians and administrators in Turkey assured their commitment to improve human rights record and to recognize internationally recognized standards of civil liberties. One of the Governors in a major city in the region gives the clues of a policy change to address problems. New policy opts to find solutions to problems without applying the state of emergency rule, because if the state of emergency rule would be capable of solving those problems, we would not be living the problems we had today (OHAL. 2006).

The human rights record of such countries should be understood from this perspective and as it happened with Armenian citizens in Ottoman Empire. New racist and separatist movements have been initiated to dismantle the Empire rapidly. Today, the struggle in Turkey and Turkish politics is a result of this unrest where the state is trying to assure their unity while conceptualizing diversity as richness. The improvement in rights and liberties of their citizens and changes towards freedom of expression, associations, right to education and all other related areas are issues that are improving day by day which the momentum is fairly visible after 2003, when the current EU membership program has been initiated. The changes of the last five decades in Turkey are important, because the commitment is pervasive throughout the state, government, and public at large. It should be an exemplary case for the other places and countries throughout the world that the change comes with sacrifices along with commitment and dedication.

According to Human Rights Watch's 2005 World Report, governments' frequent assertion of a zero tolerance policy have made enormous impact to decrease ill-treatment cases. Despite improvements of human rights record in some parts of the world, many countries and international organizations failed to deal with human rights (Watch, 2006). Amnesty International welcomed Turkey's ongoing legal and other forms of reforms to bring Turkish law into line with international standards despite the fact that many armed conflict was ongoing with armed terrorist groups in south-east region of the country (Amnesty International Report 2005, 2005). The U.S. Department of State issued their Country Reports on Human Rights Practices asserting that Turkey is a constitutional republic with a multiparty parliamentary system in which their government generally maintained effective controls over security forces and respected human rights with improvements (US Department of State, 2006). World Movement for

Democracy says in their website: “For the last 25 years, Turkey has frequently been subjected to accusations of mistreatment of prisoners while in police custody. These accusations have included torture, extra-judicial executions and disappearances. Given the beginning of discussions concerning the EU membership, recent legal and policy changes, and the government’s frequent assertion of *zero tolerance for torture*, it is now less likely that torture will remain a problem in Turkey” (Fact Book, 1996).

The gravity of the change in Turkey might not be easily seen to naked eye, but the results of many changes and reforms in public institutions and civil life will be statistically visible in near future. The above explanations show a positive change towards respect for human rights. This study, however, is designed to explore more positive changes brought by both politicians and bureaucrats to move Turkey towards a free and democratic country. The reform process does not end when the laws are enacted. The applications of newly enacted laws are closely watched in practice. There is no doubt that one cannot blame the above reports to not to show the momentum of change in Turkey, because their data are up to open sources, rather than an in-depth analysis of the reform initiatives in the country. The gaps in scholarly studies in this matter and applying a different methodology to unearth the change in Turkey in the past 3 years led this study to look the phenomenon from a different angle. The Turkish Democracy Foundation explains why and how Turkish citizens approach the racial and human rights issues in their Fact Book on Turkey Kurds and The PKK Terrorism, (1996). According to this book, racist and chauvinistic attitudes are not supported by Turkish people and thus a systematic and deliberate human rights violation against Kurdish population does not reflect the reality. Turkish independence war against occupation forces is won by both Turkish and Kurdish people who in time did not support the idea of the creation of an autonomous Kurdistan (Fact Book, 1996). As

Gómez (2003) stressed: “From a sociological perspective, and an effective advocacy perspective, human rights violations can be understood when placed simultaneously within their *domestic, international* and *historical* (emphasis added) context.” A more comprehensive approach to look at international relations and historical context is needed to understand local and national level variables (Gómez, 2003, p.12). However Gómez approached the issue from violations perspective, it is also possible to say that respect for human rights might be studied with same methodology and arguments. When violations were decreasing, improvements were in place and they both were affected by the same variables. The sources of these variables might be international settings. It is obvious that neither states, nor international actors are lone standing, holistic organisms that is free of environmental influence. It is theoretically true and required to divide both local and international components down to their substantive parts to better understand both the relations with and attitudes toward other components. This is practically helpful to conceptualize pressure points that lead a change in a certain medium (p. 6).

Gómez (2003) found patterns or practices of human rights violations in the countries of Cuba, El Salvador and Nicaragua and proposed a holistic approach to prevent those abuses and improve the quality of human rights in these countries. Lofca (2002) found the same method more effective at local level to prevent police officers of their wrongdoing by targeting the whole police department of their pattern or practice of abuse that fall under US Code 42, Section 14141. Both studies (Gómez, 2003; Lofca, 2002) support each other that rather than looking for isolated cases, following the general path of organizational culture and behavior gives a better idea about where we should change the system to correct malfunctions in certain areas. The organizational structure, culture and ongoing practices are the best determinants of an organization’s both formal and informal missions.

This study begins with a major assumption that all police departments throughout the world are watchmen of the continuation of the existing rules and order. So, they are more conservative than any other segments of the public sphere. Their paramilitary organizational structure is designed to make them enforce the law, help the public, and prevent the ones who might be a threat to this order. Their actions are under political and popular control, and they are accountable to politicians, to public, and to many other institutions. They are trained to obey the orders while serving and protecting the public. That is the main reason that the police exist in any society, because their orientation is suitable to serve a society in democracy. Those special characteristics of police organizations make them different than soldiers. However, still they are law enforcers and peace keepers who act under certain orders and guidelines to assure proper action. Chain of command, hierarchical structure, communication and reporting standards force the police to act in a certain way. They cannot change themselves whenever they want. A Piar-Gallup study done for BBC in 2005 about citizen trust to public institutions shows that the army and police are the most supported and trusted institutions in Turkey with a rate of 41%. The politicians on the other hand got supported only by 5% of the sample as shown in Table: 2.1 (BBC, 2005). It has not been a big change from Gallup's 2002 Voice of the People Survey results. However, the public trust towards the police is much lower with a 17% in the world than Turkey. Trust towards the army is almost same with 41% in Turkey and in the world (Gallup & Environics, 2003).

Figure 1.2 BBC-Gallup public trust towards public institutions survey.

%41	Army/Police
%24	Religious Leaders
%8	Media
%5	Politicians
%30	None of them

Adapted from BBC (2005).

Other studies claim that this support is even higher and getting higher and higher year-by-year. The rate of public trust towards the TNP ranges from 60% to 75% (Sezer, & Kul, 2003). All those changes have not come up suddenly; they were a result of many struggles and sufferings. However, when the right time came, all the required elements were in place to turn the wheel and move the nation to a more democratic, more positive future.

### **1.5. The European Union and Its Human Rights Policy**

The EU has strengthened its policies on democratization and human rights in third countries. The principles of coherence and consistency, integration of human rights into all its actions are primary objectives of the EU in relations with third countries. Human rights dialogues with third countries are deemed as an instrument of foreign policy of the EU (Council, 2001, para. 2). Obviously, the EU has a leading role in human rights issues in the world, because the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) is the first to institute human rights rules by enforcing the violating countries to pay monetary compensations.

The EU's human right policy is threefold. First is in the Union between the member states, second is with accessing candidate states like Turkey, and third is with all other states in the World. The first two categories are basically tied with solid regulations. The second category however is obviously on written documents that includes all the improvements for accessing countries and called. The progress regarding accession talks and efforts of Turkey can be found in the EC's regular reports and progress reports on Turkey. The latest report is issued on 8 November 2006. These reports mention the use of certain criteria which is called to judge the progress and gather information from various sources including but not limited to governmental sources, international non-governmental organizations, and from the European Parliament reports. The criterion is enshrined in the *acquis* which is "Turkey's capacity to assume the

obligations of membership are expressed in the Treaties, the secondary legislation, and the policies of the Union” (Turkey 2006 Progress Report, 2006, p. 4). The online source Wikipedia gives a brief definition of *acquis* under “*Acquis communautaire*” term: “The term *acquis communautaire* or EU *acquis*, is used in the EU law to refer to the total body of the EU law accumulated thus far” (Acquis communautaire, n.d., para. 1) This definition reflects the evolving nature of the *acquis* which is not stable, but changing and growing. The EU briefly expresses in the EC reports that the accession will be effective in the future. The *acquis* for the latest members of the Union, Romania and Bulgaria, was divided under 31 chapters, which is 35 chapters for Turkey and Croatia. The increase in number of chapters does not mean an increase in obligations, but the experience required some chapters to split and rearrange for easier implementation. The EC report issued on 6 October 2004 on “Issues Arising From Turkey’s Membership Perspective” (Issues arising, 2004), stated that the membership of Turkey would not be same as the previous members’ given the fact that “Turkey’s population, size, geographical location, economic, security and military potential, as well as cultural and religious characteristics” (p. 4). The first section of the report in this section begins with a statement that reads as “Accession of Turkey to the Union would be challenging both for the EU and Turkey” (p. 4). The report talks about the evolving nature of the EU *acquis* and has a slight warning that those changes might bring additional commitments for Turkey and Turkey should be ready for more radical changes. The EU in this report ensures the desire of the Union to play in Middle East and Caucasus regional politics in the medium term and implies that Turkey is a desired candidate for these reasons (p. 4). The report is all about the advantages and disadvantages of the membership of Turkey for Turkey and the Union.

The Regular Report on Turkey's Progress towards Accession (2004) provides a summary of twinning projects, which basically provides significant financial and human resources for member countries to enable improvement in the administrative and judicial capacity of candidate countries. Even though those projects range a large span of subjects, the crux is in the justice and home affairs sector (p. 10). The EC reaffirms progress in the Turkish legislation and implementation in several areas including the fight against torture and ill-treatment, prison reform, the possibility of retrial of previously convicted members of a separatist Kurdish political party, freedom of expression, freedom of demonstration, and peaceful assembly. Improvements in all those areas are welcomed by the Report, whilst a few isolated cases which should be taken care of. The most important aspect of the report lies in the following paragraph which points the strong political commitment through adoption which reassures the importance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in line with the standards of the EU:

Overall, in the past 12 months Turkey has made further impressive legislative efforts which constitute significant progress towards achieving compliance with the Copenhagen political criteria. Turkey should address the outstanding issues highlighted in this report, with particular attention to the strengthening of the independence and the functioning of the judiciary, the overall framework for the exercise of fundamental freedoms (association, expression and religion), further alignment of civil-military relations with the European practice, the situation in the Southeast and cultural rights. Turkey should ensure full and effective implementation of reforms to ensure that Turkish citizens can enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms in line with European standards (p. 14).

Inspired by Gomez's (2003) work, this study will look back and detail all the historical events after Turkey applied to the EU for membership in 1959. Major events of last 47 years are

chronologically mentioned as required. The breaking points in the last 47 years are marked. The human rights record of Turkey before and after those breaking points is investigated and compared with the terror events in Chapter V. The events in the time-line are not independent of each others. The improvements and declines in human rights issues will be discussed in the light of those major changes. Political commitment to encourage the EU membership is more robust in the last 10 years and even more systematically programmed in last 3 years. The major shifts in last 47 years' history may give a clue whether political commitment and determination lead the TNP to reform themselves; the result of highly trained, well-educated police officials who deemed a reform necessary; or was it a result of finding all the required elements as politicians, bureaucrats an external pressure at the right time and right place?

Apparently, the police are affected from those events and this study is designed to understand the impact of possible EU membership on the TNP, their human rights approach, and change in relationships of the TNP with the community at large. This research studied the process of the diffusion of the EU *acquis* in the TNP with Rogers' (1995) Diffusion of Innovations (DOI) theory.

## **1.6. Summary**

This chapter provided a basic introduction to the study. Goals, objectives, research questions, motivations and focus are explained briefly. An introductory historical background of the the EU reforms in Turkey in general and in the TNP in particular are explained as a foundation for the study. The study is designed to gain a deeper understanding of the EU *acquis* adoption decision process of the TNP from Rogers' (1995) Diffusion of Innovations (DOI) theory perspective.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter includes a literature review of scholarly sources of the study proposed in this dissertation. Some sources, however, are not scholarly, but either legal or open governmental information that is available on the subject. Historical background of Turkish politics and government are reviewed to provide an understanding of the momentum of changes in the last 3 years. How new policies diffuse generally in Turkish politics and especially in the Turkish National Police (TNP) are given special attention. The new ideas embedded in the TNP during the last 3 years with changes in the laws and policies are explored based on Diffusion of Innovation (DOI) model of Rogers (1995) and Weiss' (1997) study of DOI in law enforcement agencies.

Democratic policing principals are studied to see what the reforms are meant to be to get an idea and how to approach the changes in the TNP. Historical background analysis also brings an insight into the study to understand how major events in the proposed time period affect the human rights approach in the TNP. The changes in organizational structure and organizational policies are used as a case study to understand the phenomena in the context of the TNP.

#### **2.2. Transforming the Turkish National Police**

It was and may remain the greatest dilemma of policing today: whom to serve? By law, police protect and serve the public or the greater good. In reality, it is sometimes hard to tell who is serving whom. Every police force has some officers who clearly serve the greater good and some who, just as clearly, serve themselves. The difference between the ideal, formulated

into laws, and the actual application - constitutes a gap from formally proscribed duties. This gap often seems greater in totalitarian regimes than in democracies. This gap often helps explain the use of police for purposes other than the means for which they were formally established by law.

For example, the functions of police during the Cold War era were fundamentally different when compared to today. Patricia Hewitt, in The Abuse of Power (1982) detailed a swayed mandate for the British police of the 1970s. British police in the 1970s saw their main duty as defending their state, not enforcing the law. The duty of the police in the 1970s was to confront the communist influence in the United Kingdom. The logic of the times placed a duty with the police to oppose those who unlawfully sought to overthrow the government. Such considerations gave police and politicians a mandate to counter threats in a way which may or may not have been in line with democratic values and principles of human rights.

Similarly, a book published in the recent past, Turkiye'nin İnsan Haklari Sorunu [turkish, *Turkey's Human Rights Question*] (Tanor, 1994), articulated a vision for the transformation of the functions of police in Turkey according to developments in human rights principles. Tanor's prediction was that the human rights crisis in Turkey in 1994 might lead the country to a better tomorrow, like Russia's Perestroika. It seems that Tanor's prediction (and wish) may be coming true in current human rights reforms of Turkish policing and criminal justice system. It seems Turkey is far ahead of Russia after Perestroika, as the level of democracy and respect for human rights in Turkey is closely adjusted with the other EU countries.

The struggle for the transformation of police cultures, especially in transition countries during the membership process to join the EU, stems from mandates to establish new definitions of "police power and duties." Police organizations and culture are large and amorphous, more

like a gas than a solid object. Police cultures are shaped according to their immediate environment and make efforts to reform the police difficult. For the most essential tool for the change, reform, or transformation of the police is the larger government's commitment to this end. If government is capable of carrying out the duties and trust vested in them, transforming the police from one form to another does not require years or effort or enormous funds. A clear task definition and some necessary means to show the government's determination might be sufficient for the police to shape up with new demands. The problem is not police reform, but rather the prior reform of the political machinery and government. Turkey's experience of the EU adoption process since 2003 is good proof of this point. The 59<sup>th</sup> Government program of reforms presented to the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) assured reforms that would "form a system of law where human rights will be raised to and implemented at universal level, the rule of law will be achieved and democracy will function with all its institutions and rules" (para. 49).

However, the process of transforming the police depends on the stability condition of the government. The process of reform or transformation is not distinguishable as black or white, but is a matter of degree. There are many ingredients that may slow down the transformation process. By the degree to which the government's power weakens, the number and strength of factors to slow down the process increases and becomes more pronounced (CHRI, 2007; US Department of State, 2006; USINFO, 2005). On the other hand, if the government's power is relatively unquestioned, those factors are either lost or not very powerful to slow down or stop the transformation. So, fragility or firmness of government decides the success of not only police reform, but also all other changes in their jurisdiction.

The policing history of Turkey depicts the above mentioned points very well. The greatest

reforms in Turkish policing history were especially noted in times when a new and dominant single party took government power in a re-aligning election. In times of fragmented, or coalition formed governments, the position of the police have been very controversial at the least. For example, the technological and operational capacity of the police was tremendously increased during the first Ozal Government after the re-aligning 1983 elections. The thesis here is twofold: (1) the way the police handle their functions and hence the success for police reform depends upon the strength and commitment level of the governments and their governing philosophy; and (2) police organizations are para-militaristic, hierarchical and highly disciplined bureaucratic organizations and hence they are very receptive of and sensitive to orders.

This study is about the Turkish National Police (TNP) and their transformation during the EU adoption process. In this process, Turkey has been criticized for human rights violations in which the Turkish National Police were at center stage of discussions and blame. After reforms in 2000 and 2003, the TNP have been transforming into more of a democratic police force with community policing initiatives, technological developments, and greater respect for human rights. All such reforms have occurred without significant personnel changes, from top administrators to line officers. All TNP Director Generals during this process, from Gokhan Aydiner to the current Director General Oguz Kaan Koksak, have been long-standing officials or governors or sub-governors in the Republic of Turkey for at least 20 years or more. It is the intense commitment of the 58<sup>th</sup> and 59<sup>th</sup> Governments that seems to shape every person and every national institution. This intensity of commitment has been noted by international observers (e.g., Parsons, 2002) who have reported: “Turkey’s new Justice and Development Party (AKP) government, which swept to a landslide victory in November 3 elections, has vowed ‘zero tolerance’ on torture and pledged a range of human rights reforms to meet the EU

standards for membership” (Parsons, 2002, para. 10). Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, in a speech delivered at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, DC, on 9 December 2002 stated:

#### Zero tolerance

In the struggle against torture, the goal is zero tolerance. In this context, we are determined to cooperate with the European torture prevention society and other similar institutions in reaching the highest standards. The public servants who resort to such measures will be quickly tried and punished (Erdogan in Washington, 2002, para. 25).

The primary role that rests with the police in this process of reform is their attitude toward the reforms. The police cannot reject such widely-supported reforms verbally or expressly in writing without loss of position or power. But dissenting police may slow down the process by simply not cooperating. However, it seems the case of reform with the TNP has been positive and encouraging. While it was initially anticipated that TNP top managers would not cooperate in the process, all evidence seems to show their full cooperation in reforms. Moreover, it is reported that they have encouraged the younger generations of TNP officers to seek even greater levels of implementation of the aspirations and goals of the reforms.

The study begins with an introduction in Chapter I which also includes study goals, objectives, research questions, and historical background analysis. Chapter II lays out the theoretical framework which builds upon Diffusion of Innovation Theory (DOI), organizational structure of police organizations, and democratic policing and talks about the current support for the reforms. Chapter III includes materials and methods: The research strategy which is qualitative and exploratory case study explains the current position of the TNP with regards to the EU *acquis*. Limitations and assumptions are also included in this chapter. Chapter IV is about

results and findings. The interview data is organized as themes and laid out without comments. The interview data transcribed verbatim, coded with Atlas.ti software, categories were found and themes were built upon them. The chapter contains subjects like organizational structure, information resources, and the relationship within and outside the police, the focus and orientation of the EU *acquis* adoption process, motivation and participation in the EU *acquis* adoption process, and the factors affected the adoption process. Chapter V is organized differently. The discussion is built upon Damanpour's (1991) organizational innovativeness variables and four democratic policing variables of Bayley (2006). These are also supported by Can, Lofca, & Chilton's (2006) findings from Political Terror Scale and Freedom House data. There is a short section about the freedom and terror relation in Turkey from 1972 to 2006. The Chapter mainly talks about the importance of incentives and the Turkish Government's commitment for the success of reforms.

### **2.3. The Turkish Government's Commitment**

The public support behind those reforms stems from 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2002 elections. Rather than political parties, two distinct ideologies were raced for government. First one was claimed that Turkey was a European country and should complete the reforms for the EU membership. Second political view was depending more on "saving the state" ideology and it was better to equate the EU pressure for democratization due to its interference in the domestic politics of Turkey, and so considered it a threat to the unity of the Country. The first ideology prevailed over the second idea which gives major public support to reforms in Turkey (Ulusoy, 2005).

The Copenhagen Summit of the EC held on December 2003 decided upon a conditional date at the end of 2004 to begin accession negotiations. The newly elected Government passed four major reform packages. The 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> packages were extremely important because they

included reforms about freedom of expression, cultural rights, human rights, freedom of association, and civilian control of the military. Those areas were imposing on the political elite because the act of “saving the state” would be too precious of a goal to fight publically. However, even those reforms which were enacted were not deemed enough by the EC which found the reforms uneven in implementation in their 2003 Regular Report. It is safe to mention that the “zero-tolerance” policy of the Government was a result of this report, because the Government took serious measures to assure a proper implementation of the reforms in the field (Ulusoy, 2005).

As discussed in Chapter II, the police organizations have a para-militaristic and a hierarchical structure. Those organizations have paramount communication skills to interpret the events to apply proactive and preventive policing measures effectively. The research findings in this study suggest that the police in Turkey received the notice of the EU membership commitment of the 57<sup>th</sup>, 58<sup>th</sup>, and 59<sup>th</sup> Governments, which required fundamental changes in policing in Turkey. Even though initial reactions were negative about the reforms in Turkey, in a few months after the change of the Turkish Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, and after some convictions in alleged torture cases, police officers themselves begin to resist their immediate supervisors for not overstepping their powers. In this study, the response of the TNP to reform and how this reform is communicated through the organization, other organizations and its members are studied.

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of State Ahmet Mesut Yilmaz urged the 57<sup>th</sup> Republic Government to work diligently and swiftly on two very important issues: (1) Economic stability, and (2) Turkey’s Program of Full EU Membership. He stressed upon the need to prepare a wide and serious program to be put into practice immediately. Suleyman Demirel, former President of

Turkey, said in 2000 that Turkey's EU Membership process had begun and it would finally end the centuries old discussions about Turkey's inclusion to European continent. He says "as Prime Minister of time in 1967, I gave a speech in the EEC's Council meeting in Brussels and told that The EEC is seen as a success of democracy from Turkey's perspective." Demirel quotes Ismet Inonu, second President of Turkey, who said in 1963 that the EEC was the bravest product of mankind in human history (BYEGM, 2000).

The program of 59<sup>th</sup> Government of Turkey clearly mentions the EU membership of Turkey as the foreign policy priority and assures the application into the field with swift changes in the 1982 Constitution, laws, circulars and declarations. The mobilization of the TGNA began during the 57<sup>th</sup> and 58<sup>th</sup> Governments and gained incredible speed with swift reforms both in legal documents such as the 1982 Constitution and other laws, and in application in the field such as tight monetary policies and other reforms in social policy. The 59<sup>th</sup> Government's program clearly indicated the commitment towards the EU membership:

Due to the many restrictive clauses in our legislation, our country gives an image of being a state of law rather than being governed by the rule of law.

During our term of office our work will concentrate on; elevating the law in our country to the level of international principles of law, increasing the fundamental rights and freedoms regime to international standards, to create a true system in our country which will be based on the rule of law and to strive to attain supremacy of law thereby earning a respectable place in the international arena. That is why, as a confirmation of our sensitivities, straight after our electoral victory we went on an EU tour where we were able to obtain a date for a date for negotiations with the EU which would commence on December 2004 (59<sup>th</sup> Government Program, 2003, para. 47 & 48).

Commitment of the Government to the EU adoption process lies in the following sentences taken from their program:

Turkey is a part of the European political values system. Relations with the European countries will continue to be amongst the top priority issues on the agenda of the Turkish foreign policy.

One of the foremost objectives of our Government is Turkey's full membership of the EU. Following the success in the general elections held on 3 November, we have pursued an effective policy regarding our relations with the EU. It is in the JDP Government period that a negotiation date for the opening of the accession negotiations was obtained in 2004.

Our Government is determined to fulfill the Copenhagen criteria in their entirety. The assumption of Turkey's rightful place in the family of the European Union at the shortest time will not only benefit both sides but will undoubtedly yield positive outcomes for peace, stability and security beyond the European continent.

In this framework, the harmonization laws, which were adopted by the TGNA, will be strengthened and our legislation as a whole will be improved in terms of fundamental rights and freedoms. In addition, ever increasing emphasis will be placed on training implementing officials and fully reflecting these reforms on the actual implementation” (59<sup>th</sup> Government Program, 2003, para. 203-205).

How they would do it:

- The public's demands and wishes will be reflected directly on the political process.
- Transparency and accountability will be implemented.

- Policies will be supported by strong political will.
- Conformity with agreements and international standards will be the basic criteria in the continuation of the state's commitments (59<sup>th</sup> Government Program, 2003, para. 71).

The Turkish government has backed up their program in every opportunity and has given clues on how they would make their program operational. In his opening remarks during 2005 Istanbul Conference on Democracy and Global Security, Turkish Prime Minister says: "Turkey is devoted to the same ideals with countries that have succeeded to apply democracy in its full terms... Our century bears great hopes for peace, security, disarmament as well as for democracy, good governance, global security and respect for human rights" (Erdogan, 2005, p. XI).

In conclusion, political commitment towards these reforms was in place as well as being backed by public and bureaucratic support. The Government launched a new reform package, Turkey's Program for Alignment with the EU *Acquis* 2007-2013, on 17 April 2007. The package has reportedly prepared entirely on Turkey's own initiative and included all of the Turkish public institutions involved in the accession process, as well as the contributions of non-governmental organizations. This program is prepared on the basis of 33 negotiation chapters of the EU *acquis*. As such, it is a joint product of government and civil society (Turkey's Program for Alignment with the EU *Acquis*, 2007).

#### **2.4. Theoretical Framework I: Diffusion of Innovations Theory**

"An innovation can be a new product or service, a new production process technology, a new structure or administrative system, or a new plan or program pertaining to organizational members." So, adoption of a product, policy, program, system, process, or a service can be an

innovation for an organization. The precondition for this adoption to be an innovation for the organization is that it be a new phenomenon for the adopting organization. Individual, organizational, and environmental factors influence the organizational innovation. (Damanpour, 1991, p. 556).

The diffusion study was first introduced in 1903 with development of the S-shaped curve by Gabriel Terde. This study remains valid. Terde used the term imitation instead of adoption of an innovation. Terde was a French sociologist and social psychologist who observed changing trends in the society and human behavior change. To him, invention and imitation were elementary social acts. As Rogers (1995) explains, Terde's studies were followed within forty years after by Ryan and Gross with their hybrid corn study. Diffusion research is a type of communication research which was initially studied outside of the communication field, because there were no communication departments within most universities (Rogers, 1995). Certainly, Rogers has been the best known scholar of the subject after he published his novel book Diffusion of Innovations in 1960 in which he provided a "unified theory of diffusion" of innovations (Surry, 1997, para. 9).

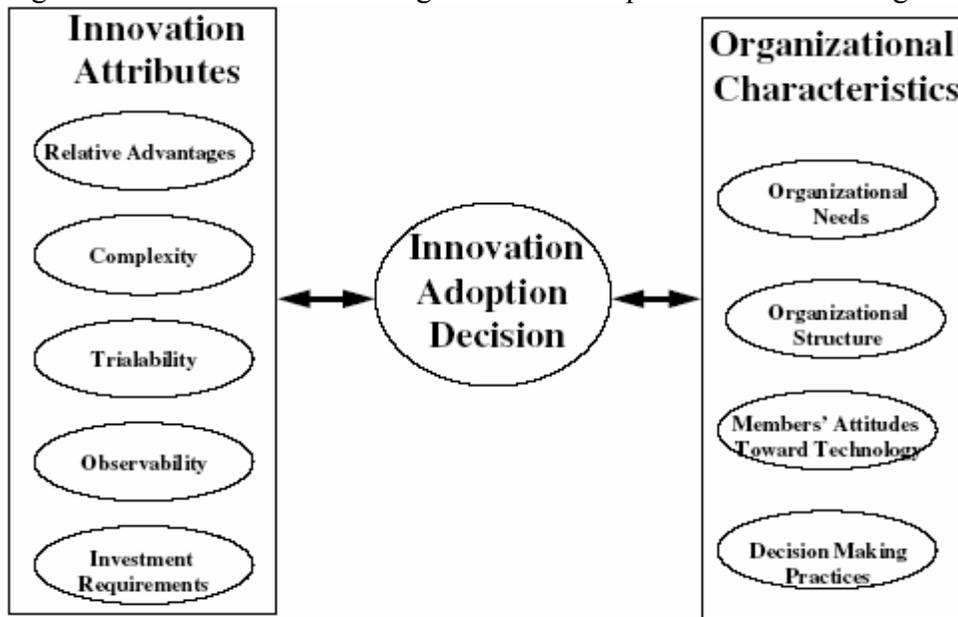
The results of empirical innovation studies showed extreme variances over time which did not provide cumulative results despite a high number of studies. However, none of these studies found that the results were unstable. Administrative and technological innovations; radical and incremental innovations; and initiation and implementation stages of diffusion of innovations; and levels of organizational hierarchies are distinguished from each others in the scholarly studies (Damanpour, 1991).

There is a distinction between diffusion of innovations and adoption of innovations. Diffusion refers to spread of innovation among peers or institutions. Adoption of innovation, on

the other hand, refers to a special kind of diffusion which acquires a new product or behavior. Adoption is the decision to make full use of an innovation as the best course of action available (Higa, Sheng, Hu, and Au, 1997, p. 1).

According to Higa et al. (1997), there exist a relationship between innovation adoption and diffusion. Specifically, comprehensive adoption decisions are likely to result in increased effectiveness of diffusion. Moreover, relative advantage, observability, and triability can create rewards which will promote individual members to become involved in adoption decisions (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 A factor model for organizational adoption decision making.



Adapted from Higa et al (1997).

Rogers (1995) defines diffusion as “the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system” (p.5). The communication is essential to carry the message in which its content is a new idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or a unit of adoption (p.11). Communication serves as a tool for the participants to reach a mutual understanding.

Rogers (1995) defines diffusion as “the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system (p. 5). In Rogers’ terms, diffusion is a “special type of communication” with which the new ideas are exchanged through messages. “Communication is a process in which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding” (pp.5-6).

Rogers (1995) explains innovation as a synonym to technology and defines technology as “a design for instrumental action that reduces the uncertainty in cause-effect relationships involved in achieving desired outcome” (p.12). Rogers (1995) describes technology as information which helps to reduce the uncertainty. Transferring the technology is a communication process where the end product is communication of information.

Rogers (1995) describes four major factors of innovation which are the properties of innovation, characteristics of adopters, and the means for adoption:

- Innovation,
- Communication Channels,
- Time, and
- Social System (p.10).

#### **2.4.1. Innovation**

Innovation is an idea, policy, practice, object, or a product that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption. Knowledge, persuasion, or a decision to adopt might be an innovation. There are five main characteristics of innovations which determine the rate of adoption. These are (1) relative advantage, (2) compatibility, (3) complexity, (4) triability, and (5) observability.

Relative advantage: is “the degree to which an innovation is perceived as better than the idea it supersedes” (Rogers, 1995, p. 212). There are several instruments to measure relative advantage like economic gain, convenience, prestige, and satisfaction. Important point in relative advantage is perception of the adopter, not objective advantage. Perceived advantage determines the rate of adoption. There is a positive correlation between the perceived relative advantage of an innovation and its rate of adoption.

Compatibility: The characteristics of diffusion are especially important to explain in detail with Rogers’ (1995) terms, because the context of this paper is about the change in a large, bureaucratic, hierarchical, and more importantly a fully matured organization whose foundation goes back to 1845. “Compatibility is degree to which an innovation is perceived as being consistent with the existing values, past experiences, and needs of potential adopters” (p. 15). Rogers makes a distinction between a compatible and incompatible adoption of innovation from the existing values, experiences, and beliefs standpoint of an organization. Ideas that are incompatible with the values of the organization would not be adopted as fast as those that are compatible. A prerequisite for adopting incompatible ideas is the adoption of a new value system first. This is, however, relatively a slow process which can take decades or longer.

Complexity: is “the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being relatively difficult to understand and use” (Rogers, 1995, p. 242). Complexity is also important for the success of an innovation. The harder the degree of understandability of a new idea, the longer it will take to adopt it (pp. 15-16). Simple ideas that are easy to understand by most people have the fastest adoption rate when compared to more complex innovations. Slower adoption rates occur when a new understanding or skill is required to develop.

Trialability: is “the degree to which an innovation may be experimented with on a limited basis” (Rogers, 1995, p. 243). Installment plan is crucial for the success of an innovation adoption. In the case that an innovation is trialable on the installment plan, its rate of adoption is faster. Trialability is a factor which determines uncertainty level. The higher the level uncertainty is, the less likely its adoption will be.

Observability: is another characteristic that is closely associated with the speed of DOI, because, it has an advertisement effect on others. This is exemplified by Rogers (1995) with solar panel installation in California which have been adopted relatively fast because of their visibility on top of roofs (p. 16).

#### **2.4.2. Communication channels**

According to Rogers (1995), “a communication channel is the means by which messages get from one individual to another” (p. 18). Participants create and share information with one another in a process called communication. Diffusion is a new idea that is created and shared through communication. There are four elements included in this process:

- innovation,
- an individual or unit of adoption with the knowledge of innovation or experience using it,
- another individual or unit that does not have experience with the innovation, and
- a communication channel connecting two units or individuals (Rogers, 1995, p. 18).

A source of a message and the channel that carries a message are two different concepts. A source is an institution or an individual that originates a message. A channel is the means by which the message gets from the source to the receiver (Rogers, 1995, p.195).

Diffusion through communication is a social process which works like a domino effect. Individuals who previously adopted innovations are conveyers of messages of innovations. Persons who depend upon previous experiences of other people are the ones who imitate or model others. Peer suggestion shapes subjective evaluation.

*Homophily* is “the degree to which two or more individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes such as beliefs, education, social status, and the like” (Rogers, 1995, pp.18-19). When an opportunity to choose someone to interact exists, the chances to choose a similar person is higher. Homophily occurs when similar individuals work closely and share same interests.

As Rogers (1995) stated, one of the most distinctive problems in DOI process is a heterophilous participant community. Heterophily mainly occurs when the technical level of participants does not allow them to understand complex issues, and so communication is not effective, or when the interests do not overlap to each other. This is also likely in any police community, because, division of labor is so distinctive and the competition for success is at a high level. Moreover, other perceptual barriers may exist like stereotyping, value judgments, and semantic problems.

According to Rogers (1995), mass media channels are the most frequently used means of communication. This medium of communication provides better opportunities to reach larger audience and create “awareness-knowledge.” Mass-media channels are more effective in disseminating information at the knowledge level, while the interpersonal communication channels are more useful in the persuasion level in the innovation decision process (p. 195).

In police work, a large part of the day is spent to communicating. As Mayo (1983, as cited in Peak et al, 2004) found that the police executives’ time is overloaded with communication by 70%, most of the time being spent in meetings. Communication occurs at all

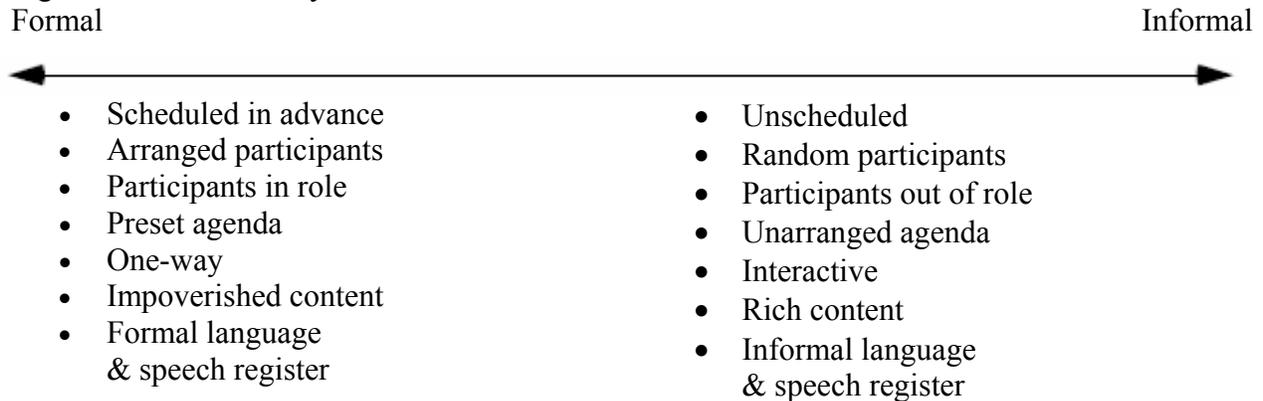
levels of the organization. For example, supervisors' communication with subordinates 55%, with superiors 26%, with the public 15% and with other supervisors is only 4%. The supervisors' task is to communicate 51% of their time on the job (More and Wegener, 1996 as cited in Peak et al., 2004). Other studies showed interesting results. For example, supervisors listen more than they speak. Supervisors communicate with others 39% of the time, while others communicate to supervisors 61%. Another study showed that the managers communicate in 80% of their time which can be broken down as 45% listening, 30% talking, 16% reading, and only 9% writing (Von der Embse, 1987 as cited in Peak et al., 2004). These results also show the rate of possible face-to-face, informal and quasi-formal communication which is so intensive in police organizations as opposed to formal communication by writing.

The primary communication channels are formal and informal. Formal communication channels carry the official information which flows through the chain of command and is visualized in organization charts (Figure 5.1). Formal communication is mainly written in correspondences which include letters, memoranda, and orders. Informal communication channels are used to convey a variety of official and unofficial information and generally oral. It is better to discuss formal and informal channels separately (Peak et al., 2004):

Formal Communication Channels: Formal communication channels carry mainly written correspondences, but also it might be in other forms such as verbal communication through face-to-face interactions, through police radio, e-mails, etc. Written communications provide a permanent record of a specific communication. These records are helpful to refresh the individuals' memory by later review of these records. Formal communication is regulated by the upper management of the organization and coordinated based on common rules, regulations,

standard operating procedures, and policies (Kraut, Fish, Root, & Chalfonte, 1990). Kraut et al. (1990) distinguished formal and informal communication in the following Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 The formality dimension of communication



Adapted from Kraut et al. (1990, p. 5).

The direction of formal communication flow is generally downward and sometimes upward in providing feedback, and reporting problems and issues. The downward communication has five categories:

- Job instructions,
- Rationale or explanations about jobs,
- Procedures, practices, and policies,
- Feedback on the personal performance, and
- Efforts to encourage a sense of mission and dedication toward departmental goals

(Katz and Kahn, 1966 as cited in Peak et al., 2004, pp.102-103).

Informal communication: Informal communication is treated as secondary to formal communication. It is the tool used to communicate when rules and hierarchies of formal coordination are eliminated. Informal communication is spontaneous, interactive, and rich in content. Kraut et al. (1990) makes an excellent contribution to informal communication:

“Coordination by feedback, through organismic communication networks, or by clan

mechanisms is alternate ways of describing coordination by informal communication” (Kraut et al. 1990, p. 5).

A clan is a group of people with common specialization represents a profession, or a political unit makes up a culture and the collection of individuals within an organization (Ouchi, 1980). Organismic (highly connected) communication networks are highly connected communication networks which are relatively independent of any individual and hence information overload does not pose a threat and formality, attention to rules and regulations is less. This structure brings more participation in decision-making. As opposed to mechanistic structures, organismic structures have downsides like consuming more time and energy, and bringing high costs (Tushman and Nadler, 1978, p. 618). Kraut et al. (1990) explains the informal communication with their lack of pre-specification, because they are not prepackaged and targeted to a particular individual. This type of information exchange occurs interactively during meetings and conversations. Communications are ad lib nature; conversations take place real time with topics at hand. The personalities of communicating parties gain importance as the perceptions of communicators are conveyed and interests of the participants considered.

Informal communication is crucial for coordination to occur. It creates opportunities for getting people to know and like each others. Moreover, the formal and informal decisions in organizations depend on informal information which is basically created by personal contacts, ‘invisible colleges’ and face-to-face meetings. There are advantages of the informal communication when compared with the formal information. Informal communication often:

- Provides more background and explanatory detail;
- Enables a fuller evaluation of the consequences of decision alternatives;
- Is more timely;

- Is easier to interrogate for further details;
- Better serves personal objectives and interests (Heeks and Bhatnagar, 1999, pp.63-64).

### 2.4.3. Time

Time is a measurement unit of duration of an innovation that is determined with:

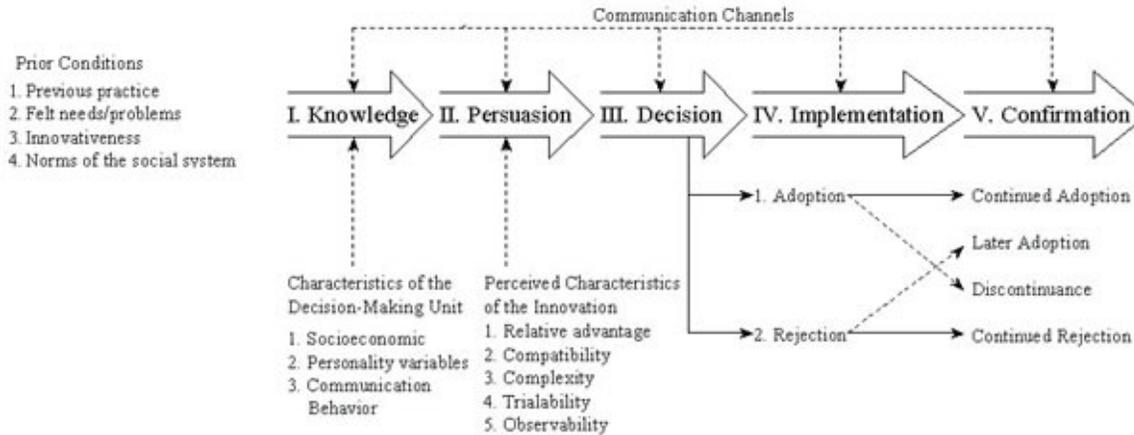
- An individual's innovation-decision process which begins with first knowledge and ends with adoption or rejection,
- The level of openness of an individual or unit to innovation which is called relative time,
- Rate of adoption which is measured by the number of members who adopt innovation in a given period of time It is also possible to explain time dimension with a five-step innovation-decision process that are:
  - Knowledge
  - persuasion,
  - decision,
  - implementation, and
  - confirmation (Rogers, 1995, p. 163).

Knowledge is explained as discovering the innovation for the first time. Persuasion is having either positive or negative attitude towards innovation; a person becomes aware of an innovation and has some idea of how it functions. Decision is the third step which involves accepting or rejecting the innovation. A person forms a favorable or an unfavorable attitude against the innovation, serving as a gateway to implement or cease an innovation.

Implementation is putting an innovation into use. Initial implementation of an innovation is

important, because an adopter either confirms an innovation or rejects it based on his experience (Rogers, 1995).

Figure 2.3 A model of stages in the innovation-decision process.



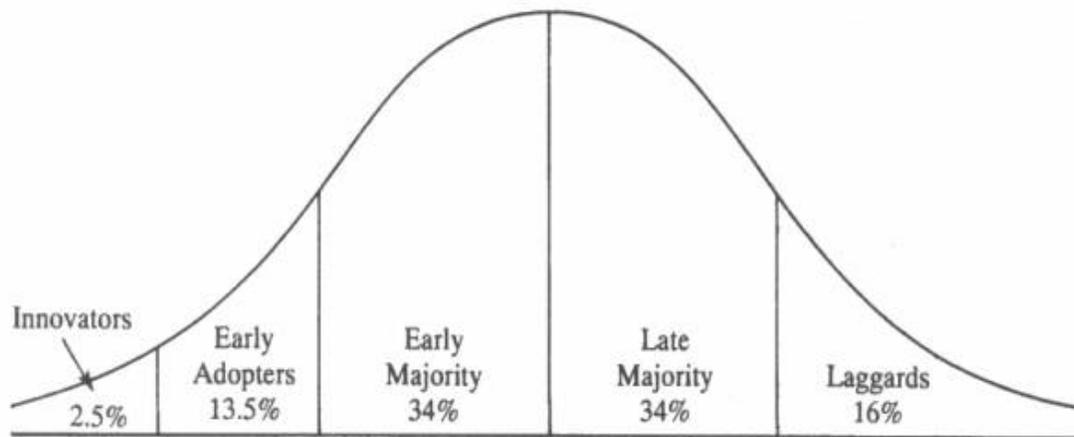
Adapted from Rogers (1995, p. 163).

Confirmation is the last step seeking, is definite as the reinforcement for an innovation decision already made, or ceasing the implementation when faced with negative feedback from others. This is an evaluation stage where the results of adoption of an innovation is carefully weighed (Orr, 2003). These steps are shown in Figure 2.3 (Rogers, 1995). It is very important to understand that every individual in a system has their own experience to adopt an innovation and thus the innovation decision of any member depends on other members' innovation-decisions (Orr, 2003).

Orr (2003) states that the momentum of innovation is not weighed equal over innovation-decision process. It follows an S-shaped curve which translates into a slow process in the beginning. The process continues in the slow manner until it reaches a 10-25% rate of first adopters who then are followed by majority with a rapid adoption. The remaining members are a small group who are late adopters. The difference between early adopters and late adopters comes from an uncertainty which exists in any change decision. It is possible to say that early adopters are risk-takers.

Time dimension is closely related with adopter categories. Adopter categories are (1) innovators, (2) early adopters, (3) early majority, (4) late majority, and (5) laggards as shown in Figure 2.4 (Rogers, 1995, p. 22).

Figure 2.4 Adopter categorization on the basis of innovativeness.



Adopted from Rogers (1995, p. 262).

#### 2.4.4. Social System

“A set of interrelated units that are engaged in joint problem-solving to accomplish a common goal” forms a social system which its members members or units may be “individuals, informal groups, organizations and/or subsystems” (Rogers, 1995, p. 23). A social system may include all members of small group or a nation. The important aspect of a social system is its ability to be distinguishable from other social units. If members of a social unit or a system are collectively trying to solve a common problem, then there is a distinguishable social system. An idea or innovation diffuses in a social system. Therefore, the social system determines the way innovation diffuses. A social system includes many components such as power and pressure groups, norms, leaders and change agents which directly affect DOI. Those arranged relationships are called a structure which in turn reduces the uncertainty and clarifies formal

roles and responsibilities. Certainty is achieved as a result of regularity and stability in a social system.

Innovations can be accepted either by an individual or by a social system. There are three different types of adoption decisions (Rogers, 1995):

“Optional innovation-decisions are the choices made to adopt or reject an innovation that are made by an individual independent of the decision of the other members of the system. Individual’s decisions might be influenced by the norms of the system and by interpersonal networks. The important point is the individual is the unit of decision-making.

Collective innovation-decisions are choices to adopt or reject an innovation that are made by consensus among the members of a system. Once the innovation decision is made, all the units in the system must conform to the decision.

Authority innovation-decisions are choices to adopt or reject an innovation that are made by a relatively small number of individuals who possess power, status, or technical expertise in a system. The individuals have little or no influence on innovation-decision” (pp. 28-29).

These three types of innovation-decisions represent a continuum from individual’s perspective. In optional innovation-decisions the individual makes the decision, in collective innovation-decisions individual has a say in the decision, and in authority innovation-decisions individual has no influence on the innovation decision. (Rogers, 1995) Decision-making is more complex in organization than the individual level (Higa, et al., 1997).

Informal communication channels are other forms of a social group in an existing social system which helps to overcome the downsides of highly formalized relations. Those downsides

may be delay and lack of clarity in communications, inefficiencies in service delivery, and losing focus on future planning. Rogers (1995) explains those informal communication patterns that convert into a kind of formalized channels after the initial contacts. First contacts serve to decide every member's position in a community. Since the statuses of members are not previously set before, there is a probability of equal communication among members. The probability of equal communication disappears after initial contacts. This happens when members can predict others' behaviors and positions in a community (Rogers, 1995).

A social system may have both opinion leaders and opposition to it. An opinion leader has the capability of communicating more efficiently than others in an organization. It is also likely that an opinion leader might be assisting to a change agent to change innovation-decisions of clients to a desirable direction which is foreseen by a change agency.

Rogers' model depends on an assumption that innovation decisions are not authoritative or collective; rather each member faces his own experience. Even though the individual is a main unit of analysis in Rogers' model (Fichman, 1992; Lai & Guynes, 1997), it has also been successfully applied in organizations (Czepiel, 1975; Gopalakrishnan, & Damanpour, 1996). However highly bureaucratic and hierarchical organizations are also dependent upon individual members' decisions, police agencies follow highly structured and concrete guidelines on how to communicate and the way the work should be handled. This way, they try to stay away from civil liability cases. Weiss (1997) reports that police benefit from others' experiences and many police chiefs depend on informal communication channels to get information rapidly. On the other hand, not all police agencies are identical in their administration practices as well as their practice of new strategy and technology adoption. Weiss' (1997) final finding is more interesting which states that the efforts of learning other police departments' experiences bring similarities

to solve problems. Weiss asserts that some larger police departments in the US are gaining reputation because of their openness to new innovations. These police organizations are trying to gain public support by showing the public that they are open to improvements to better serve them (Weiss, 1997). Although this trend is not tested by the TNP, it is likely that the young population in key positions at the TNP Main HQ has the innovative qualities of technological expertise, foreign language abilities, relatively high education, and most importantly energy and hope to carry the organization for the EU adoption. The article, "Police-Community Relations During the EU Process (Avrupa Birliği Surecinde Polis-Halk Iliskileri)," is published in 2003 by a senior and a young officer (Sezer, & Kul, 2003) who are sharing the same vision suggesting that the EU accession talks are an excellent opportunity to move the TNP into a more community oriented policing as well as meeting the ISO-9000 Quality Standards. Moreover, the TNP's POL-NET (Police Network) was awarded the best e-state project in 2003 (E-state odulu pol-net'e, 2003).

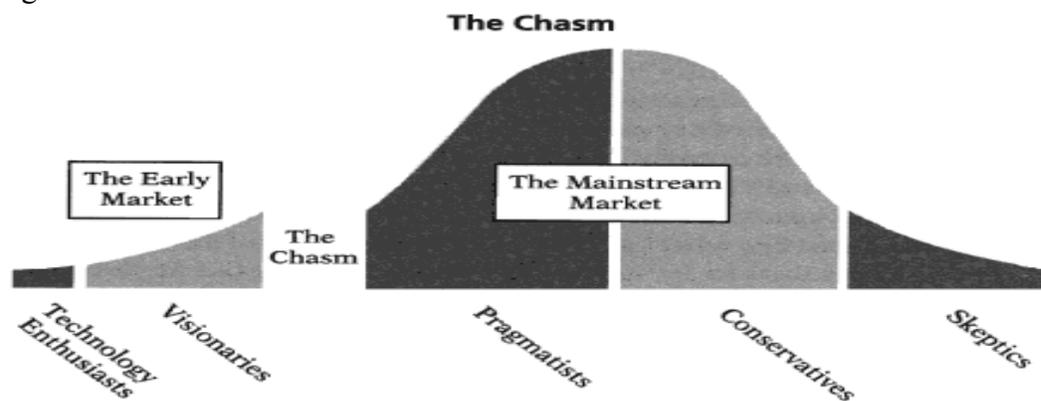
All these improvements in the TNP prove that it is open to new innovations and that there are some personnel who are on top of Rogers'(1995) adoption categories as reviewed by Moore (1999) for technology adoption. They are:

- a. Technology Enthusiasts (Innovators)
- b. Visionaries (Early Adopters)
- c. Pragmatists (Early Majority)
- d. Conservatives (Late Majority)
- e. Skeptics (Laggards) (p. 16).

According to Moore (1999), the boundaries of adopter categories are not as clear as explained by Rogers. There is no chain reaction or domino effect that a certain category comes

immediately after the previous one. There is a considerable gap between two distinct group of people in technology adoption where first group are technology enthusiasts and visionaries while the second group is pragmatists and conservatives. Moore (1999) calls this gap as chasm as shown in Figure 2.5. Moore's study was based on market and customer behavior. End-users need to change their past behavior dramatically to adopt a newer technology or product. The need to change past behavior is also required for the TNP members to adopt new reforms. It might be interesting to test whether a chasm exists in large service organizations during their innovation adoption process. As it is shown in Figure 2.5, the mainstream market follows technology enthusiasts and visionaries who test innovations first hand. In hierarchical and bureaucratic police organizations, the chasm is not likely to exist, since adoption decisions are mandatory for the personnel. There is a need to see whether chasm exists in the TNP's adoption process or not. Rogers (1995) did not foresee chasm at all, because Rogers takes all adopter categories as members of a social group. It is likely that an innovation-decision process of an idea is different than a technology adoption.

Figure 2.5 The chasm.



Adapted from Moore (1999).

The scope of this study is limited with democratic policing and to some extent human rights developments in the TNP. It is appropriate to go with Rogers' classification, because,

democratic policing and human rights are not a technology, but a philosophy that puts human dignity and happiness ahead of all else, and they are not totally agreed upon all around the globe (Nickel, 2003). Moreover, the TNP is a bureaucratic and hierarchical organization with highly formal communication channels, written mandates and legal burdens to follow. As explained above, the TNP's POL-NET was awarded as the best e-state application in Turkey in 2003. There is a possibility that technology adoption and policy adoption might be fundamentally different in their diffusion. Even though the scope of this study is not to compare different types of DOI, the research findings might yield interestingly different results.

Weiss (1997) created a model to understand the communication of innovation among police agencies. According to this model police innovation process has four elements as shown in Figure 2.6:

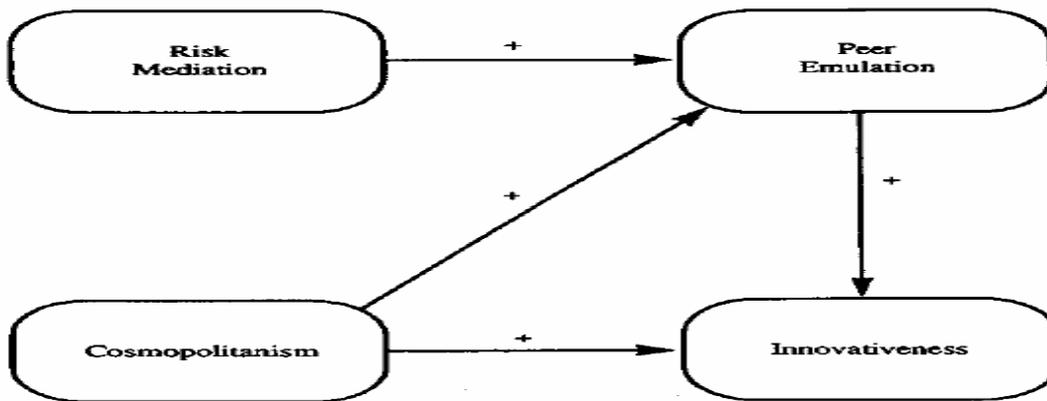
- a. cosmopolitanism;
- b. risk mediation;
- c. peer emulation; and
- d. innovativeness (Weiss, 1997, p. 293).

Weiss (1997) explains these four elements as follows:

Cosmopolitanism: Cosmopolitanism is seeking new ideas from other police departments. Organizations in other social systems might have better ways to solve problems or do the work. The level of cosmopolitanism has positive correlation with the degree of contact with others or other organizations. The greater the contact outside the organization, the bigger the cosmopolitanism is. The determinant of the cosmopolitanism is the participation in policy communities such as academics, consultants, publishers or editors of professional magazines and journals, businesses, legislators and members of legislative staffs, elected officials, and lobbyists.

Risk Mediation: “The extent to which police organizations seek to reduce their perceived risk of civil liability” (Weiss, 1999, p. 293). Police Foundation’s survey of 100 police chiefs have revealed that the chiefs suggest training and sound management practices to reduce liability cases. Another survey indicates that half of police chiefs opt to modify procedures to reduce liability, while other half prefers to communicate with other police officials (p. 294).

Figure 2.6 A model of the communication of innovation.



Adapted from Weiss (1997, p. 294).

Peer Emulation: “The extent to which innovation is influenced by communication and imitation. Peer emulation and cosmopolitanism are different in form and magnitude” (Weiss, 1999, p. 295). Peer emulation uses informal communication channels and occurs more frequently. It is an essential part of police innovation process, because both officers and managers need timely, accurate and reliable information to move rapidly. Peer emulation is generally achieved with a simple telephone call from one officer to another, while cosmopolitanism is a more planned approach by taking part in policy making communities (pp. 293-295).

Innovativeness: “The number of innovations that an organization has adopted” (objective component) and the level of satisfaction among members about the reputation of organization (subjective component) (Weiss, 1997, p. 295).

Before moving to other components of theoretical framework, it is appropriate to mention variables of innovativeness. Those variables may be grouped under three categories: community environment, organizational environment, and organizational characteristics.

Community environment includes but not limited to community size by area and population like a city or a country, socioeconomic factors, and political values. Organizational environment has more complex variables like the effect of upper level governmental bodies like ministry or prime ministry, geographical proximity of other cities or nations that have adopted innovation, degree of professionalism in the organization or government, the state of resources, and organizational structure and its reform. The last group of variables constitutes the organizational characteristics. These variables are the degree of formality, bureaucracy, hierarchy, centralization or local character of the organization which defines the decision-making structure, the size of the organization, and whether or not the top officials are elected or appointed, and professionalism level of the organization constitutes (Kim, 1999).

## **2.5. Theoretical Framework II: Democratic Policing**

“The democratic form of policing stands in contrast to totalitarian policing, authoritarian policing, and sacred policing” (Manning, 2003, p. 33). There have been considerable changes in policing especially in Western countries like the US, Britain, and Canada. Specifically, a shift in police sphere occurred in private policing. This occurred while the public policing is searching for its identity while experiencing transformation (Jones and Newburn, 2002). Bayley and Shearing (1996) claimed many community based agencies created a fractured police monopoly. A difference between the police and policing occurred. The new policing concept in the U.K, which was once seen as vigilantism, occurs around malls and schools, and is used to deter

criminality and catch criminals. The private police agencies and the number of their agents are growing very fast which their number coupled against the public police officers.

Manning (2003) quotes the term “bureaucratically symbolized communication” from Bittner (1979 as cited in Manning, 2003) which means that the police are insulated from the societies they police with several mechanisms such as civil law, traditions, review boards and other accountability modes. Manning claims that the protection by the police is an assumption and protection from their misconduct is more problematic. Democratic policing is all about the control of the police behavior to promote the democratic governance and human rights in a country. Accountability and service delivery to citizens, but not the partisan politics are the tools to the control police behavior. Alderson (1984) recommends a two tiered mechanism to ensure the respect towards human rights and fundamental freedoms. First is to raise a consciousness of democracy, justice, fundamental freedoms and human rights concept in the police as individuals and diffusing this consciousness by directing the police activities in accordance (p.28).

All scholarly studies begin to explain democratic policing by saying that the police should be subject to the rule of law by their actions and should responsible to protect human rights (CHRI, 2005; Bayley, 2006). Caparini and Marenin (2004) add other elements for the police to perform democratic policing: order maintenance, neutral law enforcement, providing security to people and property without any bias or discrimination. If those are not met by the police, they say, the police legitimacy will be questioned and diminished.

A misconception about policing in the US, as stated by Manning (2003), is the limited focus of the officers on actual law enforcement as opposed to general policing. Law enforcement is only an important, but small part of policing and naturally results “discretion”. Manning (2003) terms discretion as an empty doughnut hole which is to be filled by officers while

exerting their non-negotiable coercive force (Bittner, 1970, p. 46) to enforce the laws like traffic rules, protection of property and as such. The reason for discretion is to match law enforcement function to the needs of the people and society which the law could not foresee. For a reason that it was impossible to make a law for every particular case, police discretion is an essential component in policing. The community policing and democratic policing notions might be the result of an attempt to ease the nonnegotiable coercive power of the police. Coercive power of law enforcement approach is enshrined in policies with notions such as zero tolerance for the crime control.

As Wilson, Weber, and Gulick (as cited in Gould, 2005) pointed out some years ago, and 9/11 Commission asserted after the events of 9/11 in the US, hierarchical structure is the best way to organize law enforcement organizations to assure the order in society. It is also commented by the 9/11 Commission Report (2004) that the hierarchical organization is the best option when the resources and experts are scarce. Fractured police structure, a three-tiered system in the US with Federal, state, and local law enforcement on the other hand, is not advised since it brings jurisdictional differences and overlapping that causes competition and struggle to each others. The proliferation of agencies and the fragmentation of the authority are presumed to provoke conflict, and create disorder, and deadlock” (Ostrom, 1989, p. 29).

Gould (2005) says the unity of command is the underlying concept of 9/11 Commission’s recommendations. Contrary to common understanding on the other hand, scholarly studies show that a central police organization is suitable for democratic policing.

However, another democratic policing application, community policing, brought some recommendations to dismantle the tall hierarchy, and flatten the organizational structure to enhance communication. This flattening also enable officers to pursue the decision-making as a

team and use discretion as individual decision-maker, turnover some responsibilities to civilians, and and cut the red tape. The resource allocation should focus more on organizational goals than the organization itself which will make police departments more flexible and produce a greater level of service delivery (Maguire, Shin, Zhao, & Hassell, 2003). All of those goals highlight another formulation of democratic policing principles. The only difference however is while the democratic policing principles' emphasis is more on controlling the police activity, the community policing advocates were promoting the police officers to use more discretion as a decentralized authority. Moreover, democratic policing principles speak more to accountability than flattening organizational structures. So, the main difference of community policing appears to be its philosophy which advocates two major changes into the police organization: (1) Changing the organizational structure, and (2) Changing the policing philosophy.

Bayley (2006) recognizes crime control as a requirement, but notes that it might also be a threat to democratic policing. Even though the crime control is an essential part of policing and required for the order in the society, it represents more a repressive forms of government. So, according to Bayley, democratic policing should be defined and achieved by four defined dimensions: "conformity of actions to law; adherence to international standards of human rights, (especially political rights); accountability to external authority based on the capacity to collect and the willingness to publicize information about operational activities; and responsiveness to the needs of ordinary citizens" (p. 23). Moreover, Bayley suggests a more emphatic approach to reforming other country's police organizations and says "In order to be successful in producing democratic reform in justice institutions abroad, the American government must itself be willing to change. Reform abroad begins with reform at home" (p.143).

Marenin (2004), on the other hand, exemplified community policing practices which are also exported outside the US as democratic policing initiatives. Community policing “embodies core democratic values in the mission, practices, and training it advocates.” Brogden and Nijhar (2005) oppose the idea that community policing is not universally applicable (p. 232). Clegg, Hunt and Whetton (2000) say that community policing is a luxury for the poor communities and they cannot be successful in implementing it unless their basic needs of survival and development are not provided. They find it unrealistic to expect a reformed police force “to effectively uphold rights and maintain order in a highly stratified society” (p. 18)

This paper takes a middle ground between Bayley (2006) and Marenin (2004). While the state of policing in the context of the TNP in Turkey will be evaluated four democratic principles of Bayley, community policing initiatives will be visited to see whether implementation in the field is promising. As Marenin suggested, democratic values and democratic policing applications in the field have still not found a common ground, even though there is no controversy. Marenin asserts that the surest forms of democratic policing can be discovered by viewing their implementation in the field. Described as “street decisions”, these forms of policing are “immediately salient and meaningful to the largest public”. The latest research shows an incremental increase in public support towards the police in Turkey (see 5.2.1.3. Professionalism). As Marenin (2004) observed, in authoritarian countries, police officers tend to leave the decision-making to supervisors and top level managers if the instructions and guidelines are not clear. The outcome of the imprecise regulations is reflected by the avoidance of taking action, wrongful application of rules, arbitrary action, and organizational overload. In those cases, a democratic officer should act differently and make decisions. That is why

discretion is important for police officers and it is possible to improve accurate decision precision by participatory training.

Marenin (2004) states that the best way to train police officers in police educational institutions with democratic policing principals is to replace existing theoretical training with an interactive learning environment where the expert and the student or officer mutually constructs the phenomenon as it happens in daily life. Marenin calls it as andragogy approach as opposed to traditional pedagogy approach.

The success of reforms in the TNP was due to in-service training courses, regional seminars, workshops, and communication channels which were always open. However, this approach should be established in Police Academy and in Police Vocational Schools in concert with the experts from the field. While those expert-practitioners help the instructors in the class to construct the simulations of real life events in the class, there should be programs to take students to the field to show them what is going on in real policing. This way, while the students can solve their theoretical problems before they are assigned to their job postings, the academicians will also find opportunities to improve their theoretical sources by applying real life events into their teaching materials.

As a last word, the success of reforms in the TNP during EU *acquis* adoption process were dependent upon carrying out the knowledge and commitment of the Headquarters to 81 provincial police departments through conferences, seminars, meetings, in-service trainings and most importantly leaving communication channels open afterwards.

Gultekin (2005) says that the TNP is under total control of elected Minister of Interior Affairs. Minister has a great role and power in policy making; he is the only policing authority.

The Director General is also appointed by the Government and expected to be under direct influence of the Government (Aydin, 1996 a cited in Gultekin, 2005).

Police officials and police oversight professionals agreed at a conference in October 2005 at The Hague agreed that responding to the needs of the people is a challenge of policing a democratic society. The way to achieve this goal is to be accountable to multiple authorities including the citizens, and being under oversight mechanisms. According to Christopher Stone, professor of Criminal Justice at Harvard University, a common consensus is reached during the struggle for democratic policing in the world today. One of the major conclusions of the conference which was interesting to see was that not only those who oversee the police were seeking police accountability, but also the police officials themselves were committed to it (Nwachukwu, 2005). As Carty (2006) mentioned, democratic political control of the police is an indispensable element of stability and security. The rule of law is the foundation of democratic policing and was constantly pointed out in transitioning and post-conflict countries as a requirement for stable democracy. It appears that the democratic policing principle is strongly dependent upon the standardization in police activities.

The International Advisory Commission of the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI, 2005) outlines requirements of democratic policing in concluding recommendations of their 2005 Report. Police are:

- a. subject to the rule of law and responsible to protect human rights;
- b. accountable to a variety of institutions;
- c. transparent about policies, decisions and actions taken in most spheres of their work;
- d. responsive to the people they serve; and

e. representative of the people they serve (p. 77).

Jackson & Lyon, (2002) identified several factors to achieve democratic policing by citing Newburn, and Smith (1996). These include “participation, responsiveness, information sharing, distribution of power, the notion of redress, effective delivery of services, and equity” (p. 227).

Many scholars think the police can help to democratize a country (e.g. Can, 2002), while Bayley (1997) and some others think the opposite. According to Bayley (2006), the democratizing of a country depends on the regime itself. If a regime has no intention of democratizing the country, policing is just a tool for the regime to use as it wishes. Moreover, a democracy requires more than democratic policing, such as free and fair elections, freedom of speech and association, and restraint in the use of governmental powers. On the other hand, Marenin (2000), thinks that it is possible to de-politicize the police while keeping this institution out of partisan control with general precautions such as adherence to the rule of law, organizational regulations, professional norms and democratic culture.

Bayley (1985) acknowledges differences between police systems and states the basic features of the modern police in democratic societies as specialization, professionalism, and publicness. Bayley (2006) identified four characteristics of democratic policing:

- a. Police must be accountable to law rather than to government.
- b. Police must protect human rights, especially those rights that are required for the sort of political activity that is the hallmark of democracy
- c. Police must be accountable to people outside their organization who are specifically designated and empowered to regulate police activity

- d. Police must give top operational priority to servicing the needs of individual citizens and private groups (pp. 19-20).

What Bayley (2006) calls as accountability to law rather than government is the rule of law. Rule of law, in its broadest sense, is the group of values or ideals relating the law and its operation. One other definition aims to promote justice rather than adhering to the rules of specific laws. In this sense, the rule of law defines a larger universe than the codified laws, which includes all the laws in the hierarchy of laws, court rulings, and customs in a society, and interpretive law which are a part of common understanding of the law in a society. Therefore, this definition includes both written and unwritten codes and refers to more common sense approach than the norms (Hughes, 2005). John Rawls (1999) says that “the conception of formal justice, the regular and impartial administration of public rules, becomes the rule of law when applied to the legal system. The rule of law is obviously closely related to liberty” (p. 206). Alderson (1984) comments that police authority can be abused easily even in democratic countries, being used to abstract basic rights rather than to protect them, and hence the laws effectively master the people rather than serving them.

Bayley (2001) warns that democratic reform through democratic policing in a country is not possible. “Police forces cannot achieve democracy on their own, but if they act according to these four norms (same as in Bayley, 2006), the chances that democracy will grow will substantially increase. These are the levers for bringing about democracy through police reform” (p.15).

According to Can (2003), democratic policing reforms tend to promote democracy in a country and decentralized police organizations are more likely to promote democracy when they are compared to centralized police organizations. However, centralized police agencies reflect

their governments' regime and act accordingly (Bayley, 1985) and have nothing to do with the democratization of their country. The only expectancy from a centralized police agency is to hold their resistance and obey the reforms.

Berkley (1970) studied the centralization of police organizations. Contrary to common belief, he found that centralized police organizations that have national jurisdiction and large organizational structure are working effectively to maintain and extend democratic government. He asserts that a centralized police might not be viable in the US due to the large geographical area, but many other countries with national level police organizations have promoted democracy effectively.

Lofca (2002) has found that strong federal commitment to policing reform is more powerful when it is supported with legal mechanisms such as laws enabling lawsuits against individual police agencies for monetary compensation. US code 42 USC Section 14141 gives the attorney general power to impose and otherwise to sue a particular police departments with claims that a "pattern or practice" of wrongdoing is pervasive and in general application throughout the many layers of the police organization. The initiatives through Section 14141 seemed to be the most effective tool used to reform police agencies.

Bayley's focus was on the countries trying to recovering after civil war like Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Haiti, East Timor and many others. Obviously, there is no credible evidence to show that democratic policing was successful in post-conflict countries, which also holds that order comes before democratic policing. Democratic policing is an assurance to control the behavior of the police especially in democratically sound countries. O'Reilly and Ellison (2006) use Broders' (1983 as cited in O'Reilly and Ellison, 2006) high policing and low policing approach and they claim that the change in policing is considerable, but in a different

realm. High policing in Broder's terms is the system that tries to secure the interests of the state, or dominant powers by sometimes using power of special operations like surveillance, bugging, infiltration, and illegal wire-tapping against political dissenters. They try to decouple high policing from general public policing and private sector policing, and offer a re-conceptualization of the term as "private high policing" which refers to new trend of outsourcing police security using security consultancy firms. However, they say, public high policing did not give up power and they are being effective to protect the national economic well-being (p. 656). The assumption that while high policing is shared or will be shared in the near future, low policing will try to establish more democratic policing principles. If the assumptions of O'Reilly and Ellison are correct, one should expect the democratic policing will be highly dependent upon the high policing activities and will never be seen continuously. That's why Carty (2006) points the function of police officers to enhance the legitimacy of the state by being responsive to public needs and expectations; and by using the authority of the state in the people's interest.

There is continuity in transformation of contemporary policing systems, Jones and Newburn (2002) state. However, there is no evidence at all to claim that changes in policing are epochal. It is true that private policing is expanding against the public policing simultaneously within the business sector. What Jones and Newburn (2002) basically say is that the developments in industrial societies cannot be generalized and applied to the whole world. Basically there is no credible evidence that the state would give up its right to police. At least, the state will be supervising the private police forces as this is the case right now. The changes in policing are a result of "long-term process of formalization of social control" (p. 143). That is why neither community policing, nor democratic policing programs are able to transform policing in a country. It appears that, without changing the social setting in a country, expecting

the police to change with only implementation of some programs is not realistic. Police systems show the features of their environment and become authoritarian, totalitarian, sacred, or democratic (Manning, 2003).

While the order was an essential part of the society for development and prosperity, overzealousness in carrying out the duties might harm the relations and prosperity of the society, and as Manning (2003) warned that a guarantee to be protected from the police might be required in a democratic society. Democratic policing is a guarantee to establish the balance between the order and protection from excessive policing. This balance is laid out under democratic policing heading with the principals that emerged from the literature.

Democratic policing depends on two pillars which are consent of the governed and the rule of law. Lawrence (2001) adds a third one: Diversity. There is a reality that while the US tries to melt its population into one nation, differences in communities like Turkey are deepening every day where diversity studies are getting more and more important.

The democratic policing culture in the TNP is a new phenomenon and scholarly studies are lacking. This study aims to help fill this gap. The EU seems to help advancing policing with democratic policing principles. As Ostrauskaite and Merlingen (2005) mentioned, it seems that the EU is using its police missions as a tool to improve democratic policing in target countries. The tool dominantly becomes “best European policing practices” as a donor country in post-conflict countries, or through twinning projects in accessing countries for improving the institutional capacity of the accessing or new member states.

## **2.6. Summary**

This chapter reviewed existing literature relevant to this study. It provides a basic understanding of the foundation of the study by reviewing the theoretical framework. Theoretical

framework of this study includes Rogers' (1995) DOI Theory, democratic policing principles, and historical background analysis. The DOI Theory is used since the reforms studied in this study bring about new ideas, and fundamental change in behaviors and practices of the TNP. Democratic policing principles are reviewed, because they make internationally recognized human rights principles operational in real life and they are deemed necessary by the EU *acquis*. Historical background analysis provides a basic understanding of why the reform process is more robust in the last five years and why adoption of innovative decisions is in place. The study makes a brief connection between the democratization trend of countries in the world and the democracy experience of Turkey.

## CHAPTER 3

### MATERIALS AND METHODS

*Every social science – or better, every well considered social study – requires an historical scope of conception and a full use of historical materials.*

*C. Wright Mills*

#### **3.1. Introduction**

This study designed mainly as a qualitative case study. In the course of the literature review, following Creswell's (1994) models of combined designs, a survey added to the study to gain better understanding of the case study. The EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP showed a dynamic character and grasping the factors, activities, processes, and forces which involved in decision-making of the adoption of innovations required to use multiple methods in the study.

This research was designed and conducted a series of interviews with some top TNP officials who involved in policy developments of the EU *acquis* adoption process and human rights issues. Purposeful sampling was employed to gain an in-depth knowledge about one of the most controversial issues not only in domestic politics, but also in international relations. This complex social phenomenon was the EU membership journey of Turkey and the TNP (Alston, 1983; Chandler, 2002; Malik, 1996; Moravcsik, 2002).

The goal of the study was to explore changes in the TNP after the relations of Turkey began with the EU. It is obvious that there were many variables that affected Turkey's human rights applications. However, the trend of relations with the EU showed fundamental changes. These changes affected all institutions in Turkey beginning with the laws and organizations. The study tried to understand what other variables were effective in change other than the EU and

how did they effect the human rights applications in Turkey and in the TNP. The researcher discussed the research strategy, data sources, data collection activities, management and analysis of the data, credibility and trustworthiness, and limitations of the study in this chapter.

### **3.2. Background and the Definition of the Terms**

This section lays the foundation of study by reviewing the DOI theory of Rogers (1995) with a special focus on law enforcement agencies as studied by Weiss (1997). The theory and the study compose the theoretical framework for this study's aim to explore the diffusion of the EU *acquis* in the TNP organization.

#### **3.2.1. Government Commitment**

Government commitment is a wider term than government determination. Government commitment refers to the will of the executive branch in power to maintain its desire to achieve a goal or reach a target. Government commitment is defined as:

The ability to take (or set) its actions before any other player moves” or “strategic interaction between the government and private agents, one in which the ability of the government to commit corresponds to the ability to set a strategy that it will adhere to” (Bassetto, 2001, p. 22).

#### **3.2.2. Police**

Manning (2003) states that policing is not defined. The books and sources of scholarly studies discussed the police, but failed to define what the police are. Police, as a word, comes from ancient Greek which has regulating, governing, administering civic life meanings as well as distribution of power and politics. The police shape according to the community they serve from democratic policing to authoritarian, totalitarian, and sacred policing. While the emphasis of policing is more on order and intelligence gathering in some societies, service delivery becomes

more dominant in others. Police also has some distinctions from each others like public or private police. Alderson (1984) argues that free people expect much of their police as opposed to people under authoritarian, totalitarian, and sacred administrations. In free societies, police functions represent the balance of securing human rights and at the same time using legal powers entrusted to them by governments to protect the people and institutions in the society. The governments give these duties to the police in the name of people. Police in other societies serve the interest of those in power with wide authorities codified into the laws which might result violating the basic human rights (p.19). Given those facts, reaching even a general definition of the police seems challenging.

Several definitions can be taken from Egon Bittner (1970): “a mechanism for the distribution of situationally justified force in society” (p.39) or “the role of the police is best understood as a mechanism of nonnegotiable coercive force employed in accordance with the dictates of an intuitive grasp of situational exigencies” (p.46).

Manning (2003) attempts to make a working definition by highlighting the features of the police, such as their “violence, constraint, ordering and self serving functions...” in the politics of the modern democratic society. According to Manning (2003), modern policing has some paradoxes like “The claim to control and coerce, to order fundamentally, in the vagaries of the human condition, regardless of the willingness of the citizens to comply” (p. 43).

According to Jerome Skolnick (1966):

The policeman’s role contains two principle variables, ‘danger’ and ‘authority’; which should be interpreted in the light of a ‘constant’ pressure to appear efficient. To begin with, the element of ‘danger’ seems to make the policeman especially attentive to

signs indicating a potential for violence and lawbreaking. As a result, policeman is generally suspicious person” (p. 44).

The Encyclopedia Britannica’s definition is brief: “body of civil officers charged with maintaining public order and safety and enforcing the law, including preventing and detecting crime. In addition, police are often entrusted with various inspectional, licensing, and regulatory activities” (Police, n.d., para. 1).

Beyond defining their duties, the police are one of the most essential components of the society since all the activities and well-being of a society depends on order. OSCE Police Adviser Carty (2006) said “The police are the most visible manifestation of government authority responsible for public security.” According to Bayley (2006), international organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the EU, and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development realized the police reform as an integral part of economic development (p. 9).

Folley (1995), in The Encyclopedia of Police Science, states that law enforcement function is “one of the most influential mechanisms for social control” (p. 694). The other governmental actions are not that influential on society. The likelihood of the police to come contact with the citizens is very high and likelihood of being affected by police presence is almost absolute.

Mawby’s (2003) police definition depends on three factors; legitimacy, structure, and functions. Legitimacy refers to granted authority, a monopoly to use coercive power whenever required. Structure refers to the organization which enables a group of people to achieve a common goal. This goal is achieved with some degree of specialization using specific force set fort in codes, written manuals, and circulars that stems from the interpretation of laws and

regulations. Function, on the other hand, refers to police activities of preventing crime, catching criminals, enforcing laws and numerous others.

Probably, the best definition still comes from Bittner (1974) in which he addresses the police's access to state monopoly to enable the use of coercive power to be used legitimately. He identifies the police as the institution that is entitled to do any job in any kind of emergency whenever it is required from catching thieves to a nursing injured people. The same idea is codified into the Police Powers and Duties Law numbered 2559 in Turkey which is explained in the following section.

### **3.2.3. The Turkish National Police**

The police force in Turkey was and maybe still be an authoritarian police force (Aydin, 1997; Aydin, 2005) which resembles the EU countries' police and most closely the German police. Public participation in this system is not allowed in any manner and police are seen as the law enforcers of the state. Policing in Turkey is handled by two separate organizations under the supervision of the Minister of Internal Affairs: The TNP and Gendarmerie. Turkey has 81 provinces and 81 Provincial Police Departments (PPD). Provinces have sub-provinces or towns (which will be referred as counties in this study) which are under the jurisdiction of the County Police Departments (CPD). The rural areas, villages and counties without a CPD are under jurisdiction of the Gendarmerie. PPDs are accountable to both the Director General in the TNP Main Headquarters (Main HQ) and the city governor, who is a representative of the state. CPDs are accountable to Chief of PPDs of the province and sub-governors of county.

The duties of the police are set forth in the Law of Police Duties and Powers numbered 2559 which is famous as PYSK. Its first provision reads : "The police maintain order, protect the public, individuals, properties, and people in their homes; protects moral values, life of the

people and property of the society and maintain peace in the society. The police render help by responding to the calls and to needy children, impaired, and vulnerable people. Police carry the duties given by the law.” The law defines a wide array of legal documents. The TNP reflects the definition of Egon Bittner (1974) which was mentioned under The Police subheading before. Caglar (2004) points to the same issue as it was defined by Bittner and argues that the TNP has a complex rank and organizational structure. This complexity results an ambiguous role description coupled with an extremely large number of laws, rules, regulations, bylaws, and codes which obliges the police to handle a wide variety of duties. “Police have many duties to perform, including enforcing the articles and verdicts of 318 laws, 77 rules-regulations (tuzuk), 299 bylaws (directions—yonetmelik) and 42 codes (instructions, directions—yonerge)” (Emniyet Genel Mudurlugu, 1996: 1–54 and Caglar, 2003: 417 as cited in Caglar, 2004, p. 356).

The TNP has administrative, judicial, and political functions. Administrative duties are regular police activities that can be simplified as “to protect and serve.” Judicial activities of the police are placed under the supervision and direction of the public prosecutors. Political police activities serve to protect the best interest of the state by monitoring groups which have been recently limited to anti-terrorism activities within the EU membership accession reforms. The TNP has one of the best computer network systems in the region which was developed to be fully compatible with systems from the EU countries and “the TNP has been trying to adjust their whole system according to European Union conditions” (Ocnaschek, Moran, and Hanser, 2006, p. 908).

The TNP in its historical context is explained as follows:

The first police organization in the country was established in Istanbul on April 10, 1845, and the first Police Regulations, published on the same date, defined the tasks of this new

organization. The security organization had many structural changes by the laws legislated after 1845, and finally law 3201 June 4, 1937 defined and regulated the duties, responsibilities, powers and personnel details of the national police - the Directorate of National Security. Consequently, although affiliated to the Ministry of the Interior, the Directorate General of Security [General Directorate of Security] became an agency administered under its own law.

Turkey's General Directorate of Security handles applications and related transactions for passports, visas, driver's licenses and other important documents electronically using advanced local (LAN) and wide area (WAN) data networks. The Directorate also uses these networks to help police and other law enforcement agencies fight crime more effectively by providing electronic access to a database – Turkey's largest – of warrants, fingerprints, ballistics, DNA, blood and tissue analysis, and other critical information (General Directorate of Security, n.d., para. 1, & 7).

The TNP Main HQ contains 32 service oriented departments, two of which are directly responsible to the Director General, and five support units directly responsible to the Director General. The TNP has Provincial Police Departments (PPD) in 81 cities and 827 County Police Departments (CPD). CPD operate as a unit of the PPD and responsible to Chief of PPD.

The TNP is now experiencing a new manner of policing in Turkey (Ocnaschek et al., 2006). The process of the EU *acquis* adoption brought many change into the organization like community policing and detainee monitoring programs. The changes evolved into laws, increased prosecutor supervision, and continuous training. The changes which were designed to cope with the new demands which came with the EU-Turkey accession talks indicate an emerging new way of policing in Turkey.

### **3.3. The Research Strategy: Qualitative, Exploratory Case Study and Accompanying Quantitative Methods**

A strategy has been developed to conduct the research required to answer following research questions:

- RQ1. What are the key decision factors that lead decision-makers to adopt or reject the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP?
- RQ2. What are the forces, motivations, activities, entities, and processes that affect the decision(s) to adopt or reject the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP?
- RQ3. To what extent has the TNP accommodated internationally accepted democratic policing principles?
- RQ4. What organizational and legal changes occurred in the TNP during the EU *acquis* adoption process and how have these impacted the police organization?

In the following sections, a short outline of mixed study approach, qualitative and exploratory case study, administered semi-structured interviews, and other data sources of the study will be discussed.

#### **3.3.1. Mixed-Method Research**

According to Patton (1991, as cited in Creswell, 1994) the assumptions of the researcher should always be explicit throughout the study. This study employed a qualitative approach to explore and describe the organizational adoption behavior in the TNP during the acceptance and implementation phases of the EU *acquis* adoption process. This data is supported by a survey.

A semi-structured interview was conducted with eight high-ranking TNP officials and a 33-question survey was administered to them to get quantitative data and to determine to what extent the interview data was reflecting their ideas. This method was primarily designed to

highlight the difference between their tacit and explicit knowledge about their organizations. The literature revealed a fast transformation in the TNP, which was basically not followed by formal policing training. The training was designed based on para-military principals where certain codes of communication were learned. There were times when the expressed idea was not overlapping the actual behavior. For example, discretion questions were included both in the semi-structured interview guide and survey. Each survey had a number of repetitive questions which were worded differently to weigh the same concept. The interview data suggested a common use of discretion during the adoption process, but the survey data returned mixed results.

The communication codes learned in the school and in the course of duty were very dominant in response to five point likert-scale survey questions. Additional questions were presented to interviewees in the survey to further explain what they meant with certain ideas. The interview data suggested that close ended questions were mostly answered with explicit knowledge. Tacit knowledge appeared to be more dominant in the interview data. Explicit knowledge is defined as learned behavior as opposed to tacit, experience based, knowledge. According to Polanyi (1966), tacit knowledge is highly personal, hard to formalize and hard to communicate to others. Explicit knowledge is codified knowledge that can be transmitted in formal and systematic language in different ways, either in speech by words, numbers, data, scientific formula, or manuals. Explicit knowledge is readily accessible within the organizational domain. Since the interviews were semi-structured, the interviewees were given the chance to expand their answers, or the researcher asked further questions to clarify what they meant in their answers. In the surveys however, the researcher asked the respondents to fill out the questionnaire and did not interfere with the responses nor their explanations.

Survey data results were not completely used in the study since some questions were repetitions for the above explained reason, and some were inconclusive to support or reject an idea, situation, or process. Since, the sample size was extremely low to draw conclusions, only frequency analysis was done and the results are provided in Appendix E.

After the coding, category and theme building interview data was finalized, it was found that the results did not suggest any individual adoption behavior but instead a collective decision-making process in the TNP. However, even in this case it appeared that the decisions were already made outside of the TNP, and were sent to the TNP to be implemented. The rate of innovativeness seemed almost unquestionably high and the resistance to changes unexpectedly nonexistent. That stimulated the researcher to find out more about collective decision making and organizational adoption decision-making. At that point, Damanpour's (1991) article about "Organizational Innovation: Meta-analysis of Effects of Determinants and Moderators" provided all sensible variables required to decide the innovativeness of the TNP. Moreover, in the process of coding and categorizing the interview data, some strongly supported findings emerged, which needed to be cross-checked by additional resources. The researcher applied Damanpour's (1991) 13 variables to the interview data to determine organizational innovativeness. Damanpour's 13 variables were overlapped with the variables used by scholars studying community policing. Those variables were also widely studied in community policing studies including centralization, administrative intensity, functional differentiation, professionalism, formalization, communication, and vertical differentiation (Maguire et al., 2003; Hassell et al., 2003).

Cosmopolitanism was a factor of the rate of innovativeness explained as openness and joining the policy communities and seeking new ideas from outside communities by Weiss (1997). As Maguire et al., (2003) explained, openness to new ideas was also a requirement for

adoption of innovative community policing which was claimed to be a democratic policing application by some scholars (Marx, 2001). Given those parallel attributes of organizational structure and community policing, democratic policing is added to the analysis based on the literature from eminent scholars like Bayley (2006) and Marenin (2000; 2006). More recent studies on democratic policing in Turkey like Can et al (2006) provided a chance to add democratic policing as the fourteenth variable into the Damanpour's table, enabling the researcher to look at the democratic policing reforms from a broader perspective in Turkey.

The study employed a mixed methods approach in literature, and in analyzing research findings. However, the researcher needs to explicitly explain as advised by Creswell (1994) that the study is primarily an exploratory qualitative case study. After a short explanation of mixed study is provided below, the main methodological background will be explained in detail.

Combined Qualitative and Quantitative Designs: Creswell outlined three different designs for mixed-method qualitative and quantitative designs for the same research study: (1) two-phase design, (2) dominant-less dominant design, and (3) mixed methodology design. All three designs seem closer to each others in definition. The differences are explained by Creswell:

- Two-phase design: There are two separate phases in the study: a qualitative and a quantitative phase. Researcher is able to explain two different paradigms in each phase, but the reader might not be able to understand the connection.
- Dominant-less dominant design: There is a single paradigm in the study which is accompanied by small component from another paradigm. A study basically might be designed in quantitative theory testing utilizing a small interview component in the data collection phase, or a qualitative design may include a small quantitative survey. The advantage of this design over a two-phase design is

that it provides a consistent paradigm picture while collecting limited data from the other study (pp. 177-178). Tashakkoori and Teddlie (1998) called this design “Dominant-Less Dominant Mixed Method design,” and Yin (1994) called it as “Nested Case Design.”

- Mixed-methodology design: Both the qualitative and quantitative paradigms are equally dominant in the study. “The researcher would mix aspects of the qualitative and quantitative paradigm at many or possibly all methodological steps in the design.” The paradigms might be mixed in any part of the study including the introduction, literature review and theory use, in the purpose statement and the research questions. It uses the advantages of both designs and more importantly uses both the deductive and inductive reasoning in all phases of the study. However, it requires a sophisticated knowledge which is hard to acquire for most researchers (Creswell, 1994, pp. 177-178).

Creswell’s (1994) book raised questions about the method whether it was or was not a stand alone methodology or just was a method. Today it has been accepted since it provides better opportunities to explain the research question rather than restricting it to just a single method. Mixed method research employs logic of inquiry including induction which is discovery of pattern; deduction, which is “testing of theories and hypotheses; and abduction which is uncovering and relying on the best set of explanations for understanding one’s result” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 17). Mixed Method research was obviously the result of mixing two competing paradigms rather than choosing either of them and the preference was benefiting from their advantages and reducing the reliability issues. Five purposes for combining methods in a single study are:

- Triangulation combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon to seek convergence of results,
- Complimentary, those overlapping and different facets of a phenomenon may emerge,
- Developmentally, wherein the first method is used sequentially to help inform the second method,
- Initiation, wherein contradictions and fresh perspectives emerge, and
- Expansion, wherein the mixed methods add scope and breadth to a study (Greene et al., 1989, as cited in Creswell, 1994, p.175).

Mixing the methods in this study occurred in a sense to develop a better understanding of the interview data which was extremely dominant while the survey data was used in limited occasions to explain a few concepts that were not well developed in the interview data. One of the concepts covered the effect of media on the EU acquis adoption process of the TNP. This provided for a more complete understanding, where the interview data was lacking a conclusion.

The reasons for employing a multi-dimensional approach to explain the results and conclusions of the case study at hand were addressed above. First was the similarity between the democratic policing and community policing. In actuality, community policing was a democratic policing application. Most of the organizational determinants ever designed to evaluate the level of community policing commitment of police organizations (Maguire et al., 2003) were overlapping with Damanpour's (1991) 13 variables. The researcher is aware that the heavy organizational culture forged through extensive training would yield results expressed with explicit knowledge. It was evident that the study was seeking more to gain from tacit knowledge. That is why a survey accompanied the interview data with questions aimed at

learning the same or similar concepts. This is especially true with regard to individual and organizational discretion or decision-making during the adoption of the EU *acquis* in the TNP.

Kidder and Fine (1987) stated, "There is nothing mysterious about combining quantitative and qualitative measures. This is, in fact, a form of triangulation that enhances the validity and reliability of one's study" (p. 72). In summary, the mixed method employed:

- (1) an exploratory, qualitative case study through interviews and documentary sources,
- (2) Damanpour's (1991) 13 variables of organizational innovativeness,
- (3) Bayley (2006) and Marenin's (2004) democratic policing principles, and Can et al.'s (2006) democratic policing variables, and
- (4) Weiss's (1997) organizational innovativeness variable of police organizations were used in the unit of analysis.

As Creswell (1994) suggested, without furthering this discussion about mixed methods, the researcher will explain the concepts and methodology in the dominant paradigm: A qualitative, exploratory, case study.

### **3.3.2. Qualitative Study**

This study employed a qualitative approach to explore and describe the organizational adoption behavior in the TNP during the acceptance and implementation phases of the EU *acquis* adoption process. The reason for the qualitative research design is explained by Patton (2002) because the qualitative methods "permit inquiry into selected issues in great depth with careful attention to detail, context, and nuance" (p. 227) and "qualitative inquiry is not a single, monolithic approach to research and evaluation" (p. 76). Yin (1984) explained that "what" questions justify an exploratory study. This studied research questions are "what" questions.

Creswell (1994) suggested that the qualitative study advances the assumptions of the qualitative designs. Qualitative design is a specific type of design which reflects a researcher's role, discusses data collection strategies, develops data recording and analyzing procedures, specifies verification steps, and outlines narrative outcomes of the study (pp. 143-144). Furthermore, the qualitative researcher's main concern is process rather than outcome or product. Personal experiences of individuals and how they feel about the subject matter is important. Moreover, the researcher is the primary instrument in collecting the data and analyzing it. Qualitative research involves fieldwork by visiting, talking, and observing the people and institutions in their natural settings. Qualitative research is descriptive. The processes, meanings, and understandings are gained from pictures and words. The process of research is inductive. The researcher builds abstractions, concepts, hypothesis, and theories from details. (Merriam, 1998, pp. 19-20 as cited in Creswell, 1994). Descriptive and inductive nature of the study and its interest in understanding the process and the interviewees' responses and perceptions are outlined here:

- A descriptive research: The research is descriptive in identifying and describing the processes, meaning and understanding of a phenomenon through the verbal expressions of the interviewees (Merriam, 1988, as cited in Creswell, 1994; Patton, 2002). Qualitative study applies experiences of other people and captures the world in their own worlds from their own perspectives (Patton, 2002). The study employed interviews with eight top ranking officials of the TNP who was responsible for carrying out the decision-making regarding the adoption of innovations related to the EU *acquis* adoption process.

- Process observation: This qualitative research observed a dynamic and constantly evolving process in the TNP. The process was reforming the TNP with the EU acquis which were identified as a well-developed package of reforms. The decision-making of the TNP was a special concern to understand deeply, because an unexpectedly fast reform process was evolving without any resistance from the top TNP officials. The process was observed to gain an in-depth understanding of the forces and motivations that affected the decision making process of the TNP while adopting, or rejecting the reforms.
- Perception and experience based research: During adoption of the EU acquis the members of the TNP were having intense relations both with outside entities and within the organization. This indicated that a social process was occurring in the organizational setting, which sometimes affected the the organizational structure and sometimes changed the behavior of the organizational hierarchy. All of those relations were keysto effective commpunication in the eye of the interviewees, which provided their perceptions and experiences as a data for this study. Those experiences were shaped by the organizational structure, discipline, media, daily incidents, interactions with citizens, through training programs, and by using formal and informal communication channels. The researcher tried to avoid making any comments that might draw conclusions to their explanations. Only clarification questions were asked, for the purpose of describing the interview process.
- The interview data were interpreted with support of other sources of evidence: As explained before, the researcher tried to be removed from directing the

interviewees. However, analyzing the data required the researcher to explain and describe the constructs emerging from the data. At this point, the researcher completed the theme building process and then turned to literature to review what those themes meant to others. For example, the TNP's rate of adoption appeared to be considerably high which led the researcher to ask why it was, while the expectancy was the opposite. So, the interview data was interpreted with other sources like Damanpour's (1991) 13 variables which are used to examine the innovativeness rate of the TNP. The findings were also interpreted using cross analyses with the interview data.

- The findings were induced from the data: In connection with the interpretations, the researcher reached some conclusions that seemed to warrant building concepts, hypothesis, and to some extent theories. Inductive analysis is defined as discovering patterns, themes, and categories in the data that is collected. "Qualitative inquiry is particularly oriented toward exploration, discovery and inductive logic" (Patton, 2002, p. 55). The first step of inductive analysis is observation, which yields general patterns and attempts to understand those patterns which lead to the categories of the phenomenon. The initial preparation required the researcher to decide what variables were important for the study and determine any possibility of relationships between those variables. As such, the interview guide was prepared accordingly and designed as semi-structured to let the researcher explore the patterns which were not foreseen in advance.
- The analysis of the data was comparative: As Patton (2002) suggested, the data which emerged from the interviews were analyzed comparatively using the

reviewed literature like democratic policing principles and with those emerged in scholarly studies like Damanpour's (1991) 13 variables to gain deeper understanding in Chapters IV and V.

The study was designed to be mainly a qualitative study that was more suitable to explain a social phenomenon in a society, even though the research in organizational innovativeness were done with quantitative methods like Damanpour's study. As the data revealed and Damanpour (1991) explained, the adoption process was mainly different in administrative and technical innovation; product and process innovation; and radical and incremental innovation. Even though the innovativeness defined as the rate of adoption and studied with data such as the number of awards won, the number of patents acquired, and the number of innovations adopted in a given time (Damanpour, 1991), this study chose to employ a qualitative study design. The qualitative study method was identified as having some superior aspects over quantitative study method to explain social process and subjective experiences of the TNP and its members during the adoption process of the EU acquis.

### **3.3.3. Case Study**

“Researcher in a case study explores a single entity or phenomenon (“the case”) bounded by time and activity (a program, event, process, institution, or social group) and collects detailed information by using a variety of data collection procedures during a sustained period of time” (Merriam, 1988; and Yin, 1989 as cited in Creswell, 1994, p. 12).

Yin (1994) explained a reinvention of case study which may be the most appropriate research method for studying the complexity of the organizational phenomena. This turn toward case study as a research method was beyond its usage as a teaching technique and should not be mixed with each other. The method is used in the vast majority of social science studies such as

“social and psychological investigations, evaluation research, public policy studies, and business, management, and international studies” (p. xv).

This study used the case study methodology to describe the improvements in the TNP and Turkish politics to gain an in depth understanding of reforms foreseen by the EU. The EU *acquis* and other reforms were not independent of each other; however the most important part of those were related to political criteria and policing. The relations of the TNP with the EU, the Turkish Government, other political parties, public institutions as well as non-governmental organizations were so complex that proven need to conduct a case study was demonstrated. All of those relations were not really easy to understand unless a historical perspective was applied to the case study, because all resistance or decision to adopt the *acquis* had roots in the last 60 years of Turkish history in which all current institutions were shaped.

Without visiting the historical background, it would be impossible to explain why the EU *acquis* was adopted into codifications with a record speed (Lake, 2006) and the government applied and monitored them diligently. All of those complex social relations and frequently referred to historical experiences made understanding the phenomenon more complex. The reforms were not comparable even with the 10 countries which have already become member states and have experienced the same challenges Turkey is facing now. The advantage they had was that their starting point was a clean slate after closing the authoritarian regime era and replacing it with democracy which brought many rewarding incentives such as the EU funds and a great feeling of hope with the formation of a safer country in the middle of an unstable region. Turkey, however, had a more challenging reform process since Turkish democracy was falling in the same period of relations with the EU. The question was did Turkey need the EU to improve its democracy and related institutions? Secondly, there was a challenge to religion with both parties

saying that the EU was a Christian Club, not a union. This study formed a clear hypothesis that the political will to further reforms was undoubtedly already in place. The quest to find an answer about how the police officials and their personnel would meet those demands of a fast changing process especially in areas once deemed sacred.

A detailed exploration of the human rights phenomena in police applications was made with the attributes of democratic policing principles. Rather than analyzing a unit, the target was the whole police organization. The study aimed to find general trends in the TNP while adopting the EU acquis from the selected sample (Patton, 2002). However, generalization was limited to the TNP, not to other police departments or other public institutions around the world (Zucker, 2001). The results may be applicable to other types of police departments, but further comparative research is needed especially with structurally different police departments. However, it is also reported that rigor was more important in case studies than design, purpose, or unit of analysis, because a case study examines unique cases which are the result of actual occurrences which would be almost impossible to duplicate given the passage of the particular time period in which they occurred. Case studies should be designed not for scientifically proven, empirical facts, but for real-life situations which are not possible to recreate exactly.

Case study aims to describe or explain a phenomenon through a systematic inquiry into an event or related events (Bromley, 1990, p. 302). As (Yin, 1994) explained, unit of analysis can range from one individual to a corporation.

A case study method was appropriate for this study, because cases avail the researcher to understand a complex issue or object, improves experience or adds support to what is already known through previous research (Soy, 1997). The case study research method is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when

boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. The relations of the TNP, perceptions of its personnel, and the different ideologies between line officers and top ranking officials were not easy to understand as they related to the reform process of the EU acquis. The decision-making seemed rather complex in a complex organizational structure under the pressure of fundamental changes. The expected approach to reforms was first resistance and then inaction in later periods of the process. The study employed a research designed to understand this complex social phenomenon in its daily, real-life encounters. As explained before, the qualitative case study method was employed to understand this complex social phenomenon (Yin, 1994) through tacit knowledge based on immediate and past experiences. In addition, a less-dominant quantitative survey was added to the interviews to grasp the explicit knowledge, and to support the findings in the case study.

The case study method is designed to understand a single case within its own relations and realities. However there is hope given that all the police departments have a hierarchical structure and run mostly with solid, established rules and standards. This study was not designed to generalize other police departments and public institutions. The generalizability problem is a known and accepted drawback of case studies. Even the purposeful sampling brought some drawbacks that the results may not be applicable to line officers and other low ranking supervisors in the TNP since the study intended to understand decision-making during the EU acquis adoption process.

This case study method used evidence from multiple sources and gathered data from documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation, and physical artifacts (Yin, 1984, p. 79).

Soy (1997) reports six steps in case study method:

- a. Determining and defining the research questions
- b. Selecting the cases and determining data collection and analysis techniques
- c. Preparing to collect the data
- d. Collecting data in the field
- e. Evaluating and analyzing the data
- f. Preparing the report (para. 4).

According to Yin (1984), five components are required for a case study design, which are:

- a. the research question(s),
- b. propositions,
- c. unit(s) of analysis,
- d. a determination of how the data are linked to the propositions, and
- e. criteria to interpret the findings (p. 29).

Soy (1997) explains the case study method comprehensively by stating that case studies are complex, because they involve multiple sources of data. Moreover, they might include multiple cases in a study design. As a result they create large amounts of data to be analyzed. Case study is a method which builds its foundations on an existing theory or by formulating a new theory. In other cases, they explain the phenomena with another hypothesis, and challenge or dispute the existing theory. There is a clear advantage of the case study method. They are applicable to real-life situations in which people and contemporary incidents involve. The reports are accessible by the public since they are written down and they address the understanding of the readers' complex, real-life experiences which make sense for them.

Since this is an exploratory and descriptive study, formulating some propositions to lead the research deemed unnecessary. Rather, greater emphasis was placed upon the aim and purpose of the study. The literature review done in advance provided some basic, but concrete understanding of the phenomena of Diffusion of Innovations in law enforcement agencies. The unit of analysis of this study was the TNP with an aim to understand the changes to human rights policies and their implementation in the context of the TNP.

### **3.4. Research Design**

This study employed a mixed method study with a dominant case study to answer the research questions. Even though a survey was administered to the interviewees, it was used in limited occasions to better explain some findings of the interview data. Interview data results were applied to 13 variables determined by Damanpour (1991) and compared with Damanpour's findings. A third component of the study design was an existing study that looked at the democracy ratings from existing records such as the US State Department Country Reports, World Bank data, and Freedom House ratings, and compared them with democratic policing variables extracted from the literature to see the relationship between democracy ratings and democratic policing. This component was added to Damanpour's variables a 14<sup>th</sup> variable resulting in a more sensible result from the study since the reforms discussed in the interview data were aimed at bringing democratic policing into the TNP and Turkey.

This study employed mainly a qualitative case study design and used “(1) interviews, (2) archival records, (3) documentation, (4) direct observations, (5) participant-observation, and (6) physical artifacts” (Yin, 1984, pp. 79-89). Yin (1984, p. 80) explained the strengths and weaknesses of six sources of evidence in Table 3.1.

Since the study is designed to explore the adoption of innovations after 2003, the researcher became an observer and on limited occasions a participant observer. The archival records consisted of organizational records like the completed and ongoing twinning projects, the in-service training course and right to counsel statistics. All the archival records were digital texts that were transferred through e-mail, and some of them were put in official writing and attached as a digital copy to e-mail correspondences. Other documents included the manuals, rules and regulations of the departments and the divisions that documented the official duties, powers and responsibilities of the units and their personnel.

Table 3.1 Types of Evidences in Case Studies

<b>Source of Evidence</b>	<b>Strengths</b>	<b>Weaknesses</b>
Documentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• stable - repeated review</li> <li>• unobtrusive - exist prior to case study</li> <li>• exact - names etc.</li> <li>• broad coverage - extended time span</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• retrievability - difficult</li> <li>• biased selectivity</li> <li>• reporting bias - reflects author bias</li> <li>• access - may be blocked</li> </ul>
Archival Records	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as above</li> <li>• precise and quantitative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as above</li> <li>• privacy might inhibit access</li> </ul>
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• targeted - focuses on case study topic</li> <li>• insightful - provides perceived causal inferences</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• bias due to poor questions</li> <li>• response bias</li> <li>• incomplete recollection</li> <li>• reflexivity - interviewee expresses what interviewer wants to hear</li> </ul>
Direct Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• reality - covers events in real time</li> <li>• contextual - covers event context</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• time-consuming</li> <li>• selectivity - might miss facts</li> <li>• reflexivity - observer's presence might cause change</li> <li>• cost - observers need time</li> </ul>
Participant Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as above</li> <li>• insightful into interpersonal behavior</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as above</li> <li>• bias due to investigator's actions</li> </ul>
Physical Artifacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• insightful into cultural features</li> <li>• insightful into technical operations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• selectivity</li> <li>• availability</li> </ul>

Adapted from Yin (1984, p. 80).

The first step of the study was to review the literature in diffusion of innovations, organizational structure, and organizational culture in law enforcement agencies; the historical trends in Turkey during the EU membership application process, democracy, army coups, previous reforms, and the effect of globalization on police organizations which are laid out in Chapter II..

The interviewees were selected by looking at the duties of the divisions and departments in the TNP. Four divisions dealing with the EU adoption process were found in the TNP which two of them were in a PPD and three of them were in the Main HQ.

The semi-structured interviews consisted of eight high-ranked officials of the TNP who had direct experience and official responsibility to plan, prepare, and disseminate the reform programs into the TNP. The decision-making behaviors of the officials as individuals and of the TNP as an organization were explored. A set of questions was prepared to guide the interviews, but the design allowed for further questions which were mostly applied to gain a deeper understanding of the explanations of the interviewees. The questions were asked in their order (see Appendix A) to establish consistency among interviewees and to make sure all the questions were asked to all the interviewees. The questions were prepared to show the stage of innovation in the TNP according to Rogers' (1995) five steps of innovation. The interview questions were grouped under these five categories which helped the researcher to better categorize the codes under specific categories and themes.

Documentary evidence was gathered from these divisions, from other sources basically in the TNP which provided a complementary support to interview data, and helped to clarify the concepts which emerged from the interview data. Documentary evidence also included documents gathered from open sources like websites, newspapers, magazines, and circulars. As

an example, the website of the European Commission (EC) provided instrumental support and additional evidence for the study.

Findings of the data were compiled in a document in the form of a list of ten subjects and provided to the interviewees with an explanation of what they meant. This comprehensive member check was not reviewed by one of the interviewees since he/she was not available. The rest returned either with a positive comment, a correction, or further explanations which were added to the final evaluation of the findings.

Credibility and trustworthiness considerations were observed by the researcher at all phases of the study. Especially when multiple sources of information were analyzed as in the mixed-method study design; comparing and contrasting the data with other study findings. A three-step analysis of the data provided credibility and trustworthiness of the study (Dick, 1999). The researcher aimed to gather rich information from the sources of evidence by watching the validity aspect closely. As Tracy (2007) explained, rigor became the center concept in designing the study. Bearing in mind that a well designed qualitative research plan would provide the researcher with an opportunity to learn from individual experiences of the interviewees and from their social and physical environments. The credibility and trustworthiness of the study and rigor were of high importance in order to gain recognition from fellow researchers.

### **3.5. Data Sources and Data Collection Activities**

Data collected through interviews allowed the researcher to reach a rich collection of information which is not observable otherwise. Patton (2002) provided that “we interview people to find out from them that which we cannot directly observe” (p. 340). The personal experiences, perceptions, feelings, beliefs, and ideas of interviewees created enormous amounts of information and provided insights to improve the study with additional analysis from previous

studies. Interviewees were found to be generous in sharing their experiences and the documents they had in their custody. They provided all statistical information, agency manuals, and minutes of meetings, along with their observations within and outside the TNP. They provided phone numbers and e-mails of the TNP personnel who might have other documentary evidence. Sometimes, they personally went to other offices to obtain information for this study. Some times some documents which were so important for the service delivery were shared to make the research more sensible. The documentary evidence was a great help, providing additional evidence for the phenomenon and for the interview data.

### **3.5.1. Semi-Structured Interviews**

Interviews were carried out face-to-face, by phone, and through emails following phone conversations. All of the interviewees were contacted well-before the interviews were carried out. The whole process was very interactive before and after the interviews were completed. As Kvale (1996) provided, the researcher sometimes acted as a miner, digging out all of the information buried in the minds of other people, and sometimes was a traveler who went on a journey in the islands of the interviewees to return with tales to be related to other people. The travel of the information from minds of the people to books as words and sentences requires a technique to handle all the work. Interviewing is both an art and a science. An art to be able to talk with the people who were not previously know, an a science using techniques to make all those conversations to melt into a paper which is molded with parsimonious paradigms, using research designs which are supported with other evidences. As the miner or the traveler, the researcher digs or travels to unearthed the unknown, which was not visited or reported before. The traveler not only hears and reconstructs what was heard, but changes and improves him with

what he heard (p. 4). Yin (1984) supported the same idea and said most case studies are about human affairs, so interviewing is one of the most important sources of data collection.

The purpose of the interview was to enter some other people's perspective with an assumption that another's perspective is learnable and meaningful (Patton, 2002). "Typically, qualitative in-depth interviews are much more like conversations than formal events with predetermined response categories" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). The aim of the interview was to capture how those people see their world, what their terminologies and judgments were, and what their perceptions and experiences with all complexities were (Patton, 2002).

The first step in conducting interviews was to prepare a semi-structured interview protocol to provide guidance to conduct the interviews with the interviewees. The interview protocol and survey questionnaire is available in Appendix A. Since the site of the study was the TNP, the interview protocol and survey was translated into the Turkish language and sent to two different reviewers who were proficient both in English and Turkish. Upon their approval of the accuracy of the translation, the Turkish and English copies of interview protocol, survey questionnaire, and major professor Dr. Brian O'Connor's support letter (in original English, and translated to Turkish version) were sent to the TNP authorities for official permission to conduct the study in the TNP Main HQ and PPDs. The approval was obtained in less than a month's time. The researcher provided the approval and related documents to the University of North Texas (UNT) Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval of the study for the use of human subjects. The IRB approval letter is included in Appendix F. Approval of the UNT-IRB was obtained on 11 December 2006 and immediately following, the researcher conducted eight interviews with the top TNP officials.

The interviewees were initially contacted by phone and the study was explained, and the approvals mentioned. Upon their approval to be involved in the study, a consent form approved by IRB and the TNP was provided to the interviewees. The TNP Director General's officially signed and sealed approval was provided with the names of the offices and the positions of the interviewees. None of the interviewees' names were included in any of the documents per IRB regulations and security purposes. The interview protocol was followed by the goals, objectives, and research questions of the study. All of those interactions prepared the researcher and the interviewees for the interviews and for the later process of reviewing the transcripts and using the member check tool.

E-mail interviews had many benefits as well as challenges. Cost is a major concern in any research study. Travel for interviews and long distance telephone calls were cost prohibitive. Transcribing e-mail interviews was less expensive compared to face-to-face and telephone interviews. Since data gathered from interview e-mails were in digital format, they needed little editing. Interviews were time-consuming and arranging meeting times was not easy, especially with geographically dispersed samples. Another advantage of e-mail interviewing was the possibility to question more than one interviewee at a time. Follow ups were easy, because it eliminated time and place constraints. The downside of e-mail interviews was the response time indeterminacy. Some respondents did not respond in a timely manner. Also, the number of follow-up exchanges fluctuated greatly from one to three months which brought unpredictability to the length of research. Internet access was a concern for some interviewees since they did not have access at their homes (Meho, 2006).

Purposeful sampling technique is employed in the beginning with the gatekeeper interviewee who was primary in the EU acquis adoption process decision-making team in the

TNP. This interviewee was the most important official due to the office he/she was holding. The interviewees were addressed not by their names but by the duties of their offices. However, the first interviewee suggested other division and department officials who were actively involved in policy communities. The selection rules the researcher applied was simple. First, there were four different departments in the Main HQ dealing with reform initiatives. All four departments, or divisions within these departments were contacted and full support was obtained. The second rule for purposeful sampling should be a high level of experience within foreign countries that might assist with viewing the reforms with a critical eye. Those rules should have been involved in the EU acquis adoption jobs in the TNP. These individuals were selected from the group of HEAP students who were high ranking officials of the TNP. The third rule was to select two interviewees from one of the PPDs. One of these interviewees should be involved in applying these reforms in the field and the other should be in an upper supervisory position who was responsible to monitor and supervise all the efforts in the selected PPD. As a result, all four policy and decision making department or division heads of the Main HQ were involved in the study. Two high ranking officials who were previously involved and currently observing the situation from abroad, and because of their academic studies could criticise the situation with explicit knowledge, and two of the PPD high ranking officials were involved in the interviews. In this way, a maximum variation sample was collected. The interviews revealed that the selection was accurate. Because all of the interviewees were aware of all the national and EU institutions related to the EU acquis adoption, all of them were directly involved in policy communities and monitored or personally handled the implementation. Six of them were course instructors at the Main Police HQ, and the other two were the instructor and student of an in-service training course.

List (2004) suggested that maximum variation sampling should be carried out on two occasions: (1) when the sample size is very small, and (2) when no population information is available. This study took into account the first factor, because the researcher was well aware of the population, and the sample size was limited especially at the Main Police HQ with the offices handling the policy-making, decision-making, information gathering, information dissemination, and support functions through formal, informal, and quasi-formal communication channels. As List suggested, this study employed both purposeful sampling and maximum variation sampling. Maximum variation sampling is also known as maximum diversity sampling or maximum heterogeneity sampling. The sample to be interviewed was chosen to assure maximum variation (Patton, 2002) by selecting the interviewees based on their adoption and/or rejection of the reforms in the TNP. The selected interviewees are therefore a small sample of great diversity and their interviews yielded “(1) high-quality, detailed descriptions of the case which will be helpful to document the uniqueness of the case, and (2) important shared patterns” (Patton, 2002, p. 235).

By keeping the names of the interviewees anonymous, only their department names will be disclosed here. Those were the Foreign Relations Department, Anti-Terrorism Department, Public Order Department, and Strategic Planning Department. The PPD was Kahramanmaraş Polis Department. The HEAP members were in one of the foreign countries which HEAP was overseeing, namely the US, United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Russia.

The research subject is on the current agenda. Presently, the EU membership is one of the most discussed subjects in Turkey. Using this trend as an opportunity, the researcher discussed the subject in a wide variety of communities over the last two years when it was decided to make the study. Almost all of the top TNP officials were contacted at some capacity about their ideas.

These occasions were mainly during conferences in the US where the relations and interactions were more informal and time constraints were not an issue. As a member of the TNP, the researcher is aware of the police terminology, communication codes, subculture, rituals, preferences, and to some extent the personalities of the interviewees. The interview protocol was mainly prepared in English and translated into Turkish. Translation and English copy provided two unconnected reviewers to check the fluency of the translation. Upon their approval the interviews were provided to the interviewees.

Two of eight interviews were made face-to-face, one on the phone, and 5 through e-mail communication. All of the interviewees were contacted for follow up after verbatim transcription of the interviews was done to check for any mistyping, losses, or additions which would need to be corrected.

The aim of the case study is to illustrate relationships, organization-political issues and patterns of influence within a particular context (Bell, 1987.. The case study is exploratory and descriptive research. The research is designed to explore and to describe the factors, forces, processes, and activities influenced the decision-making to adopt or to reject the adoption of innovations of the European Union (EU) acquis in the Turkish National Police. The communication of the innovation within all types of communication channels including the formal, informal, quasi-formal channels are explored and described. The TNP's adoption process of the EU acquis is chosen as a case study to understand how a policy innovation is adopted in large scale police organizations, what the decision factors are, what forces influenced the decisions to adopt or to reject the EU acquis related with the TNP, how the personnel in different layers responded to the changes and what the information resources were. More importantly how well a para-military, large, bureaucratic, hierarchical, and authoritarian police organization

responded to the changes, how they interacted with their environment, and what kind of structural and legal changes they experienced?

This chapter discusses the foundations of the study and explains the research strategy; data sources and how the data was collected, handled, and analyzed. The credibility and trustworthiness of the study and limitations are also discussed in this chapter.

An in-depth content analysis of the interviews provided the main framework of the study which is also backed up by a survey administered to the interview participants immediately after the interviews were completed, archival records, other documents, and direct observations. The results and findings chapter of the study included the interview and survey data, while the discussions and conclusions chapter was constructed by adding documentary evidence, personal artifacts, archival records, and participant observer information.

This study explored the relationship of the EU membership application of Turkey and the changes it brought to the TNP such as the implementation of internationally recognized human rights principals after the EU *acquis* adoption process began. The changes in organizational structure and policy mandates are studied and the policy changes related to human rights applications are described and discussed.

### **3.5.1.1. Characteristics of the the Departments and Interviewees**

For establishing anonymity, only general information will be provided in this section. All the departments or divisions whose chief officials were contacted and interviewed were relatively new establishments. This means some of them were created from scratch, and some of them were transformed to a new structure and given new duties with the EU *acquis* adoption. One of these departments was idle until the EU *acquis* adoption process began. Currently all of

those departments are busy with implementation of the reforms, training activities, job reporting , and more importantly providing expertise to the service units in the field and in the Main HQ.

One of those departments/divisions will be examined from their duties stand point. “Improving, supporting and enhancing international relations of the Departement in (*division’s name*) issues. Deciding the areas where the Department will cooperate and coordinate with other foreign country police departments, handling jobs related with the EU acquis adoption process, preparing, disseminating , and applying, and coordinating projects to foster the EU adoption process and to achieve alignment with the EU, monitoring and investigating the department’s and related PPD divisions’ legal and administrative weaknesses and preparing projects to overcome those shortcomings, corresponding to the department’s official idea about the proposed laws and regulations, preparing projects for strengthening the institutional capacity and performance. ”

Interviewees were between 36 to 50 years old. The shortest stay in their current office was 8 months and the longest 4 was years. Except for two of them, all had worked in the police educational institutions. Previous offices they worked were anti-terrorism (1), anti-smuggling (1), public order (2), training institutions (2), and peace-keeping (2) mission. Three of them had a college degree, four of them a master degree, one of them doctoral degree. All have been to a mission abroad except one. The researcher will provide only limited information about the interviewees for establishing anonymity and to protect their privacy.

### **3.5.2. Documentary Evidence**

A combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, including a semi-structured interview questions, a Likert-type survey, comprehensive member check tool, researcher observations, participant observation, and documentary evidence were employed in

the study. These various methods helped to triangulate the data that was collected throughout the study.

Triangulation provided the ability to validate the integrity of the data that was collected through the various methods. These methods also provided the opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the decision factors, forces, processes, and motivations encountered during the EU acquis adoption process in the TNP.

The documentary evidence was secondary to other methods of data collection in this study and primarily served to corroborate and augment the other sources of evidence (1994). The documentary evidence was used in such manner to validate the data obtained from semi-structured interviews, the EC reports, and previous studies about the TNP and its democratic policing applications. The researcher was able to collect credible evidence from the interviewees about the beginning of the EU acquis adoption process. It appeared that the interviewees were experiencing the changes in their daily lives, remembering the phases, challenges and successes. They particularly remembered the twinning project phases from preparation to implementation. The legal changes into the laws were recent and they confirmed that they were discussing and communicating their experiences with each other. The discussions were taking place during daily policing activities, in meetings, and in in-service training programs. The records of in-service meetings were available, but the meeting minutes were not. The interviewees could remember the speeches more important discussions and shared them with the researcher. The meetings with the EU institutions and non-governmental organizations were particularly fresh in their minds.

The documentary evidence was centered on the official notes of information to the Director General about the latest developments. For example, the note about Silvia Casale's

speech in the EC about the excellent legal framework to protect human rights in Turkey was provided in digital format and presented to the Director General. A list of twinning projects is provided from another interviewee showing completed and ongoing projects. The other documentary evidence was obtained from the official websites of the Main HQ departments. An example for this is the Table 4.1 about the statistical information of the number of the trainees from 1999 to 2005 and Figure 5.10 about providing legal assistance in regards to right to counsel. The interviewee suggested gathering the information from their website. Not all the departments had detailed websites. In particular, the PPD websites were lacking much statistical data. However, their websites did indicate the most recent public service announcements for the local citizens regarding the latest legal changes. The sample documentary evidence list is included in Appendix J.

### **3.5.3. Comprehensive Member Check**

A comprehensive member check tool was analogous to internal validity in quantitative studies and provided not only factual and interpretative accuracy, but also credibility and trustworthiness for this study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Huberman and Miles (1998) said about a comprehensive member check that “verification entails checking for the most common or most insidious biases that can steal into the processes of drawing conclusions” (p. 198). Comprehensive member check is used as an authentication for the study findings and helped to minimize a potential bias. This bias was more eminent given the fact that the researcher was a member of the TNP. The study findings were provided to interviewees with short explanations which were provided in Appendix C. Interviewees were able to type their comments, corrections, or additions to those findings which were included in the researchers final evaluation in Chapter V. The communication of the comprehensive member check tool was made through e-mail and a

phone follow-up made a few days later. Two of those interviewees provided feedback with additional comments. One of them was not available at all and did not respond. The rest agreed with the findings and did not make any comments. Chapter IV was provided to interviewees who speak English for their review. Two of them only spoke Turkish. A short explanation about Chapter IV and the translation of the the findings were sent to them in digital format and explanations were made by telephone.

#### **3.5.4. Historical Background Research**

The case study at hand required the researcher to study the historical background of reforms and Turkey-EU relations to make the findings more menaningful. The case study did not intend to unveil all the historical events, but aimed to gain an understanding of the current EU related events in Turkey given the fact that Turkey’s membership application was submitted back in 1959. The historical events of last 47 years appeared from several view points. The historical background check included the history of democracy and army coups in Turkey and their overlap with the trends in other parts of the world. There were times that relations were frozen and other times when politicians applied for Turkey’s membership.

The historical background check was a social study and Skocpol (1984) summarizes the required characteristics of a social study as below:

- a. They ask questions about social structures or processes understood to be concretely situated in time and space.
- b. They address processes over time, and take temporal sequences seriously in accounting for outcomes.

- c. Most historical analyses attend to the interplay of meaningful actions and structural contexts, in order to make sense of the unfolding of unintended as well as intended outcomes in individual lives and social transformations.
- d. Historical sociological studies highlight the particular and varying features of specific kinds of social structures and patterns of change (Skocpol, 1984, p. 14).

Cahnman and Boskoff (1964, p.1) explains that “Sociology is history with the hard work left out; history is sociology with the brains left out.” However sociological history is used as one term, basically history and sociology are two different phenomena. They are different by description and analysis. History approaches the issues by concepts and theoretical questions. Sociology on the other hand develops theories and methods to study empirical realities. So, history is an intellectual activity that uses the tools of sociology and it is not a chronological log of past events. Sociology looks at a phenomenon from a generalizability (nomothetic) standpoint, while history chooses particular (idiografic) incidents or historical marks to study (Deflem, 2000).

Human rights research is in the discipline of sociology and closely related to themes of international relations and historical process. As with all other social studies, the study of human rights should employ a multidimensional approach to investigate the factors that affect the human rights in a society in which national politics and international relations converge. The human rights subject is a part of daily life and politics in every country. It is important in the citizens’ life as well as in bilateral and multilateral international relations. So, the factors that affect the human rights are both within and beyond a nation-state. Linking national history to global dynamics was a method that availed the researcher to explore the change over time. In this

way it was possible to see if major events shifted national approach towards the EU membership and human rights. The historical background check was helpful to see national from international historical events perspective where and when their effects extended to more than one nation (Gómez, 2003, p. 83-84).

Kerlinger (1986, p. 620) states that: “*Historical research* is the critical investigation of events, developments, and experiences of the past, the careful weighing of evidence of the validity of sources of information on the past, and the interpretation of the weighed evidence. The historical investigator, then, collects data, evaluates the data for validity, and interprets the data. Actually, the historical method, or *historiography*, differs from other scholarly activity only in its subject matter, the past, and the peculiarly difficult interpretive task imposed by the elusive nature of the subject matter.” According to Kerlinger (1986), theories develop on top of previous theories and research, so they are dependable earlier versions’ context.

The study employed a historical background check in Turkish political, military, and the police history from reform movements and the EU-Turkey relations standpoint to better understand the the EU acquis adoption process in the TNP.

### **3.6. Data Management and Analysis**

An analysis of historical, international and national policy documents were included in the study to support the data gathered from interviews. The developments regarding the The EU relations and human rights phenomena in Turkey and in the TNP were not observable in dept at outside world. The research was designed to find systematic and in-depth information about the phenomena by employing interviews with the first stage observers who experienced or applied the changes.

There were multiple sources of the data to be analyzed in this study. Main source of data gathered from interviews which were analyzed by using interpretational analysis that revealed important constructs, themes, and patterns that were used to explain the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP from the participants' perspectives. Those perspectives were identified with the help of the previous research findings and explanations laid out in the literature review section. A construct is "a concept that is inferred from observed phenomena and that is assumed to underlie those phenomena." The constructs of this study were found in three sections of Method Framework which are DOI, democratic policing, and historical background analysis. A theme is "a salient, recurring feature of a case." Themes were decided by analyzing previous studies which were mentioning the important themes again and again. Patterns are "possible relationships among phenomena, some of which may be causal in nature" (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 1999, p. 291). Themes served as "frameworks to explore the questions of the research" (Beattie, 2004).

A thematic analysis combined and catalogued related patterns into sub-themes. Patterns are used to derive units of themes which included but were not limited to conservation topics, terminology, repeated activities, meanings, feelings, and jargon. Patterns emerged after close observation, careful documentation, and thoughtful analysis of the research topic. Themes were found through a detailed and careful investigation of interview transcripts which alone mean nothing, but when they brought together, they revealed patterns related with phenomena. As patterns began to emerge, obtaining feedback from interviewees was helpful to describe the themes. There were two ways to obtain feedback. First one took place during interviews to establish the next question. Second one was applied when interview conversations were transcribed and provided to interviewees for feedback and corrections. A third feedback

demanded from interviewees after the findings were emerged. A comprehensive membercheck was done which is explained in its own section (Aronson, 1994).

In general, qualitative interviewing generates massive amount of data, thus making sense of great amount of data becomes an important challenge (Patton, 2002). As Gall et al. (1999) suggested, the researcher followed a set of procedures to code and classify the interview data for interpretational analysis:

- a. Prepared a database containing the interview data
- b. Numbered each line of text sequentially and then divided the text into meaningful segments
- c. Developed meaningful categories to code the data
- d. Coded each segment by any and all categories that applied to it
- e. Cumulated all the segments that have been coded by a given category
- f. Generated themes that emerged from categories (p. 298).

The categories emerged from the interview data were continuously reviewed and revisions were made as required until all the data classified into categories without any redundancy. Some categories were merged into other categories and some were split during reviews. When all the categories were distinct and their meanings were clear, the reviews and revisions stopped (Gall et al., 1999).

Documentary evidence was supplemental in building the themes and clarifying the concepts. Interviewees provided additional information with comprehensive member check after the findings were emerged.

### 3.6.1. Analysis of Semi-Structured Interviews

This section provides detailed explanation how the interview data was obtained and how it was processed to extract meaningful information. A strategy was set to transcribe the interview content following the order cited above (Gall et al., 1999). The recorded voice files were transferred to the researcher's computer and transcribed by using software called Transcriber (Transcriber, 2005). Transcriptions were made verbatim. The transcribed interview data transferred to, stored in, and analyzed by using another program called Atlas.ti which was instrumental in segmenting documents into quotations, as well as coding and categorizing definitions. "Atlas.ti is a powerful workbench for the qualitative analysis of large bodies of textual, graphical, audio and video data. It offers a variety of tools for accomplishing the tasks associated with any systematic approach to "soft" data--i.e., material which cannot be analyzed by formal, statistical approaches" (Atlas.ti, 2006, para. 7) in meaningful ways. As Patton (2002) suggested, "Atlas.ti" was capable of storing, coding, retrieving, comparing, and linking data which also helped to prepare tables, diagrams and graphs to visualize the complex relations, even though none were used in the study. "Atlas.ti" program allowed the researcher to connect the codes, categories and their descriptions in visual drawings and provided an audit trail for the analysis. An audit trail of the documentation is provided in Figure 3.1 and 3.2, and in Appendixes H, I and J. An audit trail is the documentation of research process.

"Atlas.ti" program provided support to easily handle large amount of text, codes, categories and themes. However, it was not a program to analyze the data. Rather, it was a database to arrange and rearrange the codes, categories, and themes as required. The researcher made all the codings, categorizations, and analysis of the data. The data was analyzed by making a content analysis. Content analysis is explained as the process of reducing the qualitative data and

categories, patterns, or themes during the evaluation of interviewees' answers. An inductive process of coding effort helped to develop the codebook for this study (Patton, 2002).

Textual data transferred to "Atlas.ti" were processed by the researcher and coding was performed to make the data more sensible, as Basit (2003) explained. Following Neuman's (1991) instructions, the coding process and developing categories from these codes were guided by the research questions of the study. Some of the codes began to emerge in initial contacts with the interviewees and while talking other TNP members during pre-testing of the study. The researcher continuously discussed with police supervisors and public to understand what codes might emerge from the study. Sometimes took notes on paper, sometimes underlined books to guide the coding effort. Transcripts in the Atlas.ti were very easy to code. In initial attempt, the researcher found more than 500 codes. The researcher was assigning codes to words, phrases, sentences, and even sometimes to the whole paragraph. Those codes were printed several times, duplications were removed, and the codes giving the same meaning merged into each others. The researcher made several attempts to create categories which was rather a long list around one hundred. The researcher reviewed the categories several times. When the final attempts were not helping to reduce the number of the categories anymore, the researcher decided to develop themes which some of them were obviously clear at that point.

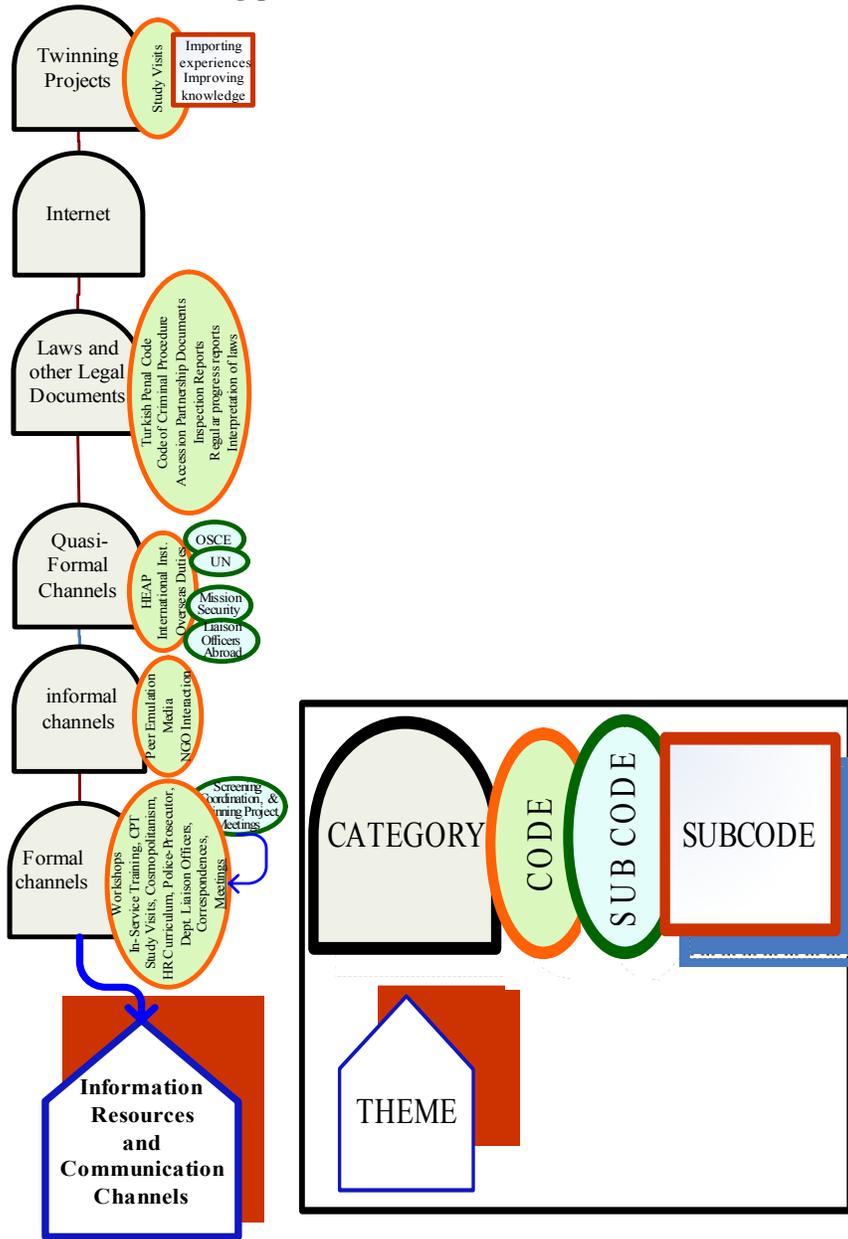
As Eisner (1991) explained, the recurring messages from the interview data were emerging as themes. There were same codes making sense under different categories and they were kept as is if the interviewees were meant those codes under different concepts. For example, "transferring the knowledge" and "transferring the expertise" codes were used for UN and OSCE missions, as well as any kind of study abroad program or a foreign country visit.

Eight themes emerged from the study. One of them merged under a similar theme. At final review seven themes made a great sense to studying the adoption of the EU *acquis* in the TNP as an innovation. The researcher went through the texts for a final time to see if additional codes could be found or the themes were making sense; and whether the differences in decision-making or reform implementation. There were no differences which was obviously a result of highly formalized organization since in different parts of Turkey, the interviewees were using the same terminology and their ideas were alike most of the time. The researcher satisfied with the categories and themes and stopped at that point. The process of coding was called by Tesch (1990 as cited in Creswell, 1994) as “de-contextualization” and building the categories and themes were called “re-contextualization.” So, the whole process could be summarized as Tesch put:”While much work in the analysis process consists of ‘taking apart’ (for instance, into smaller pieces), the final goal is the emergence of a larger, consolidated picture” (p. 154).

The researcher identified the major codes from more than 500 codes outside Atlas.ti software by printing the document and creating code families by using Atlas.ti and printed codes. Code families are categories in Atlas.ti. Later, categories were printed and themes were built. The theme building process is depicted in Figure 3.1.

The codes, categories, and themes were collected in a codebook and a visual drawing was also made which shows all the themes, categories, codes, and sub-codes which were showed in Appendixes H and I. To provide an idea for the reader how some themes were consolidated with similar themes, Appendix H was left as showing eight themes. The theme “Decision Making of the EU Adoption” was merged under sixth theme which is “4.2.6. Motivation and Participation in EU *acquis* Adoption Process.”

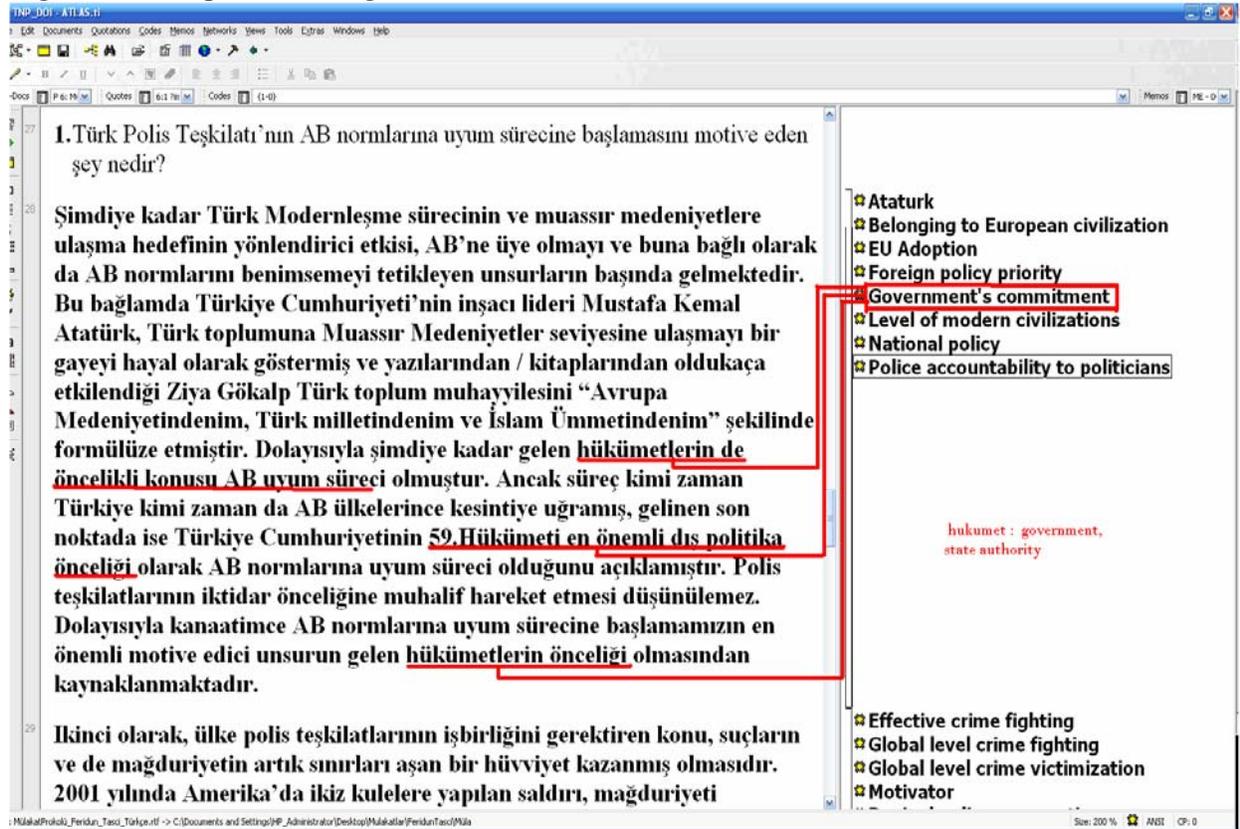
Figure 3.1 Theme building process



Atlas.ti software was very helpful speeding up the theme building process beginning with coding. Only half of one interview was made in English language. When the names of the major institutions like Prime Ministry European Union Secretariat General were not easily spelled, the researcher offered the interviewee, who speaks fluent English, to continue interview in Turkish language to obtain all the information accurately. That was a major drawback to make interviews

with people who spoke Turkish. It was purely technical to translate all the names of the institutions in Turkish. Luckily, all the EC reports on Turkey were having those names officially translated to English already. The researcher searched those names in the official EU websites. So, all the interviews were carried out in Turkish. No translations were made to retain data integrity. Documents loaded to Atlas.ti in Turkish and coding was made in English (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 Sample coded segment of interview data.



The codes and texts were shown to two independent academicians fluent in English and Turkish languages and were approved the accuracy by them. An intercoder reliability test was not performed since the researcher was the only person who coded all the data.

### 3.7. Credibility and Trustworthiness of the Study

Validity and reliability is not an issue for this study following Gall et al.'s (1999) argument that judging case study methods and its findings with quantitative study criterion of

validity and reliability would not be appropriate. Even, generalizability is not an inherent property of a case study. A case study would suggest findings for only the case at hand. Case studies in the qualitative study realm should be judged with credibility and trustworthiness of the study methods and findings. This case study is interested in unique experiences and interpretations of the interviewees about the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP context.

This study employed mixed research methods and collected data from several sources to ensure the truthfulness of the findings. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) stated, trustworthiness of the study would depend on to persuade the audience that research findings are worth paying attention (p. 290). Following Gall et al.'s criteria (1999), the study tried to achieve strong chain of evidence, and designed to be useful for the governments to better understand police organizations to achieve democratic policing. This way the study approached the needs of the readers' sensitively.

The study employed triangulation with mixed methods and supporting evidences from several data sources. The interview findings are cross-checked with documentary evidences, other studies, reports of several institutions, and government documents. Comprehensive member check is made to review the accuracy of the findings. Thoroughness of data collection and analysis are observed at all levels of the study. Data integrity was a prime concern during the study. Even data employed a survey to interviewees to see the difference between their tacit and explicit knowledge. Data collection methods were so sensitive and even considered background of the respondents like their formal education and how their communication skills improved in the TNP. The interviewees were not only provided information and insights about the EU *acquis* adoption, but also were very resourcefull about the historical background of the developments.

Credibility of a qualitative study depends on three elements that all are valid in this study:

- a. rigorous techniques and methods for gathering high-quality data are carefully analyzed, with attention to issues of validity, reliability, and triangulation;
- b. the credibility of the researcher, which is dependent on training, experience, track record, status, and presentation of self; and
- c. philosophical belief in the value of qualitative inquiry, that is, a fundamental appreciation of naturalistic inquiry, qualitative methods, inductive analysis, purposeful sampling, and holistic thinking (Patton, 2002, pp. 552-553).

Gall et al. (1999) point the same issue by stating that case study method, and findings extracted from it should not be judged by criteria of validity, reliability, and generalizability, because validity, reliability, and generalizability imply a quantitative research. As it was valid for this study, a qualitative study should be judged within its unique design that is meant to demonstrate the credibility and trustworthiness of the study. Generalizability, on the other hand, is not even an issue in case study method. As Patton (1999) explains, quantitative study follows formulas and rules. Qualitative study however is different as being a creative process which depends on the insight and conceptual capacity of the researcher. What a researcher conducting a qualitative research must do is “to be methodological in reporting sufficient details of data collection and the process of analysis to permit others to judge the quality of the resulting product” (p. 1191).

Gall et al. (1999, pp. 303-311) follows a more methodological way to evaluate or to improve credibility and trustworthiness of a case study with 11 criteria which are listed under three main headings. The explanations below also reflect the way this study is designed and the criteria it followed for data gathering and evaluation studies:

1. Sensitivity to readers’ needs

- a. Strong chain of evidence: A reader should be able to make her or his own assessment of soundness of the findings that are reported in the study which is possible by providing clear and meaningful links between research questions, raw data, their analysis, and conclusions drawn from this analysis. This is called chain of evidence which also provides an easy to follow path to derive any evidence from beginning of the study until its conclusions. The interview instrument and procedural information of the study is provided in Appendix A.

This aim is achieved by the researcher by audit trail which is recording every step of research process beginning with research questions and reaching the ultimate conclusions. The steps of audit trail in this study include but not limited to:

- i. “The sources and methods of recording the raw data
  - ii. Process notes
  - iii. The development of the instruments and procedures used to collect data,
  - iv. Data reduction and analysis products, and
  - v. Data reconstruction and synthesis products” (Gall et al., 1999, p. 304).
- b. Truthfulness: The descriptions of the researchers need to be a faithful representation of the phenomena which is the subject matter of the study. That is achieved by providing an effective representation of the feelings and ideas of the samples drawn from the field where the study explores.
  - c. Usefulness: The subject matter in the case study, its representation, methods and findings gave clear and brief information to the reader that is helpful to understand the phenomena. Moreover, the readers might be able to make proper changes in their

environments to apply the findings and results of the study, which in this study is effectively reforming a hierarchical and bureaucratic police organization.

## 2. Use of sound research methods

a. Triangulation: Triangulation is confirming the soundness of the study with corroborative evidence that includes multiple data collection methods, data sources, analysts, and theories to check case study findings (Gall et al., 1999, p. 305). Four forms of triangulation is reported by Denzin (1978, p. 340) which all are valid in this study with the exception of investigator triangulation:

- i. Data triangulation: Using several sampling strategies to gather data which enables the researcher to get data about a variety of people, at different times and social situations. This study is designed to gather data from two different settings of the TNP. First group is the TNP officials in the Main HQ, and the second group is the TNP officials in one of PPDs in Turkey.
- ii. Investigator triangulation: Use of more than one researcher in the field to gather and interpret data which is not a case for this study.
- iii. Theoretical triangulation: Use of more than one theoretical position in interpreting data which in this study are DOI, democratic policing principles, and historical background check method to explore the human rights phenomena at the TNP from 1959 to current date. Theoretical trangulation is achieved by apply the interview data to Damanpour's (1991) 13 organizational innovativeness variables, and Bayley (2006), Can et al. (2006), and Marenin's (2004) democratic policing findings as a 14<sup>th</sup> variable.

- iv. Methodological triangulation: It refers to the use of more than one method for gathering data which is achieved through interviews as well as archival information review and some statistical information of the TNP to show their approach towards human rights.

However, there is strong criticism against triangulation. For example, Atkinson (2005) argues that preserving different formal properties of culture and social action is not possible with triangulation. In fact, the opposite is true.

- b. Coding Checks: A coding process is done as explained before by using Atlas.ti program. The codes are cross-checked with the existing literature.
- c. Disconfirming case analysis: The unit of analysis in this study is the level of the EU and government impact on decisions of the TNP officials to adopt or reject the EU *acquis* adoption process. The study is designed to gather data from the TNP officials who would explain their stance. Several other sources are explained in their respective sections. The researcher was able to interpret the data precisely (Gall et al., 1999). Confirming and disconfirming cases/sampling is explained as: “Elaboration and deepening initial analysis; seeking exceptions; testing variations.” (Patton 2002, p.244). This case study tested the variations of the data obtained from interviewees. Exceptions were mentioned briefly and explanations were made sufficiently if they were available. Initial analysis of interview data is analyzed again with the findings and 13 variables of Damanpour’s (1991) study. A 14<sup>th</sup> variable added as democratic policing which was also judged several variables of Damanpour. Democratic policing principles of Bayley (2006), Can et al. (2006), and Marenin (2004) were applied in a

comparative study which Turkey added which shows strong evidence that democracy and democratic policing principles were improved between 2002 and 2005.

- d. Member checking: The interviewees reviewed their statements for their accuracy and completeness as they were transcribed into the researcher's report. The revisions they have made are included in the final chapter. Member checking was helpful to correct errors. That way, it was possible to review and compile the data more accurately (Gall et al., 1999).

### 3. Thoroughness of data collection and analysis

- a. Contextual completeness: A phenomena researched through a case study should be in a context. In this study the phenomena is implementation of the EU *acquis* adoption process and the context is the TNP. There are several factors to interpret the phenomena from gathered data which are addressed in this study in the context of the TNP. These are:

- i. History, physical setting, and environment,
- ii. The number of participants,
- iii. Specific activities,
- iv. The schedules and temporal order of events,
- v. Divisions of labor
- vi. Routines and variations from routines,
- vii. Significant events and their origins and consequences,
- viii. Members' perceptions and meanings,
- ix. Social rules and basic patterns of order (Gall et al., 1999, pp. 306-307).

- b. Long-Term Observation: The researcher is a member of the TNP and has experience working with other countries' police officers during his duty as a UN monitor in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The researcher's master thesis about the police in the US which covered the police culture, police misconduct, and police organizational structure with a special interest in to find a better way to reform police organizations. Moreover, the researcher is a graduate of Law Faculty, University of Ankara, who dealt with legal issues extensively. Thus, the researcher is a long term observer of the phenomena.
  - c. Representativeness Check: The interviewees are from the TNP Main HQ, from PPD, and from officers abroad who all dealt with the reform process to some extent. The researcher determined that the findings are reflective of the organizational in general. The interviewees however are chosen from top TNP officials to deeply understand how committed the TNP is towards the reforms.
  - d. Researchers' self-reflection: As explained by Gall et al. (1999), the researcher in this study is the primary "measuring instrument" who relied "heavily on personal observation, empathy, intuition, judgment, and other psychological processes to grasp the meaning of the phenomenon as it was experienced by the individuals and groups in the field". The explanation by the researcher about his own role in the study is called reflexivity (p. 297-298), and it is more credible as it was also described the researcher's qualifications to handle the study and his relationship to the study which are democratic policing, the EU, and the TNP in this study (p. 307).
4. Checking the applicability of case study findings: Even though it is generally believed that the case study findings are not generalizable to other settings, the researcher strongly

supports the assertion of Gall et al. (1999, p.308) that the study findings might be applicable to other police departments and politicians, given the fact that organizational structure of most police organizations are bureaucratic, hierarchical, para-militaristic, and hence they are order-driven.

5. Qualitative research traditions: Case studies are traditional qualitative studies in general. Gall et al. (1999, p. 309) listed 17 case study traditions under three categories all of which are applicable in this study:
  - a. Communication
  - b. Inner experience
  - c. Society and culture.

### **3.8. Limitations and Assumptions**

The basic limitation in this study was geographical distance of the researcher and the study site. All the interviewees were very busy and were very generous providing their personal experiences in their busy schedule. One another limitation was that not all interviewees were able to make face-to-face interviews. The interview data were not adequate about democratic policing principles and their application status. That is why the study used triangulation techniques to learn about it. The interviewees in this study were the persons who have been affected from the results of new laws, policies and their implementation in the field. Moreover, they had ideas from the past experiences. Even though those were not deemed a defect for this type of case study, a precaution to interpret the interview data was applied by the researcher.

The historical breaking points of Turkish politics from 1959 to today also could not be fully revealed since the events were shocking in nature which meant major shifts in the nation's life. Those years under study also reflected the military takeover of the administration in Turkey

which archival data and media news might be biased also. The subject itself was political in nature. An extreme precaution applied by the researcher not to drawn in pitfalls as historical events might be exaggerated. The study data is coded only by the researcher. A multi-person coding process would help the precision of the themes and results better.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS AND FINDINGS

#### **4.1. Introduction**

The results and findings of the data collection and analysis activities are discussed in this chapter. Eight interviews were administered and data collected through these interviews served as the primary data source. This chapter presents various explanations, experiences and ideas from the top managers of the TNP who had first hand experience with the adoption process of Turkey to the EU *acquis* in the TNP. The in-depth content analysis of those interviews was complemented by and checked against archival records, other relevant documents, direct observations, and a survey (post initial data collection) administered to interviewees (See Appendix A) to triangulate the interview of data. The results and findings offered in this chapter are discussed and refined with interviewees in several sessions to clarify the themes.

Comprehensive member checks are carried out either face-to-face, by phone, or e-mail.

#### **4.2. Themes and Results**

In the initial content analysis, eight themes emerged from the data collected. The researcher reviewed and revised these emerging themes continuously. Following the initial identification of the eight major themes, the researcher consolidated two themes based on their common characteristics. Seven major themes were analyzed in the final review. The analysis of the data was related to the study's research questions, goals, and objectives described in Chapter III. This method of study provided a clearer and more systematic understanding of the important aspects of reform process in the TNP during the EU accession program. Those seven themes are:

1. Organizational structure, management style, and decision-making of the TNP

2. Focus and orientation of the EU adoption and reforms
3. Relationships within the police and with other entities
4. Information resources and communication channels
5. Characteristics of information resources
6. Motivation and participation in the EU *acquis* adoption process
7. Factors that affected the adoption behavior

A detailed discussion of each theme is explained and supported with complementary sources of data used in this study such as documentary evidence, direct observation and existing reports of the EU Commission.

#### **4.2.1. Organizational Structure, Management Style, and Decision-making of the TNP**

The theme *building process* revealed that the reform process and adoption decisions of the EU *acquis* appeared to have direct relationships with the organizational structure of the TNP. The organizational structure was also advantageous for decision making, because the decisions in participating units were made by the process of information gathering and information sharing; subsequently, those decisions were either changed or reshaped through hierarchical layers. This first theme was important for understanding information seeking behavior of participants and the decision-making process of the TNP. As discussed in section 2.3, law enforcement agencies are known for certain characteristics such as the bureaucratic order and hierarchical design which define the work flow charts and communication channels which influence the decision making process and shape the character of decision makers, the use of formal and informal communication channels by decision makers and practitioners in the field, and the rules of governing the organization.

The interview data and documentary evidence helped to identify several categories in this theme which are defined below:

- Hierarchical Organization: A group of people who form an ascending chain of power or authority. Specially appointed officials in an organization form an escalating series of ranks. Those ranks are conceptual explanations of degrees of power. The rank levels are also visually depicted in organizations by wearing uniforms with specific insignia. The rank typically represents the officer's position in the office, but in rare cases it might not be the case as some lower rank officials might do duties of a higher position as proxy to high ranking officials. A hierarchy is used to refer to a body of individuals arranged or classified according to capacity, authority, position, or rank.
- Bureaucratic Organization: "A complex, specialized organization" whose personnel are "non-elected, highly trained professional administrators" and employees "hired on a full-time basis to perform administrative services and tasks" (Johnson, 2005, para. 1).  
Bureaucratic organizations are composed of specialized departments. Each of those departments pursues a goal or policy that requires expertise. Bureaucratic organizations depend on hierarchy and their personnel holds ranks in this hierarchy (Johnson, 2005).
- Result oriented: Activities that are planned to achieve a certain result which does not leave room for failure.
- Enhanced education and training: The instruction and professional development established by an organization in an evolving environment to train and educate their personnel according to the demands of the fast changing world.
- Formal communication channels: The communication channels set by laws, written regulations and mandates of the organization. They are designed to carry the information

vertically, from top to bottom or bottom to top. They are highly normative in context and in form. Although verbal in rare instances, mainly the messages are sent through the channels in writing and signed by all relevant hierarchical levels to show the next level that the preceding groups know and approve the content.

- Enhanced informal communication channels: The natural communication channels that are not specifically created by laws, written regulations and organizational mandates. The direction of communication is generally horizontal, between units at the same levels in different divisions, departments or organizations. However, the direction of communication might also be vertical, from top to bottom or bottom to top as required. Those rare instances occur primarily in crisis situations or whenever following regular channels might be catastrophic due to considerations of timeliness, or when regular channels are not functional due to physical or technological breakdowns. These channels are used normally in daily life and employed more than the formal communication channels to confer or to impose an idea.

The interviews and the documentary evidence showed that the TNP is a highly bureaucratic organization with written rules of communication and work flow. The organization has a tall hierarchical ladder with 11 different ranks from line officer to the Director General. One respondent said: “The hierarchical ladder begins with the Director General and five Deputy Director Generals. The bureaucratic character of the organization was a result of necessity since the organizational structure is divided into two main components of the Main Headquarters and Provincial Police Departments. There are 81 provinces and 30 Departments under the TNP. The organization is responsible for providing security to 71% of the population and covering all

urban areas of Turkey. This huge structure coupled with close to 180,000 personnel justifies the bureaucratic structure and hierarchical order in the organization.”

All the interviewees were aware of the EU Division within the Foreign Relations Department as they knew that the TNP had added new units to its organizational structure during the EU adoption process. The EU Division was newly designed to coordinate the EU adoption efforts of the TNP. The respondents unanimously stated that the EU Division was disseminating necessary and relevant information, holding coordination meetings, and providing expert facilitators.

Two respondents stated that “two out of five Deputy Director Generals were assigned as the EU adoption project leaders to direct and supervise the adoption process.” This division of labor and specialization were important to carry out the tasks without delays and confusion.

The interviewees did not always respond to all questions; sometimes they referred deferred to the relevant officers in other departments. Questions regarding communication with the field units were especially answered with reservations. One respondent said:

We get limited calls from the field which are related to the visits of several human rights boards and to training programs regarding the EU *acquis*. The application side details are up to the Public Order Department. I encourage you to talk to him about the communication with the provincial police departments, because s/he told me that they are getting a lot of calls regarding the application of the new laws and programs.

The provincial police departments receive the EU *acquis* related information through official correspondence. The interviewees stated that the correspondence was clarified in meetings, training programs, workshops, and seminars. The updates were prepared in the EU

Division, signed by all the officers involved, which include the person who typed the document, his/her immediate supervisor, the Chief of Bureaus, the Chief of Division, the Deputy Chief of Department, and the Chief of Department, the Deputy Director General who is supervising the Foreign Relations Department, the Director General and the Minister of Internal Affairs. The Minister of Internal Affairs and the Director General do not sign documents that are not sent to Governorships and other institutions which are higher up the hierarchical ladder.

Any regular reports of the EU *acquis* adoption programs such as those tracking the twinning projects to maintain records of progress reported to ABGS were sent to the EU Division. The regular dispatches regarding the application of new laws and programs were communicated between the related department and the provincial police departments. The policy documents in the Main HQ, however, were forwarded from the Foreign Relations Department to the other 29 departments in the Main HQ. All main HQ departments have authority over and connections with the provincial police departments regarding job related issues. They coordinate the implementation of the EU *acquis* in the field. The interviewees remarked that the provincial police departments use all communication channels to gain knowledge about the laws, regulations, projects and programs.

The interview data suggested that the *r* the organizational chart of the TNP, the TNP hierarchical structure, the bureaucratic nature of the TNP, the relations between the ranks and the different units in the TNP and outside the TNP are all] taught to officers while they attend the Police Academy, Police College or Police Vocational Schools. The long period of policing education prepares cadets for the job physically, psychologically, and intellectually by equipping them with the required knowledge. In recent years, the skill sets required for the future of the

organization have been improved during school training, including knowledge of foreign languages, the biggest asset that the TNP has today.

One of the skills that the TNP teaches their members while they are in school is to be result oriented. Sometimes cadets think that they cannot cope with the demands of this training, but in the process, say interviewees, they gain superior self confidence and learn to trust themselves while practically and emotionally learning to respect their supervisors and superiors, because they represent the role models of the future policemen and because these supervisors are aware of the capabilities of their cadets and had skills to unearth them.

#### **4.2.2. Focus and Orientation of the EU *Acquis* Adoption and Reforms**

The focus on the EU adoption and reforms emerged as an important theme. The decision-making process of the EU adoption process was shaped and carried out by the information seeking behavior of the TNP members, said the interviewees. The information seeking behavior was important to understand the focus of the EU *acquis* adoption and related reforms. The information seeking behavior and job handling process of the members demonstrated the same aspect of the information resources and communication channels discussed in 2.2.2. Communication Channels section of Chapter II. The interviewees stated that rather than discussing the suitability of the reforms, they focused on completing the reforms in the time frame set by those in authority.

Another two important categories that were delineated based on interview data and documentary evidence are:

- Order-driven: This category refers mainly to the democratic policing concepts which are discussed in Chapter II:
  - The Police must be accountable to the law rather than to the government.

- The Police must protect human rights, especially those rights that are required for the sort of political activity that is the hallmark of democracy.
- The Police must be accountable to people outside their organization that are specifically designated and empowered to regulate police activity.
- The Police must give top operational priority to serving the needs of individual citizens and private groups (Bayley, 2006, pp. 19-20).
- Focus on completing the EU requirements: This refers to the TNP's commitment level with the reforms.

The interview data and documentary evidence suggested that there is an orchestrated effort to meet the challenges of the reform process. The TNP has been “a fast evolving organization since 1983 with OZAL reforms.” The interview data further specified that the “organizational preparedness” for the EU reforms after 2000 was a result of preparing the personnel motivationally and educationally. The seminars, symposiums and conferences organized by the TNP showed a commitment towards change which was also a natural outcome of its organizational structure and discipline. One interviewee asserted the police supervisors as well as the police officers were trained to obey orders, learned to gain results under crisis situations and time constraints, and were expected to show satisfactory achievement towards organizational aims which sometimes required them to ignore their personal needs. This process taught the every officer to be a part of the team where they are stationed.

The cadets also learned to obey governmental orders which were disseminated through the chain of command. The interview data and documentary evidence suggested that the same course of action happened during the EU adoption process. All layers of the organization involved in reforms carried on with full support and without delay. The interviewees

unanimously stated that “it is out of question not to obey orders of the government and top officials of the TNP.” Since it was so ordered to complete the required programs under the EU *acquis* adoption process, delay was not an issue; the interviewees also expressed their belief that even though some aspects of the reforms were not believed in completely, they were completed anyway. They stated even though they were not always comfortable with the judicial police and the extremely enhanced suspect rights, they obeyed the orders and acted accordingly.

The interviewees were in agreement that they believed in the reforms in general as they were required for the TNP and for the public, but that it was normal to have some discrepancies that would bother them. Because of their belief in duty, discipline, and training, they did not directly oppose the problematic aspects of the EU *acquis* adoption programs. However, they also felt that they were able to use democratic channels to convince the deputies of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) to look into the problems. Some of the interviewees stated that they were already involved in work groups to prepare changes in laws like the Code of Criminal Procedure.

The interviewees were not directly asked about democratic policing principals; instead, the accountability mechanisms emerged while discussing the issues of accountability and human rights. The government was representing the stance of the law and thought to be democratic since the laws were passed by the TGNA without noteworthy objection from opposition parties. The interviewees expressed the feeling that they understood the commitment of the government; however, they said those changes were the needs of the TNP and the demands of the public and there was common consensus between the public. They also reiterated that the TNP was accountable to the government regarding the EU *acquis* adoption since time deadlines were known and there was no reason not to follow the timelines. When asked the question about the

public's support towards changes in the police the interviewees indicated that "except for victim rights there is strong support from citizens." As they mentioned in other instances, they asserted that the police was accountable to the law, not the politicians.

Protecting human rights was a normal duty of the police, responded the interviewees. Because the new laws were so clear and so result oriented, they were careful about not overstepping their police powers. It appeared that there were problems regarding the operational priority of the police, even though the interviewees thought that the TNP was an organization whose prime concern was serving the citizens: the police served the citizens without hesitation, for example, providing security at demonstrations.

Police accountability to laws was guaranteed by the zero-tolerance policy and the prosecutor's supervision. The interview data indicated the extensive respect of the police towards upholding the democratic rights of the citizens. However, the citizens were not always aware of the changes and they expected the police to regulate their relations with other citizens and institutions and some people in the public wanted the police to continue to act as they had before the reform process. Interview data and documentary evidence showed that, the respect for human rights in Turkey, especially in the TNP was promisingly high and sometimes even above and beyond levels seen in the EU countries.

The interviewees suggested that the EU reform package was complete and successfully could transform the country. Those reform mandates were proposing concrete steps to achieve the goal. The twinning projects especially were seen as being extremely important to provide a sense of acceptability of the reforms. The reforms were neither empty promises nor baseless suggestions. Rather, every step was well-planned, well-coded, and moreover, well-funded. This process pulled all the institutions into the route of the reforms and provided a kind of ownership

feeling for them. The personnel felt that they were achieving something which was extraordinary and important for themselves, their organization, their public, and their country.

All interviewees were part of a twinning project either at the planning and funding phase or in its application. For example, the interviewees from one province in Turkey were part of a twinning project in the renovation of the police detention centers and the statement taking rooms in 2003. The effect of being part of such a project was so crucial as it let officials be directly involved in the reform process. A twinning project prepared and started in 2002, which focused on “Improvement of Statement Taking Methods and Statement Taking Rooms in Turkey”, has been completed. The actual effort to renovate the rooms was carried out by interviewees of this study who asserted that their contributions and involvement in the project positively reinforced their acceptance level of the reforms (see Appendix L for a press release about the second phase of the project).

As interview data revealed, the TNP has been ready for reforms for a long time. However, the incentives attached to the process and the broader effect of bringing all relevant authorities together, reaching all the layers of the organization, sharing the process with NGO’s and carrying the essence of the project to the future of the organization through twinning projects were very important to complete the picture. Joint initiatives like those projects were effective in fostering competition among the different organizations as well as making them a part of the same process. An interviewee visited a meeting of one of the NGOs upon an invitation extended for a police representative, but was faced with negative comments made against his organization, the TNP. Once he explained his position in that meeting, expressed his respect towards human rights, and indicated his desire to exchange information to improve general respect for human rights, the participants found common ground to discuss and solve problems.

The extent of the focus on the reforms shows the level of commitment. As discussed in previous chapters, the government's commitment through reforms leads the other institutions to be committed to follow them also. The government's commitment is the most important aspect of democratic policing, determining the level of implementation. The TNP's commitment level is seen as parallel to that of the government, as shown through the interviews and other documentary evidence. To describe the organization's position, motivation, and the view of the reforms at the start of the commitment, the interviewees used terms such as "a dire need to change, a dire need to benefit from intellectual capacity, a reform package that no one can object to, a well-coded package, a tool to achieve modern administration,". The motivation to complete reforms for the TNP showed the TNP's level of acceptance and commitment: they deem these reforms as a tool to integrate Turkey and its institutions with the modern world and to overcome administrative and cultural problems that bar any change in the TNP. The interesting aspect of the TNP's focus is that the strong level of commitment is shared by most levels of the organization, without major resistance except in a few specific areas like a hesitation to accept the creation of judicial police, excessive suspect rights, and some parts of police-prosecutor relations.

However, in general, police-prosecutor relations are reportedly positive from the TNP perspective, because legal responsibility would rest with the prosecutor, as it should, and the police would act according to the prosecutors' directives. The closer prosecutor supervision of the police forces the prosecutors to improve their attendance to and at incident scenes more often. As was mentioned by the interviewees, a change in the search and seizure provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure was proposed to the TGNA to give Chiefs of Police authority to issue written approval in urgent circumstances when a delay cannot be tolerated.

Other than judicial police application, there were no reported problems with the reforms that are directly related to the police. Documentary evidence supports the notion that the reform areas related with the police were not problematic. The interviewees did not mention any reservations regarding the reform process; in fact, they asserted that the TNP was benefiting from the reform process and they believed the process helped the TNP to improve itself legally, operationally, and technically.

In particular, the regular reports from the EC about Turkey are very clear about revealing any torture cases and defining areas of reform. The latest 2006 report indicates no violation of human rights in police custody, or in police stations. The report comments that “the downward trend has continued in the number of cases of torture and ill-treatment. The reforms in detention procedures and detention periods have shown positive results on the ground.” However, it goes on to note that, “cases of torture and ill-treatment are still being reported, in particular outside detention centers” (Turkey 2006 Progress Report, 2006, p. 13). Since the report does not clarify what “outside detention centers” means, two implications may be possible. The first is that they might be trying to suggest that the police are violating human rights covertly in hidden locations. The second is the possibility that some other state officials are violating human rights. “Isolated cases” explanation of the authorities before the reform process in Turkey was the biggest threat against human rights, since those were serving to hinder the problem. Those newly reported cases seem to be unsubstantiated claims made especially by politically motivated organizations as Caliskan (2007) put. In fact, nothing diminishes the reality that the police in Turkey are consistently making great efforts to respect human rights and are taking the utmost care to provide citizens with the necessary means to use their democratic and fundamental rights. The report also suggests that the application of the zero-tolerance policy is non-problematic.

The interview data did not reveal any aspect about the service-orientation of the TNP before and after the reforms. However, some documentary evidence suggested that improvements were experienced. Possible reasons for this issue will be discussed in Chapter V.

Even before reform readiness, the TNP was already order-oriented. However, some of the increased interactions with other organizations, especially with the EU institutions, were motivated through incentives and forced them to focus on completing the EU requirements.

#### **4.2.3. Relationships within the Police and with Other Entities**

The third theme that emerged from interviews and documentary evidence was the relations of the TNP with its environment during the EU *acquis* adoption process. The interviewees told that those relationships were transforming on many levels: inside the organization among the individual officers, divisions, departments, and provincial police departments; outside the organization with other law enforcement agencies, other institutions, and the public; outside the country with other countries' law enforcement organizations and international organizations like the UN and OSCE. This theme was important to understand skill sets of the organization which will be explained in section 4.2.6. The relationships show the competitive and intellectual capacity of the different organizations and more importantly the acceptance level of the TNP organization externally, which is an important indicator of the openness of an organization for changes. As discussed in Chapter II, the openness and the communication capacity of an organization also indicates its innovativeness. Moreover, as the interview data suggested, interaction with others was the most essential tool in shaping innovation decisions. Four categories emerged under this theme. These categories are as follows:

- The relationships with other law enforcement agencies in and outside Turkey: Other law enforcement agencies in Turkey are the General Command of the Gendarmerie,

the General Command of the Coast Guard, and the General Directorate of Customs.

Other law enforcement agencies outside Turkey refer to any police or gendarmerie organizations that are deemed counterparts of the TNP in bilateral and/or multilateral agreements.

- The relationship with institutions other than the police in and outside Turkey: Those are governmental or non-governmental organizations with which the TNP has formal or informal relations.
- The relationship with the public: Public refers to people living in a community, including both citizens and non-citizens.
- The relationship with politicians: Politicians are people who hold decision-making positions in the government or who seek those positions through a political party or independently with which the TNP has formal or informal relations.
- Deficient communication: This refers to the state of conflict between people or groups which in turn results in weak communication. The communication worsens when the conflict deepens. There is a linear correlation between the depth of conflict and the lack of communication. In conflict, people tend to avoid, limit, or cut their relations with those on the other side of the conflict. The lack of communication is also result of a tendency of one group of interlocutors thinking that there is nothing new to learn or gain from the others through communication (Conflict Research Consortium, 1998).

The relations inside the organization appear to be very strong among members. The relationship structure among peers was originally designed based on cohort groups. Cohorts were peers who enrolled at police educational facilities in the same year, graduated together, and/or

were assigned to active duty the same year. The interviewees commented that the affinity between those close friends went beyond colleagues or brotherhood. Every year four different cohorts attend training; a superior-subordinate relationship is established between cohorts. It is reported that this relationship strengthens the solidarity among the students in the same cohort while they are learning to overcome hurdles of the volatile environment. Even though the rules of discipline and relations with other students were clear, the established cohort culture for years gave extraordinary power of superiors over subordinates. Examples of this extraordinary power relationship were the expectation that the subordinates would give up seats for a superior cohort, respect their priority in canteen lines, and such. Because of these tight bonds, whenever a superior class crosses the legal line to oppress the lower cohort member, an extremely powerful solidarity develops immediately as a defense mechanism.

This relationship evolves over the years to form strong alliances and it teaches the cadets the communication rules between different cohorts and makes them aware of the rights and responsibilities of friends in the same cohort and in other cohorts as well. The interviewees were very enthusiastic remembering the formation of all those relationships and said they were not unhappy with the hierarchy of superiors and subordinates. They consistently referred to their peers of same and lower position as brothers, and peers of higher position as elder brothers.

The interviewees also discussed the pattern relationships when they are on active duty. They said that active duty was seen as a relief from the school environment, but brought with it new problems with different people at different ages and from different backgrounds. Their ties with their peers from school still stay strong. In fact, they confer with each other about what to do in certain situations. The work place also establishes new friendships; it is on active duty where people learn whom to trust and whom not to. All the problems they face are occasions to

strengthen their relations with their friends. When you take into account that the number of cadets in school any one year may be more than 1,000 and multiply this by four, they already know 4,000 people. The interviewees referred to this as networking and they deemed it power.

Another effect of the work place on this network was to expand the relations of the officers who graduated from police vocational schools who had low profile and create stronger ties with the community and with their own cohorts. Once the trust was established between the supervisors and officers, the network was expanded naturally by the officer and supervisor who were utilizing each others as hubs of their cohorts. An assignment from one post to another provided new connections and brought additional members into the network. The interviewees agreed that this network of relationships was why the reform process was successful, and that was why all the members of the organization were working to achieve the same goal.

Relationships with other law enforcement organizations were said to be a little different. There was competition among those institutions. The equivalent law enforcement institution is the Gendarmerie, which is half army, half police. The relations between them and the TNP were not so tight because of jurisdictional differences and because army discipline is seen as segregating officers from society. The other group of people with whom a limited number of police officers establish relations are customs officials who are stationed only at borders and ports. Having friends and thus connections in all different departments, provinces, and institutions make the TNP officers more powerful and make it easier to communicate with every corner of the country.

The interviewees said that the TNP was stationing officers at important institutions in the country including hospitals, court buildings, and airports, the TGNA, ministries, the Prime

Ministry, the Presidency and many more. Those connections were not as strong as in the other contexts, but they were readily available whenever required.

The interview data suggested that the TNP had relations with other countries' police departments and with various international organizations. These relationships with other nations' police departments, the UN, and the OSCE have been improving year by year. The relations are based on the logical need to better fight global crimes with global measures. When the TNP began to improve relations, they reaped the benefits of cooperation. Interviewees pointed out that to strengthen these relations, the TNP has signed many agreements and Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs); has supported UN and OSCE missions, has joined and arranged conferences and currently is managing twinning projects in close cooperation and coordination with their European counterparts.

Four of the eight interviewees have been on UN and OSCE peacekeeping missions. They stated that they valued the relations and interactions with other countries' police officers. They said their relationships and communication still continue on both personal and professional levels. Some examples of the useful methods through which the TNP gained benefits and improved overall knowledge and experience were by participating in peacekeeping missions and other initiatives abroad such as providing security personnel to Foreign Affairs missions abroad; Higher Education Abroad Program (HEAP); international conferences, meetings, and seminars; and study visits to other countries. Also, one-on-one relationships appeared to be very important within and outside the organization. Especially during the decision-making and preparation phases of the twinning projects, the interaction between the TNP officials and the Delegation of the EC to Turkey were open to communication, were sympathetic, and were carried out in good faith.

The TNP's interaction with non-law enforcement institutions outside Turkey appeared to be related with postings abroad such as UN and OSCE peacekeeping missions. Relationships with institutions other than UN and OSCE basically were in the context of university education like HEAP and mutual research and development projects like working with Michigan State University to improve the democratic policing skills of an EU member country's police agency.. The TNP through HEAP also developed relations with NATO and received 9 of 43 grant projects on Human and Societal Dynamics in 2006 from among the whole NATO and NATO Partner Countries.

The interviewees did not report any policy change because of demonstrations or human rights organizations in Turkey. Those demonstrations and NGO's were not considered to be different than each other in the eye of the police. In fact, the interviewees thought most of the demonstrations were carried out by legal extensions of illegal terrorist organizations. When questioned about the relations with the human rights organizations, it was apparent that the personnel from TNP headquarters had some relations especially in connection with twinning projects. An interviewee from one province reported no human rights organizations in his/her jurisdiction. Other interviewees then explained that those organizations were perceived to be carrying out a political agenda and did not really care about the citizens' human rights. So, in many provinces where those kinds of associations do not see any benefit for their political agenda, they do not manifest themselves.

#### **4.2.4. Information Resources and Communication Channels**

The fourth theme to emerge from the interview data and documentary evidence was that of information resources and communication channels. As discussed in Chapter II, those information resources and communication channels were important since they had the potential

to shape the reform process in the TNP; any changes in those channels might yield certain insights into the enthusiasm of the TNP for the reform process. The following themes, categories and codes were delineated from the interview data:

- a. Formal Channels: Those are the channels of organizational communication which are set forth in the manuals of the organization and which are visualized through organization charts (Allen, 1998). Formal channels are also called formalization. Formalization is “the degree to which an organization relies on and enforces formal written rules, policies, standards, and procedures” (Maguire et al., 2003, p. 269). The TNP is a para-militaristic and hierarchical organization and its communication is also highly regulated in written codes (Figure 5.15). The following codes and sub-codes that emerged from the interview data are discussed in this section:

- i. Correspondences
- ii. Department Liaison Officers
- iii. In-service training
- iv. Meetings
  1. Screening meetings
  2. Twinning project meetings
  3. Coordination meetings
- v. Workshops
- vi. Prosecutor-police relations
- vii. Study visits
- viii. Cosmopolitanism

- ix. CPT (Committee for Prevention of Torture) and HR Boards visits
  - x. Curriculum changes in police education institutions
- b. Informal Channels: Informal channels are complementary to formal channels. The casual, personal, and social interchanges are communicated through informal channels at work. Allen (1998) calls informal channel communication the “grapevine” which consists of rumors, gossip, and truthful information. Allen warns that the supervisor should value the informal conduit, the grapevine, but should be cautious as the communications may not be accurate. The following codes found in the interview data under this category:
- i. Peer Emulation
  - ii. Media
  - iii. Interaction with NGOs
- c. Quasi-Formal Channels: Those channels are informal channels utilized to communicate formal duties. Quasi-formal channels are used when the formal channels do not allow communication for any one of several reasons such as a lack of an established formal communication channel, the existence of an urgent need to be met, and/or a need to clarify a formal duty impossible to do so through formal communication channels (Peak, Gaines, & Glensor, 2004). The following codes and sub-codes were found in the interview data under this category:
- i. Higher Education Abroad Program (HEAP)
  - ii. International Institutions
    - 1. UN Peacekeeping Missions
    - 2. OSCE Peacekeeping Missions

- iii. Overseas duties
  - 1. Mission Security of Foreign Affairs
  - 2. Liaison Officers Abroad
- d. Laws and other legal documents: The foundations of the Turkish law is classified under two categories: (1) Written laws which are legislation and scholarly work including the Constitution, statutes (or laws), international treaties, the statutory decrees by the Council of Ministers, regulations, by-laws, court decisions, and doctrine. (2) Unwritten (customary) laws which are so old that their establishment is not known, but are generally accepted in the community as rightful, are secured by state sanction, and are not in conflict with the written laws. Those can be used by a judge if a case is not regulated by a written law (Can, n.d.). Legal documents in the scope of this study are MOUs, contracts, and official letters or statements.
  - i. Turkish Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure
  - ii. Accession partnership documents
  - iii. Inspection reports
  - iv. Regular progress reports of the EU Commission
  - v. Interpretation of laws through circulars and executive orders
- e. Internet: A global network connecting millions of computers. In the scope of this study, the internet is a communication tool used to reach published information especially from the EU-related official websites and to exchange e-mails between people.
- f. Twinning Projects: Twinning projects are used to transfer expertise from an EU member country to a candidate country. A member country's expert, who is a

practitioner in the implementation of *acquis*, is seconded to an acceding member or candidate country for up to two years to effect a long term change. The expert is also supported by a Senior Project Leader in his home country (Twinning, 2006).

The following code and sub-codes were identified from the interview data:

- i. Study visits
  1. Transferring the expertise
  2. Transferring the knowledge

### **Formal Channels**

One of the interviewees claimed that the internal communication of the TNP was superior to its counterparts in the world for three reasons and referred to an article by Teymur and Yayla, (2005), reflecting the strengths of the TNP's communication skills.

1. The superior information sharing capability of the TNP which was established during the fight against terrorism; all members have realized the value of information sharing to dismantle terrorist organizations.
2. The appropriate tools to facilitate the effective and fast communication and information sharing are provided. These tools are:
  - POL-NET: A closed police network to facilitate database management of services, information sharing, and formal communication.
  - An internal phone system that provides free and easy access to desired central and provincial offices.
  - An internal e-mail system
  - The police radio that broadcasts to the whole country

- The official GSM phone system which connects the TNP officers to the outside through paid services, and to TNP personnel through free service.
3. The bonds established among the leadership of the TNP during their Police College and Police Academy education can facilitate the informal communication channels as well as formal communication channels (Teymur & Yayla, 2005).

The interviewees noted that an important superiority of the TNP to other police agencies outside of Turkey was their strong social bonding to each other. They exemplified their foreign experiences and compared the TNP with other police agencies outside of Turkey. The social bonding was galvanized through vocational education which was relatively long when compared with their counterparts around the world. As previously mentioned the Police College, a police high school, and the Police Academy, a police university, both provided four-year training where officers got acquainted with the job, superiors, and subordinates, and made friends.

This eight year process included a curriculum that focused on communication training in addition to academic and professional training. All communication was taught with already established codes, problems were experienced and solved, and communication in crisis situations was taught through discipline and chain of command. The cadets informally learned to convey messages to each other to circumnavigate hurdles of strict discipline which in turn helped them to carry out their duties efficiently and probably with the best possible information. This implies that the curricula and instruction format is set up so that the students are forced to develop these relationships and conduits of informal communication to “win” against the very rigorous rules of the schools. That is, what is seemingly surreptitious and ‘under the table’ and seems is in fact one of the unstated goals of the educational experience.

Moreover, the trust between colleagues, including both superiors and subordinates, was established through training and living together all those years. The social aspect of communication is seen as the main reason of the superior capacity of the organization. The trust was helpful especially for reducing the amount of correspondence and for getting results sooner. After missions executed with efficient information sharing, it was customary to put those activities into written format immediately. Given the size of the TNP, the harmonization of communication and information sharing can be viewed as an impressive accomplishment. The value of face-to-face and quasi-formal communication through training programs, meetings, e-mails and telephone conversations is vital for the success of the police. This was also the case during the EU *acquis* adoption process. .

The interviewees affirmed that the formal communication channels were used in communicating the reform information effectively. Formal correspondence was used to facilitate effective adjustments during the EU *acquis* adoption process. Any problems or concerns regarding newly adopted reforms were asked to be clarified the official stance of the organization. The meetings were held at the national, regional, and provincial levels. In-service training courses were used as an effective tool during officer training. Those courses and meetings were also helpful to explain proper behaviors. The feedback from the field was shared, possible ideas for improvements were exchanged, and problems during implementation were addressed for solutions. The extent of the in-service training in the TNP is considered an important catalyst for timely and effective communication and information sharing. One of the interviewees referred to a table from the TNP Anti-Terrorism Department's website which indicates all the in-service training courses specifically for human rights provided by the TNP between 1999 and 2005 (Table 4.1). Clearly, the documentation demonstrates the commitment

the organization made to educating personnel about the new ideas related to the EU reform process. According to Table 4.1 all the TNP personnel involved in human rights training at least one time.

Table 4.1 In-Service Human Rights Training in the Turkish National Police

Years	Attendee		SUM
	Ranked Officials	Line Officers	
1999	3290	8970	12260
2000	4666	9662	14328
2001	2886	12065	14951
2002	5557	22002	28193
2003	6065	13125	19190
2004	6915	17413	24328
2005	16297	66835	83132
<b>GROSS TOTAL</b>	<b>45676</b>	<b>150072</b>	<b>195748</b>

Adopted from Eğitim Alanında Yapılan Çalışmalar, (n.d.) (Translated to English).

The interview data supported the notion that the TNP is a fast acting organization in regards to communication during the reform process. The appointment of Liaison Officers to 29 Departments of the TNP enhanced the information sharing and communication during the EU *acquis* adoption process. As the interview data suggested, the TNP valued the swift communication and recognized the importance of quasi-formal communication channels. While the formal communication channels were already open and active, appointment of the Liaison Officers served to provide responses to questions and needs very quickly and accurately without experiencing delays from bureaucratic channels (See Figure 5.15).

The official meetings were crucial for exchanging information also. The interview data showed that the ability to launch meetings spontaneously during the adoption process helped to improve and complete twinning projects rapidly. The interviewees stated that “the luxury of inviting other officials to meetings” was crucial to complete twinning projects. Those meetings were simultaneous with the new developments of the EU *acquis* adoption process. At the same time, a more formal version of the meetings were held at higher levels by the Deputy Director Generals or by the Foreign Relations Department EU Division under the auspices of the Deputy Director General to direct, discuss, support and train the reform process. Interviewees called those meetings “coordination meetings.” They said that these coordination meetings were especially important for providing insights about the expectations of the upper management and the government during the EU *acquis* adoption process. These meetings conveyed the message that the reforms were both ordered by and supported by the administration.

The regional level meetings, longer than regular meetings, took one to five days and were called “workshops.” the purpose was gathering the officers for a session which provided problem-solving, hands-on training. The involvement of the participants was crucial to achieve unity in implementation. Interviewees stated that the training sessions were interactive where officers were able to get together and learn from each other. On one occasion, an interviewee recalled that while one officer was complaining about the eliminated police powers, another officer responded by urging him to read the new laws and related policy manual where the “power” of the police was clearly defined. The workshops were essential to transmit the message from HQ to the field about their support of and dedication to the reforms.

All the interviewees were in agreement explaining their unrest towards the establishment of judicial police. They explained that it gave more powers to the prosecutors to direct the police

instead of empowering the prosecutor's office. The interviewees claimed that the problem was that the prosecutors who were on duty did not stay available in their offices, did not attend incident scenes, and did not direct the police efficiently by providing legal descriptions of actions which should be a safeguard for the police.

The interviewees said that there were problems with the Code of Criminal Procedure which, with its strict rules for search and seizures, tied the hands of the police. They were unhappy that the Minister of Internal Affairs was not actively discussing the problems publicly. The Minister of Justice was criticized by the interviewees for his harsh statements towards the police that appeared several times in the newspapers. One of the interviewees said that "bureaucratic politics were at play." One of the major issues was that cases where any delays would result in criminals disappearing were placed in the same category as regular cases such that the police were required to secure a warrant from a judge to launch operations. The interviewees expressed their concerns about getting the required changes into the law; they indicated that it should be done as early as possible.

The interviewees in the field expressed positive views about prosecutor supervision, saying that it was a safeguard against the difficult hurdle of legal interpretations. However, the perceptions about the judicial police and other regulations regarding police-prosecutor relations were not always positive as they had not been made with consensus by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Justice. Interviewees at the HQ gave examples from Austria, already an EU country, that a legal change regarding the Code of Criminal Procedure has been enacted in the Parliament and left a four-year window for the police and prosecutor's office to make necessary adjustments during the trial period. This was another example of the burden of proof being placed on the police in Turkey instead of the responsible institutions.

The following points were revealed by the interview data about the visits to the current EU countries in relation to the twinning projects: The interviewees felt that the study visits to the other EU countries during the twinning projects were very informative. Learning by seeing was affirmed as being more effective than simply hearing or reading about the situation. The study visits were made after the EU member country expert worked in Turkey, saw the situation in Turkey, and discussed with local authorities what could be done. The purpose of those visits was to provide a real case to give an idea of how the system works in an EU country and how changes should be handled in the TNP. In some instances, those visits were helpful to build self-confidence in the TNP personnel by providing the personnel the chance to see that Turkey was further advanced than the EU countries in some rare reform areas such as legal human rights protections were so perfect.

According to the interviewees, the benefits of those visits were that they were interactive, provided opportunities to communicate face-to-face, and let the officers think “out of the box.” “Transferring knowledge and experience” was also an important aspect of both twinning projects and related study visits. Given the nature of the visits, the interactions were a blend of formal and informal communication among the TNP team members and between the TNP team and the host country officials. The interviewees asserted that the twinning projects were rewarding in many other ways, such as making available required funds to reform systems, providing insights and knowledge about what could be done, creating opportunities for the officers to visit foreign countries and see the situations through inquiring eyes, and more importantly realizing that change was possible and achievable.

Cosmopolitanism is explained by Weiss (1997) and discussed in Chapter II. The TNP was seeking new ideas from other police departments in Europe to learn innovative ways to better

solve problems. The interaction of the TNP with police organizations in the EU countries improved day-by-day. The interviewees said that after those visits they improved new concepts and they began to think how they could resolve other problems in the TNP needing attention by cooperating with those police agencies. They brought their thoughts to meetings, to in-service training courses, and they made phone calls to see if they could prepare new twinning projects.

The CPT and Human Rights Boards' (HRBs) visits were also effective for communicating the reform information, especially the government's position about the adoption process. The interviewees discussed the phone calls and correspondence exchanged with the HQ during CPT visits to police stations. Those phone calls focused on the legality of the organization and the powers held during their visit. The interview data showed that those visits were an effective communication tool to show the position of the government and the Main HQ about the CPT and the EU *acquis* adoption process.

All together, the interview data demonstrated that the TNP was improving on many fronts like training, international organizations and missions, democratic policing, and respect for human rights. The interview data showed that human rights courses were implemented in the curriculum of the Police Academy, Police Vocational Schools and Police College and in-service training courses and that they had a considerable effect towards increasing officer respect for human rights. The interviewees suggested that, these classes were the first powerful message sent to new recruits that respecting human rights was an important phenomenon and they should embrace it.

### **Informal Channels**

The interview data about the value and complementary nature of informal channels have been previously discussed under the formal communications heading in this chapter to provide a

complete picture of the communication skills of the TNP. Cosmopolitanism was identified as one of those channels that might fall under formal, informal, and quasi-formal communication channels as it explains the intra-organizational level communication.

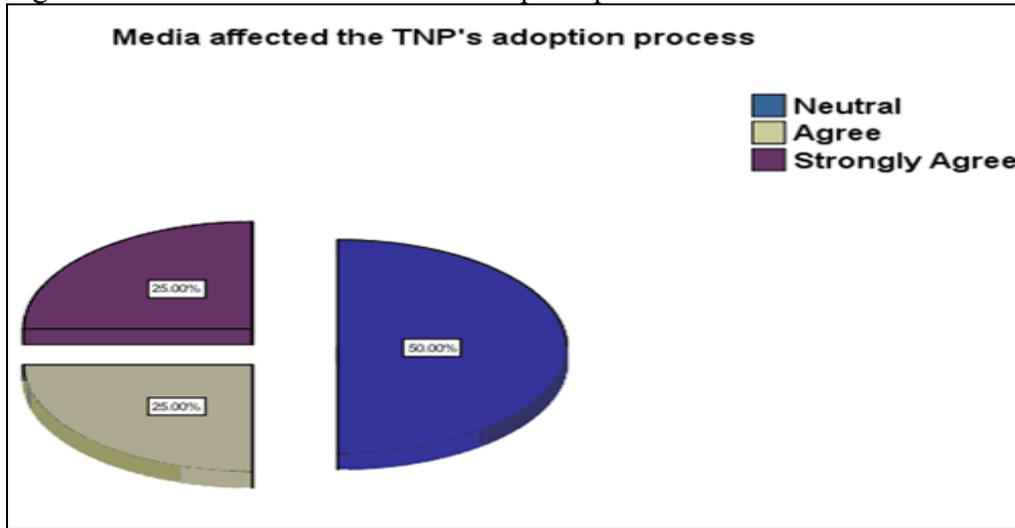
Peer emulation, on the other hand, is more informal and explains the communication among officers in the organization in the context of EU *acquis* adoption process. As stated in Chapter II, peer emulation is defined as “the extent to which innovation is influenced by communication and imitation. Peer emulation and cosmopolitanism are different in form and magnitude.” (Weiss, 1997, p. 295) Since peer emulation uses informal communication channels, it occurs more frequently. Given the fact that officers and managers need timely, accurate, and reliable information to move rapidly and to adjust to new demands or threats, peer emulation becomes an essential part of police innovation process (Weiss, 1997, p. 295).

Throughout the interviews, all the interviewees were firm in their insistence of how result-oriented the members of the TNP were. They said that even though the TNP was very formal, hierarchical, and bureaucratic, the employees found ways to communicate to with each other and built networks to share their experiences. They surmounted the slowness of the formal process through innovative shortcuts. Sometimes, the experiences of others were obtained through free telephone lines rented from Turk Telekom and cell phones on GSM. Those informal communication channels were mostly used to overcome obstacles. The interviewees said that these shortcuts were the main reason why most of the twinning projects with the TNP were completed very fast.

The effect of the media on reforms was not really emphasized upon by the interviewees. Only one of the interviewees felt strongly that the media’s effect was phenomenal. However when it came to the question about information resources during the adoption process, most had

initially learned about them from media and the internet. Interestingly, the survey results showed that 50% of interviewees thought the media was effective in helping to adopt the EU *acquis*. The other half of the interviewees were neutral about this question (see Figure 4.1.).

Figure 4.1 Media's effect on the EU adoption process.



However, the interview data were more detailed and conclusive in regards to the media. The government's commitment towards reforms were seen to be conveyed more effectively by the media, since other channels of communications were somehow limited to a small group of people. The interviewees indicated that the media was effective when showing the police officers in court proceedings related to terrorist cell operations, at mass demonstrations, and in regular police-citizen interactions where courts, authorities, and even mini newspaper polls evaluated the behavior of officers. All those issues were discussed in the work place and in the weekly seminars in provincial police departments. The interviewees said that the only public contact for HQ was the official TNP spokesperson and they liked the institution of the police responding to questions directly.

Any interaction with NGOs was predominately limited to two areas: Demonstrations and formal meetings. As unanimously expressed by interviewees, the more active NGOs, some

human rights organizations, and some cultural associations were seen as legal extensions of illegal organizations. No matter how democratic the police were, the groups were not happy and their members were breaking the law, in many instances, just to get publicity. The interviewees said that in provincial police departments, many members of politically motivated organizations wanted to be imprisoned as it was seen to be very prestigious by the organizations.

### **Quasi-Formal Channels**

Quasi-formal channels are the communication channels that are both formal and informal in nature. Those channels occur especially when a new formal organization is established but the communication channels have not yet been created, or when new relations are established with an exiting organization, but the communication channels have not yet been designated.

The interview data suggested that the communication between the HEAP and the TNP was established through quasi-formal channels. Since the establishment of the HEAP and its procedures were in its initial steps, the recognition of the institution and its relations with the TNP and other institutions had no previous procedures to follow.

The interviewees commented that the experiences in mission security in Foreign Affairs consulates and ambassadorships were also helpful examining the TNP from the outside which improved their skills in “thinking outside the box”. The interview data revealed that the number of TNP officers on international missions increased day-by-day. This brought more expertise and knowledge to the TNP.

### **Laws and other legal documents**

The changes made in the Turkish Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure had direct effects on policing in Turkey. The interview data implied that even though some changes were deemed appropriate, some changes like the police-prosecutor relations, regulations about police

powers, and judicial police were not really welcomed by the TNP. The TNP personnel were not in favor of those changes. The data suggested that those changes were made without necessary preparations. Expert knowledge was not used and the police were probably ignored intentionally.

The unrest towards new laws regarding police powers and duties were understandable since seeking a judge's permission was not practical in all cases, especially in emergencies and urgencies. The suspects were able to escape while the police were in the process of obtaining the written permission from a judge. The blame for all of this was placed on the Ministry of Justice since the legal preparations regarding the EU were carried out without truly understanding or by simply ignoring the policing job and its requirements.

It was made clear by interviewees that in the provincial police departments the prosecutor supervision was welcomed. However, the documentary evidence suggested that the judicial police application was not appropriate for necessary reforms. Other accountability mechanisms which would be more appropriate for a modern police organization were delineated.

The interviewees asserted that accession partnership documents very clearly explained the requirements of the EU adoption process and they actively researched those documents. The reports produced after regular and ad hoc visits of the HRBs and the CPT were also helpful for understanding the necessary change requirements. One important resource for gathering information about the *acquis* was the regular progress reports of the EU Commission on Turkey's accession progress. As those regular reports addressed the government, they were seen as very important to read even when they were first published on the EC website before being distributed through formal communication channels.

## **Internet**

All interviewees unanimously stated that they visited websites related to the EU and EC to gain accurate information in a timely manner. The internet was one of the prime resources of information gathered by the TNP personnel so as to be prepared to carry out reforms before they were asked by the government through formal correspondence.

## **Twinning Projects**

Planning for, communicating about, preparing for, and implementing the twinning projects seem to be transmitted through both formal and informal communication channels during adoption process. It appeared from the interview data that twinning project success was made possible through the successful use of informal communication channels. For example, one of the interviewees explained that a message about the available funds for a twinning project was conveyed to him by his ex-colleague who was working at the Foreign Relations and the EU Coordination Department within the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This informal communication was maintained throughout the project at all levels of planning, preparing and testing. The project, prepared in 2002-2003 and awarded 2,580,000 euros by the EU, has reached 3.6 Million Euros with the TNP contribution. The project focused on the reorganization of the TNP's administration, personnel, traffic, and training systems. The interviewees' formal communication was carried out with Karen Fog, the head of the delegation of the EC to Turkey and with Sedef Koray-Tippkamper, the Sector Manager for Justice and Home Affairs of the EC Delegation. They were very supportive and the interviewees asserted that their openness to communication made for an award-winning project; one became top twinning project in 2003. Five other interviewees also stated that the twinning projects they were involved with were mostly

communicated through informal channels during the preparation phase, but were approved through formal correspondences.

The renovation of police detention centers was one of the subjects that was mentioned by all the interviewees. This was also a twinning project funded by the EU and reached all the police departments in Turkey. While guidelines for the renovation project were communicated through formal channels in advance, during the actual initial planning of construction, many decisions were made through informal communication channels. Most of the communication was about interpreting the formal correspondence and learning from other police departments' experiences.

Importing experiences to Turkey and improving knowledge and expertise were very important aspects that the TNP benefited from by participating in twinning projects. The interviewees reported that no problems emerged in the TNP management during the adoption process.

#### **4.2.5. Characteristics of the Information Resources**

The interview data revealed that the information gathering and sharing capabilities of the TNP were enhanced far more during the adoption process with more face-to-face interaction which led to the use of both the formal and informal communication channels simultaneously.

The nature of the communication, besides the already designated formal channels, turned to mostly interactive and hands-on communication. The process of learning by doing and doing while asking did not leave any room for delays. The interviewee who made that statement was keen on the importance of learning organization. The process of applying the information during reforms into the field immediately was referred to as dynamic and evolving. To facilitate this

dynamic nature and to get results as early as possible, both formal and informal channels were used simultaneously.

#### **4.2.6. Motivation and Participation in the EU *Acquis* Adoption Process**

The sixth theme to emerge from interviews was the respondents' and the TNP's levels and sources of motivation and the degree of participation in the EU *acquis* adoption process. This theme could possibly have merged under the previous theme. However, it makes sense to compare and contrast the issue of the TNP and its motivation and participation with Roger's (1995) DOI theory as discussed in Chapter III. Three categories emerged from the interview data. These categories are:

- Motivating factors: These refer to the factors that motivated the respondents' and the TNP's participation into the EU *acquis* adoption process.
- Organizational readiness and availability of skill sets: Organizational readiness refers to the structural, emotional, intellectual, and policy readiness of the TNP. Skill sets are the strengths and abilities of the organization and the TNP personnel that facilitated the active participation into the EU *acquis* adoption process.
- Cooperation and coordination: These terms refer to the shared efforts of the participants and to whether those efforts were coordinated at the organizational and national level.
- The need to continue reforms: Refers to the commitment level to further the reforms beyond the EU *acquis* adoption process.

The motivation of the TNP as a whole and of the interviewees to complete reforms and to cooperate and collaborate within the TNP and with other institutions, including the government,

was based on two distinct sub-categories which were the government's commitment and the incentives.

The government's commitment was based on a logical policy. Raising Turkey to the same level as that of other developed nations was seen as possible only by adopting the EU mandates, regardless of whether or not Turkey would ultimately be accepted to the EU. Those were well-coded that outlined how to elevate a country to the same level of other modern civilizations. The Turkish government itself actively participated in the reform process, showed its commitment towards reforms, and tried to strengthen Turkey's alignment with the current European society. Integration with the EU was deemed a national policy which was also empowered by the external dynamics to curb the resistance to change stemming from the internal dynamics. Interviewees noted that not only for the police but for all the institutions in Turkey were the reforms an obligation. One other aspect of the determined implementation of the reforms mentioned by interviewees was related to the power of the government, since it was a one-party led government. They stated that coalition governments were not powerful enough to carry out reforms, especially when they were so complex.

The TNP realized the demands of the globalization such as greater respect for human rights, the benefits of international and interagency cooperation, and obligations ordered by the Government and the top management of the TNP.

The interview data showed the importance of the incentives in the success of the EU *acquis* adoption process. The financial incentives that emerged from the interview data were the EU funding for Turkey, a greater Western economic prosperity, and the EU appreciated as a "window of opportunity". Other incentives were related to changes in internal politics to shape

the administration in a better way, expressed by interviewees as a well-coded package that addressed needs, and provided a way to solve problems.

The interview data and documentary evidence suggested that the TNP had suitable organizational structure and the skill sets necessary to be ready for the reform process. Structural readiness was exemplified by the units added by the TNP to coordinate the reform process such as the EU Division under the Foreign Relations Department and the Strategic Research Department which was restructured from the previous Research, Planning and Coordination Department. The EU Division was handling the policy related coordination of the HQ departments and the provincial police departments. This division was also responsible for coordinating the TNP's adoption efforts with the office of the Prime Ministry Secretariat General for the EU Affairs (*Turkish*, Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği, ABGS). The interviewees noted that the EU division established a close working relationship with ABGS, which was admired by the TNP personnel. The interviewees stated that they could find the information they needed and were very satisfied with the level of coordination the EU division was able to achieve.

Appointing the liaison officers to departments in HQ was another important addition to the structure of the TNP. The cooperation by the EU Division was easier and effective with liaison officers. Six out of the 8 interviewees were active participants in the twinning projects, while all the participants were actively involving in the implementation of the reforms. This was viewed to be the natural outcome of effective coordination. The twinning projects were prepared by the HQ units and implemented through collaboration in the rest of Turkey. Educational readiness was defined by the interviewees as the curriculum changes in the Police Academy, the Police Vocational Schools, and the in-service training courses. The Police Academy has had human rights classes in their curriculum since 1991 and Police Vocational Schools since 1992. The

topics of human rights and public relations have been mandatory in in-service training courses since 2000. Beginning in 2004, human rights, community policing, and police ethics were included in all in-service training courses. Those in- courses were very effective in reaching all levels of the organization since almost all of the TNP personnel attended those courses. Course-related activities improved respect for human rights. The interview data also suggested that the HEAP was a result of those changes; first initiated in 1999 and on-going to help members of the TNP earn their Master and Doctoral Degrees abroad. Reinforcing TNP personnel's foreign language skills is considered very essential for handling reforms since the personnel are thus able to read, write, understand, and communicate required material in different languages, especially in English.

The legal readiness was reported to be the only problematic area which was overlooked for years. The interviewees stated that the police-related legal documents were already outdated and did not meet their needs. Many of the changes were welcomed by the TNP personnel, but some new laws forced the police to remain inactive even when a crime was in process. Additionally, they felt that the TNP administration was not making any future plans to develop a mission and a vision for the coming years. The TNP needed strategic management.

The interviewees said that the TNP's professional readiness was absolute as a successful police organization. The TNP was a competent organization when compared with its counterparts in other countries. Cultural readiness, on the other hand, was a problem but the interviewees asserted that the reason they were participating in the HEAP program was to improve the aspect of cultural readiness. They believed that it would be easy as long as the government's commitment continued. Comparable to the government's commitment the EU *acquis* adoption process was the TNP's organizational priority.

The interviewees indicated that they were strongly committed to continue with the reforms; they said progress should not stop. They agreed that there was a need for more training, more foreign experience, more technology, and more institutions for research and development.

The interview data suggested that the TNP had been transforming since the 1983 OZAL Government. The reforms and legal changes were experienced at all levels of the organization with new missions added to their units. Those changes were brought very effectively and swiftly by using the circulars and the statutory decrees from the Council of Ministers. The TNP also had enjoyed technological advancements in technology this time. The interview data suggested that the reforms today were carried out with the same spirit of the 1980s. Moreover, this time the transformation was well planned and result oriented.

With all the skill sets, the interviewees maintained, the TNP was ready for the reforms. It was understood that the upper managements approach to reforms was quasi-active which was normal since their position required them to provide necessary support. It was obvious that the managers were fully focused towards their personnel. Their approach was encouraging. Even though the decisions to adopt the EU reforms were mandatory, the TNP managers and the personnel joined in the process actively and willingly. The planning of the reforms and of the twinning projects were result-oriented and had the goal of success. The Main HQ participated more on the policy side of the reforms while the provincial police departments were more involved with the implementation side. Their cooperation and collaboration were almost flawless because of enhanced communication and lots of training programs, workshops and meetings.

#### **4.2.7. Factors that Affected the Adoption Behavior**

The seventh and last theme that appeared in the data was related to the factors that affected the adoption behavior in the TNP. Those factors were categorized according to their

place of appearances as the Main HQ and in the field, the provincial police departments. These categories included the “barriers and weaknesses” and “facilitators and strengths” sub-categories to better grasp the adoption behavior.

The following categories and sub-categories emerged from the interview data:

- Adoption Behavior: Wozniak (1987) stated that “adoption behavior depends on the endowment of human capital and the investment in adoption information” (p. 101). He explains that the adoption decisions depend on the human capital and are affected by the education, information, and size of the organization. He asserts that increases in education and information reduce the costs and uncertainty of adoption which in turn results in early adoption. Adoption behavior refers to the decisions to adopt or reject the innovation in the beginning phase, and the decision to continue or stop the process of adoption.
- Facilitators and Strengths: “Facilitator refers to a person who skillfully helps a group of people to understand their common objectives and plan to achieve them without personally taking any side of the argument” (Wikipedia, n.d., para. 1). A facilitator’s job is to help manage the process of information exchange. A facilitator does not focus on ends; he manages the team to use means (Bacal, n.d.). Strengths are the specialties like expertise, knowledge, beliefs, culture, social bonds and education that human capital has.
- Barriers and Weaknesses: these refer to any material that impedes or obstructs the process of adoption or implementation of the reforms. Weaknesses refer to any incapability that slows or stops the process of adoption or the implementation of the reforms.

The interview data suggested that two of the eight managers interviewed were already at the top of their ranks. They said they were aware of the public demand, aware of the need for rational change, aware of the need for the respect for human rights, aware of the at least two centuries old national policy, and aware of the associated incentives. They commented that those changes were also realized by all layers of society, by the government, and by public institutions. Moreover, the interview data revealed that it was not possible for the police to reject the governmental orders.

While the top managers facilitated the reforms, the middle managers communicated the process to all layers of the TNP including the top managers, line officers, ABGS, the EC and other public agencies.

Several factors affected the adoption behavior of the TNP personnel and organization. Those factors are classified in the code book under two distinct categories as facilitators and barriers. Facilitators and barriers were slightly different for the the TNP Main HQ and PPDs. Barriers and facilitators were two different sub-categories under the Main HQ and PPD (field) adoption behavior categories.. Under those sub-categories, a long list of codes and some sub-codes emerged.

There were no reported actual barriers in the Main HQ that were strong enough to stop or slow the reform process. The interview questions were designed so that the interviewees had a chance to talk about both the expected barriers in the beginning of the EU *acquis* adoption process; and barriers actually experienced during the adoption process. The first reported barrier to be expected during reform process was the suspicion towards reforms as it was thought that they might have “strings attached” by the EU. As the documentary evidence suggests, the

interviewee's suspicions overlapped with those that Turkish society as a whole was having, which will be addressed in Chapter V in detail.

Lack of strategic management was said to be one of the barriers against the reform process in the TNP. Strategic management is a planned approach which can be used to determine mission, vision, objectives, values, goals, roles, and responsibilities of an organization on a timeline in order to create and sustain competitive advantages (Dess, Lumpkin, & Taylor, 2005). The interviewee who made this point noted that standardization in the TNP was a big problem. For example, the TNP did not have manuals which gave clear directions on how the officers needed to be prepared. Not having those kinds of manuals was the result of lack of strategic management.

Lack of knowledge was one of the expected barriers reported and, to some extent; it was effective especially when the changes were radical. An example was given of the discussion at a regional workshop about police powers. While one of the officers was complaining about the lack of police powers, the other officer reminded him about the written regulations that do, in fact, give power to the police. Lack of knowledge referred to here was reported in the initial stages of the adoption process. As the interview data suggested, the changes were very radical and so it would be normal to expect some hesitation in the adoption cases. The formation of the judicial police was another instance when lack of knowledge was mentioned. The interview data suggests that this institution is outdated but was brought to Turkey since politicians did not know that it has been very unsuccessful in the EU countries and currently is found only in France.

Lack of proper training is blamed as a barrier not only for the adoption process, but also in all general aspects of policing. Given that all but two of the interviewees held at least masters degrees, their emphasis on training was understandable in one sense. It became apparent that the

value of continuous in-service training was high in the TNP as elsewhere. The data suggested also that the interviewees in the HQ were perfectionists, while the others in the field (PPDs) were considering their personnel, equipment, legal powers, and local politics as well. Some of the interviewees mentioned that a lack of proper training caused human rights violations. However, all the interviewees agreed that the lack of standards was the main reason behind human rights violations, because when the standards were inconsistent or misdirected, training would not be able to correct them.

The provincial police departments were satisfied with the training. They explained that they believed that they received the necessary information during in-service training courses, official meetings and seminars and through communication channels whenever necessary.

“Lack of coordination” emerged as a problem; according to the interview data, the TNP was not able to coordinate the adoption process in advance. Radical changes were implemented so quickly that it was not possible to have a chance to make necessary arrangements before the adoption began. The changes were made too quickly so no coordination could take place in the very beginning of the adoption process. This code referred to the early stages of the diffusion of reforms, called “agenda-setting” and “matching”. The provincial police departments reported that the issues were clear, the vagueness was overcome, and reforms were applied in the field which they referred to as the “redefining and restructuring” and “clarifying” stages of the diffusion of reforms (see Interview Protocol in APPENDIX A).

“Large organization” code emerged; it was in the literature and interviewees wanted to address it, because it was known that implementing reforms in large police organizations was not an easy task. The interview data showed that interviewees felt that this was not the case with the

TNP and the members were proud to mention it. They said the strengths in communication in the TNP lessened the effect of organizational size.

Vagueness in laws and reform packages was a major concern for both the Main HQ and provincial police departments, especially at the initial stages of adoption process. The reported vagueness in laws and adoption packages was more perceived than the real. As interview data suggested, when communication channels were used, the vagueness was clarified through interpretation of the new laws and regulations.

Misaligned reforms with the EU *acquis* emerged since interviewees wanted to express antipathy for the judicial police institution, the lack of victim rights, and the lack of police officer rights. Interviewees felt that some legal changes were excessive even in some highly democratic Western societies. The interview data suggested that the EU countries such as UK, Austria, and Germany were not providing that much support for the suspect's rights, and they were equally respecting the victim rights and police rights.

The abolishment of some police powers was reported to harm the balance between the suspects and victims. The interviewees indicated that while providing extreme protection to suspect's rights, victim rights were ignored and police powers were clipped, for example, the requirement to obtain a written approval, or a warrant, from a judge before search and seizures and limitations on fingerprinting were some of the restrictive regulations. These issues came with the new reforms and they were not well-balanced between the rights of the suspects and the need for justice in the society. Provincial police departments were suffering because the misaligned reforms were not applicable at the "street level" while the reforms were implemented in the field. As a result of those new regulations and of the misinformation citizens acquired about the police powers, much resistance to police cases was reported. When new duties were added to those

problems, the policing in Turkey became more problematic for the officers especially in the initial stages of the reform process. Some new changes, however, were found to be positive, despite the commonly held belief that the police did not like them. As mentioned earlier, for example, the prosecutor's supervision was perceived to be beneficial by the provincial police department officers.

When asked whether the barriers were strong enough to slow or stop the EU *acquis* adoption process, all the interviewees agreed that the reforms would not stop unless the government was to stop them. They stated that the points mentioned as problems were those that all politicians would realize were wrong and the police would use democratic channels to convince the politicians to vote for necessary changes.

Facilitators were an important aspect of the reforms since they brought about the success in reforms. All levels of TNP leadership, beginning with the Director General to the immediate supervisors of line officers, were positive towards reforms. Most of the top managers were supportive of the programs of the EU adoption; and at least they were not obstructing the process, if not supporting fully. The leadership of the TNP was encouraging, listening, and facilitating the personnel who were active in the reform process. The TNP would not obstruct the reform process when the government was backing it. This phenomenon was similar to that which takes place inside the TNP when a subordinate would not act against the will of the supervisor or police chiefs. So, the upper management of the police was also supporting the reforms. The interview data showed that these managers were providing all necessary means to make reforms successful.

The zero tolerance policy seemed to be very effective in clarifying the government's intention about the commitment towards those reforms. Even though the zero tolerance policy

term may hold negative connotations, it was deemed positive in the TNP as it was indicative of the government's determination to end allegations of torture in Turkey. The strong determination of the government and the perceived public demand were clearly sent a message to the TNP that the reform process was an obligation; therefore, the leadership of the organization was rigorous in facilitating the reforms.

The international cooperation through bilateral and multilateral agreements, OSCE and UN missions, and the twinning projects were very important, allowing the personnel to compare and contrast the TNP with its counterparts in the world. The officers involved in these agreements and missions were able to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of their own organization. They said that during those missions and interactions with other police departments, they learned how to use the strengths and how to overcome the weaknesses. It was an excellent opportunity for them to see the picture from outside. Self-criticism nurtured new ideas in the organization and was useful for the upper level managers who needed appropriate projects to carry the organization to the level of its modern counterparts. This process has been active since 1983. While only a limited number of members of the organization found opportunities to go abroad during 1980s, they were admired by the younger generations as well as by the top managers who were encouraging the cadets to learn a foreign language. In 25 years, it has become the standard that now every inspector graduates from the Police Academy with fluency in at least one foreign language. In fact, it has been reported that ability with two, three, or even five different foreign languages has become normal nowadays. The interview data and documentary evidence suggest that these competent personnel are a result of organizational preparedness (or vice versa) which in turn fostered the organizational commitment. All those positive aspects of the TNP have proved to be useful for moving the organization in the right

direction after September 11, 2001 given the new demands policing faces today: global police cooperation against global crimes.

### **4.3. Summary**

This section included the codes, categories, and themes emerged from the interviews administered to the top TNP officials. This Chapter also serves as a preparation Chapter V. Chapter V covers both the data from interviews, documentary evidences, scholarly resources, participant observations and as such. Chapter IV lays the foundation of the study, while Chapter V presents conclusions with multiple resources.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

#### 5.1. Introduction

This study was designed to understand and describe to what extent the TNP has accommodated internationally accepted democratic policing principles that support internationally recognized human rights standards during the EU *acquis* adoption process. This study employed the EU *acquis* adoption process of the TNP as a case study to develop an understanding of the decision-making process. Four questions were proposed in this study:

RQ1. What are the key decision factors that lead decision-makers to adopt or reject the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP?

RQ2. What are the forces, motivations, activities, entities, and processes that affect the decision(s) to adopt or reject the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP?

RQ3. To what extent has the TNP accommodated internationally accepted democratic policing principles?

RQ4. What organizational and legal changes occurred in the TNP during the EU *acquis* adoption process and how have these impacted the police organization?

This chapter is organized in three-steps: a discussion of the study's findings and the related prior research; a presentation of the study's conclusions and how they answered the research questions; and the implications of this study for future research. This chapter will include the findings of the survey administered to the interviewees, the documents gathered from the TNP, and other documentary evidence from pertinent sources such as the EC regular Progress Reports about Turkey, reports regarding democracy and human rights from different

entities such as the Political Terror Scale from Purdue University and the Democracy in the World report from Freedom House.

## **5.2. Findings of the Study and Discussion**

The findings of the study are organized in two sections. The first uses the variables from Damanpour's (1991) now seminal research article, *Organizational Innovation: A Meta-Analysis of Effects of Determinants and Moderators*, while the second are the researcher's insights which lead to the implications for future studies.

### **5.2.1. Organizational Innovation**

Organizational innovativeness has been studied mostly from the perspective of the private, for-profit sector. Although the subject has been a focus of attention in multiple disciplines, an interdisciplinary perspective was lacking in scholarly studies. Damanpour's (1991) study was one of the first steps towards the elaboration of the innovation adoption process in organizations from different perspectives. Innovativeness in organizations is measured by different factors. For example rate of adoption, awards won, patents acquired, number of innovations adopted within a certain time period, and percentage of innovations are some of them (Damanpour, 1991, p. 588).

Damanpour (1991) noted that earlier research studies had quantified innovativeness typically by the rapidity or number of the adoptions, though some disciplines counted the numbers of awards or patents a firm earned during a specific amount of time (p. 588). However, he believed that a more extensive, encompassing approach was necessary and after an extensive review of the relevant literature, identified 13 variables which he placed in four categories. He then examined the relationship between the variables and organizational innovativeness. Among

the categories, the structural variables are more distinctive than the three others (process, resource, and cultural).

The study method for this section will include the definitions of Damanpour's 13 variables, and then the findings of the study will be discussed according to definitions of these variables and compared to Damanpour's original findings, and also in light of Maguire et al.'s (2003) research. Another study, that of Can, Lofca, and Chilton (2006), which adapts Bayley's (2006) criteria and replicates Marenin's (2004) findings, also will be central to the analysis. That is, as this current study is carried out in a law enforcement context, the researcher has added as a 14<sup>th</sup> variable democratic policing, suggested by Can, et al.'s research.

Following the variables of democratic policing Can, et al. (2006) discussed the level of democracy and democratic policing in Turkey (see Table 5.1). The democratic policing variable is important to evaluate the implementation of the adopted EU *acquis* which directly affects the TNP. The relationship between the democratic policing and innovativeness of the TNP has a potential to reveal interesting results from external influence and incentives on reforms.

As discussed earlier, the reason for adopting an innovation is to increase the performance or effectiveness of the organization; this always entails a change in the organization. This organizational change occurs in two ways. First is either an external or internal influence that requires, as a response, a change in the organization. Second is the organization's desire to influence the work environment. Organizational change is not a one time phenomenon, but a continuous process. Even stable organizations experience changes over time. So, the innovativeness of an organization depends on the number of innovations it adopts over time (Damanpour, 1991).

Table 5.1 Organizational Innovativeness Variables

Independent Variables	Expected Relationships	Reasons for Expectations
Specialization	Positive	A greater variety of specialists would provide a broader knowledge base (Kimberly & Evanisko, 1981) and increase the cross-fertilization of ideas (Aiken & Hage, 1971).
Functional differentiation	Positive	Coalitions of professionals form in differentiated units (Baldrige & Burnham, 1975) that both elaborate on and introduce changes in the units' technical systems and influence changes in their administrative systems.
Professionalism	Positive	Increases boundary-spanning activity, self-confidence, and a commitment to move beyond the status quo (Pierce & Delbecq, 1977).
Formalization	Negative	Flexibility and low emphasis on work rules facilitate innovation (Aiken & Hage, 1971; Burns & Stalker, 1961; Thompson, 1965). Low formalization permits openness, which encourages new ideas and behaviors (Pierce & Delbecq, 1977).
Centralization	Negative	The concentration of decision-making authority prevents innovative solutions, while the dispersion of power is necessary for innovation (Thompson, 1965). Participatory work environments facilitate innovation by increasing organizational members' awareness, commitment, and involvement.
Managerial attitude toward change	Positive	Managers' favorable attitude toward change leads to an internal climate conducive to innovation. Managerial support for innovation is especially required in the implementation stage, when coordination and conflict resolution among
Managerial tenure	Positive	The longevity of managers in their jobs provides legitimacy and knowledge of how to accomplish tasks, manage political processes, and obtain desired outcomes (Kimberly & Evanisko, 1981).
Technical knowledge resources	Positive	The greater the technical knowledge resources, the more easily can new technical ideas be understood and procedures for their development and implementation be attained (Dewar & Dutton, 1986).
Administrative intensity	Positive	A higher proportion of managers facilitates innovation because the successful adoption of innovations depends largely on the leadership, support, and coordination managers provide (Daft & Becker, 1978; Damanpour, 1987).
Slack resources	Positive	Slack resources allow an organization to afford to purchase innovations, absorb failure, bear the costs of instituting innovations, and explore new ideas in advance of an actual need (Rosner, 1968, p. 615).
External communication	Positive	Environmental scanning and extra organizational professional activities of members can bring innovative ideas (Jervis, 1975; Miller & Friesen, 1982), Innovative organizations exchange information with their environments effectively (Tushman, 1977)
Internal communication	Positive	Facilitates dispersion of ideas within an organization and increases their amount and diversity, which results in cross-fertilization of ideas (Aiken & Hage, 1971]. Also creates an internal environment favorable to the survival of new ideas (Ross, 1974).
Vertical Differentiation	Negative	Hierarchical levels increase links in differentiation of communication channels, making communication between levels more difficult and inhibiting the flow of innovative ideas (Hull & Hage, 1982).
Democratic Policing*	Positive	Accountability to the rule of law, protecting human rights, external accountability mechanisms, operational priority is serving the people (Bayley, 2006)

Adapted from Damanpour (1991, pp. 558-559).

In terms of organizations' interest in and willingness to change, Moch and Morse (1977) stated that the organizations are either laggards or pioneers (called early innovators by Rogers, 1995). Up until this time, no research has provided evidence that organizations are laggards in some areas and pioneers in other areas. In relation to the EU reforms, as the research data show, the TNP has appeared to be a pioneer in certain facets like government commitment, incentives, and foreseeable benefits of international cooperation; therefore, the same pattern should emerge for the whole process.

#### **5.2.1.1. Specialization**

Specialization refers to the intricacy or breadth of the organization, as measured by the number of roles or jobs found within an organization. The larger the number of specialties or occupations, the wider spread the change will be, and the more the organization has to manage to effect the change (Damanpour, 1991, p. 588-589).

The TNP has had as many as 19 different national specialization branches, including Information Technology (IT), Tourism, Police Band, Explosive Devices, Communication, Traffic, Bosporus Bridge Security, Sea, Public Demonstrations, Airport Security, TGNA Security, Presidency Security, Aviation, Prime Ministry Security, Building Security, S.W.A.T., Education and Training, Police Labs, and Public Service (Branslar, n.d.). However, of those 19 branches, 6 of them were abolished by law on 29 October 2003 (Brans Yonetmeligi, 11.06.2002). The remaining 13 branches, compared to other law enforcement agencies, is a high number.

As previously mentioned, Maguire et al. (2003) studied structural changes in large American police agencies (defined as 100 or more officers) during the 1990s and found that 12 specialized units would be considered the most. By this account, the TNP core departments alone

would exceed that number. However, when evaluating the number of branches to the TNP's size (157,000 officers), it is clear that the comparison must be made with caution, as Maguire et al. focused on large urban police departments like Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago and not on centralized, national organizations.

Other than these core branches there are 17 other specialization areas like Anti-Terrorism, Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime, State Security, Foreigners-Borders and Immigration, Interpol, Personnel, Intelligence, Legal Affairs, Discipline Boards, Social Services, Civil Defense (equivalent of the US FEMA), Foreign Relations, Logistics, Fiscal Affairs, Construction, Archives and Documentation, and Strategic Planning. All those macro-specialization areas have also other more detailed, micro-specialization areas. For example the Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime Department has specialization areas such as narcotics, money laundering, human smuggling, financial crimes, surveillance, and organized crime groups. Other specialization areas are a natural outcome of division of labor. For example, Airport Security has different units that focus on search and seizures, document examination, immigration, aviation security, VIP and protocol, and intelligence. This list is not inclusive of the specialization areas of research, and development or the specialized training units like the Turkish International Academy against Drugs and Organized Crime (TADOC), the Anti-Terrorism Research Center, Traffic Research Center and many others.

In summary, it can be said that specialization is very high in the TNP with its more than 40 "role specializations" and different job titles. In Damanpour's (1991) table, the TNP would get a "positive" for specialization, because for the managers to adopt an innovation, everything was readily available.

### **5.2.1.2. Functional differentiation**

Functional differentiation is basically the number of units or departments an organization has “under the top management (chief executive) level” (Damanpour, 1991, p. 589).

According to Maguire et al., (2003) functional differentiation is “degree to which the organization divides and assigns its tasks into functionally distinct units” (p. 139). The TNP’s organizational chart illustrates how different departments specialized in different tasks. The TNP’s chart shows 36 departments excluding the Secretariat, Police Academy, Police College, Police Vocational Schools, the 81 PPDs, and the 827 County Police Departments. (Figure 5.1). Departments have divisions, divisions have bureaus, and bureaus have sections. In the provincial departments, the sections have teams and teams work in shifts. This is called segmentation by Maguire et al., (2003). Segmentation is different than rank structure, or number of ranks, and denotes the separate command levels in the organization. Functional differentiation is high in the TNP and “positive” as expected in Damanpour’s table of variables.

### **5.2.1.3. Professionalism**

As Damanpour (1991, p. 589) defines it, professionalism

“[r]eflects professional knowledge of organizational members, which requires both education and experience. It has been measured either by the number or percentage of professional staff members with certain educational backgrounds (Gorwin, 1975: Daft & Becker, 1978) or by an index reflecting degree of professional training of organizational members (Aiken & Hage, 1971: Kaluzny et al., 1974).”

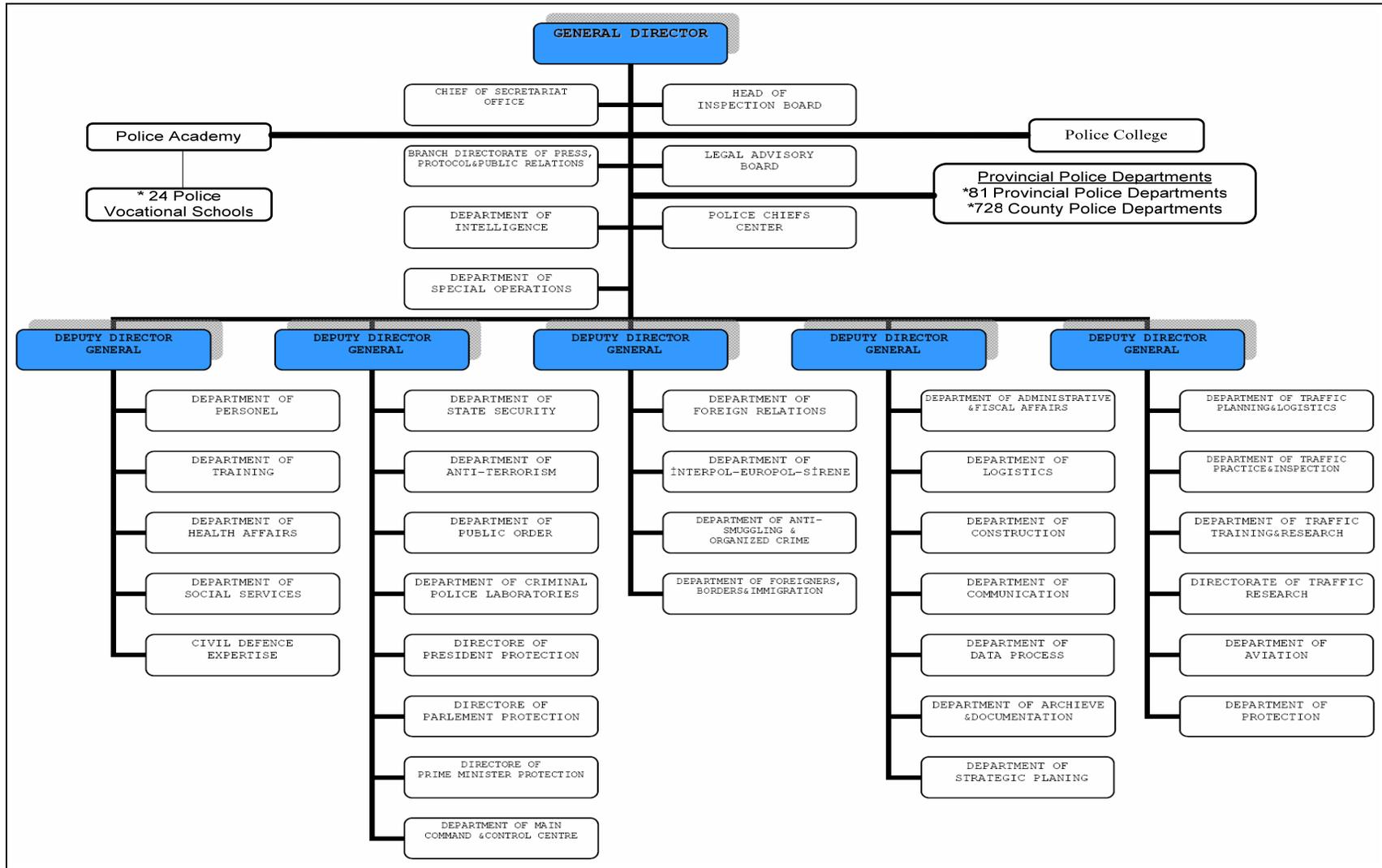
The interview data indicated that the number of the TNP personnel is considerably large and growing. First of all, excluding personnel have more than ten years of service, all the

personnel have at least a two year-college degree; they are Police Vocational School graduates. All the managerial staff members, from line officer supervisors to the Director General, have at least a four-year college degree. The number of personnel who have masters' or Ph.D. degrees is not precisely known, however the HEAP program alone has more than 200 masters' and doctoral students who have graduated, are about to graduate or will graduate in two years. Also, the in-service training courses are very effective and continue non-stop. As the interview data suggested, the number of people who have attended the in-service training courses exceeds the number of personnel in the TNP. That means some personnel have been trained in more than one course, implying a high level of professionalism.

Glenn et al. (2003 p. 23) stated that the "policing is only one of many vocations that qualifies as a profession." Millett (1977) identified six elements for a vocation to be a profession; all of these are applicable to the TNP.

- The occupation is a full-time and stable job, serving continuing societal needs;
- The occupation is regarded as a lifelong calling by the practitioners, who identify themselves personally with their job subculture;
- The occupation is organized to control performance standards and recruitment;
- The occupation requires formal, theoretical education;
- The occupation has a service orientation in which loyalty to standards of competence and loyalty to clients' needs are paramount;
- The occupation is granted a great deal of collective autonomy by the society it serves, presumably because the practitioners have proven their high ethical standards and trustworthiness" (p. 2).

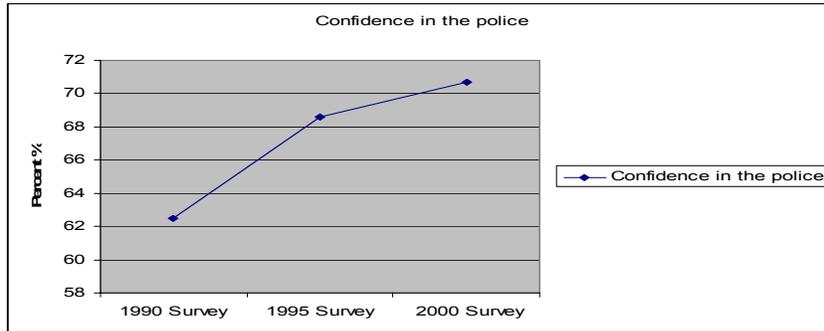
Figure 5.1 TNP organizational structure.



Adapted from <http://polis.osce.org/countries>.

As the interview data showed, the TNP has ethical standards and trustworthiness. In fact, public confidence in the TNP grew steadily for a decade (Cao & Burton, 2006). Figure 5.2 depicts this increase from 1990 to 2000.

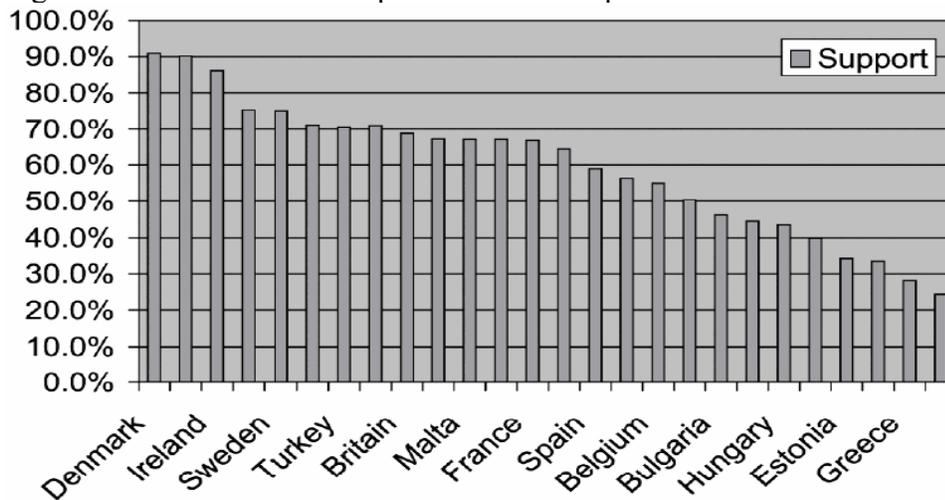
Figure 5.2 Public trust trend towards the TNP.



Adapted from Cao and Burton (2006).

Cao and Burton (2006) compared the public confidence towards police in Turkey, in the EU countries, and in the Middle East countries neighboring Turkey, and found that Turkish society placed a great deal of trust in its police force. Figure 5.3 shows public confidence of law enforcement agencies in the 12 EU countries and in Turkey, which falls 4<sup>th</sup> highest. It should be noted that France (7<sup>th</sup> highest) is the founding member of the EU.

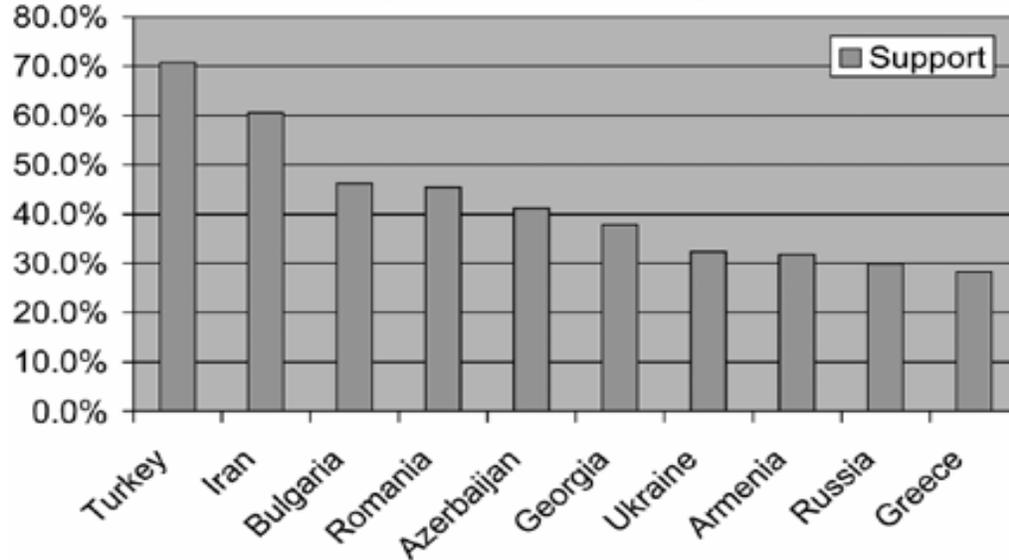
Figure 5.3 Public trust in the police in the European Union countries and Turkey.



Adapted from Cao and Burton (2006, p. 457).

Compared to geographically close, but religiously, linguistically, and culturally different nations, the public trust in the police in Turkey is the highest among its neighboring countries, as depicted in Figure 5.4 (Cao & Burton, 2006).

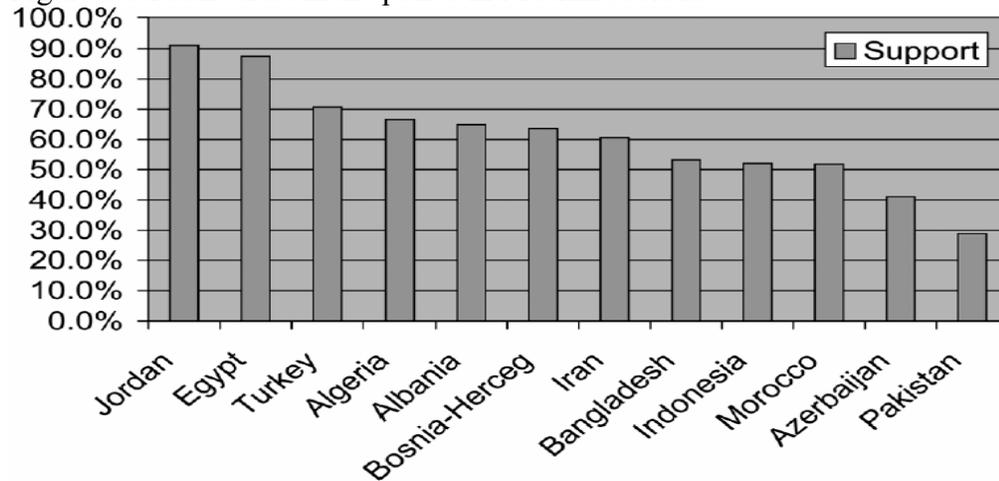
Figure 5.4 Public trust in the police in Turkey and neighboring countries.



Adapted from Cao and Burton (2006, p. 450).

Among Muslim nations, the TNP enjoys great confidence from the public in Turkey and falls 3<sup>rd</sup> among those countries (Figure 5.5.).

Figure 5.5 Public trust in the police in Muslim societies.



Adapted from Cao and Burton (2006, p. 458).

It is likely that this high level of trust in the TNP may be a result of its professionalism and effective service delivery to the public. Therefore, the expected “positive” relationship between professionalism and innovativeness in Damanpour’s (1991) table of variables seems valid for the TNP.

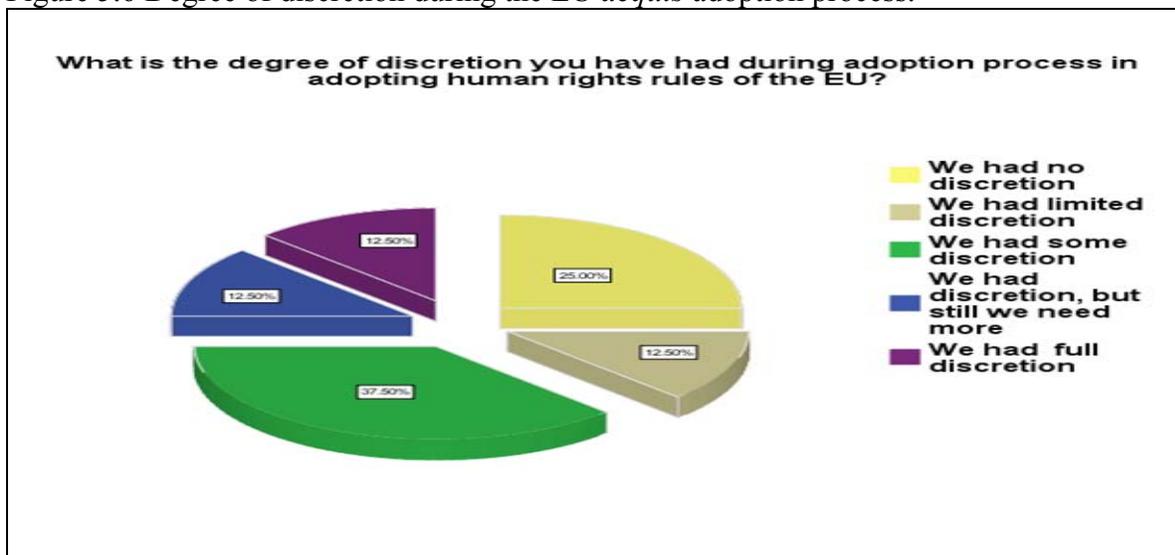
#### **5.2.1.4. Formalization**

Formalization refers to an organization’s rules and procedures, the format in which they are presented, and the extent to which they are followed. Usually, the amount of formalization is quantified “by the degree of freedom available to organizational members as they pursue their functions and responsibilities versus the extent of rules that precisely define their activities” (Damanpour, 1991, p. 589).

The interview data suggested that formal structure of the TNP is very rigid with written rules and regulations. An officer’s individuality might seem too restricted if all the rules are always followed completely without modification. However, the respondents noted that the customs, the subculture of the TNP, and most importantly, the quasi-formal and informal communication channels coupled with the peer networking structure brought extensive flexibility. This flexibility without crossing legal lines made this cumbersome system more operational and effective in the EU *acquis* adoption process. Even the upper ranks of the organization, feared to be a barrier to the EU *acquis* adoption process, were playing facilitator roles and supporting middle managers and line officers. This system was effective in its “unity of direction in flexibility.” The organization was changing to employ an officially authorized informal communication channel as evidenced by the liaison officer assignment to the HQ departments.

Survey results related to the concept of individual decision making ability were mixed. In fact, it is suggested that the responses were as expected since the interviewees were from two different settings in the TNP as the Main HQ policy-making units, and PPD as the implementation unit. When asked about their discretionary powers in accepting human rights reforms during the EU *acquis* adoption process, the interviewees' responses to the close-item questions were divided. As seen in Figure 5.6, two of the eight interviewees reported having no discretion. This is not surprising since they were from PPDs who had no decision-making capacity because the twinning projects and reforms were implemented as a package deal throughout Turkey. Other interviewees in the Main HQ reported some degree of discretion.

Figure 5.6 Degree of discretion during the EU *acquis* adoption process.

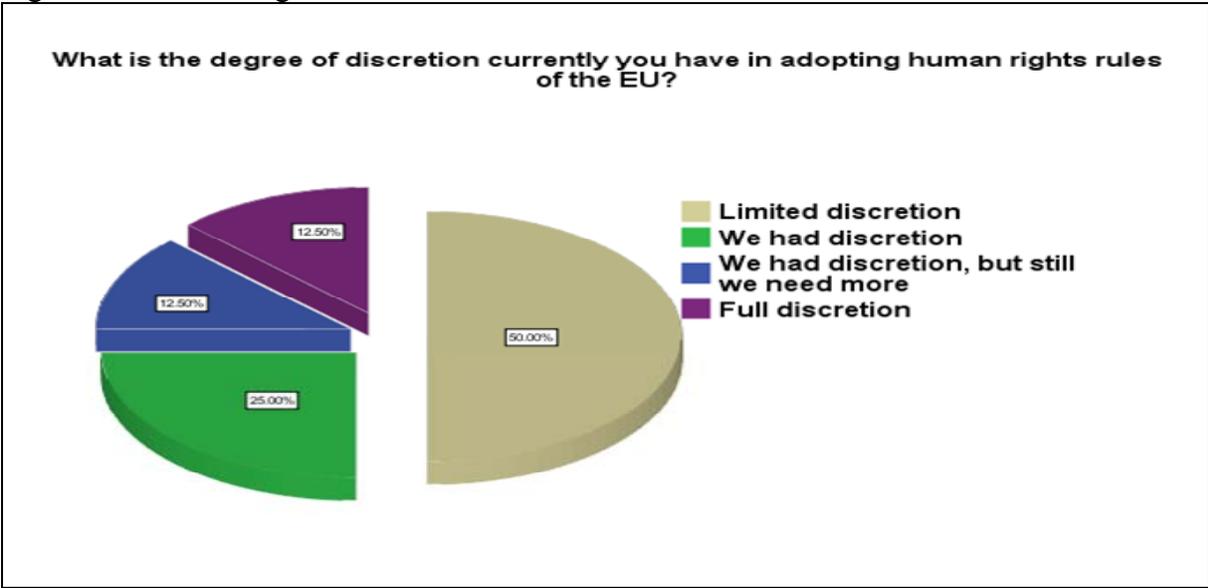


However, when the question about the currently held discretionary power was asked, all of the interviewees responded that they had some measure of discretion. Four of them reported limited discretion, two reported some discretion, one responded having discretion but needing more, and one of reported enjoying full discretion. These response show changes in both the formalization and departmentalization: while new policies were being considered, the decision-

making body was the HQ units who had discretion. Then during the actual implementation of the EU *acquis*, even though it was limited, the PPDs gained discretionary power; both of the PPD interviewees said that they did hold limited discretion.

There is a difference between Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7 from responses standpoint. While two interviewees reported no discretion in initiation phase of the reforms, all of them reported discretion to some extent in implementation phase.

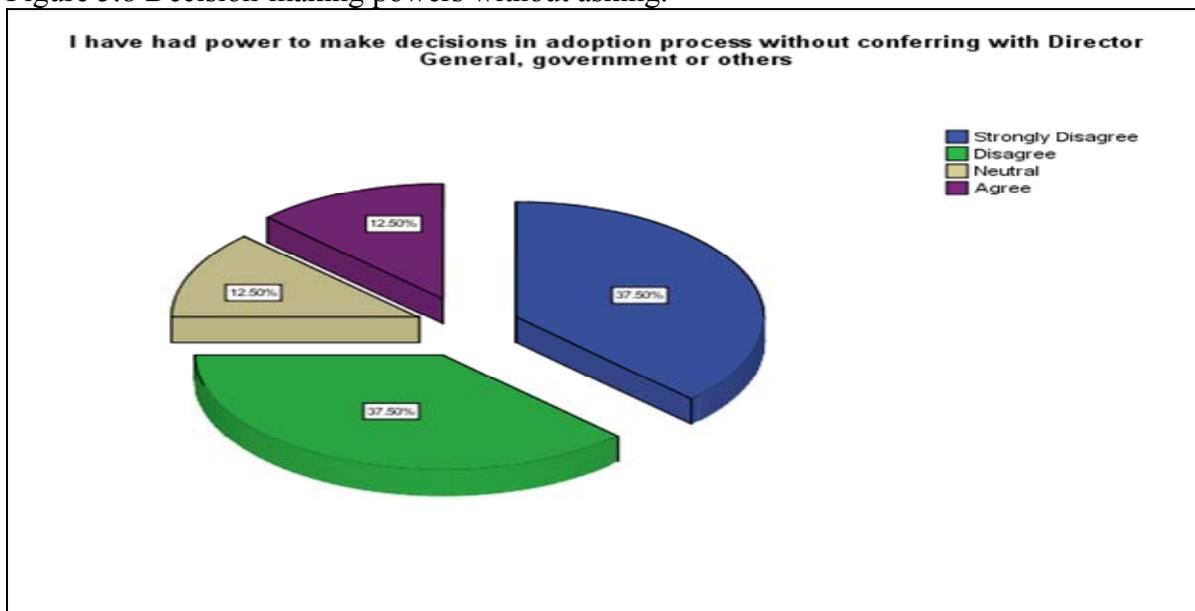
Figure 5.7 Current degree of discretion.



To the question regarding discretion to develop new policies and better ways to adopt respect for human rights into the TNP (which are a part of the EU *acquis*), the interviewees again gave mixed answers. Interestingly, this time, the PPD interviewees were split; one claimed to have discretion to develop new policies and better ways to adopt human rights into the TNP which are beyond the EU *acquis* adoption process, the other one said no. This denial of discretion came from the higher ranked official, and can be interpreted as a perceived lack of discretion, consistent with the literature, which shows that satisfaction and enthusiasm decline

when the ranks get higher (Marenin, 2004). When asked about having the discretion to make decisions without conferring with the Director General, the government or others, only one respondent indicated holding that power, one was neutral, and the five others disagreed that they were able to make decisions without asking superiors or other appropriate authorities (Figure 5.8). Taken together, these responses seem to illustrate the high degree of formalization, balanced with other mechanisms like informal communication.

Figure 5.8 Decision-making powers without asking.



This flexibility in formalization shows the trust given by the management to the operational units and subordinates. The interview data also indicated that the TNP was flexible in responding to different situations. Even when radical changes occur, the personnel adapted to the new situations and developed new strategies for effective communication.

It should be noted that while formalization is high in the TNP, the mechanisms to lessen its effects are also well-developed. Even though the finding of the formalization is negative as expected in Damanpour's instrument, this conclusion necessitates further explanation in the TNP

context, as it was modified with the extensive use of quasi-formal and informal communication channels and highly improved by the networking taking place in and among different cohorts.

#### **5.2.1.5. Centralization**

Damanpour (1991) summarized the field's definition of the concept of centralization as "The locus of authority and decision making and is the extent to which decision-making autonomy is dispersed or concentrated in an organization (Pfeffer. 1981).

The inverse of decentralization, it is usually measured by the degree of organizational members' participation in decision making (Aiken & Hage. 1971; Kaluzny et al, 1974) or by the degree of authority and freedom organizational members have to make their own decisions (Corwin, 1975)" (p. 589).

The TNP has a highly centralized structure (Gultekin, 2005). Centralization has different connotations in the TNP when compared to its US counterparts. Centralization for the TNP can be read as the functional difference between units in a larger context and refers to the HQ's position from the geographically distant PPDs' stand point. It refers to HQ's authority to make decisions and policies, to assign or re-assign the personnel to PPDs, to own and operate major IT and other technological infrastructure, to allocate the budget between PPDs and other functional departments and so on. PPDs have limited autonomy in their jurisdictions regarding spending funds, hiring new personnel, establishing new or abolishing existing units, and deciding on policies on general issues. However, PPDs and their officers have a great deal of discretion during routine police activities. A similar trend was reported for police in the US (Peak, Gaines, & Glensor, 2004). Indeed, several times the researcher witnessed that the units of the same level but in different PPDs were handling the same issue differently. This divergence was not a problem as long as it was not crossing over the legal boundaries. These habitual local

applications occurred because HQ fell short in providing standard operating procedures in certain cases. Beyond those varied customary applications, the Chief of Police has greater discretion to interpret the rules and direct the officers accordingly. The middle and lower level managers have corresponding discretion over their subordinates as well as officers in their duty precincts (regions).

This controlled discretion is what distinguishes the police from military. Policing requires interpreting the situation in its own context. Military operatives, on the other hand, do not question direct orders, they follow with blind allegiance. Even though the unquestioned chain of authority is taught, through para-military training, in police educational institutions, as the interview analysis revealed, the students do learn the possibilities of, the occasions to use, and the limits of discretionary power available to them.

In Turkey, there is a famous case that illustrates this historic distinction. When Ataturk was under pressure to abolish police forces, he decided to show the government cabinet members that discretionary power was required in the society while enforcing the laws. He requested an army private to come into his office in the Dolmabahce Palace, where he was standing under a big chandelier. He ordered the private to shoot the chandelier, and when the private aimed, Ataturk immediately stopped him and let him go. Then he requested the police officer Mehmet Efendi to come in, and again ordered him to aim and shoot the chandelier. The officer responded that he could not as the head of state was standing under it. He let the officer go and said to the audience “You saw with your bare eyes, the mentality of the soldier and the police are different. A soldier is trained to act without questioning; the police officer is trained to protect and to serve, and to look for the best for the people.”

The limits of the discretion are taught to the TNP personnel in the police educational facilities. The officers are equipped to use their authority whenever required. The long training years in police training is intended to make them professional and careful not to needlessly worry their superiors while using their discretion.

However, it should be noted that the level of discretion formally introduced to officers is limited because it has real legal implications. Even though the use of discretion is common place in the TNP, it is still a problem when the officers face hurdles of the legal responsibilities. Currently, there is no way to discuss before the court about the boundaries and leeway given of discretionary authority. This is a gap which should be formally defined in policies and regulations. The discretion use in the TNP is high, but not legally defined in the TNP regulations or law. It should be noted that a major law proposition to give the police extensive power to make discretionary decisions was at the TGNA in the course of preparing this study.

Nonetheless, the value of the relationship changes from negative to positive when the centralization definition of Maguire et al. (2003) is taken into consideration. “Centralization is the extent to which the decision-making capacity within an organization is concentrated in a single individual or small select group” (p. 254). During the EU *acquis* adoption process, the decision-making of the organization seemed to be distributed among administrators at all levels; in other words, it is possible to say the decision-making capacity of the TNP administrators is strongly affected by the government’s strong commitment towards the EU *acquis* adoption process. Therefore, on Damanpour’s table, the relationship of innovativeness and centralization is “negative” in the TNP in general. However, for the purpose of the EU *acquis* adoption process, it appears that the centralization and innovation relationship was positive since the government determination was full and the TNP managers were facilitating the process..

#### 5.2.1.6. Managerial attitude toward change

Managerial attitude has been defined by Damanpour (1991) as “the extent to which managers or members of the dominant coalition are in favor of change” (p.589).. He further notes that researchers assert that “it has typically been measured by using Neal's (1965) battery of items assessing values favoring” (Damanpour, 1991, p. 589).

The TNP upper management’s approach to the EU *acquis* adoption process was unexpectedly positive; in fact, it is even possible to say that they became the facilitators of the process by supporting it. As the interview data stressed, the government’s commitment towards the EU *acquis* adoption and its” zero tolerance policy” should be considered jointly. The “zero tolerance policy” used general terms to define the problem and its solution without targeting any institution in Turkey. However, the issue was naturally related to law enforcement organizations and the government was giving a strong signal that the approach to law enforcement functions would be fundamentally different than in previous years. So an equivalent commitment was visible in the TNP managers. In a personal account, the researcher heard from one of the top officials of the TNP who was responsible for human rights issues and anti-terrorism activities that with those legal changes and the government’s support behind them, an officer would be “crazy to cross the line” This point was reiterated by all the interviewees.

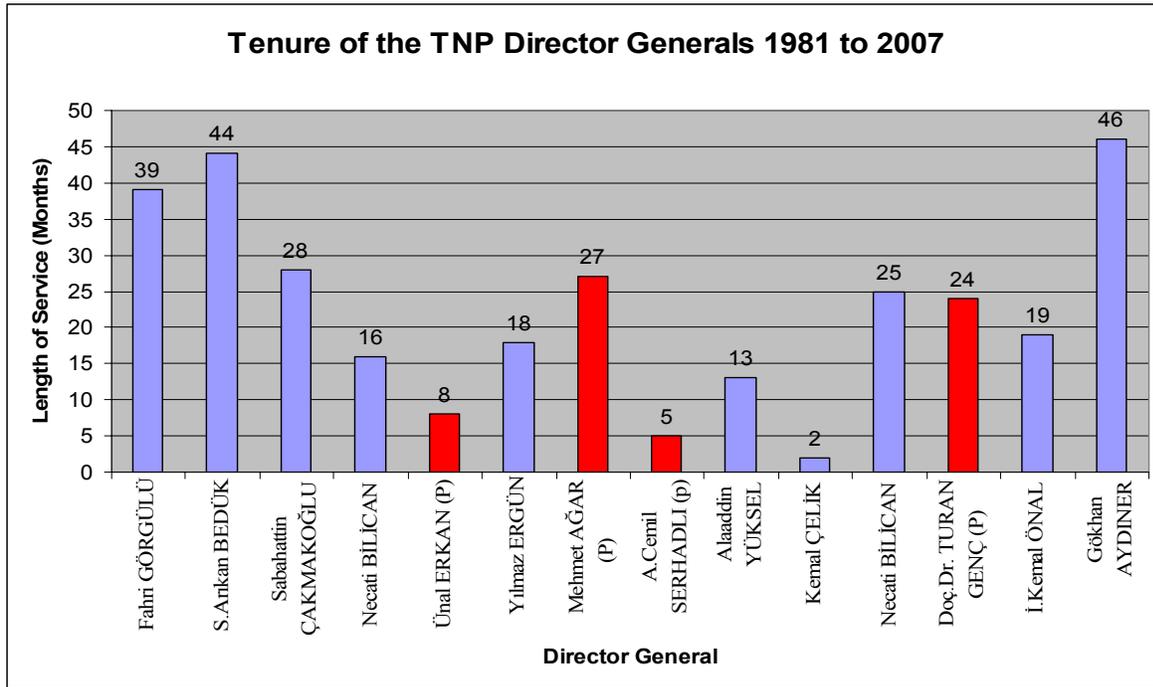
The managerial attitude toward change in the TNP was positive; the managers were facilitating the process. Interestingly, the interviewees were in agreement that they had expected a reaction contrary to this. It seems that the transformation in the TNP was very rapid and affects all the layers of the organization from the top down. Thus, in relation to Damanpour’s variables, it can be said that the TNP managers’ attitude toward change was favorable, and their commitment was full.

### 5.2.1.7. Managerial tenure

Managerial tenure, said Damanpour, “represents the length of service and experience that managers have with an organization. It is normally measured by the number of years an organization has employed a manager” (1991, p. 589).

The issue of managerial tenure in the TNP requires a closer look, since the top manager, the Director General, does not always come up through the ranks of the TNP. In the last 26 years, only 4 out of 14 Director Generals were chosen from TNP police chiefs. The rest of them came in with a background in Governorship.

Figure 5.9 Managerial tenure of the TNP Directors General.



Source: <http://www.egm.gov.tr/tar.genelm.asp>.

In the list, Gökhan Aydiner, who was the previous Director General, stayed the longest in this position, for 46 months. He came to office on 1 February 2003 and left the service upon retirement almost four years later. His inception into the office coincided with the implementation of the reforms. The second longest Director General was Saffet Arıkan Beduk,

whose term lasted for 44 months. He was the Director General whose name was associated with the technological reforms in the TNP during the first Ozal government.

The length of tenure has a positive correlation with the innovativeness in the TNP as expected from Damanpour's table of variables. The length of tenure is also a strong indication of governmental support for the Director General for his good service. The Director Generals who were assigned from outside the TNP were also more innovative than the insiders, according to interview data presented in Chapter IV. However, this calls for further research to see which Director General made what kind of innovations. The length of tenure in the TNP exerted a positive influence on the adoption of innovations as expected.

#### **5.2.1.8. Technical knowledge resources**

As Damanpour (1991) summarized, technical knowledge resources encompass both the actual supplies and use possibilities, and is generally quantified by the presence of a department or specific human resources devoted to the technology. He noted that "Miller and Friesen's (1982) 'technocratization' is measured more broadly, but it also represents the role of professional members' technical knowledge in the adoption of innovations" (Damanpour, 1991, p. 589).

The technical services in the TNP are highly improved in last 27 years. As seen in 5.2.1.2, the Functional differentiation section, the TNP's technical departments include IT or Knowledge and Data Processing, Criminal Police Laboratories, Intelligence Department, Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime Departments. These are some of the departments that continuously use advanced technology and usually get approval from the Director General for investment for maintaining the technology.

Technical knowledge resources should also cover research and development capabilities of the organization as well as the policy-making capabilities such as legal knowledge. An understanding of the political process improves the innovativeness capacity of the organization.

This variable should be considered along with the managerial tenure variable for the TNP since the tenure brings more expertise in the legal, political, and technological areas which positively affect the innovativeness in the TNP.

#### **5.2.1.9. Administrative intensity**

Administrative intensity, or ratio, is defined as the proportion of administrators or managers compared to the number overall of staff (Damanpour, 1991, p. 589). It appears that this concept also relates to the degree of bureaucratization in an organization. Maguire et al. (2003) studied bureaucratization within an organization.

The TNP has 167,083 line officers as opposed to 13,802 ranked officials. The ratio of ranked officials to line officers is 1:12. The number of civilian staff is 17,582. The total number of civilians and line officers is 184,665. The civilian personnel is also supervised by the TNP ranked officials. When civilian personnel are included, the ratio becomes 1:13. The administrative intensity seems not too high in the TNP. However, as the interview data suggested, all the managers were facilitating the reforms and thus the administrative intensity and innovativeness relation appeared to be positive as expected in Damanpour's (1991) table.

#### **5.2.1.10. Slack resources**

Slack resources are any extra fiscal or staff resources over and above the least amount needed to sustain the organization functioning. It is usually quantified by charting "changes in an organization's budget and sources of finance" (Aiken & Hage, 1971 in Damanpour, 1991, p. 589). Slack resources means extra funds an organization can use" to purchase innovations,

absorb failure, bear the costs of instituting innovations, and explore new ideas in advance of an actual need” (Rosner, 1968 in Damanpour, 1991, p.589)..

In this study, the twinning projects are regarded as examples of slack resources because the TNP was free to prepare any kind of project based on the needs of the organization. The EU authorities did not dictate any projects, but would most likely have approved them in a positive light.

The interview data showed limited time allocated for the twinning projects. It was extra duty for the personnel to prepare those projects and implement them. However, the other EU *acquis* adoption related activities fell within the ascribed duties of the interviewees, who did not report any time restrictions placed on carrying out those activities. The Department of Strategic Planning in the Main HQ and research and development units under other Main HQ departments constituted the slack human resource. The TNP also gained both public support and financial support from corporations for the innovations. For example, the community policing initiative in the Bursa Police Department is partially sponsored by the community –business group, the Bursa Young Businessmen’s Association (Haberler.com, 2006).

As a large organization, the TNP seems to enjoy enough slack resources to deploy new innovations. Indeed, in the case of the EU *acquis* adoption process, allocating the existing slack funds for the twinning projects was extremely instrumental in increasing the innovativeness of the TNP. A positive is given for this variable.

#### **5.2.1.11. External communication**

External communication refers to the amount of contact or involvement a given organization’s “rank and file”, as opposed to administrators, spends in communication or participation with outside institutions or activities relevant to functions carried out within the

organization. Variables include "organizational cosmopolitanism" rather than "administrative cosmopolitanism" (Kaluzny et al., 1974 in Damanpour, 1991, p. 589-590).

Cosmopolitanism, in the police context is seeking new ideas from other police departments. Organizations in other social systems might have better ways to solve problems or do the work. The level of cosmopolitanism has positive correlation with the degree of contact with others or other organizations. The greater the contact outside the organization, the bigger the cosmopolitanism is. Another determinant of cosmopolitanism is the participation in policy communities (Weiss, 1997, p. 293).

It was interesting to see that the data supported that cosmopolitanism clearly existed in the TNP, The greater the contact of the TNP outside of the organization, the more widespread the cosmopolitanism, or in other words, the greater the benefits of interactions were.

The interview data implied that the interactions during those missions were also helpful for the TNP to carry out the reforms through the EU adoption process. Because members of the TNP had OSCE and UN mission experiences, they already had a clear picture of what their own organization could be like after the reforms. So, the personnel who had experience in international organization missions became the agents of reform in the TNP. At the beginning of 2006, the total number of TNP members participating in OSCE and UN missions was 404; and by March 2007, UN missions alone had numbered 275 (Caliskan, 2006). In fact, as of 31 March, 2007, the Turkish police have the world's 8th largest contingent in UN peacekeeping missions (Contributors, 2007). Turkey's total personnel support including police and military for UN missions is 1044 and ranks 22<sup>nd</sup> in the world (Ranking of Contributions, 2007). The TNP personnel also handle mission security for 130 different Foreign Affairs consulates and ambassadorships abroad. In 71 different countries, 379 officers are stationed on those missions.

Liaison officers in foreign countries are also important for providing connections and expertise for the TNP. In fact, the interviewees mentioned that those missions of Liaison to foreign countries were especially important in the transfer of experience and knowledge as none of them have been to those missions. Eight Liaison officers are stationed in seven different countries (Disiliskiler DB, n.d.). The total number of the TNP officials abroad at one time is around 900. However, this number does not include the personnel who attended short term courses abroad which were 1,321 in 2005 (Caliskan, 2006).

The TNP has relations with other countries' police departments and international organizations. The TNP has 63 agreements with 44 different countries, 33 protocols with 21 different countries, 32 cooperation documents with 21 different countries, and 114 meeting reports with 32 different countries (Gultekin, 2006). They signed 266 legal documents consisting of agreements, protocols, and Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs). The relationships continue with more countries during conferences and seminars. Participants from 65 countries and nine international organizations attended The 2005 Istanbul Conference on Democracy and Global Security which included 1 Deputy Prime Minister, 6 ministers in charge of security, 15 Undersecretaries, 17 Directors of Security, 23 Deputy Directors of Security and high level bureaucrats, 18 Metropolitan city police chiefs, and 526 academicians of which 180 were from Turkey (Aydiner, 2005).

The following lines from an official source indicate the level of the TNP's international relations and how they use humanitarian aid efforts in concert with the policing support to the countries where peacekeeping operations are underway:

I would like you to know about the generosity of the Turkish UNMIK Police Contingent. In 2006, Turkish CivPol officers provided food and clothing

for over 1500 under privileged Kosovars. During this school year Turkish Police Officers provided school bags and stationery supplies to 700 school children in Kosovo.

The Turkish Police have graciously extended an invitation to the Kosovo Police Service to train 100 KPS Officers this year in Turkey at their training facilities. This includes all expenses provided by the Turkish Police including transportation, housing and meals during the trainings. The first sure training starts next week when 12 KPS Officers will travel to Ankara for a two week Police Intelligence Course. These generous acts show the outstanding commitment the Turkish Police Contingent has to Kosovo community (UNMIK Press Release, 2007).

The HEAP is also very important in building connections abroad. In academic exchange alone, 152 TNP personnel have studied in the HEAP doctoral and master programs. (Caliskan, 2006). Actually it is possible to say that training programs taken from or given to other countries are also effective in promoting relationships. Gultekin (2005) states TADOC and Turkish Institute for Police Studies (TIPS) were fundamental in preparing preconditions of healthy longstanding relations with other countries and universities. Also police-university cooperation seems an evolving relationship area in the TNP. Aytac and Sayli (2005) stated that the relations of the police are not carried only by HQ, but also by the PPDs. Bursa PPD signed an agreement with Uludag University to conduct research in 16 different. In addition to research, they agreed that the university would provide training programs to Bursa PPD. The first program included 10 different courses related to psychology, econometrics, sociology and education.

#### **5.2.1.12. Internal communication**

Internal communication refers to the amount of communication within divisions of an organization and the quantity and frequency of meetings, forms of information exchange both laterally and hierarchically, and the level of apportionment of decisions is usually the gauge (Damanpour, 1991, p. 590).

As implied from interview data and documentary evidence, The TNP has comprehensive communication channels in general. Formal communication channels are highly formalized and regulated by written rules and strict customs which grew with the organization. When the size of the organization and the large geographical area the police services are provided to be taken into consideration, the information flow and communication of the TNP should be very slow and clumsy. In fact, it should show the same problems faced by the US intelligence and law enforcement agencies before and during the events of 9/11. Verton (2004) reported that Condoleezza Rice, former White House National Security Adviser claimed that “structural and legal impediments prevented critical clues from reaching the White House” (para. 1) and information sharing among U.S. law enforcement agencies. She “blamed outdated legal policies and cultural obstacles: (para. 2). The blame was placed on Intelink, an intelligence community intranet deployed in 1994, as it did not call up information which was readily available in the system somewhere. Since the intelink was in place and was not functioning effectively, the information remained in the originating institution’s database and was not shared with other law enforcement and intelligence agencies. Even if the information had been available in the system, the chances were small that those incidents of 9/11 could have been prevented because the numbers of web pages had already grown to 2.4 million, too many pages to efficiently filter

through. The systems deployed for effective information sharing are not useful unless the communication and information sharing culture is established among agencies.

To make this argument clearer, the number of different law enforcement agencies and their personnel should be noted. In 2000 there were 5118 state and 12,666 local (a total of 17,784) law enforcement agencies around the US. The number of their personnel was 708,022. This number climbs to 796,518 when other sheriffs, primary state, special jurisdiction, Texas constables, and federal law enforcement personnel are added (LEMAS, 2000). That picture is highly fractured when compared with other countries' more centralized police systems. All of the American agencies have different backgrounds, different organizational cultures, different perceptions about crime and methods to fight it, different service delivery mechanisms, and different threat assessments. Is there any reason why would they share their information with other agencies, unless forced? Why would they allocate funds, personnel and time to report their information if there are no or limited incentives? Even in 2007 the US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, and Bureau of Justice Statistics did not disseminate the 2004 statistics. The reality is that even accounting for information in those agencies might take a long time. This is a clumsy structure which makes it difficult to achieve cooperation and collaboration.

In Turkey, the situation has been different than in the US. While problems like terrorism, economic instability, political unrest and separatist movements exist, the TNP has not failed to unearth terrorist plots earlier, and managed to prevent many incidents before they happened. Turkey, a country almost equal the size of Texas with a population of slightly more than 72 million, has only three law enforcement agencies at the national level: The TNP, the gendarmerie, and the Coast Guard. Turkey does suffer somewhat from weak cooperation and

collaboration among those agencies. However, when compared to the US law enforcement structure and problems, the Turkish law enforcement structure appears to be more effective from the information-sharing stand point.

As Vilnai-Yavetz and Rafaeli (2002) state, interactions serve to accomplish both the formal goals of the organization and social needs of the members. Interactions imposed by external and formal sources result in other types of interactions and the systems evolve as a result. The quality of an organization is determined by those external definitions and emergent interactions (p.76). It appeared from the interview data that any input from any officer regardless of position was taken into consideration through the informal and quasi-informal communication channels if the formal channels could not handle the information in a fast and timely manner. The effect of cohort based networking and subsequent expansions of this network by contacting other cohorts through hubs (a member of another cohort) was explained by interviewees and discussed in Chapter IV. When the time constraints were in place yet the information was required immediately, the TNP first conveyed the information through these trusted networks and then consecutively formalized the communication in written and formal communication channels. As explained by interviewees, the said trust was built during their shared police education experiences.

The situation in the US, however, is not very hopeful. Manning (2003) states that public policing is uneven in training and qualifications (p. 45). As opposed to other Anglo-Saxon countries, the US does not have a national police college and a nationally guided system for developing police leadership. The American law enforcement agencies' cultures, customs, enforcement styles, and even funds vary by department and they are affected by local politics. The police response can be viewed as clumsy and reactive. This decentralized police structure,

coupled with the officers working alone in one-man cars, adds to the deficiency of communication and trust among them. Moreover, the lack of a national police college has some practical implications for field work and training. It has been widely documented that the reality in American policing is that the profession is learned laterally from a partner and begins with “forget what you learned in school, this is real life.” As a result of this inconsistent, individual, lateral level passing on of expertise, from one officer to another, the reform process in American policing is very complex and strongly resistant to any change. Any kind of change is against the normative teaching of the officers learning by doing. Personal, on-the-job experiences are far more important than what others say propose.

Comparing and contrasting the reality in American policing and Turkish policing makes it clear why the TNP is different and why the reforms are non-problematic. First of all, while learning from partners is an important aspect of policing, the experienced partner is not alone in teaching the new partner. Line officers are never far away from a close superior officer’s supervision, because they work together most of the time. The experience of the officers in the field, the wisdom and fresh knowledge of the newly graduated supervisors merge to create a good supportive context for the new officers. The researcher himself experienced this. While the veteran officer can draw on prior experiences to guide him/her away from problems and to make appropriate decisions under time constraints, the young supervisor has the legal comprehension to interpret the laws and apply them the right way. When the supervisor does not hesitate to ask questions, s/he learns from the experienced officers about what they do and why they act in certain situations. It would seem that the Turkish system is more holistic and more supportive than the fractured US policing. In fact, it is partly for this reason that the innovativeness is so high in the TNP, because supervisors make their own discoveries through their career. While

Manning (2003, p.256) calls the American police process of learning the profession an act of “dramaturgy,” a theatrical representation of the job, the Turkish case would better be termed an act of learning wisdom . Wisdom is accumulated knowledge which is experience with common sense. At any rate, the TNP member becomes ready as each task presents itself.

It is possible to say that the TNP developed innovative methods to improve information sharing capabilities. Those capabilities are used whenever required and the limits are learned through experience. In terms of Damanpour’s variables, the TNP gets a positive from effective internal communication.

#### **5.2.1.13. Vertical differentiation**

“This represents the number of levels in an organization's hierarchy. It is measured by the number of levels below the chief executive level” (Damanpour, 1991, p. 590).

The TNP ranks are highly formalized and conditions of promotion are clearly established with certain rules. Table 5.2 shows the ranks in the TNP. However, when the duty column is carefully examined, it appears that other levels might also exist. This elevated hierarchical ladder slows the formal communication. The influence of high hierarchy on formal communication is lessened by written rules and circulars showing the personnel the levels of classified documents; in some instances, certain levels in the ladder are by-passed to speed up the process and to decrease the work overload of top officials.

Of the 180,885 officers, 5,786 (3%) work in HQ in administrative, auxiliary, and support duties. HQ is the main policy and decision-making body of the TNP. All 30 HQ departments have direct relations with the PPDs. However, especially for crisis and urgent situations, the Main Command and Control Center (AKKM) is responsible for coordinating all TNP units and all of the 81 PPD Security Command and Control Centers (EKKM).

Table 5.2 The TNP Ranks, Titles, and Duties

<b>RANK</b>	<b>TITLE</b>	<b>DUTY</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>
	OVER DEGREE CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT	DIRECTOR GENERAL, HEAD OF THE TNP	1
	1/1 DEGREE CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT	Senior Police Chief	15
	1/2 DEGREE CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT	Chief of Police Provincial PD	827
	2 <sup>ND</sup> DEGREE CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT	Assistant Chief of Police Supervises a few divisions or towns	591
	3 <sup>RD</sup> DEGREE CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT	Chief of Division or Chief of Town PD	850
	4 <sup>TH</sup> DEGREE CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT	Assistant Chief of Division or Assistant Chief of Town PD	888
	SUPERINTENDENT	Chief of Bureaus or Acting Chief of Divisions	2,484
	CHIEF INSPECTOR	Chief of Police Station Chief of Bureau in Divisions	3,295
	INSPECTOR	Group Leader in police stations Chief of Bureau Section in divisions	2,698
	SERGEANT	Group Leader in police stations or divisions	2,153
	Line Officer	The lowest rank in the TNP with a chance to promotion through exams. Graduates of Police Vocational Schools.	167.083
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11 RANKS</b>		<b>180,885</b>

Adapted from Rutbeler (2007) and revised with Personnel Department data from 22/01/2007.

#### **5.2.1.14. Democratic Policing**

Democratic policing is not new to the TNP, nor even is the community policing concept new. The organization of the neighborhood watch, or night watch, or “watchmen” (*Turkish*, Bekcilik Teskilati) was a primitive, but effective example of community policing in Turkey. The watchman used to help people who moved into the neighborhood to find a rental house, served as the first social contact, and was charged with the duty of extinguishing fires in houses which goes back to Ottoman Empire era. They all were male and were called the “father of the neighborhood”. The information gathering activity was generally swift and smooth since each watchman was a member of the community by birth, had an established background of connections, and the neighborhood community respected his word. Watchmen generally worked at night, patrolling the town streets; blowing a whistle to announce midnight, and giving the public a sense of security (Polis Haber, 2007). Moreover, his services were cheap. What current Turkish community policing tries to do is the same thing: bringing the citizens into policing. Citizens in the community are policing with the police, businesses, schools, public groups, and private organizations.

Democracy is participation. While it meant the “rule of people” in older texts, today it is all about public participation in administration through multiparty and competitive elections (Can, 2003) for which its procedures are set by formal rules (Marx, 2001). Marx (2001) says, even though many people are not involved in elections, all people have contact with the police. The way the police operate differs greatly between democratic and non-democratic societies. In any democratic society, however, the police should be bound by the rule of law, should respect human rights, and should try to keep interventions into citizens’ personal lives to minimum and

only if necessary, and should be publicly accountable. Democratic policing is a process, not an end (Marx, 2001, p. 35). As both Manning (2003) and Marx (2001) have argued, societies need both the police protection and protection from the police. Police powers should be under close scrutiny, adjusted as required, and judged with technological capacities. As it is understood from those arguments, the democratic policing concept is about the control of the police and controlling the police.

The transformation of policing in Turkey is associated with the EU *acquis* adoption and this section evaluates the state of democratic policing in Turkey. To begin with, the reports on Turkey's progress about the accession program for the EU membership are the most credible sources to understand the state of policing. All the EC reports on Turkey, from 1998 to 2006 (Regular Report on Turkey's progress towards accession, 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006), gathered information from many sources including the Turkish government, Member States, European Parliament decisions, and information from various international NGOs. The EC reports mention that progress is measured by decisions taken, legislations adopted, and measures implemented (Turkey 2006 Progress Report, 2006, p. 1). The scope of this study focuses more on the implementation aspect than on the number of legislations adopted. However, they will be mentioned briefly to show the progress and state of Turkey in general and the TNP in particular regarding reforms, democracy, and democratic policing.

As explained in Chapter I, the *acquis* is the community law which includes the treaties, the secondary legislation, and the policies of the EU. There are 35 chapters in the *acquis* and only Chapter 25 "Science and Research" has been completed for the case of Turkey. Chapters 1, 3, 9, 11, 13, 14, 29, and 30 are seen as problematic due to disputes with Turkey's policy regarding Cyprus. Chapter 24 focuses on "Justice, Freedom and Security", the scope of this

study. In short, the document notes that “Turkish foreign policy and its perception of security interests have evolved significantly although existing disputes need yet to be solved” (Issues Arising, 2004, p. 7).

Turkey 2006 Progress Report (2006) mentions that trade between the EU and Turkey expanded in the context of the customs union (Chapter 25 of the *acquis*), reaching € 75 billion in 2005. The report urges Turkey to remove all restrictions regarding free movement of goods, including restrictions on means of transport to Cyprus (p. 5). The EU seems unhappy with the Turkish Army’s opinions on Cyprus, secularism, and the Kurdish issue, the most sensitive issues in Turkish politics. Even though Cyprus is always arbitrary and the Turkish side implemented a “one step further” policy in all issues, it remains the biggest obstacle for Turkey’s membership (p. 24). The EU has chosen to accept the membership of Cyprus and to force Turkey to accept all provisions of the EU about Cyprus without reservations, which is viewed as highly problematic. Given those facts, Turkey’s EU membership is not likely unless Turkey gives up what she sees as her rights for the sake of the EU membership.

However, the challenging EU membership process of Turkey is not a problem for the reforms in Turkey. As Abdullah Gul, Foreign Affairs Minister of 59th Government announced on 17 April 2007, the program is being initiated not only for the EU membership process, but for the sake of the Turkish public regardless of EU membership achievement. He asserted that the public deserves the EU standards and this program would achieve it. The program is a road map for Turkey’s adoption to the EU *acquis* and brought medium and long term reforms which would be completed between 2007 and 2013. The program was prepared on the basis of 33 negotiation chapters with the participation of all public institutions, and around 130 NGOs. During Germany’s 2007 EU Presidency, Turkey is invited to begin discussions on Chapters 17, 18, 20,

and 32. Chapter 20, focusing on enterprise and industrial policy discussions, were already opened on 29 March 2007 (Uyum Programi, 2007). As previously stated, Turkey's Programme for Alignment with the EU *Acquis* (2007) included the 24<sup>th</sup> Chapter on "Justice, Freedom, and Security" which brought responsibilities to the TNP (Table 5.3) Together with the Turkey 2006 Progress Report, these documents delineate the responsibilities which are not yet completed but provide an excellent idea to see what is achieved to date. Those two documents are in concert regarding the issues to be completed, while Turkey's Programme for Alignment with the EU *Acquis* (2007) adds concrete steps to be complete in the time frame in the report. The responsibilities given to the TNP are those which should be prepared with other ministries once the policies are cleared, since those required changes should be enacted with their consent. The required legal changes are shown in Table 5.5 and their distribution between years is shown in Table 5.4. Of those 21 primary or secondary regulations, 17 are the responsibility of the TNP alone, or with another institution. The TNP is required to make those changes within the given time frame; however, as it can be seen from Table 5.5, these regulations are a national responsibility and require either investment or consent of the TGNA. The TNP is not given any other task to further improve the fight against torture or to improve human rights applications of the TNP. Neither these documents, nor the interview data, nor the above-mentioned reports of the EC mention any specific shortcomings regarding the respect for internationally recognized human rights principles. As Caliskan (2007) mentioned, no torture allegations arrived at the TNP for 2006. Any allegations were nothing more than media reports which were not substantiated.

Those EC reports, together with the tables in this section, and the claims of the TNP spokesman imply a transformed or transforming TNP in all areas. Then, what is the state of

democratic policing in Turkey? This should be discussed based on scholarly studies of democratic policing (see Bayley, 2006; CHRI, 2005; Can, et al., 2006; and Marenin, 2003, as cited in Can et al., 2006).

Table 5.3 35 Chapters of the EU *Acquis* for Turkey's Accession

1. Free movement of goods
2. Freedom of movement of workers
3. Right of establishment and freedom to provide services
4. Free movement of capital
5. Public procurement
6. Company law
7. Intellectual property law
8. Competition policy
9. Financial services
10. Information society and media
11. Agriculture and rural development
12. Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy
13. Fisheries
14. Transport policy
15. Energy
16. Taxation
17. Economic and monetary policy
18. Statistics
19. Social policy and employment (incl. anti-discrimination and equal opportunities for women and men)
20. Enterprise and industrial policy
21. Trans-European networks
22. Regional policy and co-ordination of structural instruments
23. Judiciary and fundamental rights
<b>24. Justice, freedom and security</b>
<b>25. Science and research</b>
26. Education and culture
27. Environment
28. Consumer and health protection
29. Customs union
30. External relations
31. Foreign, security and defence policy
32. Financial control
33. Financial and budgetary provisions
34. Institutions
35. Other issues

Table 5.4 Proposed Reforms for Justice, Freedom, and Security

<b>CHAPTER 24: Justice, Freedom, and Security</b>					
		<b>2007-2008</b>	<b>2008-2009</b>	<b>2009-2013</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>Primary Law</b>		4	-	6	10
	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010-2013</b>	
<b>Secondary Regulation</b>	5	6	6	4	21

The democratic policing in the TNP is a new phenomenon in name, but the factors that help to define Turkish democratic policing are not new at all. According to Can et al (2006) cross-national analyses of the police practices and democracy relations have not been given much attention. From a variety of scholars (e.g., Das, 2000; Kratcoski, 2000; Marenin, 2000; Stone & Ward, 2000, as cited in Can et al, 2006) a list of determinants of the democratic policing was developed. Those determinants are lower crime rates, less bribery, less corruption, less brutality, and improved community satisfaction with reforms in the organizational structure; these all emerged in Anglo-Saxon countries as programs such as problem-oriented (POP) and community oriented policing (COP).

Following the POP and COP track, scholars came-up with a list of requirements for the police to be deemed democratic: accountability to the rule of law and to the public; transparent policies and decision-making; minimal use of force; respect for human rights; internal organizational democracy; and public involvement in decisions of the police organization were mandatory. Some of those tenets of democratic policing are not in agreement with traditional police organizational structure. For example, organizational democracy may mean more chaos and inefficiency as more participation into the decisions diminishes unity of direction, or as

explained by Fayol (1949), the direction by which only a single mind would generate a single plan and all others would act according to that plan.

Hsieh and Woo (2000) found that information sharing is superior in hierarchical organizations when it is compared to team-work. The reason is that hierarchical information reaches the decision-maker from different sources without any changes or adjustments to it. In team management however, the team gathers around a table and discusses the issues. While discussing, the members adjust their points according to previous speakers and do not always make their information available. In reality, the societies cannot afford untested innovative decisions on a daily basis. Hierarchical organizations do tend to represent status quo and stability rather than development and improvements. Since police organizations are established to protect and to serve the citizens, two most important needs of a modern society, it is not effective to threaten this order with evolving decision-making and thus this type of communication channel is not widely opened at all even today.

However, when it comes to decisions where the consensus is already achieved, there is no room for the police to resist. As the interview data and documentary evidence suggested, the TNP has shown full commitment towards the EU *acquis* adoption which supports this analogy. The valuable information from Can et al.'s (2006) study offers a look at policing in 15 different countries and does a comparative examination of the operationalization of the respect for human rights and the democracy level in Turkey, based on *The Freedom Survey*, a content analysis of democratic policing literature, and a cross tabulation of democratic policing data with Purdue University's Political Terror Scale.

Table 5.5 Reforms to be Completed by the TNP in Justice, Freedom, and Security

Reference #	The law to be changed/ The law to be enacted	Purpose	Progress	The period for completion	Responsible Institution
24.0007.1.02	Passport Law No. 5682	To establish Airport Transit Visa	At TGNA	2007-2008	TNP Foreign Affairs
24.0913.1.01	Foreigners Law		Technical studies	2009-2013	TNP Foreign Affairs
24.0913.1.02	Asylum Law	To adopt the EU <i>acquis</i>	Technical studies	2009-2013	TNP
24.0913.1.05	Firearms Law No 6136	To adopt the EU <i>acquis</i>		2009-2013	TNP Gendarmerie
24.2007.2.02	Changing the Department of Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime Manual	Establishment of TUBIM	Technical studies	2007	TNP
24.2007.2.03	Alignment of visa stamps to Schengen Visa	To adopt the EU <i>acquis</i>	Technical studies	2007	TNP Foreign Affairs Ministry of Finance
24.2008.2.01	Asylum Regulation on Law No 6136	To adopt the EU <i>acquis</i>	Technical studies	2008	TNP
24.2008.2.02	To change Regulations on Police Higher Education Law	To establish Border Security Academy	Technical studies	2008	TNP
24.2009.2.01	Police Cooperation and Data Security	Europol Cooperation		2009	TNP
24.2009.2.02	Document Security	Europol Cooperation		2009	TNP
24.2009.2.03	Europol National Office Regulations	Europol Cooperation		2009	TNP
24.2009.2.04	Europol Money Laundering Regulations	Europol Cooperation		2009	TNP
24.2009.2.05	Europol Database	To enable Law Enforcement to share Europol database		2009	TNP
24.2009.2.06	Information Sharing	Europol-TNP information sharing		2009	TNP
24.1013.2.01	Changing Circular regarding Stamp Visa at gates	Stopping issuing stamp visa		2009	TNP Foreign Affairs
24.1013.2.02	Changing Visa Regime	To adopt the EU <i>acquis</i>		2009	TNP Foreign Affairs
24.1013.2.03	Regulation regarding Law on Asylum	To adopt the EU <i>acquis</i>		2010-2013	TNP

Can et al. (2006) conceptualized democratic policing based on the relevant literature. According to them, the democratic policing in different countries could be determined based on several factors:

Institutionalization of the rule of law; accountability to the public (accountability); transparency of decision making (responsiveness); popular participation in policing (representativeness); minimum use of force; creating an organization that facilitates the learning of human rights (responsiveness); and internal democracy of the organization” (Can et al., 2006 p. 3).

To operationalize the democratic policing variables, they came up with a conclusive, evidence-based list. The variables they found were:

- centralization/decentralization,
- representativeness,
- community policing, problem-oriented policing,
- ombudsman,
- oversight performed by legislatures, elected officials or the courts,
- civilian oversight by non-governmental organizations, civilian complaint boards,
- internal police control, effective disciplinary structure,
- use of advanced technology for the investigation of crime,
- unionism,
- use of force training,
- human rights training
- media-police relations (p. 4).

Can et al. (2006) mentioned that responsiveness to the public should be another variable to be tested, but the data were insufficient due to lack of uniform registry of 911 calls and evidence-based study, and thus was excluded from their study.

For the purpose of this study, their comparative measures of freedom, content analysis of the democratic policing practices of 15 countries and Turkey, correlation between democracy and democratic policing that is centralization are considered (Tables 5.6, 5.7, and Figure 5.10). It should be noted that their study inverted the 1-7 scale of Freedom House to 7-1 scale to make it more understandable. According to Freedom House data, the increase in the number shows a decrease in the freedom rating. In Can et al.'s (2006) data is inverted and shows a linear relation as both the scale and freedom increase simultaneously. Freedom House's combined average ratings for the countries falling between 3.0 and 5.0 are considered "Partly Free", and those between 5.5 and 7.0 are deemed "Not Free". In Can et al.'s (2006) inversion (Table 5.6), Turkey was given a rating of 5.0 for both political rights and civil liberties, for a combined average rating of 5.0. So, this inverted rating equals a Freedom House 3, designated a partly free country, and represents a 1.5 point increase from 2002.

Table 5.7 shows the data of Turkey post-2003 added to illuminate the developments when the reforms appeared to be quickly enacted, according to the interview data and documentary evidence. Turkey's freedom index increased from 3.5 to 5 in two years. The "Freedom in the World 2007" data (Freedom House, 2007), released after Can et al.'s study, covers the period from December 1, 2005, through December 31, 2006. The new data also confirmed no change in Turkey's status in 2006.

Table 5.6 Comparative Measures of Freedom (Inverted)

Table of Countries – Comparative Measures of Freedom				
Country	Political Rights	Civil Rights	Freedom Rating	
Australia	7	7	Free	7
Brazil	5	5	Partly Free	5
China	1	2	Not Free	1.5
Colombia	4	4	Partly Free	4
France	7	6	Free	6.5
Hungary	7	6	Free	6.5
Japan	7	6	Free	6.5
Netherlands	7	7	Free	7
Russia	3	3	Partly Free	3
Saudi Arabia	1	1	Not Free	1
Slovenia	7	6	Free	6.5
South Africa	7	6	Free	6.5
Sweden	7	7	Free	7
United-Kingdom	7	6	Free	6.5
United States	7	7	Free	7
<b>TURKEY (2002)</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Partly Free</b>	<b>3.5</b>
<b>TURKEY (2005)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Partly Free</b>	<b>5</b>

Sources: Data is excerpted from

- The Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2001-2002* Index via <http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/freeworld/2000/table1.htm>, p.10-13 and inverted.
- Freedom In the World Country Ratings 1972-2006, Freedom House Index (2006). Available <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=15&year=2006> and inverted.

Adopted from Can et al. (2006).

The content analysis of democratic policing practices of 15 countries is shown in Table 5.7. Turkey's overall average rating in operationalized democratic policing variables increased from 9 in 2002 to 12 in 2005. According to this table, Turkey has a better democratic policing rating than

9 other countries, including France (10), is equal to Japan, and is only slightly lower than the remaining five countries, including the United States (13).

Table 5.7 The Content Analysis of the Democratic Policing Practices of 15 Countries

Countries/ Variables	Australia	Brazil	China	Colombia	France	Hungary	Japan	Netherlands	Russia	Saudi Arabia	Slovenia	South Africa	Sweden	United-Kingdom	United States	Turkey 2002	Turkey 2005
<b>Centralization</b>	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
<b>Decentralization</b>	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
<b>CP*1</b>	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
<b>Representativeness</b>	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
<b>POP*2</b>	1	0	0	0	NA	0	1	NA	0	1	0	0	NA	1	1	0	1
<b>Ombudsman</b>	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
<b>L/E/JO*3</b>	1	1	1	1	0	1	NA	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>CCB*4</b>	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
<b>CO-NGO*5</b>	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
<b>IPC*6</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>EDS*7</b>	NA	1	NA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
<b>ATU*8</b>	1	0	1	0	1	NA	1	1	1	1	NA	0	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Unionism</b>	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
<b>UFT*9</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>HRT*10</b>	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	NA	NA	0	1
<b>TM*11</b>	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	13	10	5	8	10	8	12	14	7	9	9	10	14	14	13	9	12

CP\*1=Community Policing POP\*2=Problem Oriented Policing L/E/JO\*3=Legislative, Executive, or Judicial Oversight. CCB\*4= Civilian Complaint Board, CO-NGO\*5=Civilian Oversight by Non-Governmental Organizations. IPC\*6= Internal Police Control EDS\*7=Effective Disciplinary Structure, ATU\*8=Advanced Technology Use, UFT\*9=Use of Force Training, HRT\*10= Human Rights Training, TM\*11=Transparency to the Media.

Adapted from Can et al. (2006).

Both the democracy and democratic policing rating in Turkey have increased. While democratic policing rating was almost 20% higher than the democracy rating in 2002, by 2005,

both had improved, and the rapid acceleration of democracy narrowed the differential to less than 10%. This result is also consistent with Cao and Burton's (2006) study (Figures 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4, and 5.5).

Figure 5.10 Democracy-democratic policing correlation.

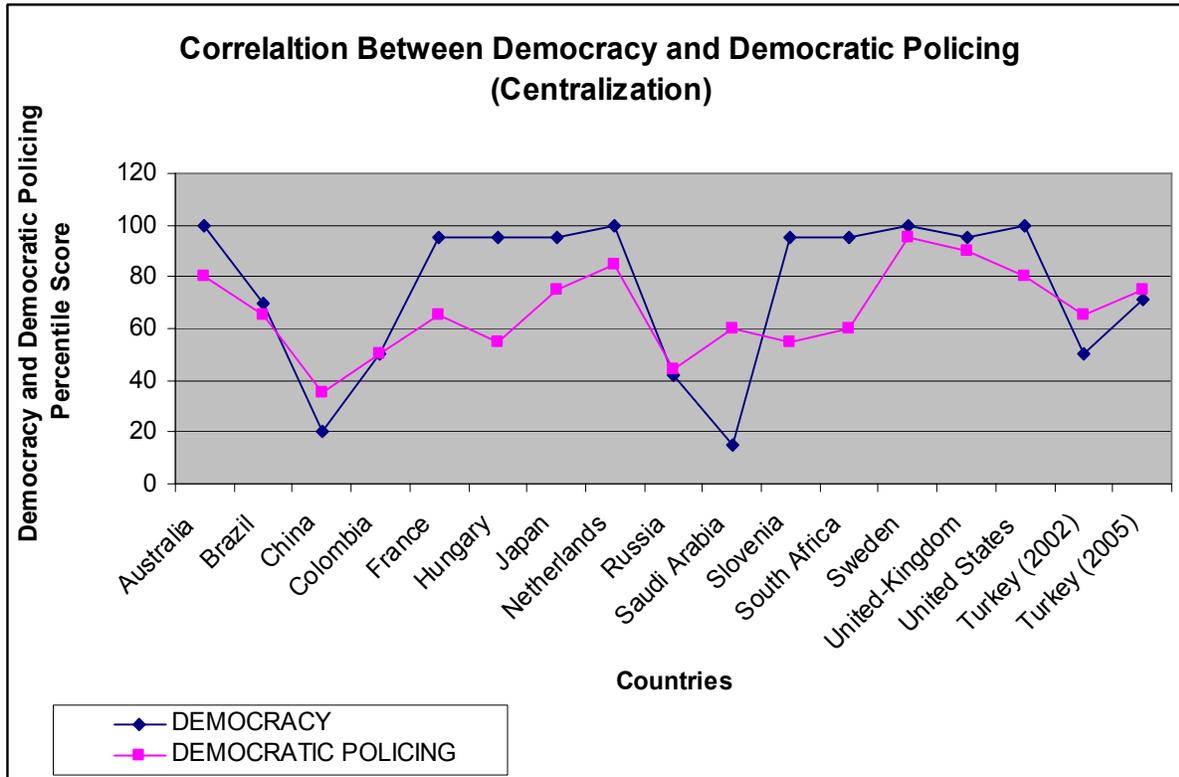


Chart 1. Correlation between Democracy and Democratic Policing (Centralization of Police organization as Democratic Policing Application), (Democracy=  $X/7*100$  and Democratic Policing=  $X/15*100$ ). Adapted from Can et al. (2006).

As a complementary to Figure 5.10, Figure 5.11 explains the correlation between terror events and Freedom House's democracy ratings. The freedom House rating has a scale from one to seven which "1" represents the most free and "7" the least free rating. The ratings reflect an overall judgment based on survey results. For the purpose of this study, freedom house ratings were inverted in reverse order to make the data comparable with terror incidents in Turkey from the TNP data and political terror events from the Political Terror Scale (PTS). Another reason to make

an inversion was to show increase in democracy level and compare it with increasing levels of terror events to provide consistency. The inversion process is done as shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 The Freedom House Data Inverted Ratings

	<b>The Most Free</b>												<b>The Least Free</b>
<b>Original</b>	1	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5	4	4.5	5	5.5	6	6.5	7
<b>Inverted</b>	7	6.5	6	5.5	5	4.5	4	3.5	3	2.5	2	1.5	1

The data for terror event are taken from two different sources. First one is PTS of Purdue University which rated countries from political terror events standpoint based on Amnesty International country reports and US State Department country ratings. PTS data includes both ratings separately and their average is used for this study. They have a rating scale from one to five which the level as shown in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9 Levels of Political Terror Scale

<b>PTS</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
<b>Level 1</b>	Countries under a secure rule of law, people are not imprisoned for their view, and torture is rare or exceptional. Political murders are extremely rare.
<b>Level 2</b>	There is a limited amount of imprisonment for nonviolent political activity. However, few persons are affected, torture and beatings are exceptional. Political murder is rare.
<b>Level 3</b>	There is extensive political imprisonment, or a recent history of such imprisonment. Execution or other political murders and brutality may be common. Unlimited detention, with or without a trial, for political views is accepted.
<b>Level 4</b>	The practices of level 3 are expanded to larger numbers. Murders, disappearances, and torture are a common part of life. In spite of its generality, on this level terror affects those who interest themselves in politics or ideas.
<b>Level 5</b>	The terrors of level 4 have been expanded to the whole population. The leaders of these societies place no limits on the means or thoroughness with which they pursue personal or ideological goals.

The Figure 5.11 included all three data to reach a more sensible and holistic view of the terror-democracy relationship in Turkey from 1972 to 2006. The PTS data is available since 1980

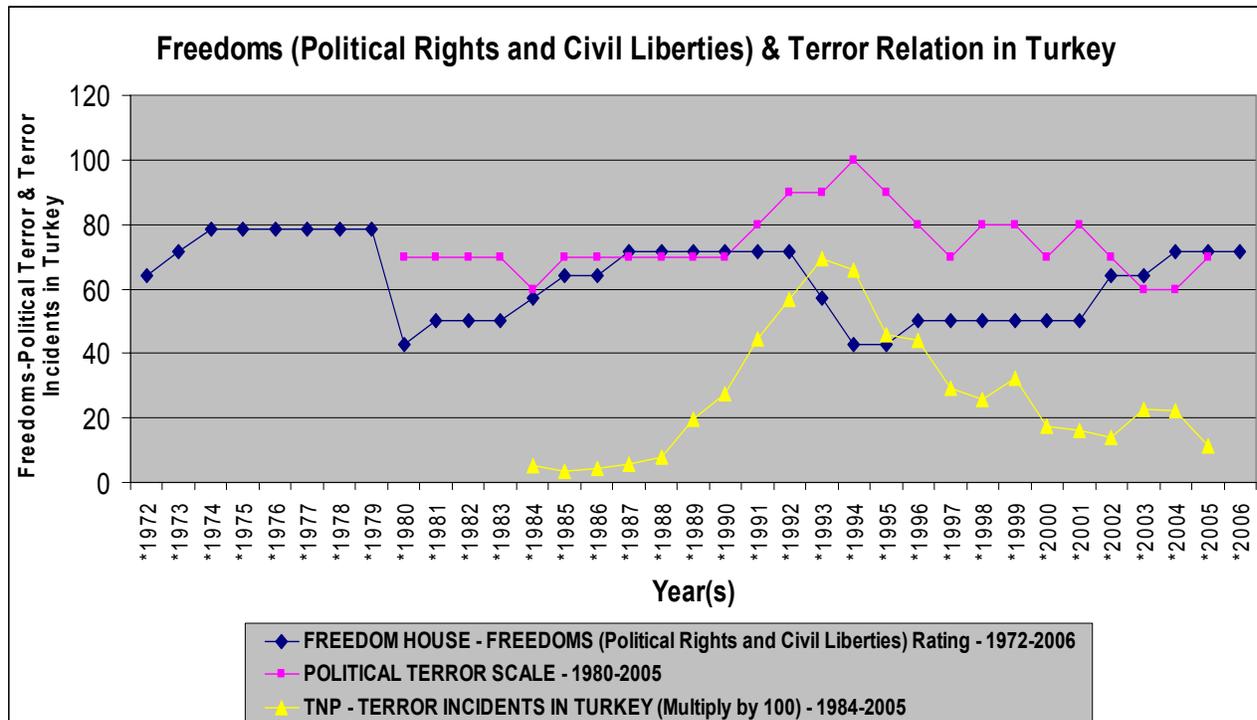
until 2005 and terror incidents statistic is available since 1984 until 2005. The reason to begin Freedom Houses rating since 1972 is to gain a deeper understanding of how the terror events were effective on increase or decrease of political rights and civil liberties. As depicted in Freedom House data in Figure 5.11, the freedom rating of Turkey was very high as “free” between 1974 and 1979 while the terror events were disturbing which led to 1980 military coup to restore order in the country. The sharp decline in freedom rating depends on army rule since many political parties and their politicians were barred being in political activity for at least five years. The freedom rating of Turkey gradually increased over seven years and reached to 71.42% and rated as partly free for six years beginning in 1987 and ending in 1992.

Interestingly the terror incidents began to gradually increase beginning in 1989 which the bulk of them were attributed to PKK terrorist organization. The Turkish authorities seem to wait until developing efficient counter measures against terrorism incidents. After the peak of terrorism events in 1994 according to TNP data, and in 1995 according to PTS data, the freedoms decreased sharply during these two years. The freedom rating of Turkey increased in 1996 with the decrease in terror events and remained steady for six years between 1996 and 2001. Beginning 2002, freedom rating of Turkey increased again gradually depending on the decrease in terror incidents.

The freedom rating of Turkey is at the peak over last three years in 2004, 2005, and 2006. This rating is the highest after 1980 but lower than the period between 1974 and 1979 when the PKK terrorist organization was in its planning stages. Two different data regarding terror events in Turkey shows almost the same trend. Given these facts, it is obvious that Turkey was not inherently a country where freedoms were banned for authoritarian means, but it was a reflective behavior to secure the country. Given the fact that the terrorist organization found wide support from neighbors and Western countries, the freedoms were declined as a response to terrorism.

When the terror incidents show a decline in number and intensity, the freedom rating immediately showed an increase.

Figure 5.11 Freedom and terror incidents relation in Turkey.



Correlation between Democracy and Terror:

- a) Democracy= X [(Political Rights + Civil Liberties)/2]/7\*100 (Adapted from *Freedom in the World Country Ratings 1972-2006* and *Freedom in the World 2007*)
- b) Political Terror Scale= X [(Amnesty International + US State Department)/2]/5\*100 (Adapted from Gibney (n.d.).)
- c) Terror Incidents in Turkey (Adapted from Kaya (2005)).

Longitudinal data in Figure 5.11 provides evidence that the freedoms are closely related with the terror events and it is likely that the freedom rating might increase from “partly free” to “free” if the terrorism events decline and the terrorist organization loose support from other countries. “Legal rules – from the Constitution, statutes, and the Supreme Court decisions, to the internal agency rules – establish the boundaries of appropriate police behavior” (Ivkovic, 2005, p. 546).

Politicizing the police is a major concern where bureaucratization increases in policing during times when tension is high in a society as a result of events such as September 11, 2001

(9/11) and the PKK Terrorist attacks on the Turkish police and armed forces. In those times, both reactive and proactive policing is more aggressive because of counter-terrorism policing is deemed necessary by political will which are formulated as new legislations and other forms of official policy. It is obvious that anti-terrorism legislation and policies develop slowly in the United States and elsewhere in the world until a particular country locally faces the grievances and bitterness of those events. In international level, the efforts to prevent terrorist attacks go back to 1937, when the League of Nations adopted 'Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism' which was not supported by many countries and remained limited to prevent only plane hijackings, bombings and hostage taking incidents. It was only one month after 9/11, the PATRIOT Act (the 'Provide Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act') was approved by the Congress of the US and the Homeland Security Department has been created in November 2002 to better coordinate anti-terrorism efforts. Once the terrorism is a major threat or as a common saying in the US administration "enemy number one," political bodies take the charge of police powers at their hands to be more effective against terrorism (Deflem, 2004).

Turkey experienced more severe forms of terrorism events from 1974 to a few years ago which lost more than 30,000 innocent civilians, police, and soldiers. It brought economic devastation to the country which is roughly around \$100 billion. This environment has paid of with many laws beginning the Anti-Terrorism Law which warranted longer detention times. Turkish Government prepared its 'National Program for the EU *Acquis*' on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2001 and sent it to the European Commission (EC) in the same month (Guney, 2005). Turkey has stormed passing new laws, changing existing ones beginning with the Constitution within the last three years. Seven reform packages passed from the Parliament. Measures against ill-treatment and prevention of torture are well defined as "zero tolerance policy" (p. 305). It is possible to easily infer from the

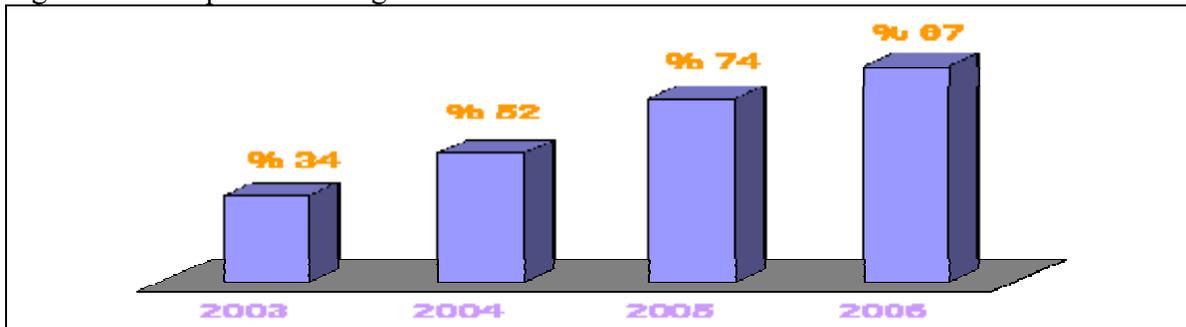
Table 5.9, from interview data, from documentary evidence including Figures 5.11 and 5.12 that the reforms are dependent upon terrorism events while the stability of the government and freedoms depend on terrorist incidents.

Before discussing Damanpour's variables of innovativeness (2001) in the context of the TNP, Figure 5.12 should be explained in accordance with the in-service training courses in the TNP (Table 4.1). As previously mentioned, the training capacity of the TNP is comparatively high when other police organizations in the world are considered. Bayley's warning not to trust generalized education (2006, p. 146) was already substantiated by the interview data in Chapter IV, leading to one of the most important findings of this study: Finding 4 about the human rights training in Police Academy and in in-service training courses. It is clearly indicated that the transfer of adoption data is done through in-service training courses which are specialized training courses for the purpose of diffusing the information regarding changes related with the EU *acquis*. Generalized education, however, is given in the Police Academy and the Police Vocational Schools with a special emphasis on human rights and police ethics.

The finding was based on the interview data that courses in police educational institutions were not meeting the requirements in the field. Rather, they were effective in providing a general idea about the phenomenon, and instructing the terminology and supplying a framework of the EU *acquis* adoption process. With this in mind, the new changes during the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP, and the already acquired framework and terminology in police educational institutions were used to design the human rights courses with the participation of the experts in their field. The required changes were applied in the field immediately and this information was diffused through in-service training courses, regional seminars, meetings, and also through other formal, informal, and quasi-formal communication channels.

Based on Bayley's (2006) caveat, Can et al's (2006) findings, and the data from Chapter IV, a change in the field should accompany all the efforts. Figure 5.12 indicates use of the right to counsel by suspects in Anti-Terrorism Divisions in PPDs. Almost 87% of all suspects arrested by the police used their right to have a lawyer's assistance. The use of right to counsel has increased 53% in the years from 2003 to 2006. Though the laws were not much different between those years, the difference was in the knowledge and perception in the beginning and at the end of the period. The beginning of the period represented the radical changes whose applications were not yet familiar. The end of the period represents the informed decisions to make all Miranda warnings, to make all recordings properly and to take suspects for a physician's examination before and after police custody.

Figure 5.12 Suspect use of right to counsel in anti-terrorism divisions of the TNP.



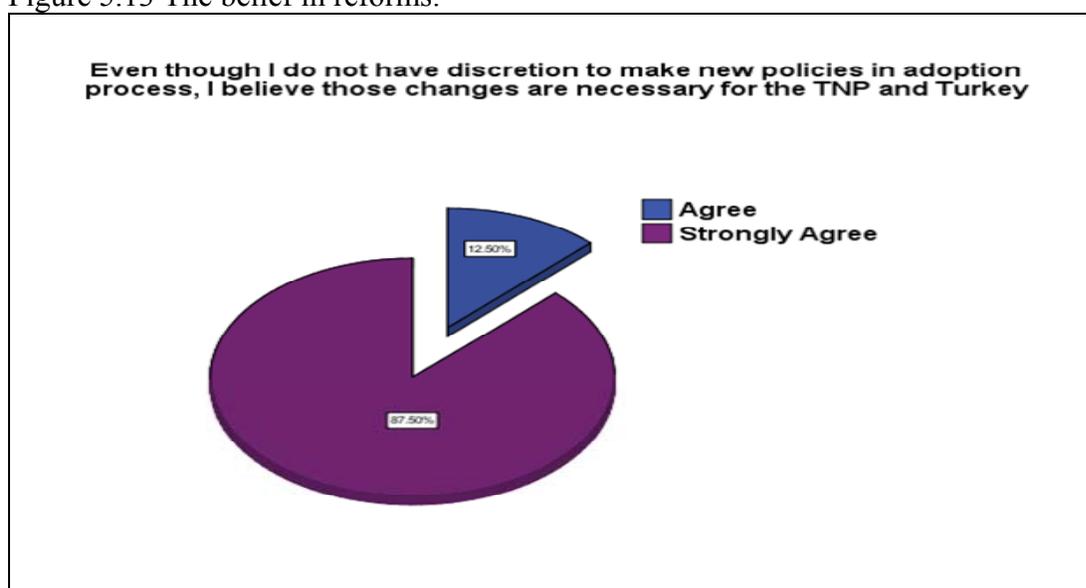
Adapted from Hukuki Iyilestirme (n.d., para. 16).

Clearly, not all those improvements can be attributed to education. They will also be explained by Damanpour's (1991) variables but the survey data also shows voluntary participation into the reforms. (Figures 5.13 shows the level of the TNP personnel's belief in reforms.)

The level of the interviewees' beliefs in reforms was high. This is one of the points that all the interviewees unanimously agreed on. When this result is applied to Rogers' (1995) model of stages in the innovation decision (Figure 2.3), it is clearly seen that one of the prior conditions of an innovation decision already exists in the TNP. Even though Rogers' model uses personal

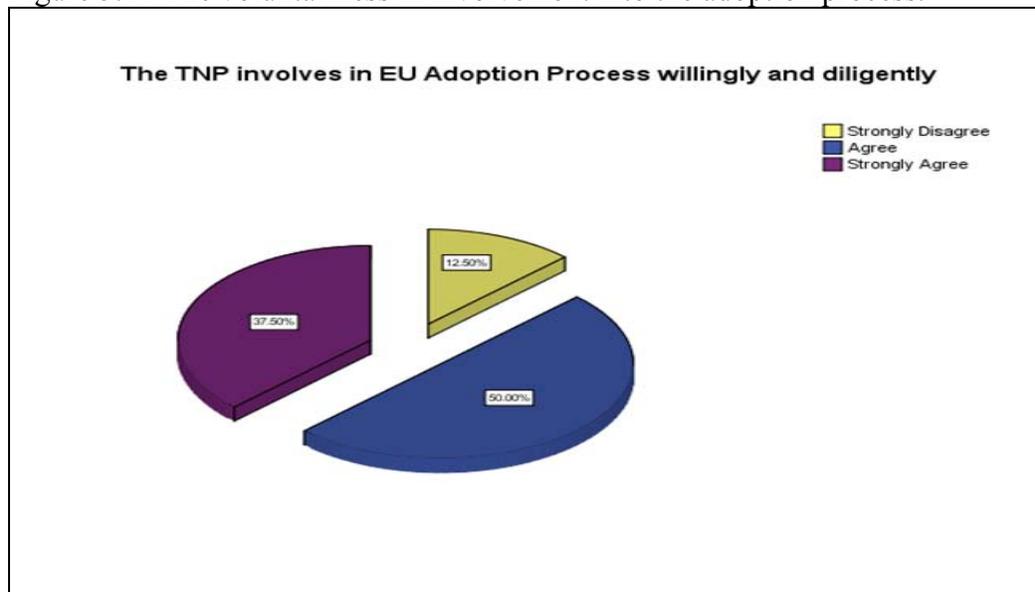
innovation decisions, all the interviewees individually confirmed their belief in reforms. The unanimity shows an organizational commitment (supported by interview data in Chapter IV). Moreover, the TNP's involvement in the EU *acquis* adoption process was voluntary. Seven of eight respondents felt that the TNP was involved into the adoption process; though one interviewee strongly disagrees with that. Perhaps this interviewee's point was to stress the effect of the government's initial commitment to the reforms, rather than the TNP's subsequent decisions on how to implement change.

Figure 5.13 The belief in reforms.



It should be noted that the variables of democratic policing in the literature are bound to the structural arrangements in police organizations. The best way to judge democratic policing levels of an organization seems to be by conducting surveys with well-designed questionnaires. Among the useful literature, Cao and Burton's (2006) study was instrumental to display the public trust in the Turkish police. It is still too early to claim that the TNP is definitely a democratic police organization.

Figure 5.14 The voluntariness in involvement into the adoption process.



However enormous improvement over the last few years can clearly be seen. As Bahar (2005) says, the EU membership is one of the rationales behind the development of policing in Turkey (p. 145). This point is echoed by the former EU Ambassador to Turkey (1991 -1998) who gave an interview on 3 March 2006:

In this long saga was the annual Regular Report published on Turkey on November 5. We have seen seven such reports on Turkey and they are all easily available on the Internet...They are long, detailed, covering political life, society and the economy, and how they all relate to the European Union *acquis communautaire* and much that is not in the *acquis*. In the case of Turkey they also report the most remarkable record of reform, profound reform, in political life, society, fundamental freedoms, the economy and financial regulation of any country in Europe since the end of the Second World War (Lake, 2006, para. 3).

### **5.2.2. Organizational Innovativeness of the TNP: A Comparative Analysis**

Damanpour (1991), as previously mentioned, had 13 variables (Table 5.10). 10 of 13 variables were expected to influence the level of innovativeness in organizations, which also found to be positive, as expected, in the TNP. These 10 variables are:

- Specialization
- Functional differentiation
- Professionalism
- Managerial attitude toward change
- Managerial tenure
- Technical knowledge resources
- Administrative intensity
- Slack resources
- External communication
- Internal communication

As Damanpour's article was not available to the researcher during the initial literature review, this research was originally designed under the framework to analyze the previous 10 findings of the study. However, while looking at organizational innovation, and coming upon Damanpour's work on variables identified in democratic policing, the researcher chose to include the variables, but purposely did not read the original results and findings so as not to bias this study's findings. The researcher has now checked the explanation for vertical differentiation and found that Damanpour already explained that the vertical differentiation was an advantage for administrative innovations.

Table 5.10 TNP's Organizational Innovativeness and Democratic Policing

Independent Variables	Expected/ Found Relationships	Reasons for Expectations
Specialization	Positive/ Positive	A greater variety of specialists would provide a broader knowledge base (Kimberly & Evanisko. 1981) and increase the cross-fertilization of ideas (Aiken & Hage, 1971).
Functional differentiation	Positive/ Positive	Coalitions of professionals form in differentiated units (Baldrige & Burnham, 1975) that both elaborate on and introduce changes in the units' technical systems and influence changes in their administrative systems.
Professionalism	Positive/ Positive	Increases boundary-spanning activity, self-confidence, and a commitment to move beyond the status quo (Pierce & Delbecq, 1977).
Formalization	Negative/ <u>Negative</u> Positive* for EU <i>acquis</i>	Flexibility and low emphasis on work rules facilitate innovation (Burns & Stalker. 1961; Thompson, 1965; Aiken & Hage. 1971). Low formalization permits openness, which encourages new ideas and behaviors (Pierce & Delbecq, 1977).
Centralization	Negative/ <u>Negative</u> Positive* for EU <i>acquis</i>	The concentration of decision-making authority prevents innovative solutions, while the dispersion of power is necessary for innovation (Thompson, 1965). Participatory work environments facilitate innovation by increasing organizational members' awareness, commitment, and involvement.
Managerial attitude toward change	Positive/ Positive	Managers' favorable attitude toward change leads to an internal climate conducive to innovation. Managerial support for innovation is especially required in the implementation stage, when coordination and conflict resolution among
Managerial tenure	Positive/ Positive	The longevity of managers in their jobs provides legitimacy and knowledge of how to accomplish tasks, manage political processes, and obtain desired outcomes (Kimberly & Evanisko. 1981).
Technical knowledge resources	Positive/ Positive	The greater the technical knowledge resources, the more easily can new technical ideas be understood and procedures for their development and implementation be attained (Dewar & Dutton. 1986).
Administrative intensity	Positive/ Positive	A higher proportion of managers facilitates innovation because the successful adoption of innovations depends largely on the leadership, support, and coordination managers provide (Daft & Becker, 1978; Damanpour, 1987).
Slack resources	Positive/ Positive	Slack resources allow an organization to afford to purchase innovations, absorb failure, bear the costs of instituting innovations, and explore new ideas in advance of an actual need (Rosner. 1968: 615).
External communication	Positive/ Positive	Environmental scanning and extra organizational professional activities of members can bring innovative ideas (Jervis, 1975; Miller & Friesen. 1982), Innovative organizations exchange information with their environments effectively (Tushman, 1977)
Internal communication	Positive/ Positive	Facilitates dispersion of ideas within an organization and increases their amount and diversity, which results in cross-fertilization of ideas (Aiken & Hage, 1971). Also creates an internal environment favorable to the survival of new ideas (Ross, 1974).
Vertical Differentiation	Negative/ <b>Positive</b>	Hierarchical levels increase links in differentiation communication channels, making communication between levels more difficult and inhibiting the flow of innovative ideas (Hull & Hage, 1982).
Democratic Policing*	Positive/ ?	Accountable to rule of law, protect human rights, external accountability mechanisms, operational priority is serving the people (Bayley, 2006)

Adapted from Damanpour (1991, pp. 558-559).

Formalization and centralization require a careful explanation since the expected result for both of them were negative as should be negative in general. However, for the EU *acquis* adoption process, the relationship of formalization and centralization and organizational innovativeness was positive. The upper level managers were extremely flexible and were not enforcing prior rules for the innovation period. They were open to ideas and demands. They facilitated the reform process by providing personnel, equipment, power, and time. Moreover, they encouraged young managers to develop projects. In a personal account, one of the interviewees explained how new and innovative projects were needed to carry the TNP to the future. Interestingly, Damanpour found the same results.

Centralization of the decision making in Damanpour's article and centralization in the TNP are two different concepts. Centralization means a functional differentiation for the TNP in a broader context than Damanpour defined. The TNP chart (Figure 5.1) shows the organizational structure of the TNP. 81 PPDs are supported and provided policy assistance from the main HQ and this relationship is called centralization for the TNP. A police chief, on the other hand, has all the power and authority to secure all decision-making capacities with his office and to not let anyone else make any decisions. This occurs especially when the police chiefs encounter stronger bureaucrats, citizens or politicians who might create problems if the lower rank officials act inappropriately.

Centralization was an advantage for the TNP during the EU adoption process. HQ acted like a consulting firm and a training school. HQ personnel were well prepared to meet the demands of the field in a timely manner. The interview data revealed that all the interviewees read the EU *acquis* related document from internet sources immediately upon release. The training programs,

phone conversations, and face-to-face interactions were used along with the formal communication channels. This can be termed a flexible centralization which changes whenever required.

At this point, the researcher can compare the results of this study with Damanpour's (1991) findings:

- Specialization-Innovativeness: Damanpour found a significant relationship. The specialization subheading in section 5.2.1.1 had a positive approach to high specialization which was also appeared in the TNP as an advantage for the EU *acquis* adoption process.
- Formalization-Innovativeness: The expected result is negative. While it should be the same in the TNP, the result, however, was positive for the EU *acquis* adoption process.
- Managerial tenure-Innovativeness: However Damanpour was expecting a positive relationship between managerial tenure and innovativeness, his study found an insignificant relationship. This study on the other hand found a significant relationship which is also supported by the documentary evidence. The TNP Director Generals' tenure periods which are shown in Figure 5.9 suggest a positive relationship with innovativeness. The explanation was that the longer the tenure, the better the innovativeness would be. Two competing ideas on this issue emerge: First, long tenure brings knowledge and legitimacy and tasks can be accomplished better which is especially important in implementation stages. Conversely, new executives with different perspectives can bring new ideas and will not be bound with long-developed relations.

In this study, as previously explained, the longer the tenure the more innovative the organization was. Beduk and Aydiner stayed the longest in the office. Their two terms were marked with reforms in the TNP. Both Director Generals were from outside the organization and came with strong government support. The Director Generals from inside the organization were Erkan, Agar, Serhatli, and Genc. Erkan and Serhatli stayed in the office for a very short term of less than a year. Agar was the longest with 27 months, followed by Genc with 24 months. All of them were task oriented. However there are no significant innovative events to attribute to them.

The current Director General, Oguz Kaan Koksall, is also from outside the organization and is wide open to new projects. In one account, he launched a program to assign police officers to stay among citizens which are called “Trust Teams”. A second component called “Lightning Teams” will back up those personnel and will respond to calls in the shortest time. This way, The TNP aims to get public, media, NGO, and business support to prevent incidents before they happen. Koksall claimed that successful crime investigation in Turkey (61.7%) was higher than in Germany (55%), Austria (39.6%), Canada (36.4%), or Ireland (35%). This is quite an innovation even though the new Director General was in the office for less than two months. The project seems to be an expansion of the pilot community policing project which was launched as a twinning project. The idea is novel and well-organized, since the community policing basically depends on police-public trust towards each other (Emniyet Guven Timleri, 2007).

This study supported the notion that the longer the tenure, the higher the innovativeness. In addition to that, an outsider's look at the organization brings more innovations.

- Vertical Differentiation-Innovativeness: Damanpour's finding was insignificant as the expected result was negative. In this study, it appeared that vertical differentiation brought richness to the ideas and knowledge and under the unity of direction concept the reforms were implemented without resistance and delay. Damanpour explained this difference of administrative and technological innovations. Vertical differentiation was an advantage for the TNP.
- Slack Resources-Innovativeness: Damanpour's study found a weak relationship between these concepts, while this study suggested a strong relationship, as explained under the discussion of the twinning projects. Those were the incentives related with job improvement and non-monetary benefits for the members.
- Organizational Size-Innovativeness: Damanpour found a positive relationship between the size and innovativeness of an organization (1991) which is born out by this study also. The interview data indicated that the larger organizational size was related with stronger networking, prestige, and more overall opportunities. As explained before, if the unity of direction is at the highest level, the communication channels are efficient, and an information sharing culture is established; thus the organizational size is an advantage for the innovativeness.
- Stage of adoption: Damanpour (1991) says that the literature proposes a distinction between the initiation and implementation stages of adoption for some contexts. However, the interview data did not seem to reveal that the initiation stage of

innovation in the TNP was shifted gears. As Damanpour's study suggested, centralized organizations do not tend to experience any difference between the initiation and implementation stages. Thus, this was also the case for the TNP and the interviewees indicated that the implementation continues as fast as the initiation stages, resulting in new innovations as explained with "Trust Teams" and "Lightning Teams".

### **5.3. Findings**

There are ten findings in the study. The findings are gathered from the interview data and other sources of evidence used in this study. A consolidation of those findings is mentioned below with a short description:

#### *Finding 1:*

*The Turkish government's commitment towards the EU membership and required adoption to the EU acquis process had a strong influence on the adoption behavior and decision-making of the TNP to join the EU acquis adoption process, which was analogous to the EU's effect on the Turkish Government.*

The changes to the laws and the "zero tolerance" policy to prevent cases of police misconduct and torture have given a clear and strong message to the TNP regarding the government's commitment towards the EU membership and their determination to complete the reforms. The message was well understood by the TNP.

The government's commitment was a result of Turkey's desire to be a member of the EU. There was a common consensus within the society and in most public institutions in Turkey that the reforms were desirable for better governance, and an improved economical prosperity.

Additional advantages are foreseeable incentives like creation of a regional union and the financial

benefits of improved institutional capacity. Moreover, Turkey could achieve its desire of being a part of Western civilization.

The TNP's directive was a direct result of the government's commitment, public demand, and a general organizational readiness for reforms. The commitment was an outcome of the efforts of the highly educated and trained personnel who had sufficient experience in international organizations like the UN and the OSCE. Moreover, if it is appropriate to put it through political economy terms, it should be noted that the strong will of the government prevented the principal-agent problem in the TNP. Principal-agent problem, or as mostly referred agency problem, is that people over resources do not use those incentives in the interest of other people (Johnson, 2005).

*Finding 2:*

*The incentives associated with the EU acquis adoption were determinants in the adoption decisions of the TNP.*

The incentives associated with the reforms were immediate and held promise for the future. Incentives were both financially encouraging and policy driven and were enforced with training, cooperation, and overseas study-visit opportunities.

Financial incentives were brought about in the beginning of the EU *acquis* adoption process with the twinning projects. Policy-wise incentives were programs like community policing, and the establishment of a judicial police institution. Meetings were conducted with the EU authorities, and the EU countries' police agencies.

The financial motivation had a significant effect on justifying the incentives. There were no specific monetary incentives given to individual personnel, but they expressed satisfaction with the study visits or with being a part of an important project in the TNP.

Finding 3:

*Top police managers facilitated the reform process even though the younger generations of police managers were expecting them to obstruct the EU *acquis* adoption process*

It was a common misconception in Turkish society and among the younger generation of the TNP personnel that the biggest barrier to the introduction and implementation of reforms would come from the top TNP managers. The interviewees confirmed that the upper level TNP bureaucrats were instrumental in launching the reforms and also supported their implementation in the field. The TNP personnel who were involved in policy making groups, training projects, and twinning projects experienced strong support from upper management. There were no reported cases of resistance to reforms. It appeared that the success of the EU *acquis* adoption process in the context of the TNP was a result of general cooperation and collaboration among all TNP personnel. Just as Heeks and Bhatnagar (1999) foresee for the managers in IT reform, the TNP managers acted as agents of change or facilitators by increasing others' capacities to change (p. 72). Moreover, as is the case for technology adoptions, the reforms were small units in larger packages. Any shocking effect of the reforms was mitigated through the dissemination of the reforms to different units. A gradual transformation was feasible and allowed the TNP to have time and resources to cope with the changes.

Finding 4:

*The human rights and democratic policing courses in the Police Academy and the Police Vocational Schools provided the required theoretical frameworks to design the required in-service training courses. In-service training courses were very effective in transferring knowledge about the changes required to support the reforms, and to meet the needs of the officers in the field with interactive teaching methods and live examples.*

The theoretical human rights and democratic police training in the police educational institutions did not provide a practical curriculum, and as such were far from meeting the demands of the reform process; fortunately, however, they were supported by practical in-service training. The human rights courses in the Police Academy and the Police Vocational Schools and in-service training courses were complementary to each other. In-service training courses were synchronized with the reforms and were very effective in answering the questions that emerged from reform implementations. While they provided necessary information and knowledge to the line officers (top-down), they were equally effective because they provided feedback for the policy and decision-makers in HQ (bottom-up). This feedback allowed the TNP to make necessary changes and to support the field personnel more effectively.

Comments from Interviewees:

One interviewee commented that, from his/her own personal experience, TNP in-service training courses were not participatory in nature and felt that the assertions discussed during the interviews of more positive outcomes of the training did not necessarily reflect the officers' experiences, but rather the hopes and expectations of the top managers. However, in a further telephone conversation, the researcher explained that the questions had been posed to all of the interviewees including those in PPDs and they confirmed that the in-service training courses, regional seminars, and other meetings efficiently conveyed the reform message. The interviewee acknowledged that being away from the in-service training context for a long period of time thus limited awareness of the latest developments.

However, as discussed before and endorsed by Marenin (2004), the training should be interactive (interviewees in PPDs confirmed they were interactive) and, as Bayley (2006) pointed out, formal training should never be trusted, such as the Police Academy and Vocational Police

School training in the context of this study. It should be noted that Bayley's recommendations were based on his observations of post-conflict countries in transition such as El Salvador, Bosnia-Herzegovina, South Africa, and Ukraine, where the US was giving police assistance. The researcher has been to a UN Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMBH). In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the police personnel were made up of the militia of civil war time and may have been officers in the communist era. Some may not even have had formal or professional training.

The scope of this study was to look at the EU *acquis* adoption process in general, from the perspective of the interviewees, and there were no pre-worded questions that prejudiced the discussion. The issue of in-service training courses emerged during the interviews and appeared to be important for communicating the reform information. This implies the changing trend in the TNP during the EU *acquis* adoption process, as it seems that the content and method of training courses are changing. Because of all of those changes, nonstandard training should not be accepted, and the researcher agrees with the interviewee that a comparative study might yield valuable information to improve the efficiency of in-service training courses.

*Finding 5:*

*The personalities of the TNP personnel were not very different from organizational identities, and hence a collective decision-making process was prevalent in the process.*

*This was the most important factor in bringing about the success of the EU *acquis* adoption process in the TNP.*

It appeared from the interview data that the reforms were handled collectively, with all layers of the TNP taking part in the reforms at some point. Some departments were preparing necessary guidelines, circulars, in-service training courses, regional seminars and meetings, while others in PPDs were implementing the changes in the field and supplying feedback to decision-

makers in HQ. From the Director General to the line officers, all were active in some way in the EU *acquis* adoption process. There are several possible explanations for this. First, the government's commitment was quite clear and was in the form of a direct order. Therefore, all TNP levels obeyed the directive of the government. Second, the TNP personnel supported the reforms willingly, as they thought the process was necessary for the TNP, the public, and for Turkey. Third, the EU *acquis* adoption program was a proven package deal previously tested in other countries, thus there was no need to put much effort into changing it. Finally, since the TNP created a close-knit group environment inside the organization, it was the culture of the TNP to share its success.

*Finding 6:*

*The success of reforms in the TNP seems to be facilitated by the efficient information sharing capabilities of its organizational structure.*

The reforms were mandatory as proposed by the TNP administration. It can be said that the TNP managers were not themselves able to decide the details of those sweeping changes. Nonetheless, cases in which the TNP managers made important adoption decisions like the Police Computer Network System (POL-NET) and the establishment of the Police Aviation Department occurred. These were big investments for the TNP, and certainly required government approval. However, it was not difficult to gain the support from politicians for either of those decisions. The reforms of the EU *acquis* adoption process were state related, with specifically formulated laws; more importantly, every stakeholder had both knowledge and input into them. For this reason, the reforms required a consensus from Turkish society in general, with input from both private and public organizations. This consensus is widely credited to the 2003 elections, since the

government's biggest promises to the Turkish society were to achieve the reforms and to create economic prosperity, which were truly related to each other.

The TNP itself was aware of the benefits of the larger level of cooperation achieved through EU membership. The reform implementation and its coordination were achieved by the superior information sharing capability of the TNP. This capability stems from the TNP's unique school system that trains its personnel and develops a strong network and information sharing capacity through trust. Since the TNP personnel work under time constraints in many situations to which they respond, they are familiar with the fast decision making required in crisis situations. Those occasions require the officers to use all available communication channels. The TNP used formal, informal and quasi-formal communication channels during the EU *acquis* adoption process.

It appeared that the informal communication was much more effective than the formal communication in spreading the reforms. Realizing the effectiveness of the informal communication channels created an atmosphere to better share information, as explained in Chapter II. Indeed, Heeks and Bhatnagar's (1999) claim was substantiated in this study. They contended:

“A gap thus often exists between the formal information conceptions of reform initiatives and the informal information realities of the public sector. This may serve to undermine either the reform initiatives or the vital role of informal information” (1999, p. 63).

*Finding 7:*

*The claims of human rights violations attributed to the TNP have been proven to be exaggerated.*

The Turkey 2006 Progress Report issued by the EC stated the following:

Overall, the Turkish legal framework includes a comprehensive set of safeguards against torture and ill-treatment. Cases of torture and ill-treatment had declined over the reporting period. However, concerns remain regarding cases outside of detention centers, human rights violations in the Southeast, and the problem of police impunity.

Conversely, Caliskan (2007) argued that there were no cases of torture reported to the TNP administration and suggested that the claims mentioned in the EC report were those constructed by the human rights associations espousing a political agenda rather than a humanitarian agenda.

Comments from Interviewees:

One interviewee noted that this claim was valid for counterterrorism cases, as they had been inflated by the illegal organizations or their legal supporters (legal extensions of illegal organizations, as discussed in Chapter IV). However, he added, other types of crimes were not examined with a critical eye.

There are two implications from this comment. First, as the interview data signified, the illegal organizations' legal supporters did not care about any ordinary citizens who were not in support of the perspectives held by the illegal organizations. Second, regular citizens who might have, in fact, suffered from police misconduct might not be able to make their voices heard. While these issues are beyond the scope of this present study, they clearly compel future research

*Finding 8:*

*Cosmopolitanism and peer emulation is high in the TNP.*

Cosmopolitanism and peer emulation are two measures of innovativeness. The greater the contact outside the organization, the higher the cosmopolitanism is. Peer emulation is “the extent

to which innovation is influenced by communication and imitation” (Weiss, 1997, p. 295), in this case, among the officers.

The TNP has formal police cooperation agreements with many countries, has participated in peace-keeping operations with the UN and OSCE, launched master and doctoral programs for its members, and trained many countries’ police officers in the Turkish Police Academy and the Turkish International Academy Against Drugs and Organized Crime (TADOC) and other programs.

Cosmopolitanism is one of those constructs that can be found in formal, informal, and quasi-formal communication channels, as indicated from the interview data. This explains the intra-organizational level of communication. Peer emulation, on the other hand, is more of an informal process and explains the communication processes among officers in the TNP in the context of the EU *acquis* adoption process. As discussed in Chapter II, “Peer emulation and cosmopolitanism are different in form and magnitude” Weiss (1997, p.295). Since peer emulation uses informal communication channels, it occurs more frequently. Given the fact that officers and managers need timely, accurate, and reliable information to be able to make rapid decisions and to adjust new demands or threats, peer emulation becomes an essential part of police innovation process (Weiss, 1997).

#### Comments from Interviewees:

The interviewee asserted that “the main reason for this emulation is the para-military structure both within the organization and in the educational system as well. Eight years of para-military education cannot result in anything else.” While the interviewee’s remarks represented the conclusions from the data analysis, the interviewee was not at ease with the paramilitary educational format, preferring a more civilian approach. The findings suggested that this eight-year

education engendered some communication channels among cohort members and between cohorts. This structure was effectively used during the adoption process; it was a facilitator.

*Finding 9:*

*The TNP alone will not be capable of achieving a sustainable democratic process in Turkey unless the reforms are expanded to all other public institutions and all criminal justice departments including prosecutors, gendarmerie, and the coast guard.*

Even though they are welcomed by the TNP members and implemented in the field without reservations, it appears that the EU *acquis* adoption reforms brought with them some mechanisms that serve more to expand the emotional divide between the police and prosecutors' office instead of improving cooperation and collaboration.

The interview data suggested that some aspects of police-prosecutor relations including the judicial police application were not well-developed and they are not suitable to promote reforms.

The following suggestions are also supported by this study and valid for Turkey, too.

Clegg, Hunt and Whetton (2000) argued that "police" and "policing" are different concepts.

Policing is more than what the police do. Policing is achieved through the involvement of other institutions in a society. They suggested that of many factors, four need to be achieved to be able to make a democratic process sustainable:

- The need to recognize that the impact of crime is not uniform, that the poor and vulnerable suffer disproportionately from its effects, particularly through the erosion of their assets, and that addressing this will require radical shifts in resourcing, management and the police 'culture'.
- The need for a more holistic approach which eliminates isolationism in the public or state police from the rest of the formal justice system. This approach

needs to recognize the role played by many other agencies, formal and informal, in policing.

- The need to achieve a high level of commitment from the police, the government and all sections of civil society to the concept of police-public co-production of safety and order as well as ensuring that effective mechanisms for accountability are in place.
- The need for longer term, strategic approaches grounded in stakeholder analysis and participatory planning, emphasizing full involvement of disadvantaged groups (pp. 61-62).

Goldsmith and Cerrah (2005) exposed the weak civilian oversight mechanism in Turkey and especially in the Gendarmerie in their report, “Civilian Oversight of Policing and Law Enforcement – Turkey,” submitted to United Nations Development Programme (Turkey)-Joint Assessment Mission in 2005. Their findings indicated, given the more civilian nature of the TNP that initiating a civilian oversight mechanism and changing the organization seems easier for the TNP than the Gendarmerie.

Mawby (2003), consistent with the differentiation made by Clegg, Hunt and Whetton (2000), operationalizes the distinctions of the “police” and “policing.” In his view, *policing* is a process, as opposed to *police* being an organization. Policing is a process of preventing crime, detecting crime, and maintaining order, which is achieved partly through the cooperation of individuals and institutions other than the police. The police is an institution, which carries out a wide range of duties from enforcing the laws, ordinances, and serving citizens by responding the calls, issuing passports, patrolling the streets and so forth. Given those facts, it seems that democratic policing is a joint initiative of policing involving citizens, institutions like

neighborhood watch programs, child protection agencies, crime reporting individuals, and many others. The recommendations of Goldsmith and Cerrah (2005) gain more credibility, because civilian oversight seems to be the first step of democratic policing as an indication of the absorption capacity, which is a must in democratic societies.

Based on the findings of the interview data and from the academic research, it has been proposed that cooperation and collaboration is not achievable by laws alone. A dedicated involvement by all institutions is required to foster reforms in Turkey.

#### Comments from Interviewees:

There were two different comments about this finding; one of them agreed that the other institutions as well should work hard to complete the reforms. Conversely, the other comment was a warning that this discussion was mainly engaged in to cover noncompliance and should be approached cautiously.

#### *Finding 10:*

*The reforms were not a result of a one-time effort which occurred only after 2003, but were a continuation of an on-going development process stemming since the 1983 Ozal government. This recurring process prepared the way for the reforms by the prior improvements made in educational, organizational, and international areas.*

As the interview data suggested, the first wave of reforms introduced into the TNP and in Turkey began during the 1983 Ozal government which came into power immediately after the 1980 military coup. Obviously enough, the military supported advancements in the TNP since the leader of the coup became the 7<sup>th</sup> President of Turkey who approved all legislation. The professional and technological capacity of the TNP improved from the early 1980s. For example, one of the biggest innovations in the TNP was the establishment of Aviation Department on 19 October 1981 during

the coup. The Information and Computer Technologies Department was also created in the TNP in 1981. Later governments also brought advancements. The improved organizational structure, education level, and technological capacity which the interview data revealed appear to be a result of this ongoing process. During the Ozal government, the reorganization of the TNP was accomplished rapidly, including major changes such as the establishment of the Intelligence Department. All technical capacities of the TNP were first introduced during these years and today the TNP is one of the most effective police organizations in the world as Oguz Kaan Koksal indicated (Emniyet Guven Timleri, 2007). Most recently, the TNP project to train other police forces abroad has been reported on frequently in the news; this will probably be the focus for the TNP in the next century, a benefit from its highly qualified personnel.

#### **5.4. Answers to Research Questions**

This section presents answers to the research questions initially posed by the study. The responses are based on the analyses of the data gathered from the interviews, the survey, and the documentary evidence, all of which has already been summarized in this chapter.

##### *Research Question 1:*

*What are the key decision factors that lead decision-makers to adopt or reject the EU acquis in the TNP?*

The prioritization of the EU membership as a national policy by following the well-coded reform package was the general factor that everybody in Turkey wanted. In the TNP context, the reform process was mandatory, but organizational knowledge was also supportive of the membership for benefits like global-level crime fighting, information sharing, expertise exchange, and a desire to be part of international organizations like Europol and Transpol. Inside the TNP, twinning projects with monetary support were very important to sustain reform implementation.

Research Question 2:

*What are the forces, motivations, activities, entities, and processes that affect the decision(s) to adopt or reject the EU acquis adoption process in the TNP?*

As discussed above, the government's commitment made the reform process mandatory for the TNP and for other institutions in Turkey. The reform, as suggested by Damanpour's (1991) findings, was an administrative innovation which was another cycle in the continuing reform route on going since 1959 and especially active since 1983. Even the high ranking bureaucrats such as the Director General were in cooperation with the organization. Incentives appeared to be another important motivational factor for adopting reforms.

The middle and upper management level were well prepared for the reforms due to the last 25 years with sufficient organizational capacity, appropriate educational training, satisfactory involvement in national and international organizations and in combating the globalization of crime activities, all of which were important in adopting and implementing reforms in the TNP context.

Research Question 3:

*To what extent has the TNP accommodated internationally accepted democratic policing principles?*

As the interview data revealed in Chapter IV and in tandem with other documentary evidence, it is clear that the TNP accomplished many changes in its organization. However, there are some commitments that required the involvement of other institutions to make further adjustments in issues such as border security, visa policy, combating drugs and money laundering.

The human rights applications of the TNP seem satisfactory as suspect rights have improved, the right to counsel is working flawlessly, and police are under the scrutiny of

prosecutors and elected officials. Additionally, the pilot community policing programs were successful and have been expanded throughout Turkey as the latest policy initiative. The contacting of detainees' spouses is monitored daily at the national level. All police arrestees are taken before the judge immediately and are taken to a physician for medical examination before and after the detention period.

One area that needs improvement is the transparency regarding police data and operations which the data in this study was inconclusive. Probably, conservative nature of policing needs to be addressed to overcome this problem.

*Research Question 4:*

*What organizational and legal changes occurred in the TNP during the EU acquis adoption process and how have these impacted the police organization?*

The data indicated that the establishments of the Human Rights Division in the Anti-Terrorism Department and of the European Union Division under the Foreign Relations Department were the most important structural changes. Assigning Liaison Officers was an important step to accommodate the smooth reform implementation. In conjunction with those modifications, the TNP's organizational structure seems modern, efficient, and open to changes.

The regulations and circular were prepared in the TNP to adopt the implementation to newly enacted laws. Those were prepared based on changes in the Turkish Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure.

The behavioral changes were so prominent to show effective reform implementation. An example for this was the high obedience to the reforms, even though they brought problems. For example, the interview data suggested that even though the TNP officers witnessed their fellow colleagues being imprisoned or removed from active duty because of the charges related to crimes

before the adoption period began that are once deemed normal, their acceptance of the zero tolerance policy was comprehensive which made the process successful.

### **5.5. Implications for Future Study**

This study was conducted by interviewing the top decision makers of the TNP during the EU *acquis* adoption process. The survey was also administered to those interviewees. The implementation aspects were deduced from their answers. However, input from the police officers who were affected by the process is lacking in this study. A similar study administered to police officers working in the field might yield valuable information.

The public confidence and approach to reforms was also assessed from the interviewees through face-to-face talks and survey as well as from Cao and Burton's (2006) study. An exploratory study would be beneficial both for the public and for the TNP to improve the service delivery of the police. More quantitative, statistical data are also lacking in this study which might be acquired from the TNP or Turkish Statistics Foundation (TUIK) resources to gain a more general idea about the direction and momentum of the reform process.

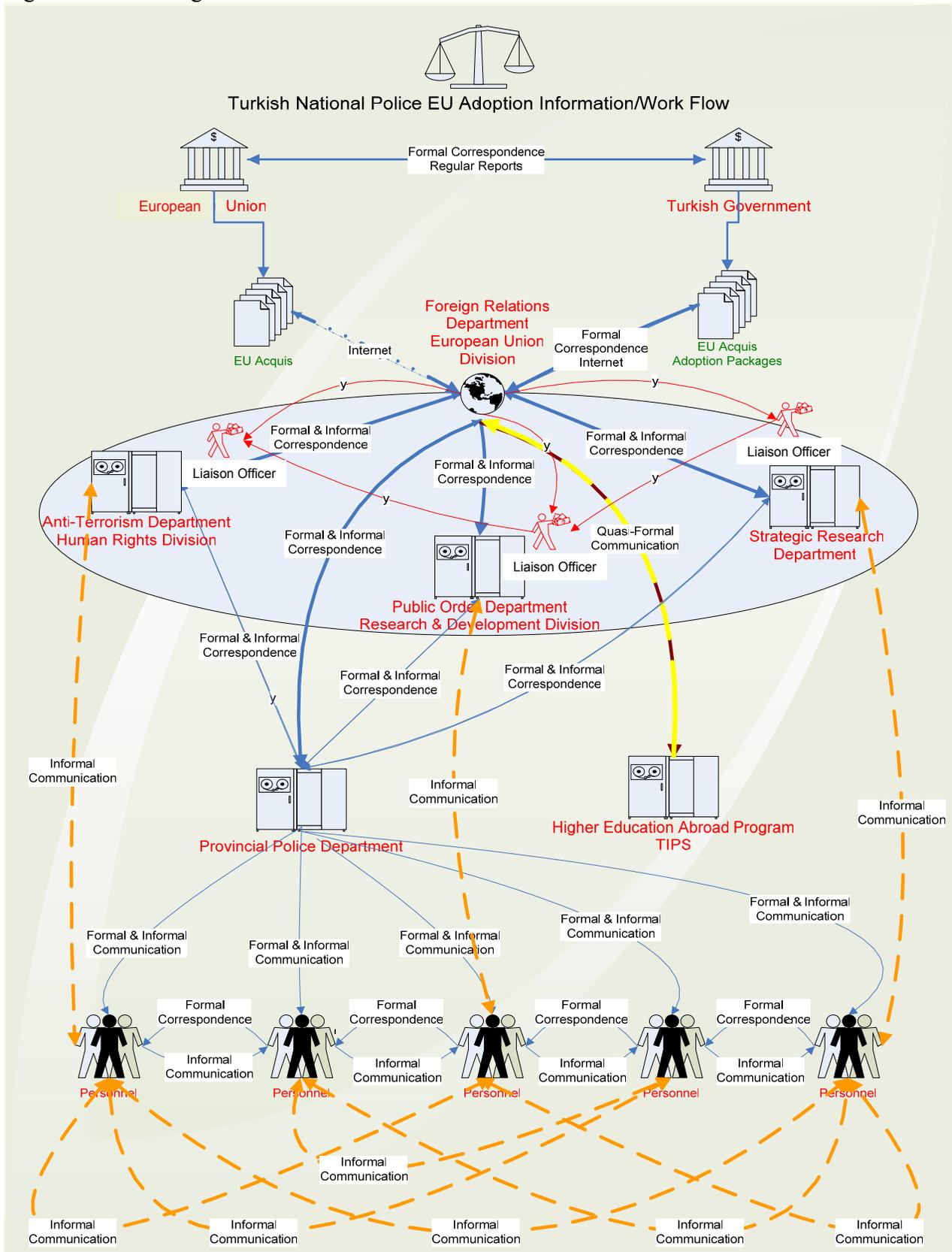
The Commandant of the Gendarmerie in Turkey carries out the same tasks. The TNP and Gendarmerie have different geographical jurisdictions and different organizational structures and cultures. A study to evaluate the Gendarmerie's involvement into the reform process might yield very valuable information for policy makers and practitioners.

### **5.6. Recommendations**

There is obviously no data in this study that shows the effect of the judicial branch on guaranteeing reforms. The success of reforms seems to depend on the determination of the government. When a government determination is not in place, who would guarantee the implementation of reforms? The judicial branch seems as the only possible institution to safeguard

the reforms beyond government as seen in the US with Supreme Court rulings to direct the police more efficiently than any force. Even though democratic policing advocates for more civilian oversight on the police, long term guarantee of these reforms and associated rights and liberties would only be possible with judicial oversight which Miranda ruling of the US Supreme Court is a good example for this.

Figure 5.15 TNP organizational communication.



APPENDIX A  
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL AND SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

This appendix contains the semi-structured interview protocol that will be used by the researcher when conducting interviews to understand and describe the role and influence of the EU in adoption decisions of human rights rules in the TNP.

Semi-structured interviews up to forty five minutes in length will allow the researcher to explore the phenomenon in depth and answer the research questions posed by the study. Interviews will be conducted face-to-face, through telephone, or via e-mail whichever is possible. Interview guide will be translated into Turkish, since interviewees are speaking Turkish and after the recordings are transcribed they will be sent to interviewees to approve the accuracy of the content. Then, the text will be translated into English. The process of data management and analysis is explained in its section.

The semi-structured interview questions are prepared for the top TNP officials who are in key positions to learn and understand the required policy changes and to decide how to make policies to implement those changes throughout the TNP. The purpose of these questions is to learn and understand their knowledge, experiences and ideas about the adoption process, from policies perspective beginning with politicians and ending with the decisions made in the TNP, and everything in between.

### **Semi-Structured Interview Guide**

“Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research study. I will record our conversation with a digital audio recorder with your permission. The recording of the interview will be transcribed and you will be provided with a copy of the transcript to review and correct possible discrepancies, if there is any. Your answers will be considered confidential and your identity will not be disclosed without your consent.”

#### Background Information about Interviewee

- Date:
- Name:
- When is your birthday?
- How long have you been working for the TNP?
- What is your job title?
- When did you start the post?
- Where did you work prior to that?
- What are the primary functions and responsibilities of your position?

Stages of the Diffusion of Innovations (Rogers, 2003) and Corresponding Interview Questions

Stage	Explanation	Corresponding Question
<p><b>Agenda-setting*:</b> General organizational problems that may create a perceived need for innovation</p>	<p>(the process of how an issue gets on the policy agenda, and perhaps leads to the government policies to address or to solve a social problem)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What motivated your organization (the TNP) to begin adapting European Union <i>acquis</i>?</li> <li>2. When we consider Turkey's application for EU membership was back in 1959, why do you think those changes occur after 2003?</li> <li>3. Do you think those changes would be possible without the EU membership application?</li> <li>4. How the legal changes like Turkish Penal Code, The Law of Criminal Procedure, etc. are accepted by your organization?</li> </ol>
<p><b>Matching*:</b> fitting a problem from the organization's agenda to an innovation</p>	<p>the stage 'at which a problem from the organisation agenda is matched with an innovation, and this match is planned and designed'</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. When deciding to adopt EU <i>acquis</i>, what were the perceived barriers? (e.g. lack of knowledge, resistance to change, organizational culture, vagueness about future trends, etc.).</li> <li>6. When deciding to adopt EU <i>acquis</i>, what were the perceived facilitators?</li> </ol>
<p><b>Redefining &amp; Restructuring*:</b>The innovation is modified and reinvented to fit the organization, and organizational structures are altered</p>		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Are there any changes in organizational policies or structure of the TNP after 2003 along with the EU <i>acquis</i>, such as adding a new unit, renaming an existing unit, or closing a unit? If so, what are those and why did you do that?</li> <li>8. What changes did TNP made regarding Human Rights?</li> <li>9. What were your information resources about the EU Adaptation? (For example-direct orders, written memorandums, media, formal meetings, communication with other institutions, communication with other member country police organizations- etc.)</li> <li>10. What about human rights organizations in Turkey? Did they affect those changes in the TNP?               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Are you having meetings on a regular basis with them?</li> <li>2. Are you considering in changing policies according to the information you gather from them?</li> </ol> </li> <li>11. In what ways, if any, has the initial concept of EU <i>acquis</i> requirements changed as the program was implemented?</li> </ol>
<p><b>Clarifying*:</b> The relationship between the organization and innovation is defined</p>	<p>the widespread adoption of the innovation, where a broader spread of people</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. What actual barriers did you encounter in implementing the EU <i>acquis</i> regarding Human Rights?</li> <li>13. What actual facilitators did you encounter in implementing the EU <i>acquis</i> regarding Human Rights?</li> </ol>

more clearly.	became familiar with the innovation	
<b>Routinizing*</b> :the innovation becomes an on-going element of the organization's activities and loses its identity	the innovation has become part of the organisation's regular activities	<b>14.</b> Can you describe the future of the EU <i>acquis</i> regarding Human Rights within your organization (the TNP)?

\*Rogers (2003). Diffusion of Innovations (Fifth Edition). New York. Free Press.

General Questions related to Decision-Making Process

I'd like to understand how you seek information about the European Union and new developments related with human rights both face-to-face and virtually within the boundaries of your organization and outside.

1. What is degree of discretion you have had during adoption process in adopting human rights rules of the EU? Please respond with a five point likert scale as 1 no discretion at all and 5 is full discretion:
  1. We had no discretion
  2. We had limited discretion
  3. We had some discretion
  4. We had discretion, but still we need more
  5. We had full discretion
  
2. What is degree of discretion currently you have in adopting human rights rules of the EU?
  1. No discretion
  2. Limited discretion
  3. We had discretion
  4. We had discretion, but still we need more
  5. Full discretion
  
3. Do you have discretion to develop new policies and better ways to adopt human rights into the TNP which are not a part of EU *acquis*? Can you please explain your answer?
  1. YES
  2. NO
  
4. Do you think that those developments about human rights would be possible without the EU membership application?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO

5. Do you discuss with others to understand how to adopt and implement the EU *acquis*?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO

If your answer is “YES” please check the options that apply (You may check more than one if it applies):

- 1. Among friends
- 2. With politicians
- 3. With other law enforcement agencies in Turkey
- 4. With other law enforcement outside Turkey
- 5. With other public agencies in Turkey
- 6. With other public agencies outside Turkey
- 7. With human rights organizations in Turkey
- 8. With human rights organizations outside Turkey
- 9. With police officers in the TNP
- 10. With citizens

6. Which of the following factors have had impact on your adoption process and to what degree? Please indicate your level of agreement with each of the following statements using the following scale:

**1= Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neutral, 4= Agree, 5= Strongly Agree**

<b>1</b>	<b>The Factors that effect your organization’s adoption process</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
a. AP1	Almost more than half of all EU Adoption Projects in Turkey are/were in the TNP’s responsibility	<input type="checkbox"/>				
b. AP2	The TNP involves in EU Adoption Process willingly and diligently	<input type="checkbox"/>				
c. AP3	The TNP’s involvement in EU Adoption projects are extremely important	<input type="checkbox"/>				
d. AP4	Government orders affected the TNP’s adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				
e. AP5	Director General’s orders affected the TNP’s adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				
f. AP6	Media affected the TNP’s adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				

g. AP7	Public pressure (e.g. Demonstrations, appeals, letters) affected the TNP's adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				
h. AP8	European Court of Human Rights decisions affected the TNP's adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				
i. AP9	European Commission reports affected the TNP's adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				
j. AP10	European Commission visits affected the TNP's adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				
k. AP11	Turkish Court decisions affected the TNP's adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				
<b>2</b>	<b>Organizational Discretion</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
a. OD1	The TNP had discretion to change the direction of adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				
b. OD2	The TNP administrators have conferred with the government for any necessary changes in adoption process	<input type="checkbox"/>				
c. OD3	The government sought the TNP's idea about how adoption process should develop	<input type="checkbox"/>				
d. OD4	The TNP administrators have made necessary changes without conferring the government	<input type="checkbox"/>				
<b>3</b>	<b>Personal Discretion</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
a. PD1	I have had power to make decisions in adoption process without conferring with Director General, government or others	<input type="checkbox"/>				
b. PD2	I mostly have conferred with director general and government officials, but also I had discretion to make necessary changes	<input type="checkbox"/>				
c. PD3	Even though I do not have discretion to make new policies in adoption process, I believe those changes are necessary for the TNP and Turkey	<input type="checkbox"/>				
<b>4</b>	<b>Policing in Turkey before and after 2003</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
a. P2003.q1	I believe policing in Turkey is more service oriented after 2003	<input type="checkbox"/>				
b. P2003.q2	I believe the changes after 2003 did not affect policing style in Turkey	<input type="checkbox"/>				
c. P2003.q3	I believe the police has well adopted to changes after 2003	<input type="checkbox"/>				
d. P2003.q4	I believe the police was ready to changes even before 2003	<input type="checkbox"/>				
e. P2003.q5	I don't think the police adapted themselves to the changes after 2003	<input type="checkbox"/>				
f. P2003.q6	I believe the operational priority of the police after 2003 is to serve the people in Turkey	<input type="checkbox"/>				
g. P2003.q7	I believe the operational priority of the police before 2003 was to serve the people in Turkey	<input type="checkbox"/>				
h.	I think the TNP personnel do appreciate the change in the	<input type="checkbox"/>				

P2003.q8	TNP					
i. P2003.q9	I think citizens do appreciate the changes in the TNP	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Thank you for participating in this study and sharing your ideas, experiences and insights with me.

APPENDIX B  
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (TURKISH)

## MÜLAKAT PROTOKOLÜ

Bu ek, yarı-yapılandırılmış bir mülakat protokolünü içermekte olup, Türk Polis Teşkilatı'nın Avrupa Birliği (AB) normlarına uyum sürecinde, özellikle insan hakları alanındaki uyum çalışmaları konusundaki etkisini anlamayı ve tanımlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Mülakatlar en fazla 45 dakika sürecek şekilde düzenlenmiş olup, araştırmacıya doktora çalışmasında cevaplamayı amaçladığı araştırma sorularına detaylı cevaplar bulma imkanı verecektir. Mülakatlar, yüzyüze, telefonla, ya da eposta yoluyla yapılacak olup, mülakatı verecek kişinin tercihi gözönüne alınacaktır. Bu protokol Türkçe diline tercüme edilecektir. Mülakat sırasında konuşmalar ses kayıt cihazı ile kaydedilecek, bu kayıtların çözümü yapıp yazılı hale getirilecek ve doğruluğunun tastiklenmesi amacıyla mülakat yapılan kişilere verilecektir. Bu işlemden sonra metinler İngilizce'ye çevrilecek ve tezin metot bölümünde açıklandığı şekilde ortaya çıkan tema ve kalıplar analize tabi tutulacaktır.

Mülakatlar, AB uyum çalışmalarında yetkili olan, yön verme ve karar almada etkin olmuş, Türk Emniyet Teşkilatı'nın üst düzey yöneticisi dört ila yedi kişiye uygulanacaktır. Bu soruların amacı yöneticilerin uyum süreci konusundaki bilgi, tecrübe, ve fikirlerini derinlemesine analiz etmektir. Çalışmanın kapsamı açısından hükümetten gelen emirlerin reform sürecine etkisi ve uyum çalışmalarının Türk Emniyet Teşkilatı içinde nasıl benimsendiği araştırılacaktır.

Bu protokolda üç grup soru bulunmaktadır. Birinci grupta demografik bilgileri içeren sorular vardır. İkinci grupta evet/hayır cevaplı ya da çoktan seçmeli sorular bulunmaktadır. Üçüncü grup sorular ise konuşmacının tecrübe ve deneyimlerini ölçmeye yönelik olarak 5 basamaklı likert ölçeğinde hazırlanmıştır. Cevap ölçeği Kesinlikle katılmıyorum, Katılmıyorum, Fikrim yok, Katılıyorum, Kesinlikle Katılıyorum şeklinde sıralanmıştır. Bu soruların büyük bir kısmı insan hakları dernekleri yöneticilerine sorulmayacaktır. Bu konuşmacıların, Emniyet Teşkilatı içinde yapılan yapısal değişiklikleri tam olarak bilebilmesi mümkün değildir. Dolayısıyla onlara kendi bilgi, tecrübe, ve deneyimlerini yansıtan sorular sorulacaktır.

### **Yarı-Yapılandırılmış Mülakat Kılavuzu**

“Bu çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz için teşekkür ederim. Sizinle yapacağımız mülakatı izninizle dijital kayıt cihazı ile kaydedeceğim. Kaydedilen konuşmaları yazılı metin

haline getirip sizin onayınıza sunacağım. Hatalı gördüğünüz yerleri düzeltmenizi isteyeceğim. Vereceğiniz cevaplar ve kimliğiniz kesinlikle gizli tutulacak ve rızanız olmadan asla açıklanmayacaktır.”

Özgeçmişinizle İlgili Bilgiler:

- Tarih:
- İsim:
- Doğum Tarihiniz:
- Kaç yıldır Emniyet Teşkilatı’nda hizmet ediyorsunuz?:
- Şu anda bulunduğunuz pozisyonun ismi nedir?:
- Bu pozisyonda ne zaman çalışmaya başladınız?:
- Burdan önce nerede çalışıyordunuz?
- Pozisyonunuzdaki temel görev ve sorumluluklarınız nelerdir?

Aşağıdaki sorular doğrudan sizin Avrupa Birliği’ne Uyum çalışmaları ile ilgili olarak bulunduğunuz pozisyonda edindiğiniz bilgi, tecrübe ve deneyimleri derinlemesine anlamayı hedeflemektedir. Sorular beş ana bölüm altında sınıflandırılmış olup, her bölüm başında sorulardan ne amaçlandığı size açıklanacaktır. Sorular size sözlü olarak sorulacak ve vereceğiniz cevaplar ses kaydedici cihaz ile kaydedilecektir. Sorular açık uçlu olduğundan daha değişik sorularla karşılaşmanız mümkündür.

Şimdi izninizle soruları sormaya ve kaydetmeye başlıyorum.

Aşama	Açıklama	İlgili Soru
<b>Gündem Oluşturulması</b>	Bir konunun teşkilat gündemine alınması, ve muhtemel olarak sosyal bir problemi çözmek ya da işaret etmek üzere hükümet politikası oluşturulmasına yol açmak	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın AB normlarına uyum sürecine başlamasını motive eden şey nedir?</li><li>2. Türkiye’nin AB’ye üyelik başvurusunun ilk defa 1959 yılında yapıldığını düşünürsek, niçin bu değişiklikler 2003 yılından sonra meydana gelmeye başladı?</li><li>3. Bu değişikliklerin AB uyum süreci olmadan da yapılabileceğini düşünüyor musunuz?</li><li>4. Türk Ceza Kanunu ve Ceza Muhakemeleri Usulü Kanunu gibi hukuki metinlerde yapılan yasal değişiklikler Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nı nasıl etkiledi?</li></ol>
<b>İhtiyacın Yenilikle Uyumunu</b>	Teşkilatın gündemindeki bir problemin bir reform ile denkleştirilip çözülmeye çalışılmasının plan ve programının yapılması	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>5. AB uyum çalışmalarına başlarken karşılaşmayı beklediğiniz engeller nelerdi?</li><li>6. AB uyum çalışmalarına başlarken, işinizi kolaylaştıracak unsurlar nelerdi?</li></ol>

<b>Yeniden Tanımlama- Yeniden Yapılandırma</b>	Reformun ortaya çıkan yeni ihtiyaçlara göre yeniden gözden geçirilerek gerek süreçte ve gerekse teşkilat yapılanmasında değişikliklere gidilmesi aşamasıdır.	<p>7. Türk Polis Teşkilatı'nın teşkilat yapılanmasında AB uyum çalışmaları çerçevesinde herhangi bir değişiklik yapıldı mı?</p> <p>8. İnsan hakları alanında yapılan değişiklikler nelerdir?</p> <p>9. AB uyum çalışmaları sırasında ihtiyaç duyduğunuz bilgilere nasıl ulaştınız? Hükümet ve Emniyet Genel Müdürü'nün emirlerine mi uydunuz, yazılı metinleri mi takip ettiniz, medyada yer alan haberlere göre mi karar verdiniz, resmi toplantılardan mı bilgi edindiniz, diğer kurum ve kuruluşlardan mı bilgi edindiniz?</p> <p>10. Türkiye'deki İnsan Hakları Dernekleri bu değişimde etkili oldular mı?</p> <p>1. Bu derneklerle düzenli toplantılar yapıyor musunuz?</p> <p>2. Eğer düzenli toplantılar yapıyorsanız, bu dernek temsilcilerinden edindiğiniz izlenimleri uyum çalışmalarına yansıttığınız oluyor mu?</p> <p>11. Başladığınız güne göre bugün gelinen noktada, AB uyum çalışmalarında ne gibi değişiklikler oldu?</p>
<b>Açıklık Getirme</b>	Reformların teşkilatın büyük bölümünün bilgi sahibi olabileceği şekilde yaygınlaşıp, benimsenmesi, Teşkilatla reform arasındaki ilginin açıkça belirlenmesi	<p>12. AB uyum çalışmaları sırasında karşılaştığınız engeller neler oldu?</p> <p>13. AB uyum çalışmaları sırasında işinizi kolaylaştıran unsurlar neler oldu?</p>
<b>Uygulamanın Rutinleşmesi</b>	Reformun teşkilatın günlük işlerinin bir parçası haline gelmesi	<p>14. İnsan hakları açısından teşkilatınızdaki uyum çalışmalarının geleceği nasıl olacak, tanımlayabilir misiniz?</p>

### Karar-Alma Mekanizması ile İlgili Genel Sorular:

AB uyum çalışmaları ve insan hakları konusunda yüzyüze ya da sanal ortamları kullanarak gerek teşkilatınız içerisinde ve gerekse teşkilatınız dışındakilerle nasıl iletişim kurduğunuzu ve nasıl bilgi edindiğinizi daha derinlemesine anlamak istiyorum.

1- Uyum çalışmaları sırasında kendi başına bağımsız karar alabilme yetkiniz var mıydı?

Lütfen Aşağıdaki 5 basamaklı likert ölçeğine göre hazırlanmış cevaplardan bir tanesini işaretleyiniz:

1. Hiç bağımsız karar yetkimiz olmadı
2. Sınırlı karar yetkimiz oldu
3. Karar yetkimiz oldu
4. Karar yetkimiz oldu, ancak daha fazlasına ihtiyaç duyduk
5. Tam serbesti ile kararlar alabildik

- 2- AB'nin insan hakları normlarına uyum çalışmalarında şu andaki karar alma yetkinizi aşağıdaki seçeneklerden hangisine uymaktadır?
1. Hiç yetkim yok
  2. Sınırlı yetkim var
  3. Yetkim var
  4. Yetkim var ama daha fazlasına ihtiyaç var
  5. Yetkim sınırsız
- 3- AB uyum yasalarında yer almayan ancak Türk Polis Teşkilatı'nın insan hakları ile ilgili uyumunu daha iyi sağlayacak yeni yeni yöntem ve politikalar geliştirmek üzere bağımsız karar alma yetkiniz var mıydı?
1. Evet
  2. Hayır
- 4- Avrupa Birliği olmasaydı insan haklarındaki gelişmenin bu kadar hızlı olmasını bekliyor muydunuz?
1. Evet
  2. Hayır
- 5- AB uyum yasalarının nasıl adapte edileceğini ve ne şekilde uygulanacağını diğer insanlarla tartışıp, görüş alış-verişinde bulunuyor musunuz?
1. Evet
  2. Hayır
- Eğer cevabınız **evet** ise lütfen aşağıdaki uygun seçenekleri işaretleyiniz:
11. Arkadaşlar arasında
  12. Politikacılarla
  13. Türkiye'deki diğer güvenlik kuruluşlarıyla
  14. Türkiye dışındaki diğer güvenlik kuruluşlarıyla
  15. Türkiye'deki kamu kuruluşlarıyla
  16. Türkiye dışındaki kamu kuruluşlarıyla
  17. Türkiye'deki insan hakları dernekleriyle
  18. Türkiye dışındaki insan hakları dernekleriyle
  19. Türk Polis Teşkilatı'ndaki görevlilerle
  20. Vatandaşlarla

6- Aşağıdaki faktörlerden hangileri uyum sürecinde etkili oldu ve ne kadar etkili oldu? Bu konudaki düşüncenizi belirtir misiniz? Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları verilen ölçeğe göre cevaplandırınız:

1= Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum, 2= Katılıyorum, 3= Fikrim Yok, 4= Katılıyorum, 5= Kesinlikle

**Katılıyorum**

1	TEŞKİLATINIZIN UYUM SÜRECİNİ ETKİLEYEN FAKTÖRLER	1	2	3	4	5
a.	Türkiye’deki tüm AB uyum projelerinin <u>neredeyse yarısından çoğu</u> Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın sorumluluk alanına <u>girmektedir</u> .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Türk Polis Teşkilatı AB uyum projelerine <u>bilerek ve gönüllü olarak</u> katılmaktadır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	AB uyum çalışmalarına Türk Polis Teşkilatının katılması ve katkısı <u>çok büyük önem arz etmektedir</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Hükümetin talimatları Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın uyum sürecinde etkili <u>olmuştur</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	Emniyet Genel Müdürü’nün talimatları Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın uyum sürecinde etkili <u>olmuştur</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f.	Medya Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın uyum sürecinde etkili <u>olmuştur</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g.	Gösteriler, şikayetler, ve dilekçeler gibi yollarla halkın talep etmesi Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın uyum sürecinde etkili <u>olmuştur</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h.	Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesi’nin kararları Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın uyum sürecinde etkili <u>olmuştur</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	Avrupa Komisyonu Raporları talimatları Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın uyum sürecinde etkili <u>olmuştur</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j.	Avrupa Komisyonu’nun haberli ve habersiz ziyaretleri Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın uyum sürecinde etkili <u>olmuştur</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k.	Türk Mahkeme Kararları Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nın uyum sürecinde etkili <u>olmuştur</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<b>KURUMSAL KARAR SERBESTİSİ</b>	1	2	3	4	5
a.	Türk Polis Teşkilatı uyum sürecinin yönünü değiştirme yetkisine <u>sahiptir</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü Yöneticileri gerekli olan değişiklikler konusunda hükümetle görüş alış-verişinde <u>bulunmuşlardır/bulunmaktadırlar</u> .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Hükümet, uyum sürecinin nasıl işleyeceğini belirlemek için Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü’nün görüşünü <u>almaktadır / almıştır</u> .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü Yöneticileri gerekli olan değişiklikleri hükümete <u>danışmadan yapmışlardır</u> .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<b>3</b>	<b>ŞAHSİ KARAR SERBESTİSİ</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
a.	Ben, uyum sürecinde gerekli gördüğüm değişiklikleri Genel Müdür, hükümet ya da başkalarına danışmadan kendiliğimden <b><u>yapabildim / yapabilirim</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Ben, uyum sürecinde gerekli gördüğüm değişiklikleri Genel Müdür, hükümet ya da başkalarına danıştım, ama aynı zamanda kendiliğimden değişiklikler <b><u>yapabildim / yapabilirim</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Uyum sürecinde kendiliğimden değişiklik yapabilme / karar alma yetkisine sahip olmamakla birlikte, bu değişikliklerin ülkemiz ve halkımız için gerekli olduğuna <b><u>inanıyorum</u></b> .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>4</b>	<b>2003 ÖNCESİ VE SONRASINDA POLİSLİK</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
a.	2003 yılında hızı artan reformlarla Türk Polisi'nin halkına daha iyi hizmet eder hale geldiğine <b><u>inanıyorum</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	2003 yılından sonra meydana gelen değişikliklerin Türk Polisi'nin hizmet anlayışında değişiklik meydana getirdiğine <b><u>inanmıyorum</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	2003 yılından sonra yapılan değişikliklere polisin çok iyi uyum <b><u>sağladığını</u></b> düşünüyorum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Türk Polisi'nin bu değişikliklere 2003 yılından bile önce hazır olduğunu <b><u>düşünüyorum</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	2003 yılından sonra yapılan değişikliklere polisin çok iyi uyum <b><u>sağlamadığını</u></b> düşünüyorum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f.	2003 yılından sonra polisin hizmet önceliğinin halka hizmet olduğuna <b><u>inanıyorum</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g.	2003 yılından önce de polisin hizmet önceliğinin halka hizmet olduğuna <b><u>inanıyorum</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h.	Poliste meydana gelen değişiklikleri personelimizin takdir ettiğine <b><u>inanıyorum</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	Poliste meydana gelen değişiklikleri halkımızın takdir ettiğine <b><u>inanıyorum</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Zaman ayırdığınız, fikir, düşünce ve tecrübelerinizi benimle paylaştığınız için gönülden teşekkür ederim.

APPENDIX C  
COMPREHENSIVE MEMBER CHECK TOOL

A comprehensive member check tool was sent to research participants via email on May 21, 2007. Respondents were provided with latest drafts of Chapters IV, Results and Findings, and Chapter V, Discussion and Conclusions, at the time in case further information might be needed. Respondents were given ten days to respond.

## **Finding 1**

***The Turkish Government's commitment towards the European Union (EU) membership and required adoption to the EU acquis had a strong influence on the adoption behavior and decision-making of the TNP's to join EU acquis adoption process, which was analogous to the EU's effect on the Turkish Government.***

### **Description:**

The changes into the laws and "zero tolerance" policy to abolish cases of police misconduct and torture has given a clear and strong message to the Turkish National Police (TNP) about the Government's commitment towards the European Union (EU) membership and their determination to complete the reforms. The message was understood by the TNP very well.

Government's commitment was as a result of the hope to be a member of the EU. There was a common consensus in the society and in the most public institutions in Turkey that the reforms were desirable for better governance, an improved economical prosperity and for foreseeable incentives like being part of a regional union and financial benefits to improve the institutional capacities. Moreover, Turkey would achieve a big hope of being a part of Western civilization.

The TNP's commitment was a result of the Government's commitment, public demand, and organizational readiness for reforms with highly educated and trained personnel who had enough experiences in international organizations like United Nations (UN) and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

### **Comment**

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## **Finding 2**

***The incentives associated with the EU acquis adoption were determinant in adoption decision of the TNP.***

### **Description:**

The incentives associated with reforms were both immediate and was promising for the future. Incentives were both financial and policy wise which enforced with training, cooperation, and study visit opportunities.

Financial incentives were experienced in the beginning of the EU *acquis* adoption process with “twinning projects.” Policy wise incentives were programs like “community policing”, and establishment of “judicial police” institution. Meetings with the EU authorities, the EU country police agencies, Erasmus education opportunities were the associated opportunities.

Incentives had an effect on justifying the incentives.

**Comment:** \_\_\_\_\_ :

### **Finding 3**

***Top police managers facilitated the reform process while the younger generation of police managers were expecting them to obstruct the EU *acquis* adoption process.***

**Description:**

It was a common misconception in the society and among young generations of the TNP personnel that the biggest barrier to introduce and implement reforms would come from top TNP managers. It was confirmed by the interview that the top TNP managers were instrumental in launching reforms and supported their implementation in the field. The TNP personnel who involved in policy making groups, training projects, and twinning projects experienced a strong support from the upper management. There is no reported case of resistance to reforms. It appeared that the success of the EU *acquis* adoption process in the context of the TNP were a result of a cooperation and collaboration among the TNP personnel.

**Comment:** \_\_\_\_\_

### **Finding 4**

***The human rights and democratic policing courses in the Police Academy and the Police Vocational Schools provided the required theoretical framework to design the required in-service training courses. In-service training courses were very effective in transferring knowledge about the changes required to support the reforms, and to meet the needs of the officers in the field with interactive teaching methods and live examples.***

**Description:**

The theoretical human rights and democratic policing training in police educational institutions were not providing practical curriculum and were far from meeting the demands of reform process if not supported by practical in-service training. The human

rights courses in Police Academy and Police Vocational Schools and in-service training courses were complementary to each others. In-service training courses were simultaneous with the reforms and were very effective in providing questions emerged from implementation. While they were providing necessary information and knowledge to to officers, it was effective also providing a feedback for the policy and decision-makers in the Main HQ to make necessary changes and to support the field more effectively.

**Comment:**

## **Finding 5**

***The personalities of the TNP personnel were not very different from those of the organizational identity, and hence a collective decision-making process was prevalent in the process. This was the factor which brought the success of the EU *acquis* adoption process to the TNP.***

**Description:**

It appeared from the interview data that the reforms were handled collectively; all layers of the TNP took part in the reforms at some point. Some of them were preparing necessary guidelines, circulars, in-service training courses, regional seminars and meeting, while others in PPDs were implementing changes in the field and were supporting feedback to decision-makers in the Main HQ. Form Director General to the line officers, the names were not very distinctive in the EU *acquis* adoption process. There are some possible explanations for this. First of all, the Government's commitment was so clear and was a direct order and all the layers of the TNP obeyed them. Second, the TNP personnel were supporting reforms willingly as they thought it was necessary for the TNP, for the public, and for Turkey. Third, the EU *acquis* adoption program was a ready package which was tested in other countries before and there was no need to put much effort in it. The fourth, the TNP formed a close-knit group environment inside the organization and it was culture of the TNP to share the success. Most probably, all of these reasoning were correct at least t some extent.

**Comment:**

## **Finding 6**

***The success of reforms in the TNP was facilitated by the superior information sharing capabilities if it's organizational structure.***

**Description:**

The reforms were mandatory if not proposed by the TNP administration. To be fair, it is possible to say that the TNP managers were not able to decide those sweeping reforms. There are cases that the TNP managers made important adoption decisions like Police Computer Network System (POL-NET) and establishment of Police Aviation Departments. All those were big investments and for sure they were required

government approval. However, neither of those decisions needed to convince a wide range of politicians. The reforms of the EU *acquis* adoption process were the reforms related with the state, with the laws and more importantly every stakeholder had an idea and a word about it. That's way the reforms required a consensus from the society with all institutions and public. This consensus assumed to be achieved during the 2003 elections since the government's biggest promise to society was to achieve reforms and economic prosperity which was related to each others.

The TNP itself was aware of the benefits of the cooperation which would be achieved through EU membership.

The implementation and its coordination however was achieved by the superior information sharing capability of the TNP. The superiority of this capability stems from the TNP's unique school system that trains the personnel and develops a strong network and information sharing capacity through trust, Since the TNP personnel are working under time constraints in many incidents they respond, they are familiar with fast decision making in crisis situations. Those occasions require the officers to use all available communication channels. The TNP used formal, informal and quasi-formal communication channels during the EU *acquis* adoption process.

**Comment:**

## **Finding 7**

***The claims of human rights violations attributed to the TNP have been proven to be exaggerated.***

**Description:** \_\_\_\_\_ Turkey  
2006 Progress Report issued by the EC (European Commission) stated the following:

“Overall, the Turkish legal framework includes a comprehensive set of safeguards against torture and ill-treatment. Cases of torture and ill-treatment declined over the reporting period. However, concerns remain regarding cases outside detention centers, human rights violations in the Southeast and the problem of impunity.”

Caliskan (2007) stated that there were no torture cases reported to the TNP administration and probably those claims in the EC report were those claimed by human rights associations carrying a political agenda rather that a humanitarian agenda.

**Comment:**

## **Finding 8:**

***Cosmopolitanism and peer emulation was high in the TNP.***

**Description:**

Cosmopolitanism and peer emulation are the measures of innovativeness. The greater the contact outside the organization, the bigger the cosmopolitanism is. Peer emulation is the extent to which innovation is influenced by communication and imitation.

The TNP has police cooperation agreements with many countries, participating in peace-keeping operations with the UN and OSCE, launched master and doctoral programs for its members, trained many country police officers in Police Academy and Turkish International Academy Against Drugs and Organized Crime (TADOC) and many more.

Cosmopolitanism was one of those channels that might fall under formal, informal, and quasi-formal communication channels as it was emerged from the interview data which explains the intra-organizational level communication. Peer emulation on the other hand is more of an informal nature and explains the communication among officers in the organization in the context of EU *acquis* adoption process. As discussed in Chapter II, the peer emulation is defined as “the extent to which innovation is influenced by communication and imitation. Peer emulation and cosmopolitanism are different in form and magnitude.” Since the peer emulation uses informal communication channels, it occurs more frequently. Given the fact that officers and managers need timely, accurate and reliable information to move rapidly and to adjust new demands or threats, peer emulation becomes an essential part of police innovation process (Weiss, 1997).

**Comment:**

**Finding 9**

***The TNP alone will not be capable of achieving a sustainable democratic process in Turkey unless the reforms are expanded to all other public institutions and all criminal justice departments including prosecutors, gendarmerie, and the coast guard.***

**Description:**

*Even though they are welcomed by the TNP members and implemented in the field without reservations, it appears that the EU *acquis* adoption reforms brought some mechanisms that serves more to expand the emotional gap between the police and prosecutors’ office instead of improving cooperation and collaboration.*

The interview data suggested that some aspects of police-prosecutor relations including the judicial police application were not well-developed and they are not suitable to promote reforms. The following suggestions are also supported by this study and valid for Turkey, too.

Clegg, Hunt and Whetton (2000) argued that the “police” and “policing” are different concepts. Policing is more than what the police do. Policing is achieved with involvement of other institutions in a society. They suggested that of many factors four should be achieved to be able to make democratic policing sustainable:

- The need to recognize that the impact of crime is not uniform, that the poor and vulnerable suffer disproportionately from its effects, particularly through the erosion of their assets and that addressing this will require radical shifts in resourcing, management and police ‘culture’
- The need for a more holistic approach which does not deal with the public or state police in isolation from the rest of the formal justice system and which recognizes the role played by many other agencies, formal and informal, in policing
- The need to achieve a high level of commitment from police, government and all sections of civil society to the concept of police-public co-production of safety and order as well as ensuring that effective mechanisms for accountability are in place;
- The need for longer term, strategic approaches grounded in stakeholder analysis and participatory planning, emphasizing full involvement of disadvantaged groups” (pp. 61-62).

.Based on findings from the interview data and academic research, a cooperation and collaboration is not achievable just by laws. An honest involvement of all institutions is required to foster reforms in Turkey.

**Comment:**

## Finding 10

***The reforms were not a result of a one-time effort which occurred only after 2003, but was a process coming from 1983 Ozal Government to today, which was prepared by improvements in educational, organizational, and international areas.***

**Description:**

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As the interview data suggested, the first wave of reforms introduced into the TNP and Turkey was beginning during 1983 Ozal Government which was in power immediately after 1980 coup. Obvious enough, the military seems to support advancements in the TNP since the leader of the coup became the 7th President of Turkey who was approving all legislations. The professional and technological capacity of the TNP improved after 1980s. For example, one of the biggest innovations in the TNP was establishment of Aviation Department on 19 October 1981 during the 1980 military coup. Information and Computer Technologies Department was also introduced to the TNP in 1981 during the 1980 coup. In later governments also there have been advancements. The improved organizational structure, education level, technological capacity which the interview data suggested appears to be a result of an ongoing process. During 1983 Ozal Government, the reorganization of the TNP was so fast including major decisions were made such as establishment of Intelligence Department. All technical capacities of the TNP were first introduced during these years and today the TNP is one of the most effective police organizations in the world as Oguz Kaan

Koksal mentioned (Emniyet Guven Timleri, 2007). The latest news about training other police forces abroad are mushrooming in newspapers and probably this is the venue for the TNP in the next century to gain from its highly qualified personnel.

**Comment:**

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APPENDIX D  
THE POLICE ACADEMY CURRICULUM

NO	COURSE	YEARS							
		1st YEAR	2nd YEAR	3rd YEAR	4th YEAR (Branches)				
					Com.	Jud.	Adm.	Pol.	Traf.
1	CONSTITUTIONAL LAW	2							
2	INTRODUCTION TO LAW	2							
3	CIVIL LAW		2						
4	ECONOMICS		2						
5	PUBLIC FINANCE						2		
6	INTRODUCTION TO FIRE ARMS AND SHOOTING	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
7	FOREIGN LANGUAGE	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
8	PRINCIPLES OF ATATÜRK AND HISTORY OF TURKISH REVOLUTION	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	TURKISH LANGUAGE	1	1	1					
10	PHYSICAL EDUCATION	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
11	SELF-DEFENSE				2	2	2	2	2
12	HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS	2	2						
13	INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY	2							
14	ADMINISTRATIVE LAW			2					
15	CRIMINAL LAW (GENERAL PROVISIONS)		2						
16	SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY			2					
17	PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	2							
18	FORENSIC SCIENCE					2			
19	PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW		2						
20	POLICE PROFESSIONAL LAW	2	2						
21	INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE LAW			2					
22	LAW OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE			2					

23	CRIMINOLOGY		2						
24	PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION	2							
25	TRAFFIC LAW	2							2
26	STATISTICS AND RESEARCH METHODS						2		2
27	CRIMINAL LAW (PRIVATE PROVISIONS)			2					
28	JUSTICE PSYCHOLOGY					2			
29	POLICE TACTICS				2	2	2	2	2
30	STATE SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE			2					
31	TECHNIQUES OF INVESTIGATION AND CORRESPONDENCE				2	2	2	2	2
32	CRIMINALISTICS					2			
33	TRAFFIC TECHNIQUES AND PRACTICES								2
34	TURKISH POLITICAL HISTORY							2	
35	SYSTEM ANALYSIS				1	1	1	1	1
36	APPLIED BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES (CREATIVE DRAMA)				2	2	2	2	2
37	ORGANIZED CRIME					2	2		
38	CRIME PSYCHOLOGY AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR			2					
39	TERRORISM AND TERRORIST CRIMES							2	
40	DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY		2						
41	TURKEY & EU RELATIONS			2					
42	TRAFFIC SAFETY AND INVESTIGATION OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS								2
43	CRISIS ADMINISTRATION			2					
44	INTELLIGENCE GATHERING TECHNIQUES (DISCOVERY, PURSUIT, SURVEILLANCE)							2	

45	PRACTICE	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
46	DISCIPLINARY LAW	2							
47	COMPUTER		2						
48	PUBLIC SCRUTINY							2	
49	JUVENILE DELINQUENCY					2	2	2	2
50	PUBLIC PURCHASING AND PROCUREMENT LAW						2		
	TOTAL	30	30	30	20	30	30	30	30

APPENDIX E  
FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF SURVEY

RESPONDENT	dm1	dm2	dm3	dm4	dm5	AP1	AP2	AP3	AP4	AP5	AP6	AP7	AP8	AP9	AP10	AP11	OD1	OD2	OD3	OD4	PD1	PD2	PD3	P2003.Q1	P2003.Q2	P2003.Q3	P2003.Q4	P2003.Q5	P2003.Q6	P2003.Q7	P2003.Q8	P2003.Q9
1	3	3	2	1	1	2	5	5	5	5	3	4	2	2	4	2	3	4	4	1	1	2	5	4	4	5	4	1	4	4	4	4
2	1	2	1	2	1	5	4	5	4	4	3	4	5	3	4	5	2	4	4	1	1	1	5	5	5	4	2	5	5	5	5	5
3	5	5	1	2	1	1	5	5	5	3	4	2	5	4	2	4	3	4	4	1	3	3	5	3	3	2	4	3	3	2	2	4
4	3	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	4	3	4	2	2	2	3	4	2	2	3	4	2	5	1	5	1	1	5	1	2	1	3
5	2	2	2	2	1	3	5	5	4	5	3	3	4	5	4	5	2	4	4	2	2	3	5	4	5	5	3	2	5	3	4	5
6	4	4	1	2	1	1	4	4	5	4	5	4	3	3	4	3	4	4	2	1	2	3	5	3	3	3	5	1	3	4	2	3
7	1	2	2	2	1	4	4	5	2	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	4	1	1	5	5	4	5
8	3	2	2	2	1	1	4	4	5	3	4	3	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	2	3	4	4	1	3	2	2	3	4	3	4

**dm3.** Do you have discretion to develop new policies and better ways to adopt human rights into the TNP which are not a part of EU *acquis*? Can you please explain your answer?

1. YES
2. NO

Distribution: YES = 4                      NO = 4

**dm4.** Do you think that those developments about human rights would be possible without the EU membership application?

1. YES
2. NO

Distribution:

YES = 1

NO = 7

**dm5.** Do you discuss with others to understand how to adopt and implement the EU *acquis*?

1. YES
2. NO

Distribution:

YES = 8

NO = 0

If your answer is “YES” please check the options that apply (You may check more than one if it applies):

- |                                                    |                              |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 21. Among friends                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> = 8 |
| 22. With politicians                               | <input type="checkbox"/> = 2 |
| 23. With other law enforcement agencies in Turkey  | <input type="checkbox"/> = 7 |
| 24. With other law enforcement outside Turkey      | <input type="checkbox"/> = 6 |
| 25. With other public agencies in Turkey           | <input type="checkbox"/> = 6 |
| 26. With other public agencies outside Turkey      | <input type="checkbox"/> = 2 |
| 27. With human rights organizations in Turkey      | <input type="checkbox"/> = 4 |
| 28. With human rights organizations outside Turkey | <input type="checkbox"/> = 2 |
| 29. With police officers in the TNP                | <input type="checkbox"/> = 8 |
| 30. With citizens                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> = 4 |

Statistics

		dm1	dm2	AP1	AP2	AP3	AP4	AP5	AP6	AP7	AP8	AP9	AP10	AP11	OD1	OD2
		What is the degree of discretion you have had during adoption process in adopting human rights rules of the EU?	What is the degree of discretion currently you have in adopting human rights rules of the EU?	Almost more than half of all EU Adoption Projects in Turkey are/were in the TNP's responsibility	European Commission visits affected the TNP's adoption process	Turkish Court decisions affected the TNP's adoption process	The TNP involves in EU Adoption Process willingly and diligently	The TNP's involvement in EU Adoption projects are extremely important	Government orders affected the TNP's adoption process	Director General's orders affected the TNP's adoption process	Media affected the TNP's adoption process	Public pressure (e.g. Demonstrations, appeals, letters) affected the TNP's adoption process	European Court of Human Rights decisions affected the TNP's adoption process	European Commission reports affected the TNP's adoption process	The TNP had discretion to change the direction of adoption process	The TNP administrators have conferred with the government for any necessary changes in adoption process
N	Valid	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Median		3.00	2.50	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	4.50	4.00	3.50	4.00	4.50	3.50	3.00	4.00
Mode		3	2	1	4	5	4	5	5	4(a)	3	4	5	2(a)	3	4

		OD3	OD4	PD1	PD2	PD3	P2003. Q1	Q2	P2003. Q3	P2003. Q4	P2003. Q5	P2003. Q6	P2003. Q7	P2003. Q8	P2003. Q9
		The government sought the TNP's idea about how adoption process should develop	The TNP administrators have made necessary changes without conferring the government	I have had power to make decisions in adoption process without conferring with Director General, government or others	I mostly have conferred with director general and government officials, but also I had discretion to make necessary changes	Even though I do not have discretion to make new policies in adoption process, I believe those changes are necessary for the TNP and Turkey	I believe policing in Turkey is more service oriented after 2003	I believe the changes after 2003 did not affect policing style in Turkey	I believe the police has well adopted to changes after 2003	I believe the police was ready to changes even before 2003	I don't think the police adapted themselves to the changes after 2003	I believe the operational priority of the police after 2003 is to serve the people in Turkey	I believe the operational priority of the police before 2003 was to serve the people in Turkey	I think the TNP personnel do appreciate the change in the TNP	I think citizens do appreciate the changes in the TNP
N	Valid	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Median		3.00	1.00	2.00	2.50	5.00	4.00	3.50	3.50	2.50	2.00	3.50	4.00	3.50	4.00
Mode		4	1	1(a)	3	5	4	5	3(a)	1(a)	1	3(a)	4	4	4(a)

a Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

**What is the degree of discretion you have had during adoption process in adopting human rights rules of the EU?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	We had no discretion	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
	We had limited discretion	1	12.5	12.5	37.5
	We had some discretion	3	37.5	37.5	75.0
	We had discretion, but still we need more	1	12.5	12.5	87.5
	We had full discretion	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**What is the degree of discretion currently you have in adopting human rights rules of the EU?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Limited discretion	4	50.0	50.0	50.0
	We had discretion	2	25.0	25.0	75.0
	We had discretion, but still we need more	1	12.5	12.5	87.5
	Full discretion	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**Almost more than half of all EU Adoption Projects in Turkey are/were in the TNP's responsibility**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	3	37.5	37.5	37.5
	Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	62.5
	Neutral	1	12.5	12.5	75.0
	Agree	1	12.5	12.5	87.5
	Strongly Agree	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**European Commission visits affected the TNP's adoption process**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Agree	5	62.5	62.5	87.5
	Strongly Agree	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**Turkish Court decisions affected the TNP's adoption process**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Neutral	2	25.0	25.0	37.5
	Agree	2	25.0	25.0	62.5
	Strongly Agree	3	37.5	37.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**The TNP involves in EU Adoption Process willingly and diligently**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Agree	4	50.0	50.0	62.5
	Strongly Agree	3	37.5	37.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**The TNP's involvement in EU Adoption projects are extremely important**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Agree	2	25.0	25.0	37.5
	Strongly Agree	5	62.5	62.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**Government orders affected the TNP's adoption process**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Agree	2	25.0	25.0	50.0
	Strongly Agree	4	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**Director General's orders affected the TNP's adoption process**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Neutral	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Agree	3	37.5	37.5	62.5
	Strongly Agree	3	37.5	37.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**Media affected the TNP's adoption process**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Neutral	4	50.0	50.0	50.0
	Agree	2	25.0	25.0	75.0
	Strongly Agree	2	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**Public pressure (e.g. Demonstrations, appeals, letters) affected the TNP's adoption process**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Neutral	2	25.0	25.0	37.5
	Agree	4	50.0	50.0	87.5
	Strongly Agree	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**European Court of Human Rights decisions affected the TNP's adoption process**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Neutral	1	12.5	12.5	37.5
	Agree	1	12.5	12.5	50.0
	Strongly Agree	4	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**European Commission reports affected the TNP's adoption process**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Neutral	2	25.0	25.0	50.0
	Agree	2	25.0	25.0	75.0
	Strongly Agree	2	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**The TNP had discretion to change the direction of adoption process**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	37.5
	Neutral	3	37.5	37.5	75.0
	Agree	2	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**The TNP administrators have conferred with the government for any necessary changes in adoption process**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	25.0
Neutral	1	12.5	12.5	37.5
Agree	5	62.5	62.5	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**The government sought the TNP's idea about how adoption process should develop**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
Disagree	3	37.5	37.5	50.0
Agree	4	50.0	50.0	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**The TNP administrators have made necessary changes without conferring the government**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	5	62.5	62.5	62.5
Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	87.5
Neutral	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I have had power to make decisions in adoption process without conferring with Director General, government or others**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	3	37.5	37.5	37.5
Disagree	3	37.5	37.5	75.0
Neutral	1	12.5	12.5	87.5
Agree	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I mostly have conferred with director general and government officials, but also I had discretion to make necessary chances**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	50.0
Neutral	4	50.0	50.0	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**Even though I do not have discretion to make new policies in adoption process, I believe those changes are necessary for the TNP and Turkey**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Strongly Agree	7	87.5	87.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I believe policing in Turkey is more service oriented after 2003**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Neutral	2	25.0	25.0	37.5
	Agree	3	37.5	37.5	75.0
	Strongly Agree	2	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I believe the changes after 2003 did not affect policing style in Turkey**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Neutral	2	25.0	25.0	50.0
	Agree	1	12.5	12.5	62.5
	Strongly Agree	3	37.5	37.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I believe the police has well adopted to changes after 2003**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	25.0
	Neutral	2	25.0	25.0	50.0
	Agree	2	25.0	25.0	75.0
	Strongly Agree	2	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I believe the police was ready to changes even before 2003**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	50.0
	Neutral	1	12.5	12.5	62.5
	Agree	2	25.0	25.0	87.5
	Strongly Agree	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I don't think the police adapted themselves to the changes after 2003**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	3	37.5	37.5	37.5
Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	62.5
Neutral	1	12.5	12.5	75.0
Strongly Agree	2	25.0	25.0	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I believe the operational priority of the police after 2003 is to serve the people in Turkey**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
Neutral	3	37.5	37.5	50.0
Agree	1	12.5	12.5	62.5
Strongly Agree	3	37.5	37.5	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I believe the operational priority of the police before 2003 was to serve the people in Turkey**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
Neutral	1	12.5	12.5	37.5
Agree	3	37.5	37.5	75.0
Strongly Agree	2	25.0	25.0	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I think the TNP personnel do appreciate the change in the TNP**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	1	12.5	12.5	12.5
Disagree	2	25.0	25.0	37.5
Neutral	1	12.5	12.5	50.0
Agree	3	37.5	37.5	87.5
Strongly Agree	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

**I think citizens do appreciate the changes in the TNP**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Neutral	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
Agree	3	37.5	37.5	62.5
Strongly Agree	3	37.5	37.5	100.0
Total	8	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX F  
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF  
HUMAN SUBJECTS IN RESEARCH (IRB)



December 11, 2006

RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER  
Office of Research Services

Izzet Lofca  
School of Library and Information Sciences  
University of North Texas

Re: Human Subjects Application No. 06-434

Dear Mr. Lofca:

As permitted by federal law and regulations governing the use of human subjects in research projects (45 CFR 46), the UNT Institutional Review Board has reviewed your proposed project titled "Respect for Human Rights and the Rise of Democratic Policing in Turkey: A Study of Adoption and diffusion of Innovation in the Turkish National Police." The risks inherent in this research are minimal, and the potential benefits to the subject outweigh those risks. The submitted protocol and consent form are hereby approved for the use of human subjects in this study. **Federal Policy 45 CFR 46.109(e) stipulates that IRB approval is for one year only, December 11, 2006 to December 10, 2007.**

Enclosed is the consent document with stamped IRB approval. Please copy and **use this form only** for your study subjects.

It is your responsibility according to U.S. Department of Health and Human Services regulations to submit annual and terminal progress reports to the IRB for this project. Please mark your calendar accordingly. The IRB must also review this project prior to any modifications.

Please contact Shelia Bourns, Research Compliance Administrator, or Boyd Herndon, Director of Research Compliance, at extension 3940, if you wish to make changes or need additional information.

Sincerely,

Scott Simpkins, Ph.D.  
Chair  
Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX G

THE TURKISH NATIONAL POLICE STUDY APPROVAL

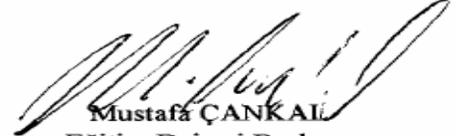
T. C.  
İÇİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI  
Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü

Sayı : B.05.1.EGM.0.72.04.02-  
Konu : Tez Çalışması

.../11/2006

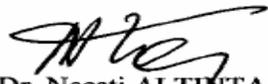
GENEL MÜDÜRLÜK MAKAMINA

“Yetiştirilmek Amacıyla Yurtdışına Gönderilecek Devlet Memurları Hakkındaki Yönetmelik” hükümleri çerçevesinde, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Kuzey Teksas Üniversitesi’nde doktora eğitimine devam eden 115162 sicil sayılı 4. Sınıf Emniyet Müdürü İzzet LOFÇA’nın “İnsan Haklarına Saygı ve Türkiye’de Demokratik Polisliğin Gelişmesi: Türk Polis Teşkilatı’nda Yeniliklerin Yayılması ve Adaptasyonu” çalışmasında kullanılmak üzere Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü Merkez Teşkilatında görevli ve AB uyum çalışmalarında yetki ve sorumluluk üstlenmiş üst-düze yöneticilere yönelik hazırladığı mülakat formunun uygulanması ve aynı çalışmada kullanılmak üzere Genel Müdürlüğümüz birimlerinden 2003 yılından sonra yapılan kurumsal değişiklikleri, verilen kursları, geliştirilen projeleri yansıtabilecek bilgilerin adı geçen personele verilmesi hususunu onaylarınıza arz ederim.

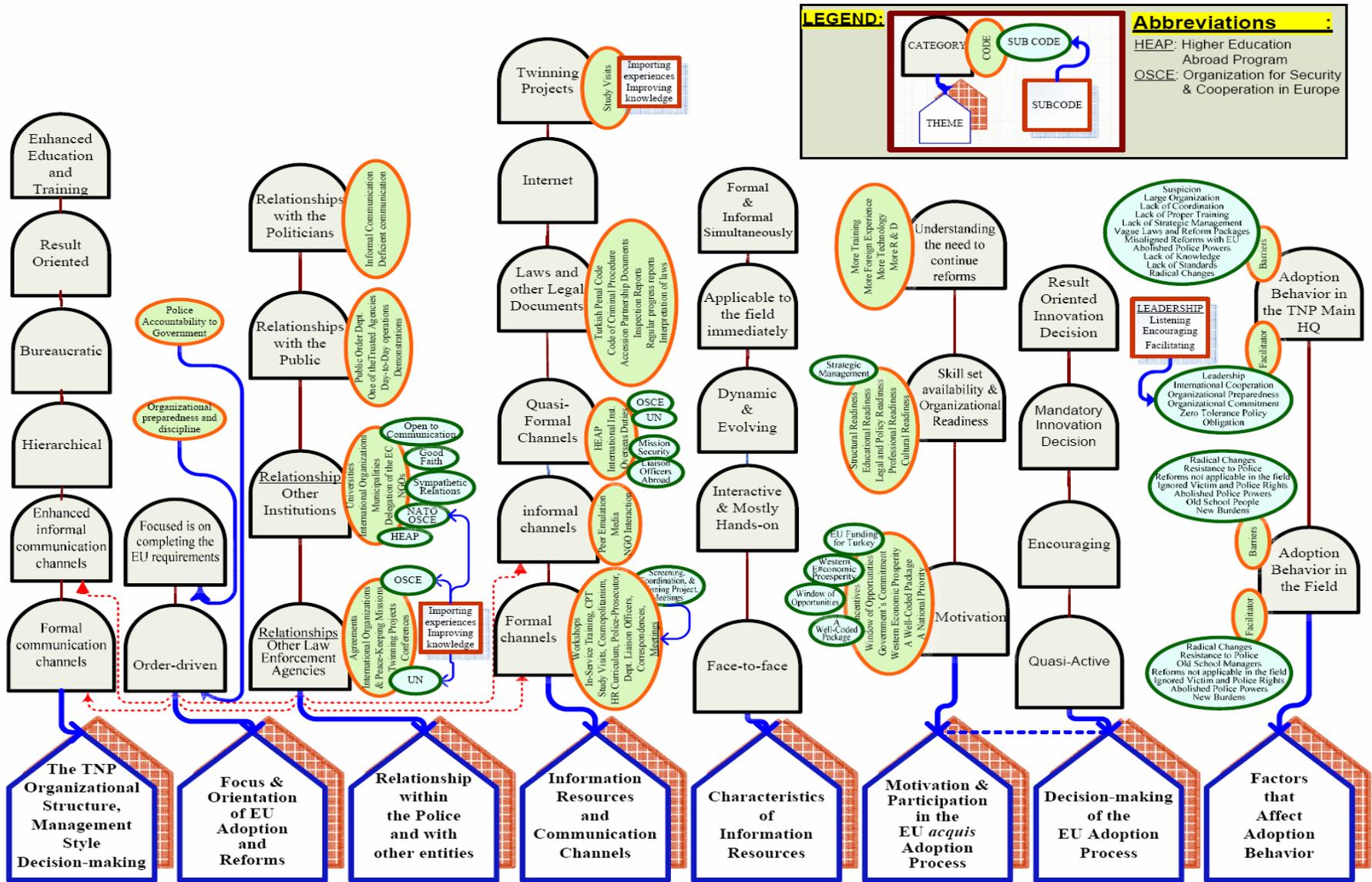
  
Mustafa ÇANKAL  
Eğitim Dairesi Başkanı  
1.Sınıf Emniyet Müdürü

OLUR

08/11/2006

  
Dr. Necati ALTINTAŞ  
Emniyet Genel Müdür V.  
Emniyet Genel Müdür Yardımcısı  
1.Sınıf Emniyet Müdürü

APPENDIX H  
CODEBOOK TREE



APPENDIX I  
CODEBOOK

1. **Themes:**

- a. **Categories**
  - i. **Codes**
    - 1. **Sub-Codes**
      - a. **Sub-Codes**

1. **Organizational Structure, Management Style, and Decision-making of the TNP**

- g. Formal communication channels
- h. Enhanced informal communication channels
- i. Hierarchical
- j. Bureaucratic
- k. Result oriented
- l. Enhanced education and training

2. **Focus and Orientation of the EU Adoption and Reforms**

- a. Order-driven
  - i. Police accountability towards government
- b. Focused on completing EU requirements
  - ii. Organizational preparedness and discipline

3. **Relationships within the Police and with other entities**

- a. Relationship with other law enforcement agencies in and outside Turkey,
  - i. Agreements
  - ii. International organizations - Peace-keeping missions
    - 1. UN
      - a. Importing experiences
      - b. Improving knowledge
    - 2. OSCE
      - a. Importing experiences
      - b. Improving knowledge
  - iii. Conferences
  - iv. Twinning Projects
- b. Relationship with other institutions in and outside Turkey,
  - i. Delegation of the EC to Turkey
    - 1. Open to communication
    - 2. Good Faith
    - 3. Sympathetic relations
  - ii. International Organizations
    - 1. NATO and OSCE
  - iii. Universities
    - 1. Higher Education Abroad Program
  - iv. NGOs
  - v. Municipalities and provincial units of the government
- c. Relationship with the public,
  - i. Public order department
  - ii. Day-to-day police operations

- iii. One of the most trusted agencies
- iv. Demonstrations
- d. Relationship with Politicians.
  - i. Informal communication
  - ii. Demonstrations
  - iii. Deficient communication

#### **4. Information Resources and Communication Channels**

- a. Formal Channels
  - i. Correspondences
  - ii. Department Liaison Officers
  - iii. In-service training
  - iv. Meetings
    - 1. Screening meetings
    - 2. Twinning project meetings
    - 3. Coordination meetings
  - v. Workshops
  - vi. Prosecutor-Police relations
  - vii. Study visits
  - viii. Cosmopolitanism
  - ix. CPT (Committee for Prevention of Torture) and HR Boards visits
  - x. Curriculum changes in police education institutions
- b. Informal Channels
  - i. Peer Emulation
  - ii. Media
  - iii. Interaction with NGO's
- c. Quasi-Formal Channels
  - i. Higher Education Abroad Program (HEAP).
  - ii. International Institutions
    - 1. UN Peacekeeping Missions
    - 2. OSCE Peacekeeping Missions
  - iii. Overseas duties
    - 1. Mission Security
    - 2. Liaison Officers Abroad
- d. Laws and other legal documents
  - i. Turkish Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure
  - ii. Accession Partnership Documents
  - iii. Inspection Reports
  - iv. Regular progress reports of EU Commission
  - v. Interpretation of laws through circulars and executive orders
- e. Internet
- f. Twinning Projects
  - i. Study visits
    - 1. Transferring the expertise
    - 2. Transferring the knowledge

#### **5. Characteristics of the Information Resources**

- a. Face-to-face

- b. Interactive and mostly hands-on
- c. Dynamic and evolving
- d. Applicable into the field immediately
- e. Formal and informal simultaneously
- f. Associated incentives

## **6. Motivation and Participation in the EU *acquis* Adoption Process**

- a. Motivating Factors
  - i. Government's Commitment
  - ii. Incentives
    - 1. EU Funding for Turkey
    - 2. Western economic prosperity
    - 3. Window of opportunities
    - 4. A well-coded package that address needs
- b. Organizational readiness and availability of skill sets
  - i. Structural Readiness
    - 1. The EU Division under the Foreign Relations of the TNP
    - 2. Strategic Research Department
    - 3. Liaison Officers
  - ii. Educational readiness
    - 1. Respect for human rights
      - c. Human rights courses in the curriculum
    - 2. Foreign Language
    - 3. Master and Doctoral Degrees
  - iii. Legal and policy readiness
    - 1. Strategic management
  - iv. Professional readiness
  - v. Cultural readiness
    - 1. organizational priority
- c. The need to continue reforms
  - i. More training
  - ii. More foreign experience
  - iii. More technology
  - iv. More institutions for research and development
- d. Cooperation and Collaboration of the EU Adoption Process;
  - i. Quasi-Active
  - ii. Encouraging
  - iii. Mandatory innovation decision
  - iv. Result oriented innovation decision

## **7. Factors that Affected the Adoption Behavior**

- a. Adoption Behavior in the TNP Main HQ
  - i. Barriers and weaknesses
    - 1. Suspicion
    - 2. Lack of strategic management
    - 3. Lack of Knowledge
    - 4. Lack of proper training

5. Lack of Coordination
6. Lack of standards
7. Large Organization
8. Vagueness in laws and reform packages
9. Misaligned reforms with the EU *Acquis*
10. Abolishment of some police powers
11. Radical changes
- ii. Facilitators and strengths
  1. Leadership
    - a. Encouraging
    - b. Listening
    - c. Facilitating
  2. Zero tolerance policy
  3. Obligation
  4. International cooperation
  5. Organizational preparedness
  6. Organizational commitment
- b. Adoption Behavior in the field
  - i. Barriers and weaknesses
    1. Misaligned reforms not applicable to street level
    2. Old school
    3. Ignored victim and officer rights
    4. Resistance to police
    5. New burdens
    6. Abolishment of some police powers
    7. Radical changes
  - ii. Facilitators and strengths
    1. Zero tolerance policy
    2. Competent personnel
    3. Tolerance

APPENDIX J  
SAMPLE LIST OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Documentary evidence was complementary to the data obtained from semi-structured interviews. Documentary evidence includes official reports, statistical information, official websites of the participating departments and the European Commission.

- Official Note to the Turkish National Police Director General (TNP) dated October 22, 2004 about the Council of Europe's Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Ill-treatment (CPT) President Silvia Casale's speech reporting that the legal framework in Turkey was more liberal than many European Union countries (1 Page).
- Official Manual of Human Rights Division of Anti-Terrorism Department (1 Page).
- Official Note to the TNP Director General about the completed and ongoing Twinning Projects (7 Pages).
- Official Website of the TNP Anti-Terrorism Department. İnsan Hakları. Retrieved 13/12/2005 <http://www.egm.gov.tr/temuh/insanhaklari1.html>.
- Official Website of the TNP Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü. Retrieved 05/07/2005 <http://www.egm.gov.tr/>.
- Official Web page of the TNP Foreign Relations Department. Dışilişkiler Dairesi Başkanlığı. Retrieved 05/0/2005 <http://www.egm.gov.tr/daire.disiliskiler.asp>
- Ministry of Internal Affairs Circular about judicial police relations with prosecutors.  
**SAYI:B.050.ÖKM.000011-12/1684 07/11/2005**  
**KONU: GENELGE 2005/115**  
Retrieved 05/17/2007 <http://www.memurlar.net/haber/34927/>

APPENDIX K  
CHRONOLOGY OF TURKEY - EU RELATIONS

## 1959

**September 1959:** The EEC Council of Ministers accepted Ankara's and Athens' applications for associate membership.

## 1963

**September 1963:** The Ankara Agreement (an Association Agreement) was signed to take Turkey to Customs Union and finally to full EEC membership. The first financial protocol was also signed.

## 1968

**December 1968:** Negotiations on the Additional Protocol started.

## 1970

**October 26, 1970:** First Customs Cooperation Committee meeting.

**November 23, 1970:** The Additional Protocol and the second financial protocol signed in Brussels.

## 1971

**July 1971:** The Additional Protocol was approved in the Turkish Grand National Assembly with 149 votes for and 69 against.

## 1973

**January 1973:** The Additional Protocol went into force. A step to lowering customs duties and harmonization of the consolidated liberation list started.

## 1980

During the first half of the 1980's relations between Turkey and the Community stagnated. There was a long suspension period following the military coup d'etat on 12 September 1980.

**June 1980:** The Association Council decided to decrease customs duties on almost all agricultural products to "zero" by 1987.

## 1982

**January 1982:** The European Parliament decided not to renew the European wing of the Joint Parliamentary Commission until a general election was held and a parliament established.

## 1986

**September 1986:** Turkey-EEC Association Council met.

## 1987

**April 14, 1987:** Turkey applied for full EEC membership. Ali Bozer submitted the application to Brussels.

## 1992

**May 1992:** The first Steering Committee meeting was held.

## 1993

**March 18, 1993:** At a meeting in Brussels, the procedures for the work and duties of the Steering Committee set-up to prepare Turkey for Customs Union, were determined.

**October 1993:** The Turkey-EU Association Council met and decided that the technical preparations had been completed and Turkey had fulfilled the greater part of its obligations.

## 1995

**March 1995:** Turkey-EU Association Council decision on the customs union

**1999**

**December 1999:** EU Helsinki Council decision of December 1999 on the candidate status of Turkey

**2000**

**December 2000:** The EU Council of Ministers decision on the draft framework regulation on assistance to Turkey in the framework of the pre-accession strategy

**2001**

**January 2001:** The Council of the European Union accepted a donation of 130 million € which will be given to Turkey between the years of 2001 and 2003.

**February 2001:** The framework code which constitutes the base of the procedures related to Accession Partnership and the base of the donation that Turkey will receive from the Accession Partnership was accepted.

**March 2001:** The Council of Ministers of the European Union accepted the Accession Partnership Document, for Turkey.

**March 2001:** Turkish Parliament accepted the Turkish National Programme for the Adoption of the *Acquis*.

**June 2001:** The 40th period meeting of the Turkey-European Union Partnership Council was occurred.

**June 2001:** The 47th meeting of the commission of the Turkey-European Union Joint Parliament Committee was occurred in Brussels.

**July 2001:** The sub-committee meeting of the Turkey-European Union Customs, Taxation, Drugs and Money Laundering was occurred in Ankara.

**September 2001:** The EU Parliament accepted the rapport related to Cyprus prepared by Jacque Paas. In this report, the responsible actor for the failure of finding solution was displayed as Turkey and it was declared that the membership of Cyprus would occur even if a solution could not be found.

**November 2001:** The 4th Progress report was published.

**November 2001:** The 48th meeting of the Turkey-EU Joint Parliament Commission was made in İstanbul.

**December 2001:** The European Council was met in Leaken of Belgium. At the end of the summit, it was declared that Turkey had approached to the participation negotiations and Turkey would participate in the convention studies related to the future of the European Union.

**2002**

**January 2002:** The Euro (€) became the joint currency of the European Union.

**January 2002:** The 10th meeting of Turkey-EU Troika was occurred in Madrid.

**January 2002:** The 110th Turkey-EU Association Committee meeting was occurred in Brussels.

**February 2002:** The visit to Turkey of Günter Verheugen who is responsible of enlargement of the Commission of the European Union was occurred.

**February 2002:** The Memorandum of Understanding on the management of the financial aid of the EU was signed between the Commission of the EU and the Turkish Government. The

structure, functioning and responsibilities of the National Fund and Central Finance and Contracts Unit were determined.

**February 2002:** The first Reform Package (Turkish Penalty Code, struggle against terror, changes on State Security Court ) came into force in order to provide cohesion to the Copenhagen Political Criteria.

**March 2002:** The Organization of the Twelve Mediterranean Countries of private sector signed the decision of establishment of Union Mediterranean Confederation of Enterprises during the 5th summit of the European-Mediterranean Private Sector, in İstanbul.

**March 2002:** Turkey participated in the session of the summit of Spring in Barcelona which included the titles of the liberalization of markets of energy and finance, the rise of employment, the creation of flexible labor force market, the connection of transportation networks in the Europe, the problems of economy and external affairs as in the Middle East, with the other candidate countries.

**March 2002:** The joint meeting of the ministers of agriculture was occurred among the member and candidate countries of the EU.

**March 2002:** The second European-Mediterranean Trade Conference was met in Toledo.

**March 2002:** The Convention concerning the future of the EU made its second meeting.

**April 2002:** The second Turkey-EU Association Council was met in Luxemburg.

**April 2002:** The 5th meeting of the European-Mediterranean Process was made in Valencia.

**May 2002:** The Convention concerning the future of the EU made its third meeting.

**June 2002:** The meeting on the EU with the presidency of Sezer and with the participation of the presidents of the political parties having group in the Turkish Parliament was made in the House of Çankaya.

**June 2002:** The 49th meeting of the Turkey-EU Joint Parliament Commission was made in Brussels.

**June 2002:** In the summit of Sevilla, the presidents of governments and states emphasized that the reforms Turkey had realized was satisfying. The leaders reminded that the reforms in force would strengthen the Turkey's perspective of membership.

**June 2002:** The framework agreement on the determination of the general principles of the participation to the Community programmes signed between Turkey and the EU came into power after published in the official journal of the 28th June 2002.

**July 2002:** Denmark became the presidency of the EU.

**July 2002:** An agreement of credit of 40 million € for the municipal water and canalization infrastructure programme was signed between the Turkish Treasury and the European Investment Bank.

**July 2002:** The 13rd meeting of the Turkey-EU Joint Consultative Committee was made in Erzurum.

**July 2002:** The 6th Reform Package for the cohesion to the Copenhagen Political Criteria.

**August 2002:** The third Reform Package came into force.

**August 2002:** The third Reform Package concerning the abolition of death penalty, the authorization of broadcast of different native languages and dialects including Kurdish, the right

to education in own native language, the right of having immovable for the clubs of minority, the right of saving over their own immovable came into force.

**September 2002:** Turkey was included to the Eurocorps.

**October 2002:** The European Council published a Progress Report concerning the 13 candidates. Some suggestions were given to the candidates and the commission declared that the constitutional reforms made by Turkey were successful steps towards the transposition with the European Union.

**December 2002:** At the end of the summit of Copenhagen European Council, the decision for the membership of the 10 candidate countries was given. In the part of the Solution Declaration concerning Turkey, it was said that the negotiation process of Turkey would begin in order to fulfill the Copenhagen Political Criteria until the summit of December 2004.

## **2003**

**January 2003:** The presidency of Greece began.

**January 2003:** The 4th and 5th Reform Packages came into force.

**January 2003:** The EU Troika visited Turkey.

**February 2003:** The Treaty of Nice which allowed the biggest enlargement and regulated necessary institutional structuring came into force.

**March 2003:** The 111st meeting of the Turkey-EC Association Committee was occurred in Brussels

**April 2003:** Two agreements of credit of 350 million € was signed between the Turkish Republic and the European Investment Bank.

**April 2003:** The 15th meeting of the EU-Turkey Joint Consultative Committee was occurred in İstanbul.

**April 2003:** The 42nd meeting of the Turkey-EU Association Council was made in Luxemburg. During the meeting, the side of the EU presented to Turkey the Accession Partnership Document.

**April 2003:** A new European Union Commission was established in the Turkish Parliament in order to negotiate and observe the cohesion of the new rules to the EU legislation.

**May 2003:** In the meeting of the European Parliament External Relations Committee, the outline report prepared by the Dutch Parliamentarian Arie Oostlander was accepted after made important changes on.

**May 2003:** The Council of the EU took decision about the revised Accession Partnership for Turkey.

**June 2003:** The 50th meeting of the EU-Turkey Joint Parliament Commission took place in İstanbul.

**June 2003:** The 49th meeting of the EU-Turkey Joint Parliament Commission took place in Brussels.

**June 2003:** The 50th meeting of the EU-Turkey Joint Parliament Commission took place in İstanbul.

**July 2003:** The summit of the European Council was made in Tesseloniki. The candidate countries participated in as an observer. Turkey was represented by the Prime Minister, Recep Tayip Erdoğan, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdullah Gül.

**July 2003:** The 6th Reform Package came into force according to the Copenhagen Criteria.

**July 2003:** The National Programme for the Adoption of the *Acquis* by the lighth of the uptaded 2003 Accession Partnership Document, came into force.

**August 2003:** The 7th Reform Package came into force according to the Copenhagen Criteria.

**August 2003:** The Third Pre-Accession Economy Programme concerning the years of 2003 - 2006 prepared by Turkey was presented to the European Commission.

**October 2003:** The non-Central Financial Structuring was accepted and Turkey had the right to conduct the EU Financial Aids.

**October 2003:** The 14th meeting of the Association Committee of the Custom Union was made in Brussels.

**November 2003:** The European Commission published the Turkey's 2003 Progress Report and the Strategy Report.

**December 2003:** The 51th meeting of the EU-Turkey Joint Parliament Commission took place in Brussels.

**December 2003:** The EU summit took place in Brussels. The Council declared that Turkey had made progress to begin to the membership negotiations.

**December 2003:** The meeting of Joint Monitoring Committee in which the projects financed within the framework of financial cooperation between Turkey and the EU were discussed, took place in the Secretariat General for the EU Affairs. In the results of the Turkey's first meeting as a candidate, the Turkish progress in using financial aids was perceived.

**December 2003:** The Preliminary Development Plan (2004-2006) conducted by the State Planing Organization was accepted.

## **2004**

**January 2004:** The 13th protocol of the European Human Rights Convention which makes obligatory the abolition of the Death Penalty was signed by Turkey in Strasbourg.

**Febuary 2004:** Turkey-Greece Cross-Border Cooperation Programme was affirmed within the context of Interreg III/A.

**February 2004:** The two sides according on debating within the framework of the Annan Plan began to the negotiations in Cyprus.

**March 2004:** The strategic framework of the Turkey-Bulgaria Cross-Border Cooperation Programme was completed.

**April 2004:** The Arie Oostlander's report concerning Turkey was accepted in the European Parliament.

**April 2004:** The Memorandum of Understanding on Turkey's participation to the EU Education and Youth Programmes was signed between Turkey and the European Commission.

**April 2004:** The referandum was completed in Cyprus. The 69,4 % of Turkish people in Cyprus accepted but the 75,83 % of Greek people in Cyprus refused the Annan Plan.

**April 2004:** The Cyprus Regulation was accepted by the Council of the European Union. With the regulation, some measures about the current situation and especially about the circulation of goods was adopted after the failure of the referendum.

**April 2004:** The 52nd meeting of the Joint Parliament Commission was occurred in İzmir.

**May 2004:** The Constitutional Reform Package was accepted in the Turkish Parliament.

**June 2004:** The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe finished its audit process.

**July 2004:** The Netherlands became the presidency of the EU.

**July 2004:** The European Commission announced extensive proposals to bring the Turkish Cypriot Turkish Community's isolation.

**October 2004:** The European Commission published the 2004 Progress Report and the Recommendation Document according to the progress report. Within the framework of this document, Turkey was said to have fulfilled the political criteria in required measure and was recommended to begin to the negotiations.

**November 2004:** Joint Parliamentary Committee Delegation's participated in the 18th meeting of Turkey-EU Joint Consultative Committee.

**December 2004:** The Report for Turkey prepared by the MEP Camiel Eurling was accepted in the meeting of the European Parliament which took place in Strasbourg. The resolution was adopted by 407 votes in favor, 262 against and 29 abstentions.

**December 2004:** In the summit meeting made by the European Council in Brussels, the resolution was saying that Turkey had made impressive progress in respecting the political criteria, enough for negotiations on EU membership to start on the 3rd October 2005.

## **2005**

**January 2005:** Luxemburg became the presidency of the EU.

**March 2005:** The EU-Turkey Troika Meeting was made in Ankara. In the meeting, the relations between the EU and Turkey and the cohesion to the political criteria as a priority subject were reviewed.

**June 2005:** With the New Turkish Penalty Code which brought fundamental changes, a new important progress according to the cohesion was made.

**June 2005:** The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the EU meeting in Luxemburg signed the protocol expanding the Treaty of Ankara concerning the Greek Cyprus.

**June 2005:** The heads of governments and states of the EU emphasized on the full application of the decisions referring the decisions of the priority summit and there were no direct statement about Turkey in the final report.

**June 2005:** The European Commission presented the Accession Negotiations Framework. In the framework, a list including the principles regulating negotiations, the content of negotiations, negotiation procedures, negotiation headings took place.

**July 2005:** The UK became the presidency of the EU.

**July 2005:** The Council of Foreign Ministers of the EU was met in Brussels. The member of commission, Olli Rehn, who is responsible for the enlargement, presented the recommendation of Commission which draws the framework related to the Turkey's membership negotiations, to the Council. However, the discussion of the framework postponed to the unofficial meeting of the General Affairs and External Relations Council which would take place on the 1st and 2nd

September as Turkey had not signed yet the protocol which would extend the Additional Protocol with a new ten members.

**July 2005:** Turkey signed the supplementary protocol which extended the Treaty of Ankara, which was signed in 1963 and which constitutes the base of the EU-Turkey relations, concerning the new ten members. Turkey declared that the usage of the concept of “Republic of Cyprus” did not express the recognition of the Greek Part of Cyprus.

**September 2005:** The EU’ declaration said that Turkey must recognise Cyprus in the course of its membership talks, must give access to its ports and airports to Cypriot ships and planes, must apply the protocol fully to all member states. Also the EU warned that if it fails to do so, its progress in the accession talks may stall.

**October 2005:** Shortly after the EU Accession Negotiations have been launched, Screening Process which is expected to be finalised within a years time is started with a meeting on the 25th Chapter named "Science and Research" on 20 October 2005.

**October 2005:** Explanatory Screening Meeting on the 26th Chapter named "Education and Culture" was held in Brussels on 26 October 2005.

**October 2005:** Explanatory Screening Meeting on the 5th Chapter named "Public Procurement" was held in Brussels on 7 November 2005.

**October 2005:** The Council approved a framework for negotiations with Turkey on its accession to the EU, as mandated by the European Council last December, thus enabling the negotiations to begin immediately after the meeting.

**October 2005:** Nikolaus van der Pas, Director General of the Directorate General for "Education and Culture" and His Excellency, Oguz Demiralp, Turkish Ambassador to the European Union, signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Turkey's participation in the Culture 2000 programme from 2006 onwards on 25 October 2005.

**November 2005:** Explanatory Screening Meeting on the 5th Chapter named "Public Procurement" was held in Brussels on 7 November 2005.

**November 2005:** Explanatory Screening Meeting on the 8th Chapter named "Competition Policy" was held in Brussels on 8-9 November 2005.

**November 2005:** Detailed Screening Meeting on the 25th Chapter named "Science and Research" was held on 14 November 2005 in Brussels.

**November 2005:** Detailed Screening Meeting on the 26th Chapter named "Education and Culture" was held on 16 November 2005 in Brussels.

**November 2005:** Explanatory Screening Meeting on 3th Chapter named "Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services" was held on 21-22 November 2005 in Brussels.

**November 2005:** Explanatory Screening Meeting on 4th Chapter named "Free Movement of Capital" was held on 25 November 2005 in Brussels.

**November 2005:** Detailed Screening Meeting on the 5th Chapter named "Public Procurement" was held on 28 November 2005 in Brussels.

**December 2005:** Detailed Screening Meeting on the 8th Chapter named "Competition Policy" was held on 01-02 December 2005 in Brussels.

**December 2005:** Explanatory Screening Meeting on 11th Chapter named "Agriculture and Rural Development" was held on 05-08 December 2005 in Brussels.

**December 2005:** Detailed Screening Meeting on the 3th Chapter named "Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services" was held on 19-20 December 2005 in Brussels.

**December 2005:** Detailed Screening Meeting on the 4th Chapter named "Free Movement of Capital" was held on 22 December 2005 in Brussels.

**December 2005:** DG Enlargement of the European Commission published the 2005 Regular Report for Turkey.

**December 2005:** Proposal for a Council Decision on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with Turkey is issued by European Commission.

**December 2005:** EU Accession Seminars held in Ankara on 12 December 2005 and in Istanbul on 14 December 2005 by Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey.

## **2006**

**January 2006:** Austria holds the Presidency of the EU for the first half of the year 2006.

**January 2006:** Explanatory Screening Meeting on 1st Chapter named "Free Movement of Goods" was held on 16-20 January 2006 in Brussels.

**January 2006:** The Council of the European Union adopted a Decision on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the accession partnership with Turkey on 17 January 2006 with No.15671/05.

**January 2006:** Explanatory Screening Meeting on 24th Chapter named "Justice, Freedom and Security" was held on 23-25 January 2006 in Brussels.

**January 2006:** Detailed Screening Meeting on the 11th Chapter named "Agriculture and Rural Development" was held on 23-26 January 2006 in Brussels.

APPENDIX L

EUROPEAN UNION DELEGATION PRESS RELEASE



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Press Release / Basın Duyurusu

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Ankara, 20.02.2007  
2007/D/PR/547

**EU SUPPORTS POLICE REFORM IN TURKEY**

**An EU-financed twinning project to strengthen the accountability, efficiency and effectiveness of the Turkish National Police will hold a closing ceremony on 21 February 2007 at 16.00 in Ankara. The Director General of Security, Mr. Necati Altıntaş and the Spanish Ambassador, Mr. Luis Felipe Fernández de la Peña, will be present. The project was carried out in partnership between the Spanish and Turkish Ministries of Interior.**

In the progress towards accession to the European Union, the Turkish National Police, as many other institutions in the country is engaged in efforts to review its structures, functioning and performance. At the same time the Turkish society becomes more informed at all levels and its expectations of the police along with other public services are raised.

The project specifically addressed the needs for improvement of quality of police services to the public and respect for human rights in the discharge of police tasks, pre-service and in-service training, community police facilities and personnel system including promotions and appointments and working conditions of the Police. The objective is to promote public trust in the police that will comply with the principles of justice, impartiality, integrity, transparency and accountability in carrying out their duties, and to familiarize the public with the behavior they are entitled to expect from the police.

The twinning project consisted of 5 components:

1. Development of a Corporate Plan for the Reorganisation of the Service.
2. Community Policing.
3. Development of Police Training Programmes in line with EU practices.
4. Development of Personnel systems in line with EU practices.
5. Practical Programs in human rights.

Within this framework a Corporate Plan for the reorganisation of the service, modern training and personnel systems of the Turkish National Police has been adopted in line with the EU recommendations. In addition a Code of Ethics for the Police and a handbook on community policing have been developed. The Code of Ethics put forth the basic norms of all activities that ensure the work to be carried out professionally by the police. The project has been implemented through workshops, seminars, trainings and also some study visits to Member States.

Facts and Figures on the achievements of the project:

- duration : 24 months
- .9 study visits to Member States are conducted
- .2910 police officers have been trained on various subjects

- Community policing training is conducted in 10 pilot provinces (Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, Antalya, Adana, Trabzon and Samsun)
- EU financing : € 2.58 million.

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APPENDIX

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