

Ethics for the Prevention of Corruption in Turkey

ACADEMIC RESEARCH REPORT

ETHICAL CONDUCT IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

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This academic research has been conducted within the project on "Ethics for the Prevention of Corruption in Turkey (TYEC)" which was funded by the European Commission and implemented by the Council of Europe in co-operation with the Council of Ethics for the Public Service of the Republic of Turkey.

The overall objective of TYEC is to contribute to the prevention of corruption in Turkey in accordance with European and other international standards through the implementation and extension of the code of conduct, and the development of anti-corruption measures.



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1. INTRODUCTION

This report is based on a field research conducted in three major cities, Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir, of Turkey. This research attempts to understand the underlying factors on “street corruption” at traffic services. The purpose of this research also aims to understand the factors as to why street corruption is so widespread in traffic services. To better grasp the depth of the issue, a survey has been carried out with the officers serving at traffic divisions in the major cities mentioned above. In addition to this survey, semi-structured in-depth interviews have also been carried out with the rank and file officers, supervisors and middle managers of the traffic departments.

This research attempts to comprehend the “ethical perception” of law enforcement officers who are brought up within a culture tolerant in offering free drink, food, gift-giving-taking in their dealings with others. This research indicated a connection between mainstream cultural tolerance and a police sub-culture, which is believed to, indirectly tolerate if not feed the “street corruption”.

Police officers who accept gifts, food, and small amounts of money, given to them by the people they serve while on duty, tend to turn into bigger corruption. Finally, this research provides insight and solutions to police managers, as well as civil authorities who are in search of a policy implications for a better strategy against corruption.¹

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There have been a growing numbers of academic studies and publications on the issue of police ethics, in general, and police corruption, in particular (Lynch, 1999; Kleinig, 1996, 2000). Some of these publications are based on field researches conducted by academics in conjunction with police practitioners in several countries (Klockars and et.al., 2004; Meese III and Ortmeier, 2004). The author of the paper has also made research based publications in the area of police occupational socialization, police ethics and associated fields (Cerrah and Semiz 1998; Cerrah, 2008). In addition, an international symposium (International Symposium on Police Ethics) was organised by Turkish Police Academy and Council of Europe on police ethics on 28-29 November 2001 in Ankara and 27 papers presented in this symposium. In 2002, these papers were published and Cerrah, Çevik and Göksu had articles in that book (Bal and Eryılmaz, 2002).

In addition to these researches and studies conducted by police offices and academics in the field police ethics, some police organizations prepared code of ethics for their members (The Metropolitan Police, 1985). Finally, Council of Europe has prepared, *The European Code of Police Ethics*, with the contributions of all its members (Council of Europe 2001; Cerrah and Eryılmaz, 2001). Council of Europe recommended member states and their law enforcement agencies to prepare their own code of ethics. Recommendations of *The European Code of Police Ethics* involves that police organization should take a proactive steps against corruption.

¹ The methodology is discussed in Annex 1

Although, some police instructors and lecturer, in recent years, have published some books and articles on police ethics there is no academic study based on field research on the issue of police corruption in Turkey. This research, probably, is the first attempt to study police corruption as an academic study based on a field research. Existing publications, in this field, are mostly based on foreign literature not on a field research and primary data, conducted in Turkey. However, as this research has shown issues in police ethics and corruption in Turkey seems to resemble the issues experienced in Europe as well as in other countries (Klockars and et. al. (2004).

3. USING THE LITERATURE TO DEFINE THE SURVEY

“Although corruption is by no means exclusive to policing and the extent of police corruption is to some degree an index of wider civic corruption, there are, nevertheless, several factors that have made police work particularly vulnerable to corrupt practices” (Kleinig, 1996). Not many occupations involve as much temptations as the law enforcement professions do. A police officer, while conducting his/her routine duties, will be facing a number of temptational situations on a daily base. Yet probably no occupation is also poorly prepares for the moral demands laid on their members. As one of the tasks of the police is to fight economic crimes and corruption, maintaining the integrity of the individual police officer is important not only for the integrity of the police department but also to the society as a whole. So called daily or routine street corruption, at first, seems to be minor and insignificant form of police corruption. Despite the fact that its economic value is not significant, its direct and indirect impacts on large scale corruption may be greater than estimated.

Unless it is controlled by external and internal mechanisms the so called minor corruption will spread like a wild fire and gradually lead to greater corruption. Consequently, the integrity of the entire police department will be in jeopardy. A police force messed up with corruption will not only be ineffective in its fight against the general corruption in the society but also will itself be a part of major corruption. As the police mirror the society, the police corruption also becomes a reflection of the corruption within the society. There is usually a correlation between the police corruption and societal corruption. Major corruption especially involving illegal drug smuggling and organized crime cannot be thought of unless some sort of police corruption is involved.

Consequently, as literature shows that corruption is a huge social problem in all countries, it is also a big problem in Turkey. The searching dimensions of perceiving, defining, seeking solutions to daily corruption in traffic services in Turkey helps police organization to fight against it. However, it is not only a problem of police organization, but also of whole society. If police are receivers of gift, bribe etc., people are also givers, which means both sides are involved in corruption. Thus, it is important to find out the roots of daily corruption whether people offer it or police officers force people to give gifts and bribes. In this respect in the light of literature, questions in survey questionnaire and in interviews are asked to discover the following points as inspiring from literature: a) external and internal factors that result in daily corruption in traffic police; b) the role of control over traffic police officers to prevent daily corruption; c) the role of training in preventing daily corruption in traffic police and finally d) the perception of daily corruption in traffic services by people and police officers.

4. STREET CORRUPTION

As the terms implies “street/routine corruption” takes place between police officers and members of the public during a daily and routine contact. Traffic services are one of the police functions where most frequent and routine police and civilian contacts takes place and involves small amount of material corruption. The differences of perception on ethical issues in general and street corruption in particular are crucial as what one side may see as unethical may not be regarded so by the other. Therefore, it is important to study on this issue and reach to a definition of what is unethical for the members of police service as well as the members of them society. Therefore, this research could be accepted as an attempt to analyze and compare the differences and similarities of the police and people’s perception on street corruption. Two parts of perception will be examined:

4.1 Police perception of street/routine corruption

Police perception of the street corruption was the most important and troublesome focus of the research project. Although it was usually the members of the public, not the police officers, who initiated corrupt transactions, it is the police officers, as a member of a profession, who are expected to uphold superior ethical standards and perception on any ethical issues. During the research a number of police officers, in different ranks and positions were interviewed. This include high ranking police officers working at the Turkish National Police HQ and head of the traffic division in respective cities. Some, not many, police officers working in the traffic services were also interviewed. These interviews have revealed that, there was a general tolerance towards “grass eaters” category (minor) corruption among the lower ranks as well as the high ranking officers.

The following factor have been identified as the underlying reason for the tolerance shown by management ranks.

1. Some police managers believe that it was very difficult, if even not impossible, to detect the street level routine corruption. As they considered the problem too widespread, instead of challenging it, they decided to underestimate its danger and turn a blind eye to the problem.
2. Street level routine corruption was not considered as serious and harmful as large scale organized corruption.
3. Street corruption was an insignificant issue for the management ranks who were already overwhelmed with the routines and major corruption.
4. They were unaware of the corruptive and slippery slope effects of the street corruption in the long term.
5. A significant number of the middle ranking police managers seemed to be tolerant towards food and beverage as long as it is offered by the people.
6. Some police managers even argue that the people, who offer free food and drink to the police ,would be offended if police officers refuse to accept it. So it is a way of developing good relationship indeed a necessary method of PR with the society.

Despite the fact that even some of the high ranking police managers have, in an interview, admitted corruptive impact of the accepting foods and beverages offered to police officers, management ranks generally seem to be underestimating slippery slope affects of minor corruption. Some high and middle ranking officer, during the interview, have told their own personal experiences and stories proving how apparently insignificant and minor corruption had affected their performance when they were in early years of their career.

4.2 Public perception of street/routine corruption

Public perception of the street corruption is very important. However, it is the members of the public who usually try to bribe the police to evade harsher fines. For this reason, we have tried, by asking a set of questions to the members of the public to find out their perception on routine corruption. We have noticed that, although anonymity had been granted and the questionnaire was also anonymous, some commercial drivers such as taxi drivers, bus and truck owners were reluctant to fill out the questionnaire. We had to find people we know and ensure that the police will not find out about the identity of those who cooperated with the researchers.

The police and publics' perception on ethical issues were investigated based on the following questions:

- Can you describe “**temptational situations**” a police officer may be facing daily?
- How can we “**categorize**” police officers daily “**ethical dilemmas**”, such as the gratitude, gifts, free food, pay-offs, free-services, sex?
- What is the role of “**ethical training**” in pre-service basic police training “on preventing routine corruption”?
- What is the role of the “**departmental control**” (supervisory level) on police corruption?
- Is there a relationship between the “**individual corruption**” and “**departmental corruption**”?
- What is the role of the “**integrity testing system**” in controlling the police corruption?
- What is the “**role of local civilian authorities**” in preventing and detecting police corruption?
- What is, if any, the “**role of the external anti-corruption mechanisms**”?

Before the research began we first established what training was provided to police officers to prepare them to deal with such situations.

5. POLICE ETHICS: POLICY AND TRAINING

No ethical policy statement, other than the Turkish version of the European Code of Police Ethics has been discovered. Turkish police have slightly modified and adopted the European Code of Police Ethics as it own code of ethics, in 2007. It has been circulated through the police organization and every members of the Turkish Police force is expected to know and uphold the principles of the code. However, police education system needs to convey these principles to new recruits as well as serving police officers. To be able to disseminate these ethical principles to the entire force and put them into practice there is a need for intensive educational activities. But these ethical principles are abstract concepts. In order to be materialize these ethical

principles in real life, this needs to be explained to the serving officers. Otherwise it will remain in printed materials only as a piece of advice.

“Police Ethics” is taught, since 2005, in Faculty of Security Sciences and all Police Training Schools as a compulsory course, for (14 weeks) one semester. Professor and instructors’ use existing and available academic material on police ethics in their courses. European Code of Police Ethics and its Turkish version (Turkish Police Code) is also used as a supplementary educational material. But all these formal police ethics education needs to be enhanced with the organizational stand. Otherwise, formal ethics education given in police educational institutions will fade away against a very strong organizational resistance stemming from a police culture tolerant to corruption.

Existing police disciplinary code is the only formal sanction for ethical violations. Presently, only the police investigate the police in case of an ethical violation. As it will be explained in forthcoming pages of this report, “integrity testing” is not systematically used in controlling of traffic officers.

Police ethical training, until police educational system has a compulsory police ethics course in 2005, was limited with informal advices given to police cadets by some trainers and senior officers. This kind of informal training lacks the realities of everyday policing and was far from being satisfactory. This research is an attempt to understand and analyze underlying causes of street corruption. The findings of this research will be reflected to the police training in general and traffic services in particular.

Routine corruption committed by traffic officers is, to some extent, a reflection of the wider corruption within the police organization. Individual corrupt practices are grown and tolerated within a subculture which is tolerant towards corruption if it does not feed it. Therefore in order to understand the individual acts of corruption committed by traffic police officers, one has to be familiar in Turkish police subculture and its impact on police corruption. The following account attempts to explain the link between the corruptive police sub-culture and street corruption in general and traffic corruption in particular.

6. POLICE CULTURE AND STREET CORRUPTION

Professional solidarity, among members of all public service institutions is prevalent in Turkey. This phenomenon is certainly not unique to law enforcement agencies, but can be observed among other public service personnel as well. This kind of solidarity which is observable in many other professions, in fact, derived from the very social structure of Turkish society, and extends into national solidarity which is in turn reminiscent of clan solidarity. Such expressions of solidarity are especially common inside law enforcement agencies, in which the ‘*blue wall of silence*’ or the ‘*code of silence*’ is a very common occurrence according to police literature.

Neither is professional solidarity limited to the heads of the civilian administrative offices or the personnel of law enforcement services. Even among different professional groups such as academics or doctors, a similar form of solidarity known as the ‘*white wall of silence*’ can be observed (Kleining, 2000). Professional solidarity can be defined as concealing or failing to expose a wrongdoing committed by a colleague against a citizen or the public as a whole.

Claiming that a phenomenon much attested in international police literature such as professional solidarity, does not exist at all among Turkish law enforcement agencies is both unconvincing and methodologically flawed. In fact, in the case of Turkey, professional solidarity is renowned and highly evident among law enforcement personnel. In Turkey, public employee or collegial solidarity is observed among all public personnel in general, and among the personnel of the uniformed security organizations in particular. This solidarity hinders the effective operation of internal control mechanisms. In this light, civilian control and civilian oversight by the members of civil society over public services is an extremely important issue.

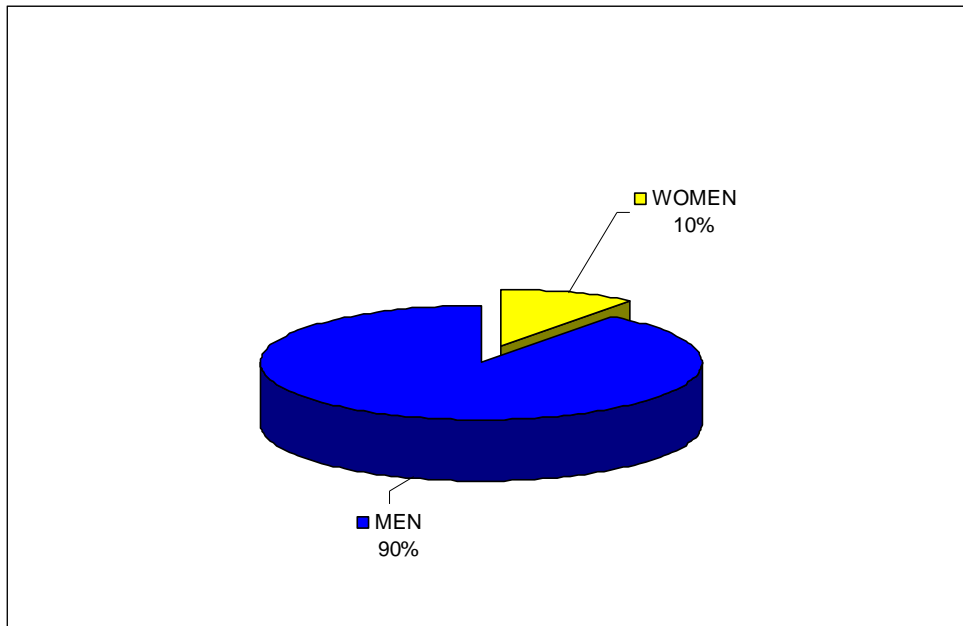
Judging from this resistance coming from the very senior police management ranks, we can conclude that a majority of the members of TNP will be very reluctant to face the realities of minor corruption within the daily police service. Below are the findings from the quantitative survey. The survey underlines that members of TNP should recognize that there is an urgent need to demonstrate political determination and more pressure from the political and civilian authorities. Present internal control mechanisms seem to be ineffective and also senior police managers do not seem to be brave enough to face the problems by researching the underlying causes of the corruption.

7. THE ANALYSIS OF STAFF SURVEY ON DEVELOPING ETHICAL AWARENESS CONDUCTED IN TRAFFIC SERVICES OF THE THREE MAJOR CITIES (ANKARA, ISTANBUL AND IZMIR) IN TURKEY

7.1 General Information

Table 1: The Gender Rate of Staff Involved in Survey

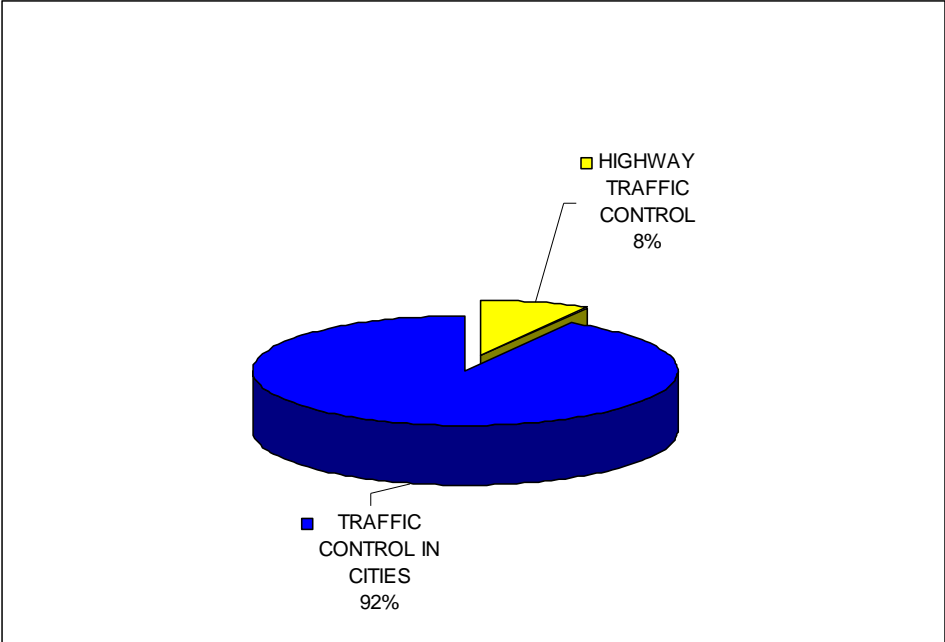
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	WOMEN	56	9,8	10,1
	MEN	500	87,6	89,9
	Total	556	97,4	100,0
Invalid	-1	15	2,6	
Total		571	100,0	



As it is seen in table, 90% of the staff attending the survey are men and the remaining 10% are women. This shows that the majority participated in the survey are men.

Table 2: The Unit in Which the Staff Work

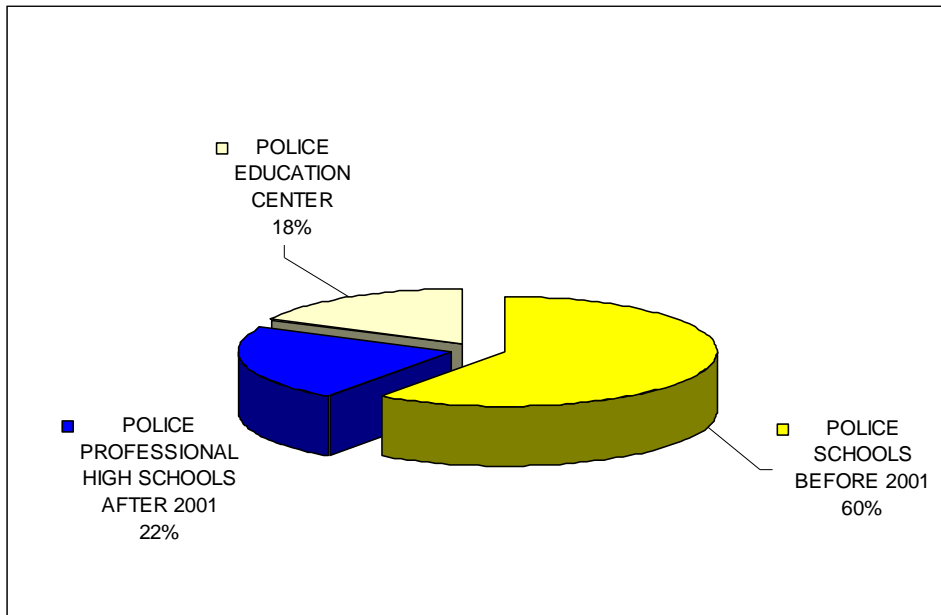
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	HIGHWAY TRAFFIC PATROL	46	8,1	8,5
	URBAN TRAFFIC POLICE	498	87,2	91,5
	Total	544	95,3	100,0
Invalid	-1	27	4,7	
Total		571	100,0	



As it is seen in table, 91.5% of staff in the survey works inner traffic control units and 8.5% work in outer control units.

Table 3: The Schools in Which the Staff Were Pre-educated and Trained

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	POLICE SCHOOLS BEFORE 2001	328	57,4	59,4
	POLICE PROFESSIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS AFTER 2001	123	21,5	22,3
	POLICE EDUCATION CENTER	101	17,7	17,6
	Total	552	96,7	100,0
Invalid	-1	19	3,3	
Total		571	100,0	



As it is seen in the table, more than half of the staff in the survey were educated and trained in the police schools before 2001. The rest were educated and trained in police professional high schools after 2001 and in police education centers after 2005.

Table 4: Additional Income

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	None	411	72,0	72,0
	Yes	160	28,0	28,0
	Total	571	100,0	100,0

The majority of the staff in the survey has no additional income.

Table 5: Whether the Spouse Work or Not

		Frequency	Percentage
Valid	YES	95	16,6
	NO	476	83,4
	Total	571	100,0

The spouses of the majority of the staff in the survey (83.4%) do not work.

Summary

In parallel with the General Directorate of Turkish National Police, the staff participated in the survey are mostly male (90%). 91.5% of the staff participated work in the “urban traffic police” unit, while 8.5% work as “highway traffic patrols”. More than half of the staff participated in the survey (59.4%) are graduates of police schools which deliver 9-months-training and they are comparatively older. Today, the training is 2-years-training.

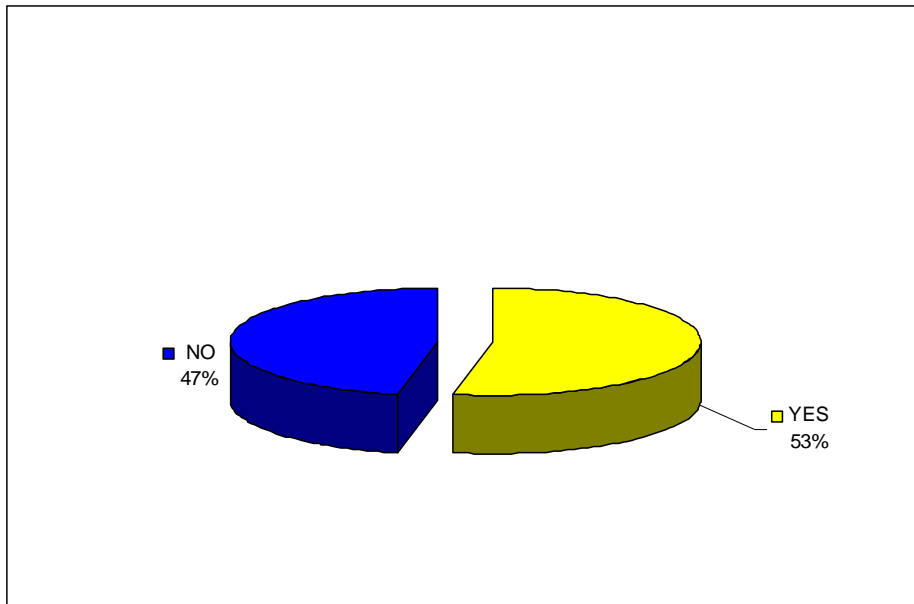
The spouses of 83.4% of the participants do not work and about three quarters do not have an additional income. Therefore, most of the participants make a living from only their salaries.

After this point, the participants answered questions about whether they had enough education on ethics, and whether they are being inspected or not.

7.2 Ethical Education

Table 6: Whether Any Education and Training on Accepting or Refusing a Gift or Bonus was Provided by Police Training Units or Not

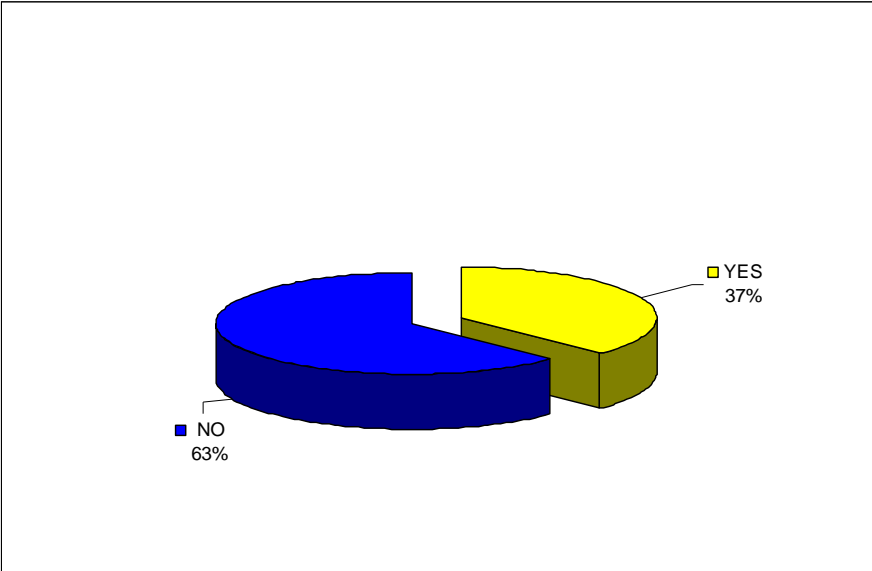
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	YES	299	52,4	53,0
	NO	265	46,4	47,0
	Total	564	98,8	100,0
Invalid	-1	7	1,2	
Total		571	100,0	



More than half of the staff in the survey (53%) says that they received courses on accepting or refusing a gift or bonus in traffic services.

Table 7: Whether Any Education and Training on Accepting or Refusing a Gift or Bonus Has Been Provided After Starting to Work in Traffic Services

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	YES	211	37,0	37,5
	NO	352	61,6	62,5
	Total	563	98,6	100,0
Invalid	-1	8	1,4	
Total		571	100,0	



It is seen in the table that %62.5 of the staff in the survey states that they have not received any course or training on accepting or refusing a gift or bonus after starting to work in traffic services.

Summary

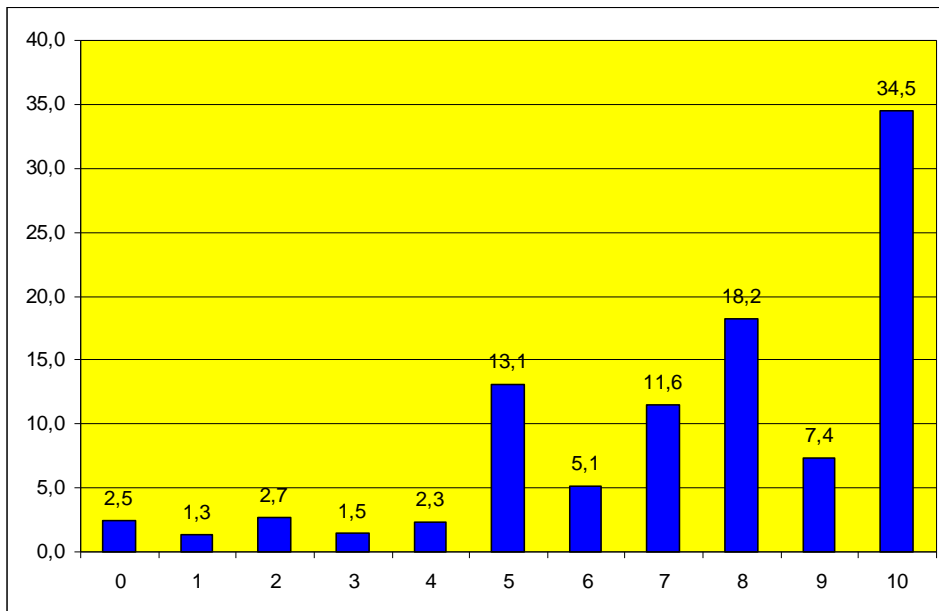
It is necessary that this lack of education should be overcome. Half of the participants in pre-service training do receive this education and training; however, the rate at in-service training reduces to one third.

7.3 Inspection

Inspecting Citizens

Table 8: Conducting Fine Procedure in Each Violation of Traffic Rules

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Never applies	13	2,3	2,5
	1	7	1,2	1,3
	2	14	2,5	2,7
	3	8	1,4	1,5
	4	12	2,1	2,3
	5	69	12,1	13,1
	6	27	4,7	5,1
	7	61	10,7	11,6
	8	96	16,8	18,2
	9	39	6,8	7,4
	10 Always do apply	182	31,9	34,5
	Total	528	92,5	100,0
Invalid	-1	43	7,5	
Total		571	100,0	

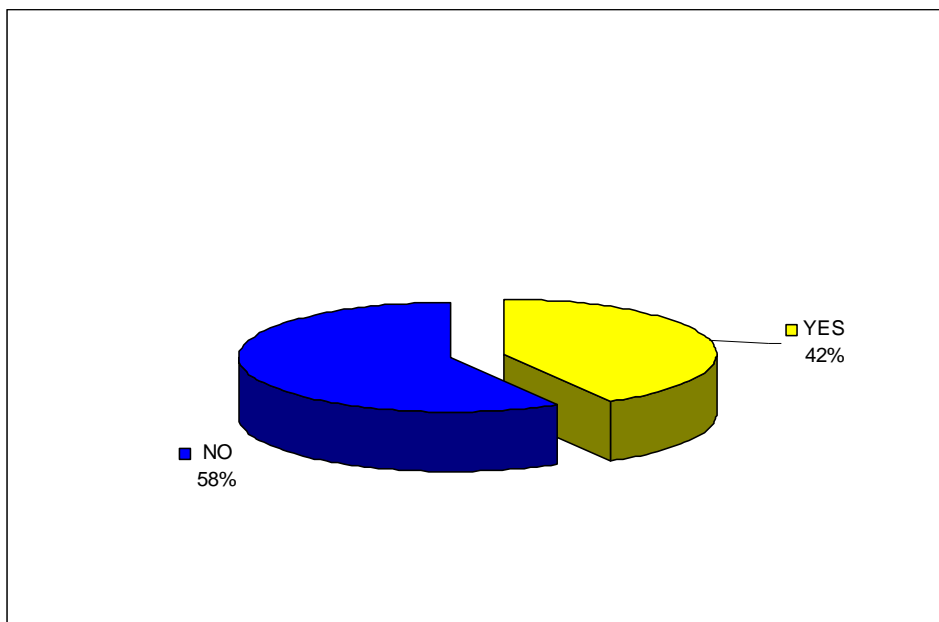


The tendency of the staff to let off a fine against traffic violation is quite high. When “5” is taken as the neutral answer, it is seen that 76.8% say “I conduct fine procedure”, while 10.3% say they do not.

Inspection by the Superiors

Table 9: Whether the Participants are Controlled by High Rank Officers on Accepting or Refusing a Gift or Bonus in the Traffic Services

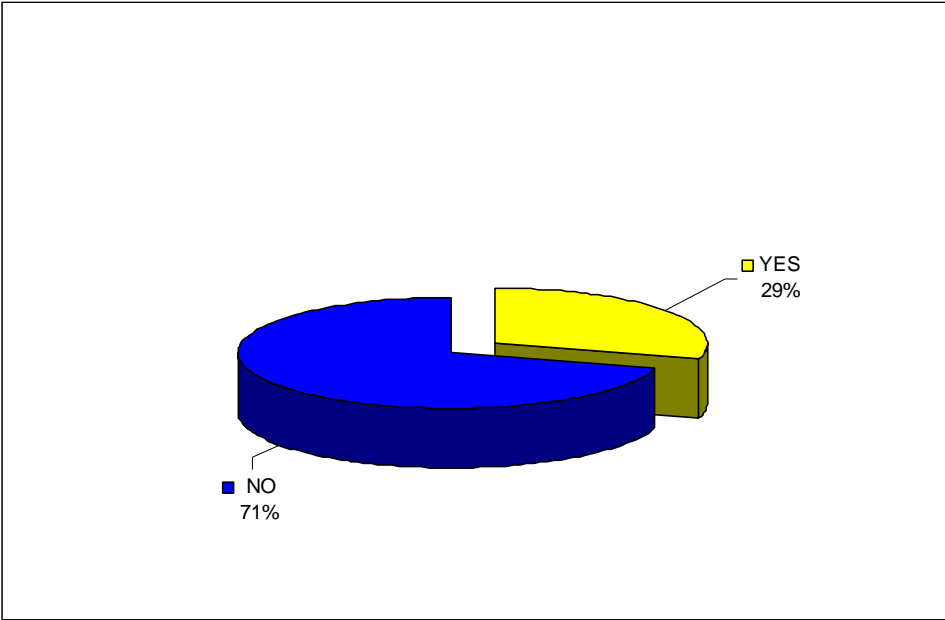
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	YES	235	41,2	41,7
	NO	328	57,4	58,3
	Total	563	98,6	100,0
Invalid	-1	8	1,4	
Total		571	100,0	



More than half of the staff in the survey (%58,3) stated that they have not been inspected by their high rank managers on accepting or refusing a gift or bonus in the traffic services from citizens

Table 10: Integrity Test by High Rank Managers on Whether Receiving Bribe or Not Without Any Complaint by Citizens

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	YES	164	28,7	29,4
	NO	394	69,0	70,6
	Total	558	97,7	100,0
Invalid	-1	13	2,3	
Total		571	100,0	



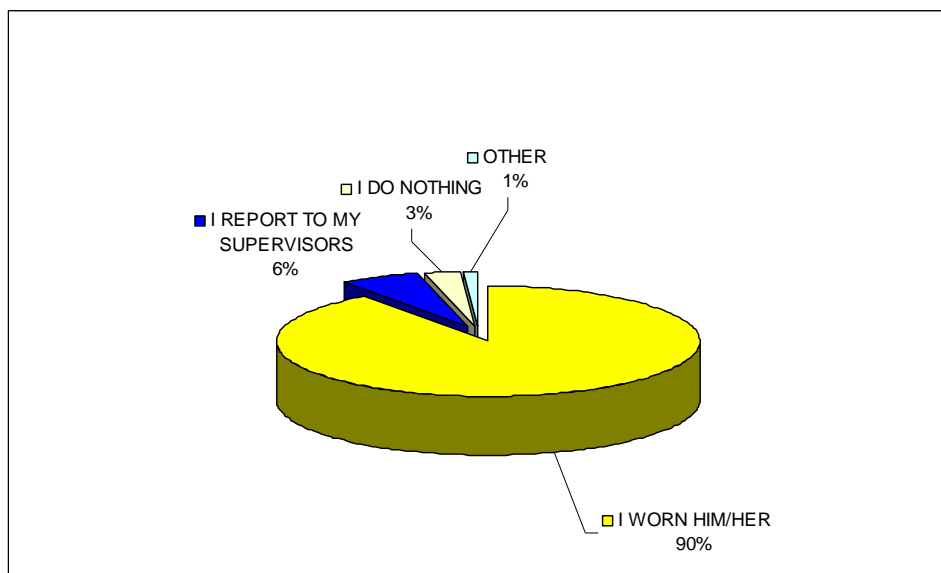
The majority of the staff in the survey (%70.6) stated that they have not been inspected by their high rank managers on whether accepting or refusing bribe in the traffic services from citizens without any complaint.

When these two tables are evaluated together, it is seen that the police officers are being inspected by their managers neither on bribery (“no” 71%), nor on gifts they receive (“no” 58%).

7.4 Self-monitoring

Table 11: What the Officers Do When They Witness a Colleague Behave Unethically?

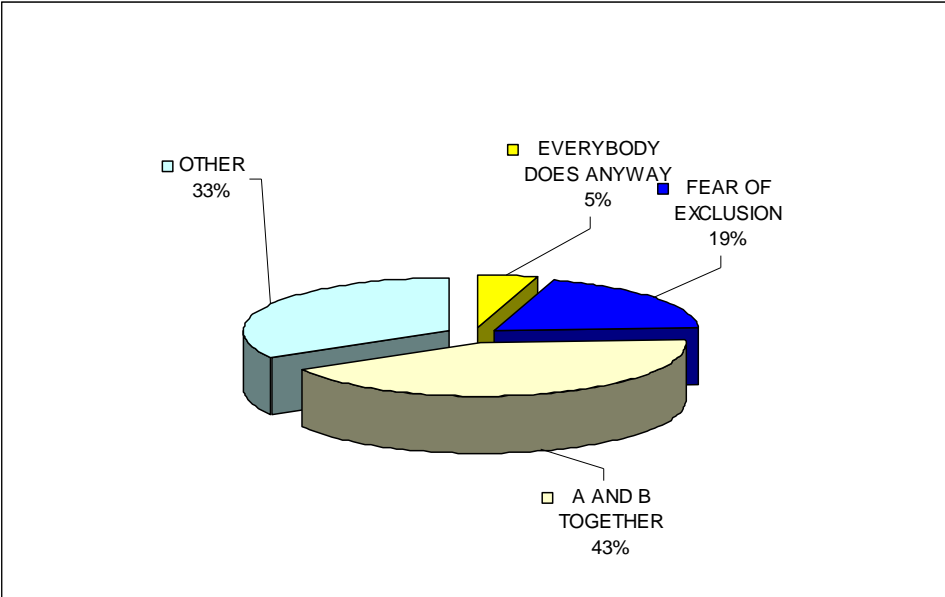
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	I WARN HIM/HER	492	86,2	89,9
	I REPORT TO MY SUPERVISORS	33	5,8	6,0
	I DO NOTHING	16	2,8	2,9
	OTHER	6	1,1	1,1
	Total	547	95,8	100,0
Invalid	-1	24	4,2	
Total		571	100,0	



90% of the staff in the survey stated that they remind their colleagues when witnessing misconduct.

Table 12: The Reasons Why the Staff Do Nothing Regarding Their Colleagues' Misconduct

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	EVERYONE ALREADY MISCONDUCTS	1	0,2	4,8
	THE FEAR OF BEING MARGINALISED	4	0,7	19,0
	BOTH ABOVE	9	1,6	42,9
	OTHER	7	1,2	33,3
	Total	21	3,7	100,0
Invalid	-1	550	96,3	
Total		571	100,0	

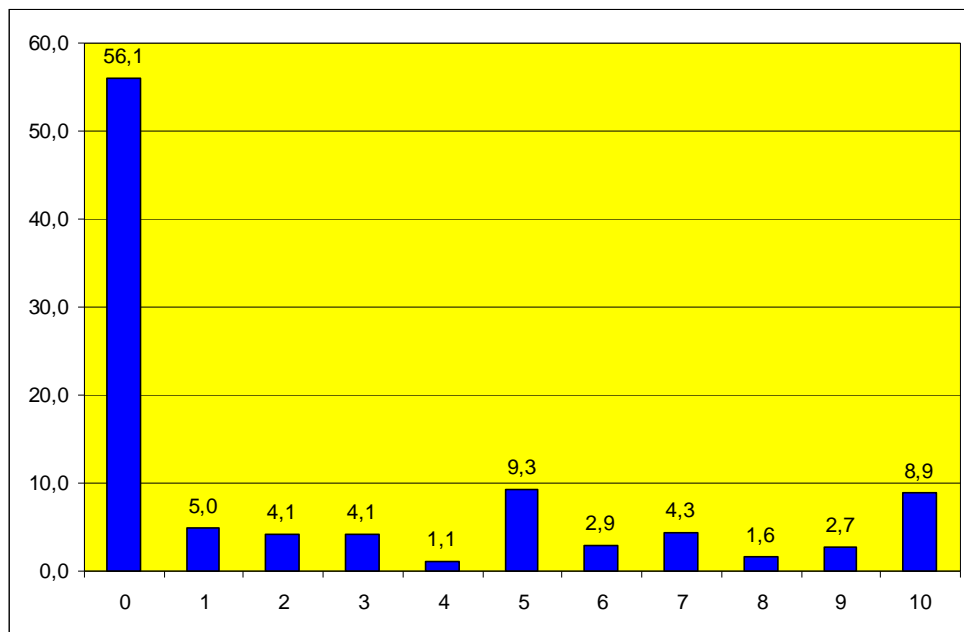


The staffs who say that they do nothing when witnessing a colleagues' misconduct worry to be marginalized by others. However, the figure is insufficient to comment properly.

Reasons of Routine Corruption and the Effect of Citizens

Table 13: The agreement rate on whether it would affect the behaviour of the police officer when a citizen had given a police officer a gift or bonus; then, one day that police officer has to fine that citizen

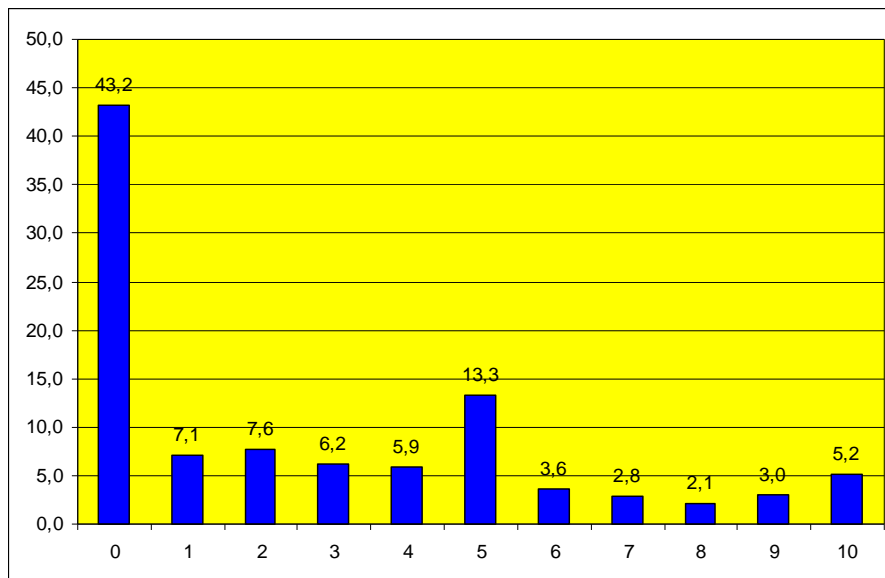
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Never affects	314	55,0	56,1
	1	28	4,9	5,0
	2	23	4,0	4,1
	3	23	4,0	4,1
	4	6	1,1	1,1
	5	52	9,1	9,3
	6	16	2,8	2,9
	7	24	4,2	4,3
	8	9	1,6	1,6
	9	15	2,6	2,7
	10 Affects too much	50	8,8	8,9
	Total	560	98,1	100,0
Invalid	-1	11	1,9	
Total		571	100,0	



More than half of the staff in the survey agrees that giving a gift or bonus to a police officer by a citizen does not have too much effect (%56.1 never affects).

Table 14: The agreement rate on whether it would affect the behavior of the police on fining when he/she discovers that the person he/she is fining is a relative or close friend

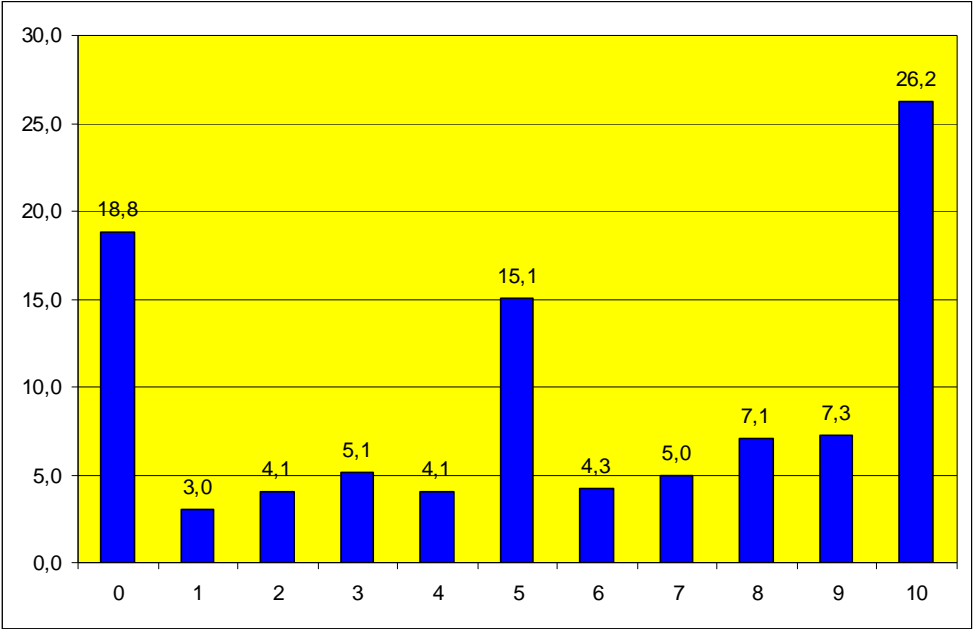
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Never affects	243	42,6	43,2
	1	40	7,0	7,1
	2	43	7,5	7,6
	3	35	6,1	6,2
	4	33	5,8	5,9
	5	75	13,1	13,3
	6	20	3,5	3,6
	7	16	2,8	2,8
	8	12	2,1	2,1
	9	17	3,0	3,0
	10 Affects too much	29	5,1	5,2
Total		563	98,6	100,0
Invalid	-1	8	1,4	
Total		571	100,0	



When a police officer has discovered that the person he/she is letting off with a fine is a relative or close friend, more than half of the staffs in the survey believe that this relationship does not affect the police officers' behaviour on fining (%43,2 never affects). However, the most negative opinion (never affects) is 13% lower than the previous question. When "5" is taken as the neutral answer, 70% says "never affects" for both questions.

Table 15: The agreement rate on whether it would affect the police officers' behaviour on fining when he/she discovers that the person he/she is fining is a police officer

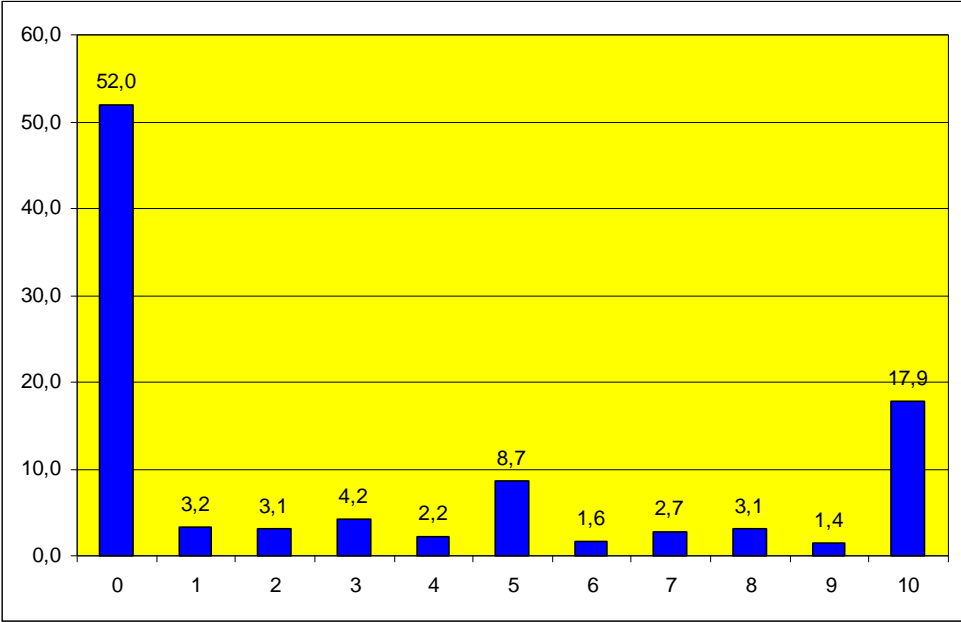
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Never affects	106	18,6	18,8
	1	17	3,0	3,0
	2	23	4,0	4,1
	3	29	5,1	5,1
	4	23	4,0	4,1
	5	85	14,9	15,1
	6	24	4,2	4,3
	7	28	4,9	5,0
	8	40	7,0	7,1
	9	41	7,2	7,3
	10 Affects too much	148	25,9	26,2
	Total	564	98,8	100,0
Invalid	-1	7	1,2	
Total		571	100,0	



When a police officer has discovered that the person he/she is letting off with a fine is a police officer, it is not agreed whether this affects the police officers' behaviour on fining (%19 never affects, %15 no idea, %26 affects too much). Thus, it can be said that police officers seem not to fine their colleagues. When "5" is taken as the neutral answer, 50% say "it affects" while 35% say it does not.

Table 16: The agreement rate on how it would affect the police officers' belief on insufficiency of salaries when a police officer has received a gift, thing or money from people during the duty

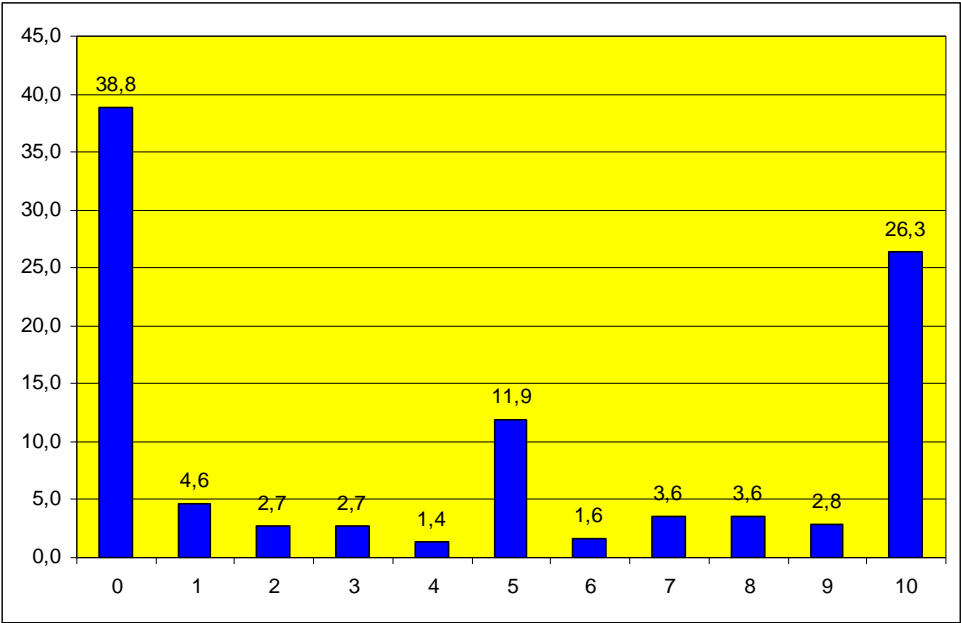
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Never affects	288	50,4	52,0
	1	18	3,2	3,2
	2	17	3,0	3,1
	3	23	4,0	4,2
	4	12	2,1	2,2
	5	48	8,4	8,7
	6	9	1,6	1,6
	7	15	2,6	2,7
	8	17	3,0	3,1
	9	8	1,4	1,4
	10 Affects too much	99	17,3	17,9
Total		554	97,0	100,0
Invalid	-1	17	3,0	
Total		571	100,0	



When a police officer has received a gift, thing or money from people during the duty, the majority of the staffs in the survey believes that this does not affect too much the police officers' belief on insufficiency of salaries (%52 never affects). When "5" is taken as the neutral answer, 65% say it affects, while 27% say it does not. Therefore, the sufficiency of salaries is seen to be an important subject. Increasing the salaries was the 6th ranking item (35.4%) in the preventive measures against corruption suggested by the drivers.

Table 17: The agreement rate of whether it would affect the police officers if they knew that their managers accept the gifts given to their posts by companies

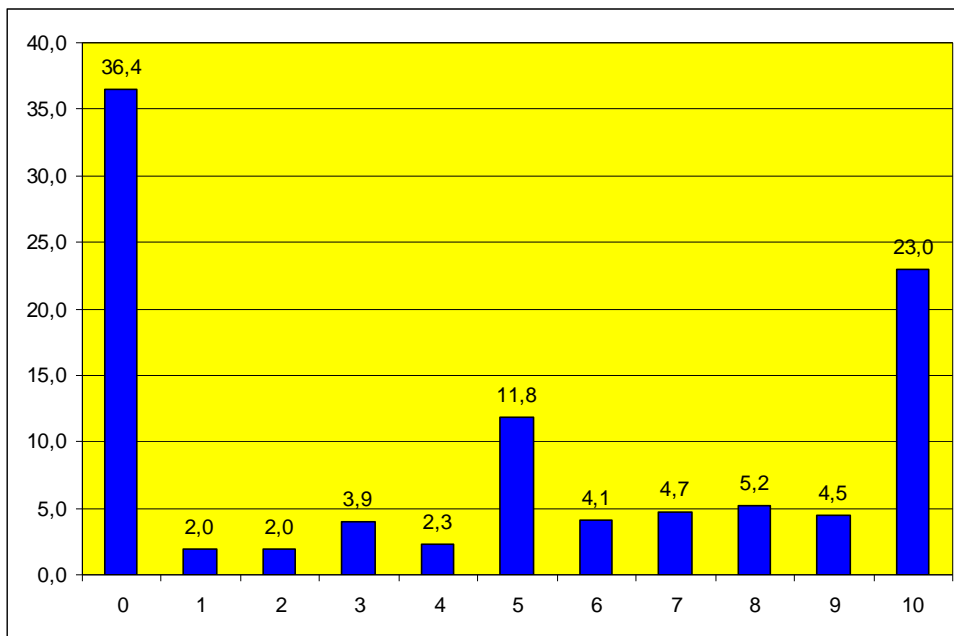
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Never affects	218	38,2	38,8
	1	26	4,6	4,6
	2	15	2,6	2,7
	3	15	2,6	2,7
	4	8	1,4	1,4
	5	67	11,7	11,9
	6	9	1,6	1,6
	7	20	3,5	3,6
	8	20	3,5	3,6
	9	16	2,8	2,8
	10 Affects too much	148	25,9	26,3
	Total	562	98,4	100,0
Invalid	-1	9	1,6	
Total		571	100,0	



When senior high rank police managers have received big gifts to themselves or their posts from companies, and if police officers know this, the staffs in the survey have different views that this affects the police officers' acceptance of gifts and money from people. While the rate of those who think of "never affects" is 39%, the rate of those who think of "affects too much" is 26%. When "5" is taken as the neutral answer, 50% say it does not affect while 38% say it does.

Table 18: The agreement rate of whether it would affect the drivers when police officers intimates gift or money from people they control in the traffic

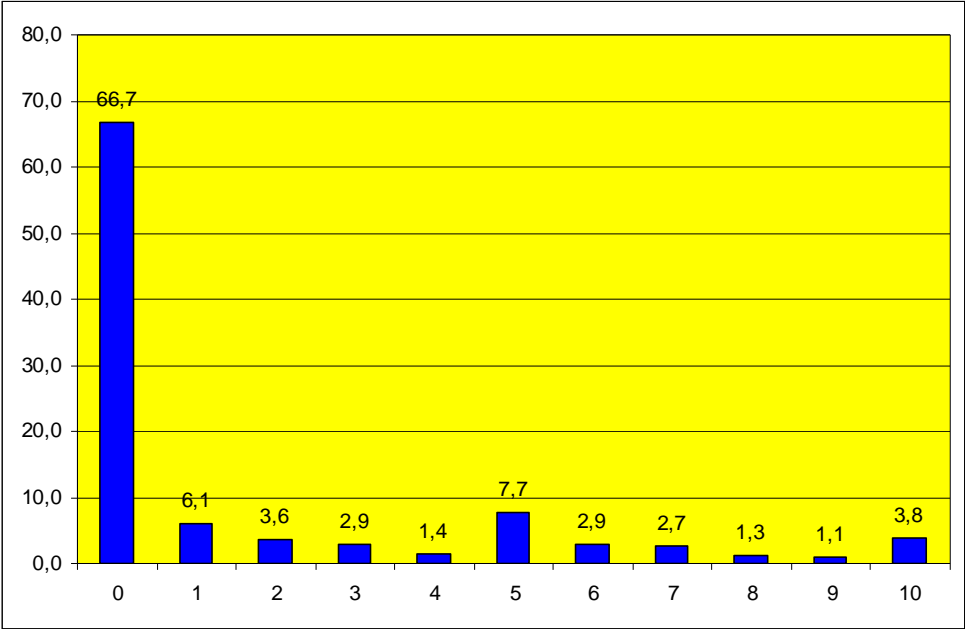
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Never affects	203	35,6	36,4
	1	11	1,9	2,0
	2	11	1,9	2,0
	3	22	3,9	3,9
	4	13	2,3	2,3
	5	66	11,6	11,8
	6	23	4,0	4,1
	7	26	4,6	4,7
	8	29	5,1	5,2
	9	25	4,4	4,5
	10 Affects too much	128	22,4	23,0
	Total	557	97,5	100,0
Invalid	-1	14	2,5	
Total		571	100,0	



When police officers intimate that they expect gift or money from people they control in the traffic, a notable rate of the staff in the survey agree the idea of “affects too much” (%23) and the rate of the staff in the survey agree the idea of “never affects” is %36.4. Thus, the amount of those who think of “affects too much” is quite high. When “5” is taken as the neutral answer, 47% say it does not affect, while 42% say it does.

Table 19: The agreement rate of how much it would affect the police officer to accept the gift or bribe offered to him/her by a driver expecting to be saved from a traffic fine

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Never affects	373	65,3	66,7
	1	34	6,0	6,1
	2	20	3,5	3,6
	3	16	2,8	2,9
	4	8	1,4	1,4
	5	43	7,5	7,7
	6	16	2,8	2,9
	7	15	2,6	2,7
	8	7	1,2	1,3
	9	6	1,1	1,1
	10 Affects too much	21	3,7	3,8
Total		559	97,9	100,0
Invalid	-1	12	2,1	
Total		571	100,0	

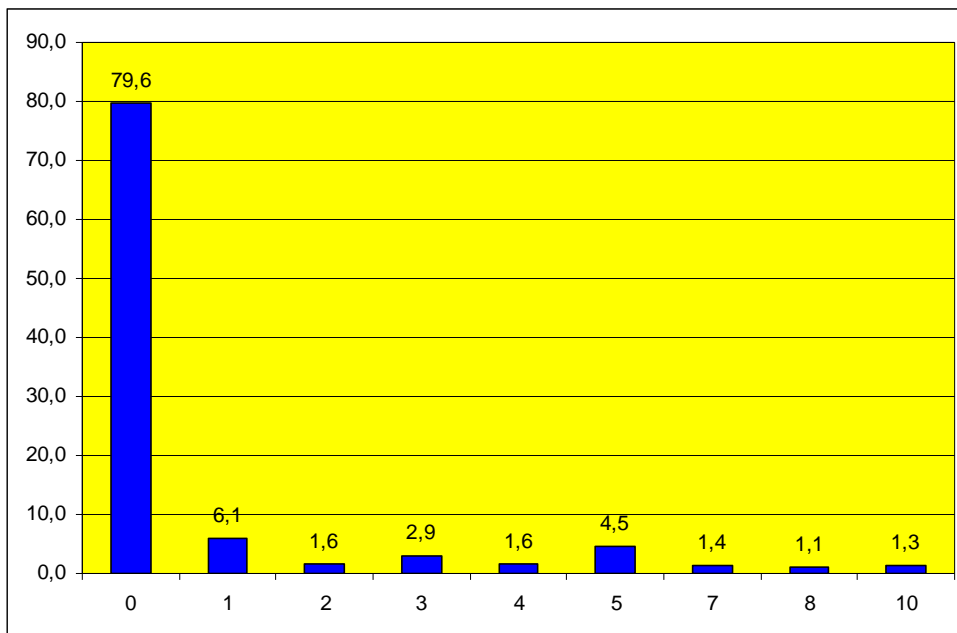


The vast majority of the staff participated in the survey do not agree that offers from drivers affect the acceptance of police officers (never affects %66.7). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer, 81% say it does not affect, while 12% say it does.

7.5 Ethical Perception

Table 20: What police officers think about accepting bonus and gift on duty from the drivers to whom police officers serve

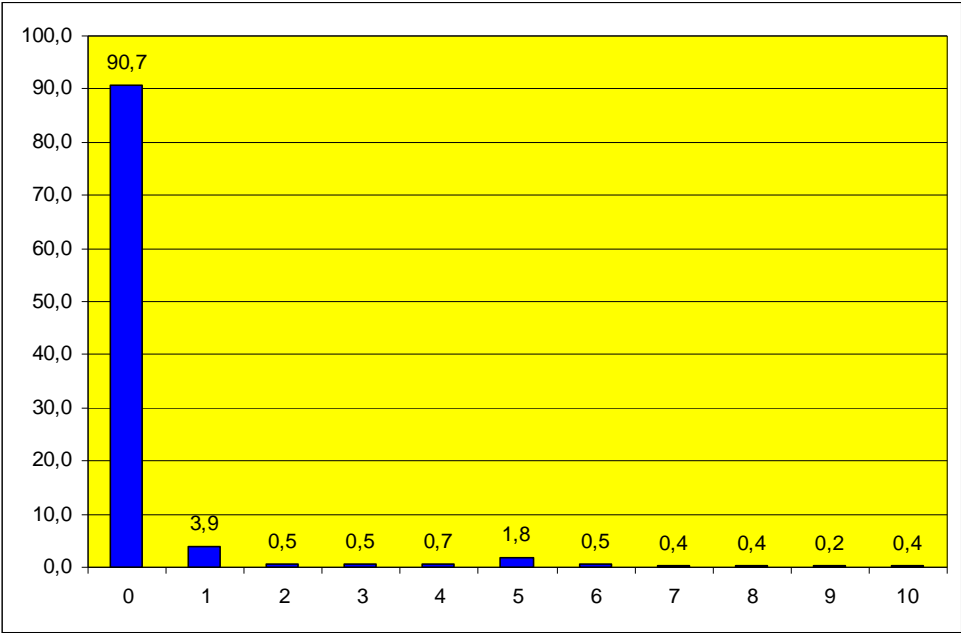
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Too wrong	446	78,1	79,6
	1	34	6,0	6,1
	2	9	1,6	1,6
	3	16	2,8	2,9
	4	9	1,6	1,6
	5	25	4,4	4,5
	7	8	1,4	1,4
	8	6	1,1	1,1
	10 Exactly right	7	1,2	1,3
	Total	560	98,1	100,0
Invalid	-1	11	1,9	
Total		571	100,0	



The huge majority of the staffs participated in the survey find the acceptance of a bonus or a gift too wrong (too wrong %79.6). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer, it is seen that 92% say it is wrong, while 4% say it is right.

Table 21: What police officers think about accepting money on duty from the drivers to whom the police officers serve

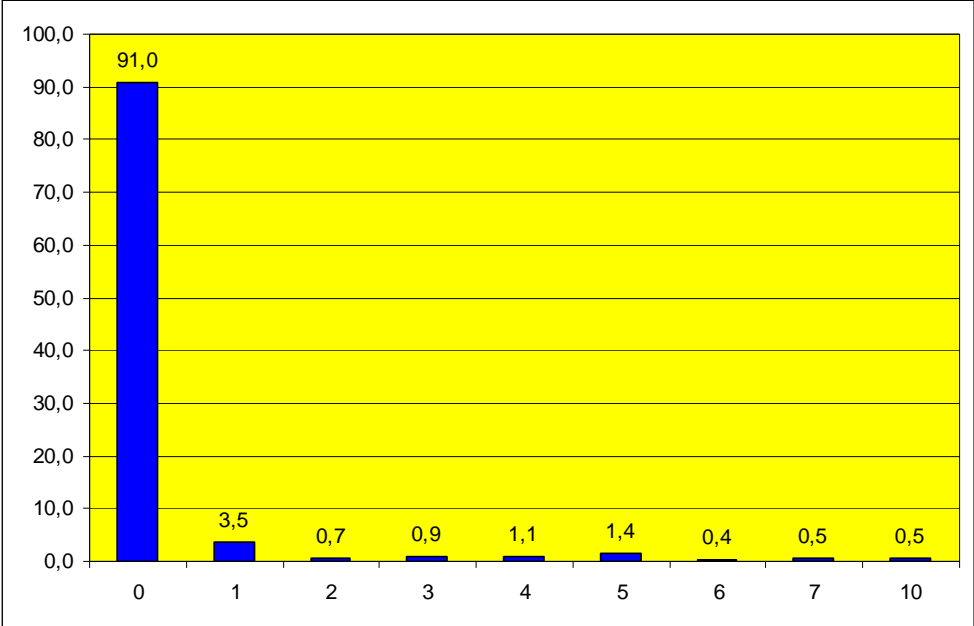
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Too wrong	505	88,4	90,7
	1	22	3,9	3,9
	2	3	0,5	0,5
	3	3	0,5	0,5
	4	4	0,7	0,7
	5	10	1,8	1,8
	6	3	0,5	0,5
	7	2	0,4	0,4
	8	2	0,4	0,4
	9	1	0,2	0,2
	10 Exactly right	2	0,4	0,4
	Total	557	97,5	100,0
Invalid	-1	14	2,5	
Total		571	100,0	



The huge majority of the staffs participated in the survey find the acceptance of some money too wrong (too wrong (%90.7). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, it is seen that 96.3% think it is wrong, while 2% think it is right.

Table 22: What police officers think about accepting bribe on duty from the drivers to whom the police officers serve

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Too wrong	514	90,0	91,0
	1	20	3,5	3,5
	2	4	0,7	0,7
	3	5	0,9	0,9
	4	6	1,1	1,1
	5	8	1,4	1,4
	6	2	0,4	0,4
	7	3	0,5	0,5
	10 Exactly right	3	0,5	0,5
	Total	565	98,9	100,0
Invalid	-1	6	1,1	
Total		571	100,0	

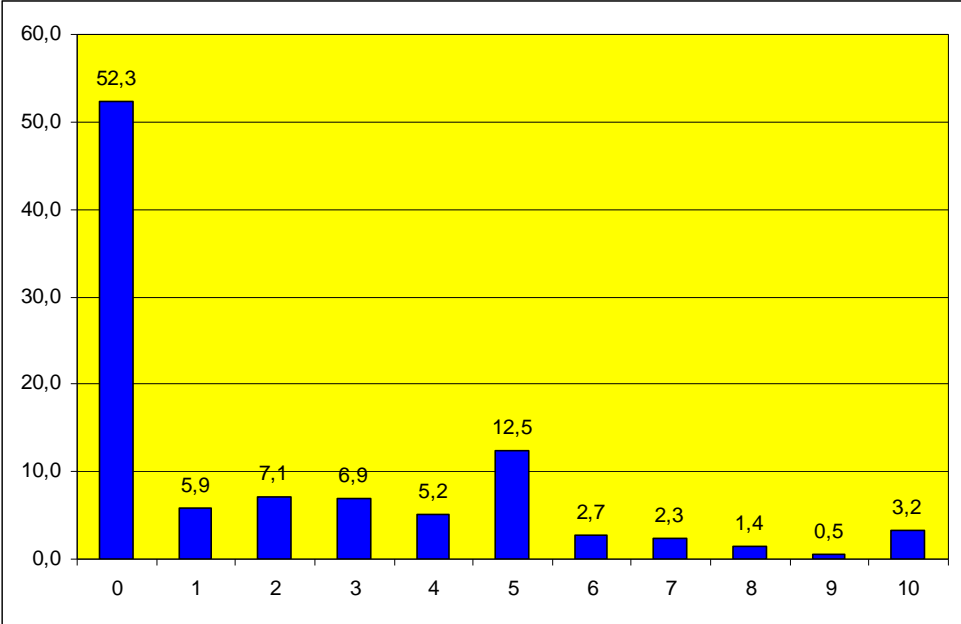


The huge majority of the staff participated in the survey find the acceptance of bribe too wrong (too wrong (%91). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, it is seen that 97.2% think it is wrong, while 1.4% think it is right.

When the three questions are evaluated together, it can be concluded that accepting the offered “money” seems to be perceived more as bribery (too wrong 90.7% and 91%). In the question on accepting a bonus or gift, the percentage of the extreme answer, “too wrong”, reduces to 79.6%. There is a more than 10% difference.

Table 23: What the police officers think about a traffic team accepting some cheap drinks food e.g., without exaggerating or demanding more, from shops along where that team work on duty

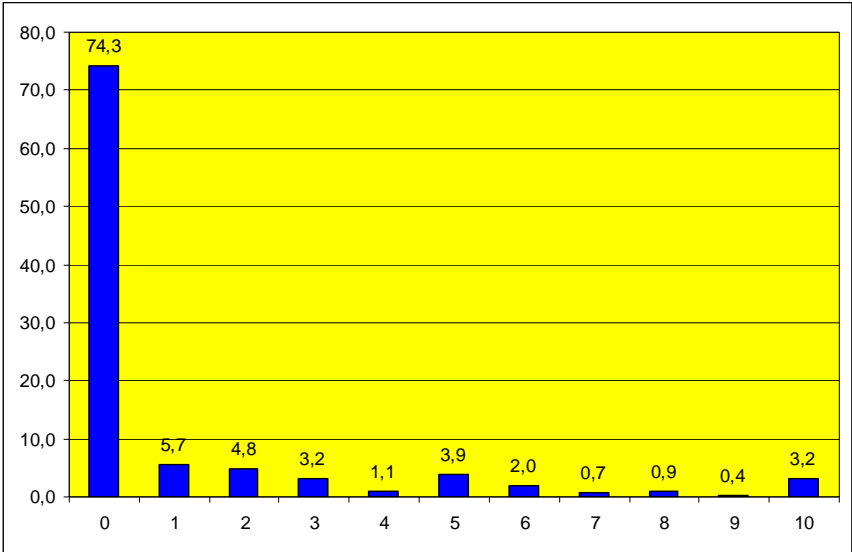
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Too wrong	294	51,5	52,3
	1	33	5,8	5,9
	2	40	7,0	7,1
	3	39	6,8	6,9
	4	29	5,1	5,2
	5	70	12,3	12,5
	6	15	2,6	2,7
	7	13	2,3	2,3
	8	8	1,4	1,4
	9	3	0,5	0,5
	10 Exactly right	18	3,2	3,2
	Total		562	98,4
Invalid	-1	9	1,6	
Total		571	100,0	



More than half of the staffs participated in the survey find the acceptance of cheap drinks, food e.g., without exaggerating or demanding more, from shops along where that traffic team work on duty too wrong (%52.3). However, this percentage is not a complete opposition. In other words, the perception of this as bribery is less. When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, it is seen that 77.4% answered “wrong”, while 10.1% answered “right”.

Table 24: How it is perceived when a traffic police officer accepts some cheap drinks, food e.g. from shops along where that police officer work on duty. Then, one of those owners of the shops violates a traffic rule.

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Too wrong	419	73,4	74,3
	1	32	5,6	5,7
	2	27	4,7	4,8
	3	18	3,2	3,2
	4	6	1,1	1,1
	5	22	3,9	3,9
	6	11	1,9	2,0
	7	4	0,7	0,7
	8	5	0,9	0,9
	9	2	0,4	0,4
	10 Exactly right	18	3,2	3,2
	Total	564	98,8	100,0
Invalid	-1	7	1,2	
Total		571	100,0	

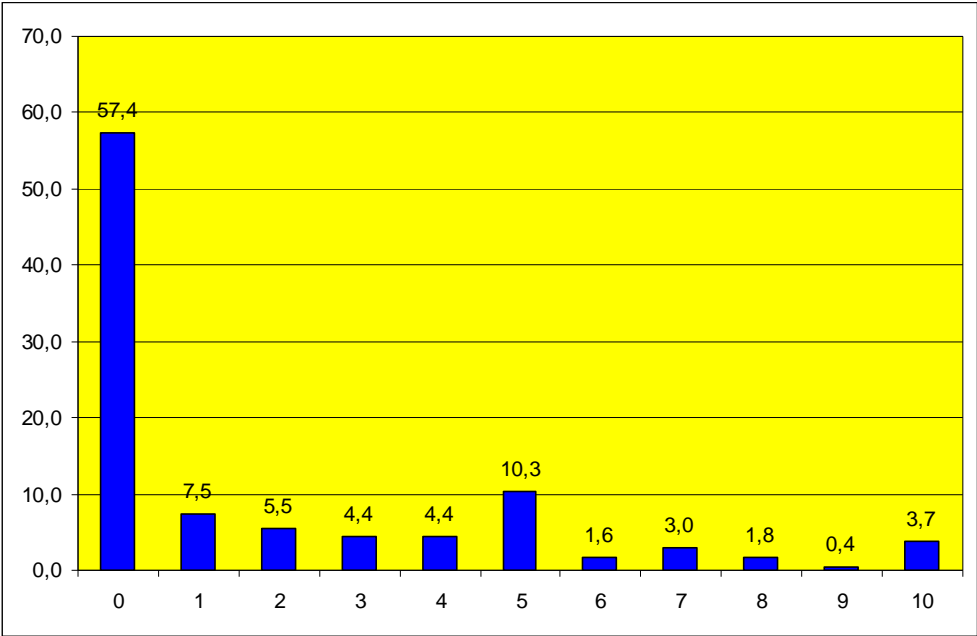


The majority of the staffs participated in the survey find the police officer not fining a shop owner who has already provided food or drink him too wrong (too wrong (%74.3). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, it is seen that the percentage of “wrong” is 89.1% and the percentage of “right” is 7.2%.

When the two tables above are evaluated together it is seen that; the perception of the police officers’ not fining the people from whom they accepted the gifts and bonuses as something wrong is much more than the perception of offering these gifts and bonuses as wrong. Therefore; compared to money, the perception of gifting is perceived as less a bribing.

Table 25: How it is perceived when a traffic police, who is highly loved and respected by the owners of restaurants, bars, pubs e.g. where that officer works, is presented some gifts, food and drink by them at Christmas, on religious feast days etc. as a promotion for traffic services.

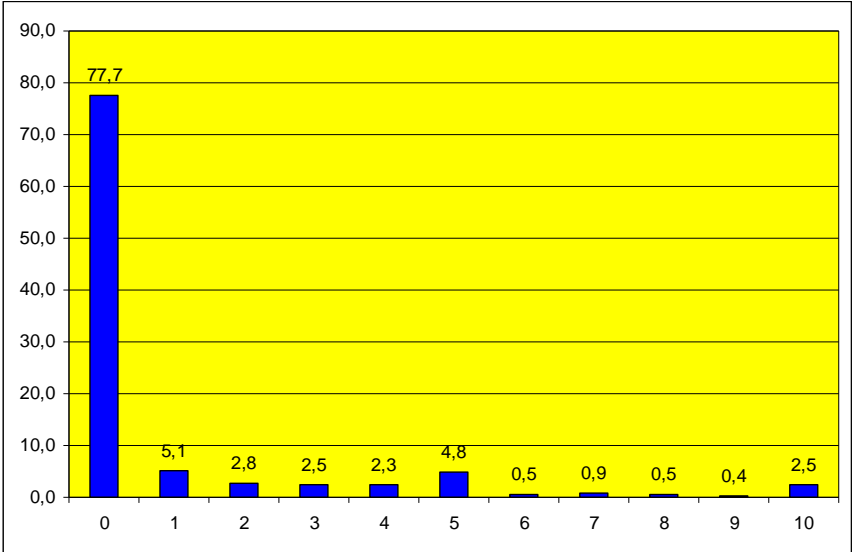
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Too wrong	323	56,6	57,4
	1	42	7,4	7,5
	2	31	5,4	5,5
	3	25	4,4	4,4
	4	25	4,4	4,4
	5	58	10,2	10,3
	6	9	1,6	1,6
	7	17	3,0	3,0
	8	10	1,8	1,8
	9	2	0,4	0,4
	10 Exactly right	21	3,7	3,7
	Total	563	98,6	100,0
Invalid	-1	8	1,4	
Total		571	100,0	



The majority of the staffs participated in the survey think that it is generally wrong that owners of restaurants, bars, pubs e.g. where that officer work give presents, gifts, food and drinks etc. to police officers at Christmas, in the religious feasts etc. as a promotion for traffic services (too wrong %57.4). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, the answers are 79.2% “wrong” and 10.5% “right”.

Table 26: How it is perceived when a traffic police officer regularly goes to restaurants, bars, pubs etc. where that officer works, and does not pay.

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Too wrong	439	76,9	77,7
	1	29	5,1	5,1
	2	16	2,8	2,8
	3	14	2,5	2,5
	4	13	2,3	2,3
	5	27	4,7	4,8
	6	3	0,5	0,5
	7	5	0,9	0,9
	8	3	0,5	0,5
	9	2	0,4	0,4
	10 Exactly right	14	2,5	2,5
	Total	565	98,9	100,0
Invalid	-1	6	1,1	
Total		571	100,0	

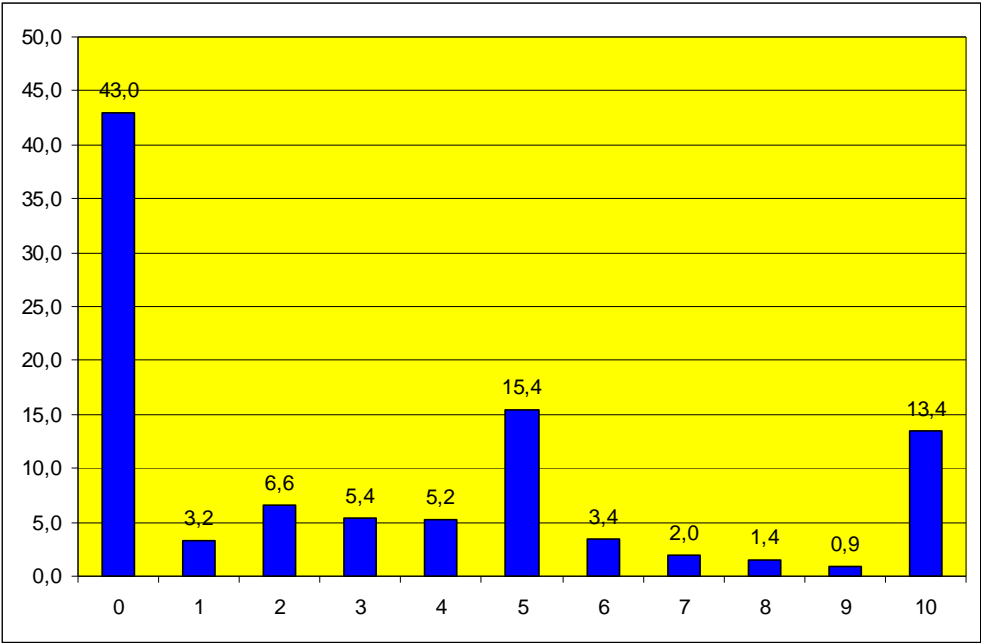


The vast majority of the staffs participated in the survey find too wrong that police officers go to restaurants, bars, pubs e.g. where those officers work and have food and drinks without paying (too wrong %77.7). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, the scores are as 90.4% “wrong” and 4.8% “right”.

When the two tables above are evaluated, we see that the percentages of perceiving the acceptance of the offerings by the citizens themselves (“too wrong” 57.4%; total “wrong” 79.2%) as wrong; are less than the percentages of perceiving the usage of materials without paying as wrong (“too wrong” 77.7%; total “wrong” 90.4%). This leads us to conclude that the voluntary gifting is perceived as normal.

Table 27: How is it perceived when a traffic police officer does not carry on any traffic fine procedures even though he/she sees a violation of traffic rules; but does not have any gain from this.

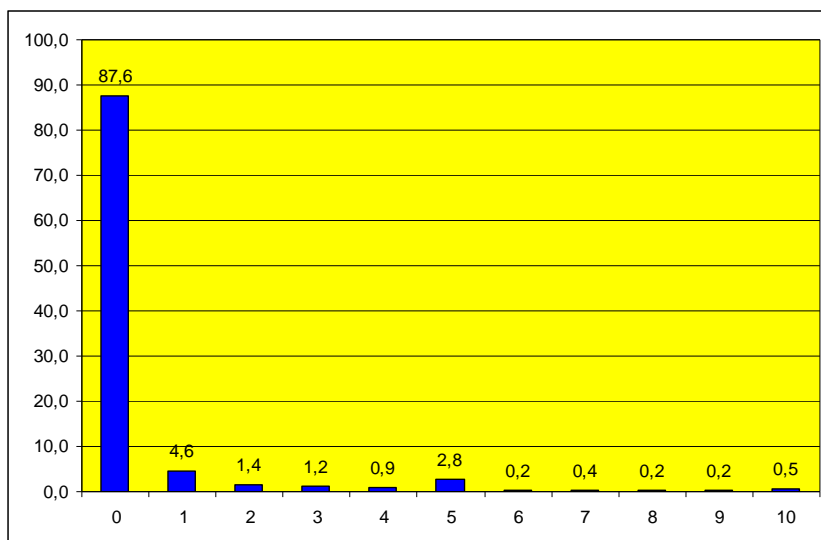
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Too wrong	240	42,0	43,0
	1	18	3,2	3,2
	2	37	6,5	6,6
	3	30	5,3	5,4
	4	29	5,1	5,2
	5	86	15,1	15,4
	6	19	3,3	3,4
	7	11	1,9	2,0
	8	8	1,4	1,4
	9	5	0,9	0,9
	10 Exactly right	75	13,1	13,4
	Total	558	97,7	100,0
Invalid	-1	13	2,3	
Total		571	100,0	



The nearly half of the staffs participated in the survey find wrong that police officers do not fine the driver without gaining anything (too wrong %43). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, the scores are as 63.4% “wrong” and 21.1% “right”.

Table 28: How it is perceived when a traffic police officer stops a driver for over-speed and informs the driver that he will fine him. However, the driver offers a bribe that is a half or less of the fine to police officer if he does not fine.

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Too wrong	496	86,9	87,6
	1	26	4,6	4,6
	2	8	1,4	1,4
	3	7	1,2	1,2
	4	5	0,9	0,9
	5	16	2,8	2,8
	6	1	0,2	0,2
	7	2	0,4	0,4
	8	1	0,2	0,2
	9	1	0,2	0,2
	10 Exactly right	3	0,5	0,5
	Total	566	99,1	100,0
Invalid	-1	5	0,9	
Total		571	100,0	



The huge majority of the staffs participated in the survey find the acceptance of bribe for not fining a driver for a fast driving too wrong (too wrong %87,6). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, the scores are as 95.7% “wrong”, and 1.5% “right”.

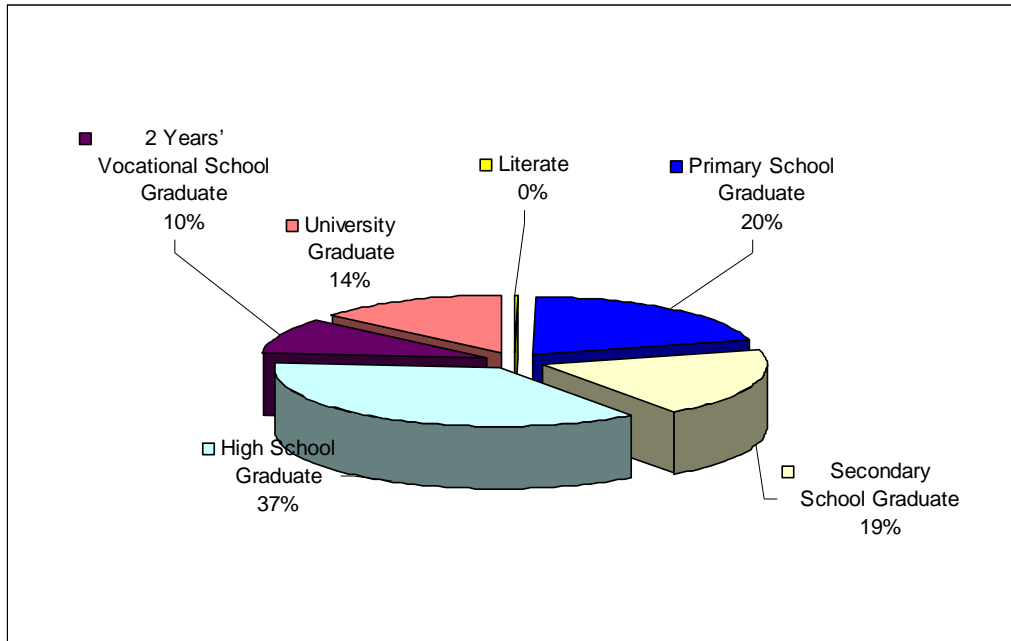
When the two tables above are evaluated together, while the participants perceive not fining the traffic rules violator as “too wrong” with the percentage of 43%; they perceive acceptance of bribery offer that is a half or less of the fine as “too wrong” with the percentage of 87.6%. When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, 95.7% find it wrong, and 1.5% find it right. Therefore, not taking any fine procedures against cash is perceived more a bribery than not taking any fine procedures against nothing.

8. THE ANALYSIS OF “CITIZEN SURVEY” CONDUCTED IN TRAFFIC SERVICES OF MAJOR CITIES (ANKARA, ISTANBUL AND IZMIR) IN TURKEY

8.1 General Information of Citizen Participants

Table 29: Educational backgrounds of the participants

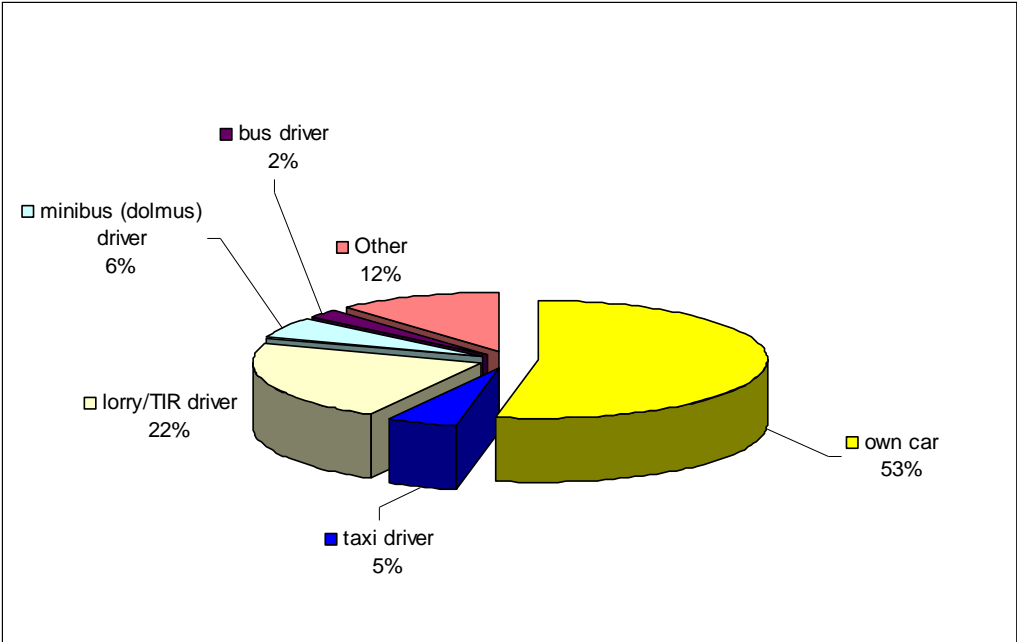
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Literate	2	0.4	0.4
	Primary School Graduate	98	20.2	20.4
	Secondary School Graduate	92	19.1	19.1
	High School Graduate	176	36.2	36.6
	2 Years' Vocational School Graduate	48	9.9	10.0
	University Graduate	65	13.4	13.5
	Total	481	99.0	100.0
Invalid	-1	4	0.8	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	5	1.0	
Total		486	100.0	



Among the participants, there are citizens from each level of educational background.

Table 30: The categories of the participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	own car	244	50.2	53.2
	taxi driver	22	4.5	4.8
	lorry/TIR driver	102	21.0	22.2
	minibus driver	27	5.6	5.9
	bus driver	10	2.1	2.2
	Other	54	11.1	11.8
	Total	459	94.4	100.0
Missing	-1	26	5.3	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	27	5.6	
Total		486	100.0	

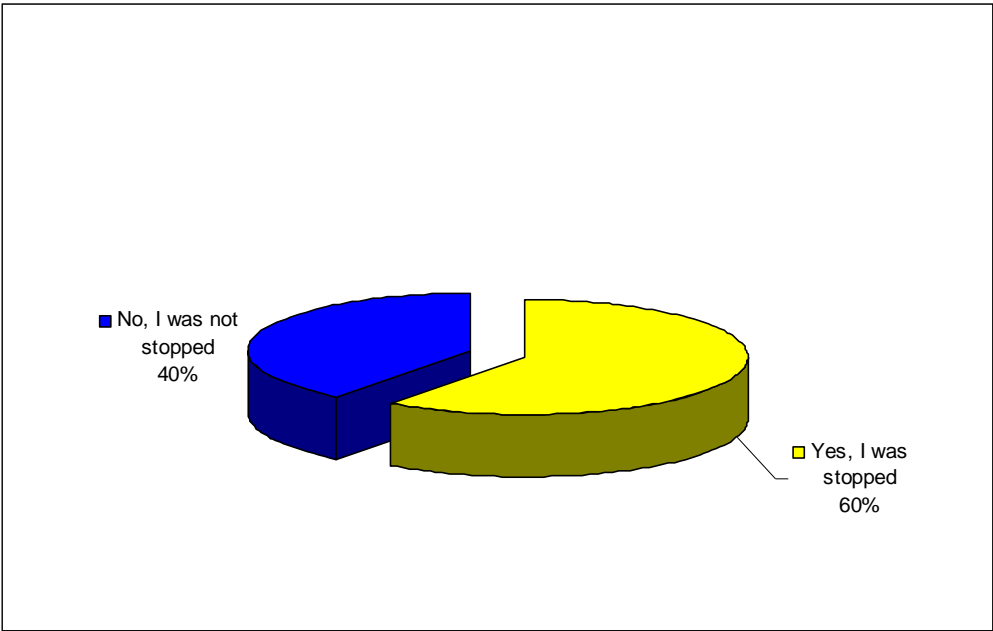


The driver category percentages of the participants are given above. More than half of the participants (53%) drive their own cars.

8.2 Attitude and Behaviour on Traffic Stop

Table 31: Whether the participants were stopped by a traffic police officer due to a claim of driver mistake or automobile deficiency in the last 2 years.

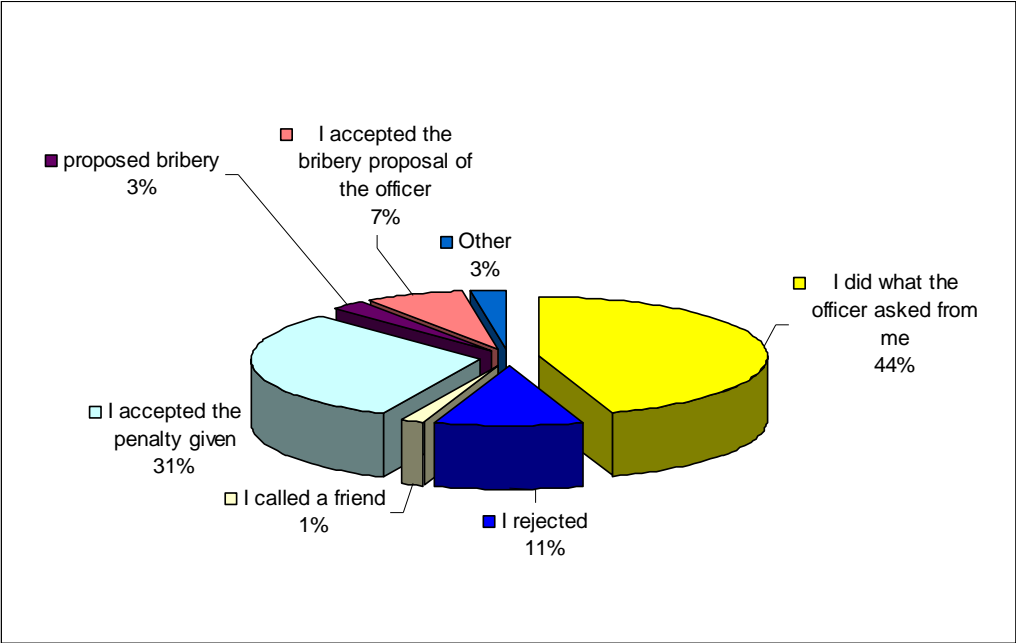
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Yes, I was stopped	290	59.7	60.2
	No, I was not stopped	192	39.5	39.8
	Total	482	99.2	100.0
Missing	-1	3	0.6	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	4	0.8	
Total		486	100.0	



60% of the participants were stopped by the police in the last 2 years.

Table 32: (If the answer to the question B2 is “yes”) What they did after being stopped

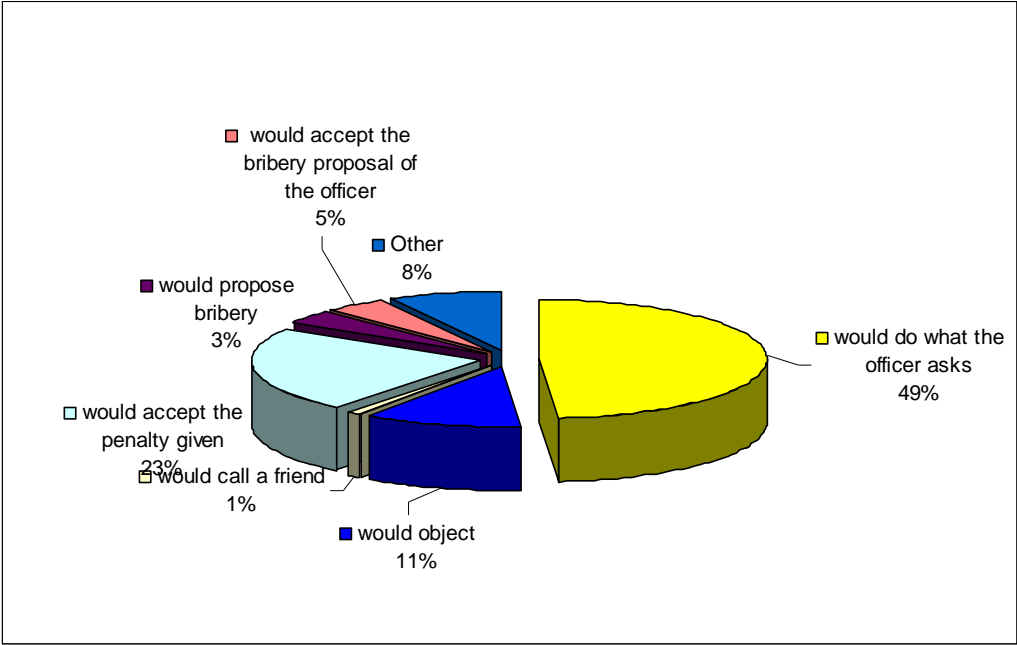
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	-2	191	39.3	40.7
	I did what the officer asked from me	124	25.5	26.4
	I rejected	30	6.2	6.4
	I called a friend	4	0.8	0.9
	I accepted the penalty given	87	17.9	18.6
	proposed bribery	7	1.4	1.5
	I accepted the bribery proposal of the officer	19	3.9	4.1
	Other	7	1.4	1.5
	Total	469	96.5	100.0
Missing	-1	16	3.3	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	17	3.5	
Total		486	100.0	



About the half of the stopped drivers do what the officer asks them to (44%), and one third of them (31%) accept the fine given. The percentage of the drivers who proposed bribery is 3%; while the percentage who accepted the proposal of bribery is 7%.

Table 33: (If the answer to the question B2 is “no”) What would they do if they were stopped.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	-2	12	2.5	4.0
	would do what the officer asks	139	28.6	46.6
	would object	32	6.6	10.7
	would call a friend	3	0.6	1.0
	would accept the penalty given	66	13.6	22.1
	would propose bribery	10	2.1	3.4
	would accept the bribery proposal of the officer	13	2.7	4.4
	Other	23	4.7	7.7
	Total	298	61.3	100.0
Missing	-1	187	38.5	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	188	38.7	
Total		486	100.0	



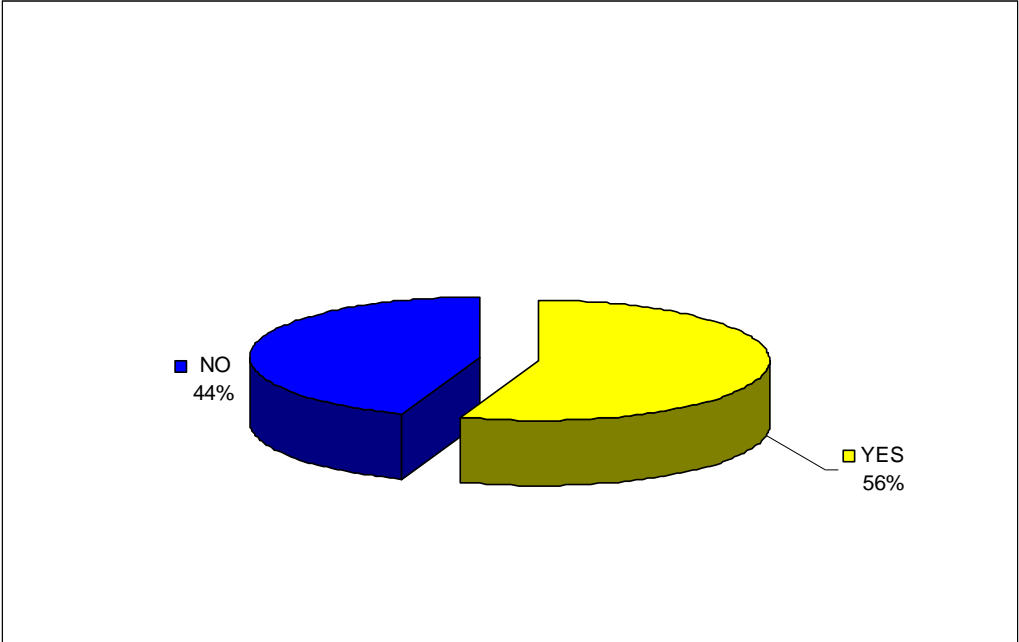
The participants who were not stopped were asked what they would do if they were stopped. Nearly half of them (49%) say that “they would do what the officer asks”; quarter of them says that they would accept the fine. The percentage of the drivers who would propose bribery is 3%; while the percentage who would accept the proposal of bribery is 5%.

About the half of the stopped drivers do what the officer asks them to (44%), and one third of them (31%) accept the fine given. The percentage of the drivers who proposed bribery is 3%; while the percentage who accepted the proposal of bribery is 7%.

The participants who answered the question (Table 32) are the drivers who had already been stopped by the traffic police some time before. The participants who answered the question (Table 33); however, are the drivers who had not been stopped. They are asked what they “would” do if they “were” stopped. No participant answered both questions.

Table 34: Whether the traffic police officers penalized the participants in the last 2 years.

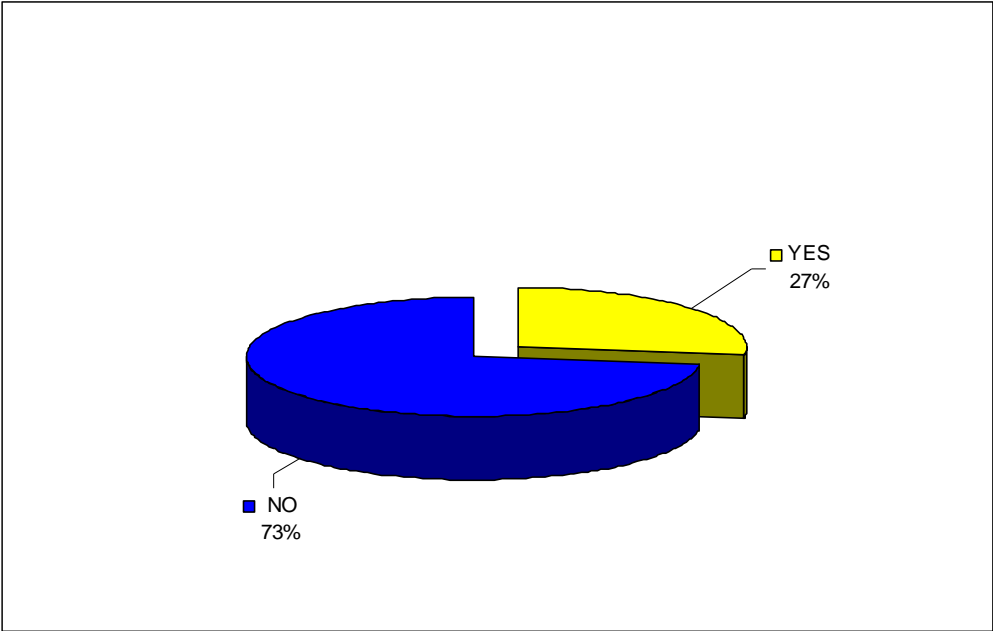
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	-2	1	0.2	0.2
	YES	267	54.9	55.4
	NO	214	44.0	44.4
	Total	482	99.2	100.0
Missing	-1	3	0.6	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	4	0.8	
Total		486	100.0	



It seems as if there is a contradiction between the 56% that is seen in this Table, and the 60% that we saw in the question "Have you been stopped?". However, this is due to the fact that sometimes the penalties are not given by stopping the drivers but by sending the penalties to the addresses of them.

Table 35: Whether there was some kind of an illegal or unethical demand (i.e. bribery) from the officer.

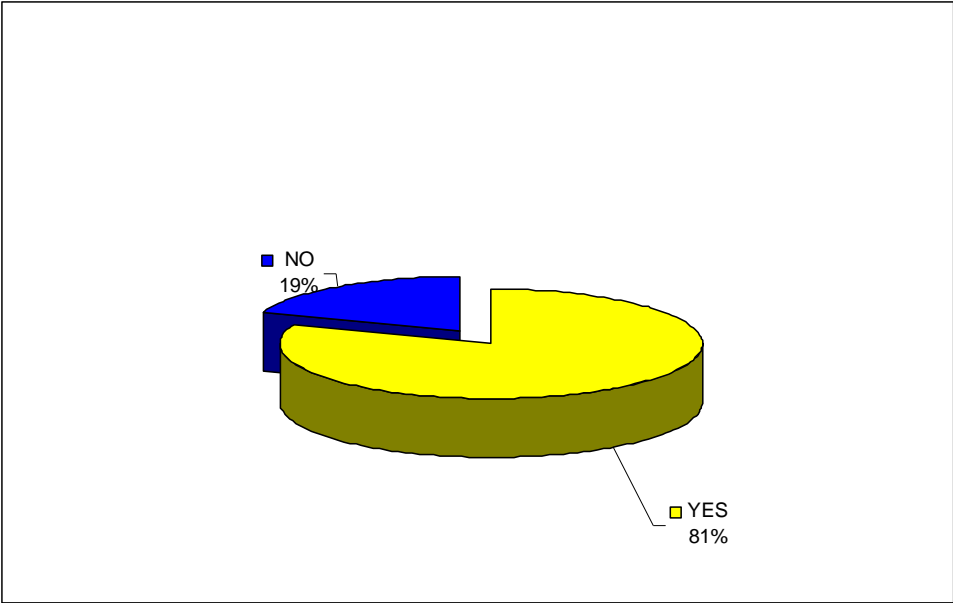
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	-2	215	44.2	45.5
	YES	70	14.4	14.8
	NO	188	38.7	39.7
	Total	473	97.3	100.0
Missing	-1	12	2.5	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	13	2.7	
Total		486	100.0	



As seen in the Table, the participants seen as “-2” (215 people) did not answer this question because of the previous one. Among the ones who did answer, only 70 people answered “yes” and 188 people answered “no”. Among the ones who answered “yes”; 27% stated that there was a proposal from the police officer. The majority (73%) stated that there was not.

Table 36: Whether the Stopped Drivers Accept the Bribery Offer of the Police Officer

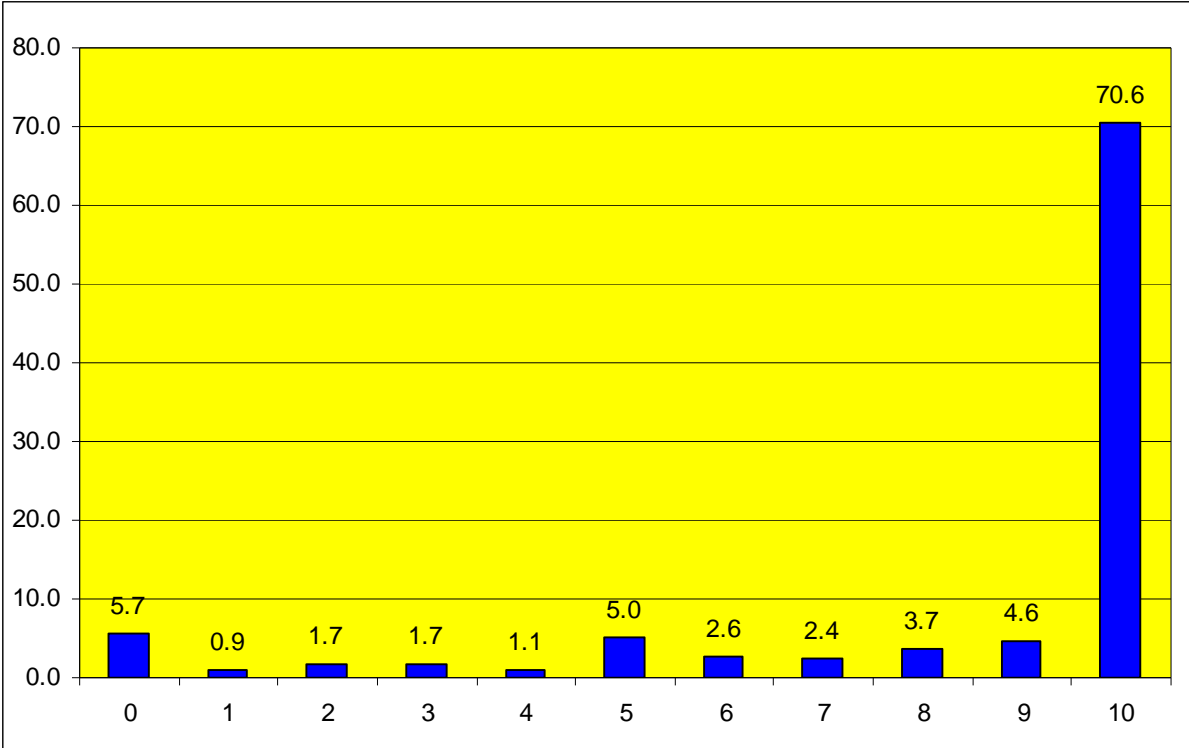
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	-2	403	82,9	85,6
	Yes	55	11,3	11,7
	No	13	2,7	2,8
	Total	471	96,9	100,0
Missing	-1	14	2,9	
	System	1	0,2	
	Total	15	3,1	
Total		486	100,0	



81% of the drivers to whom the police officers had offered bribery accepted the offer. It is noteworthy that four fifth of the driver to whom bribery was offered accepted the offer.

Table 37: Whether the citizens accept the penalties and pay for them whenever they are found guilty for violating the traffic rules.

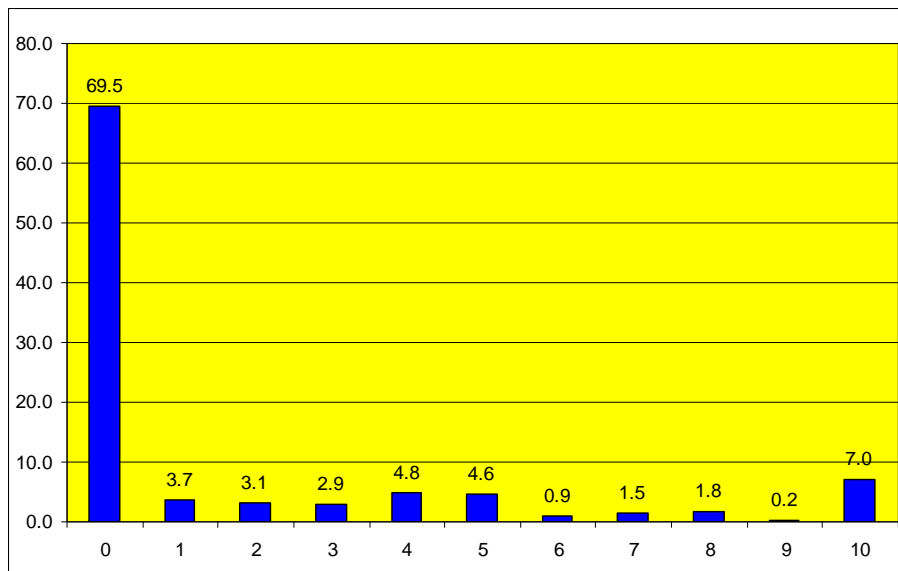
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 I never do pay for them	26	5.3	5.7
	1	4	0.8	0.9
	2	8	1.6	1.7
	3	8	1.6	1.7
	4	5	1.0	1.1
	5	23	4.7	5.0
	6	12	2.5	2.6
	7	11	2.3	2.4
	8	17	3.5	3.7
	9	21	4.3	4.6
	10 I always do pay for them	324	66.7	70.6
	Total	459	94.4	100.0
Missing	-1	26	5.3	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	27	5.6	
Total		486	100.0	



The great majority of the participants accept their penalties and pay for them (I always do pay for them 70.6%). However, a minority state that they do not (I never do pay for them 5.7%)

Table 38: Whether the citizens propose money or goods to the police in order not to pay for the fine, whenever they are found guilty for violating the traffic rules.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 I never do propose	317	65.2	69.5
	1	17	3.5	3.7
	2	14	2.9	3.1
	3	13	2.7	2.9
	4	22	4.5	4.8
	5	21	4.3	4.6
	6	4	0.8	0.9
	7	7	1.4	1.5
	8	8	1.6	1.8
	9	1	0.2	0.2
	10 I always propose	32	6.6	7.0
	Total	456	93.8	100.0
Missing	-1	29	6.0	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	30	6.2	
Total		486	100.0	



An important percentage says that s/he will propose money or goods (I always propose 7%); however, a great majority states that they will not propose money or goods (I never do propose 69.5%). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer, more than one tenth of the participants (11.4%) say that they will propose money or goods in order not to pay for the fine.

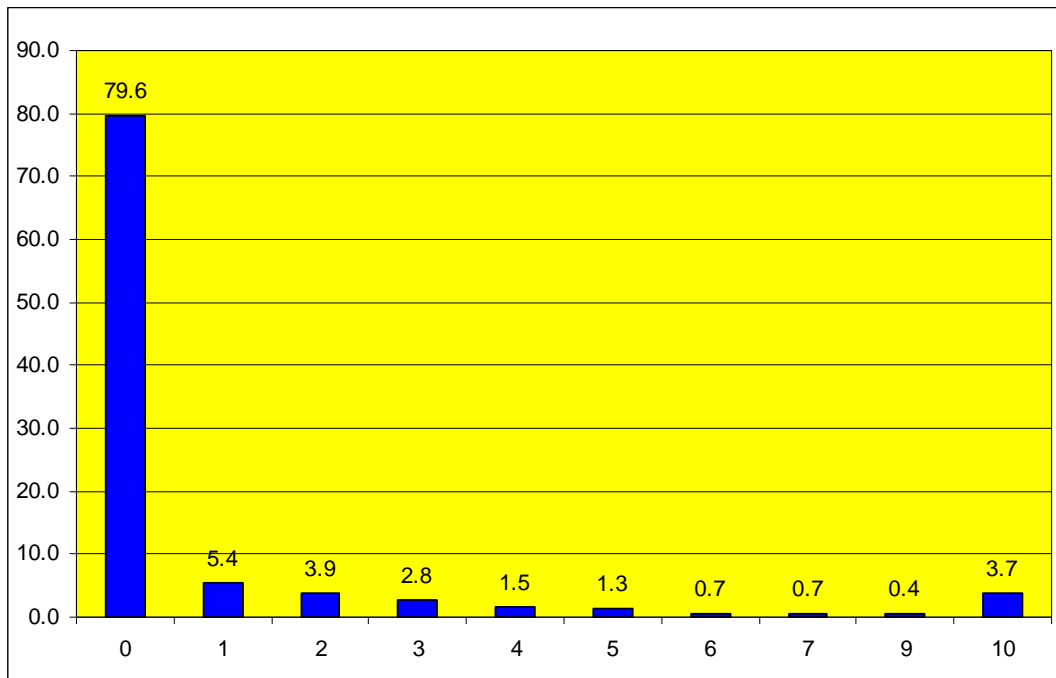
When this two tables are evaluated together we get the similar results. While 69.5% say they never offer bribe, 70.6% say they would pay for the fine if they violate a traffic rule.

The results of these two tables are similar to the ones of the previous two.

8.3 Ethical Perception of Citizen Participants

Table 39: The evaluation of how ethical it is when the police officer is proposed even a little amount of money by the citizens s/he serves to, while s/he is on duty

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Highly Unethical	367	75.5	79.6
	1	25	5.1	5.4
	2	18	3.7	3.9
	3	13	2.7	2.8
	4	7	1.4	1.5
	5	6	1.2	1.3
	6	3	0.6	0.7
	7	3	0.6	0.7
	9	2	0.4	0.4
	10 Totally Ethical	17	3.5	3.7
	Total	461	94.9	100.0
Missing	-1	24	4.9	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	25	5.1	
Total		486	100.0	

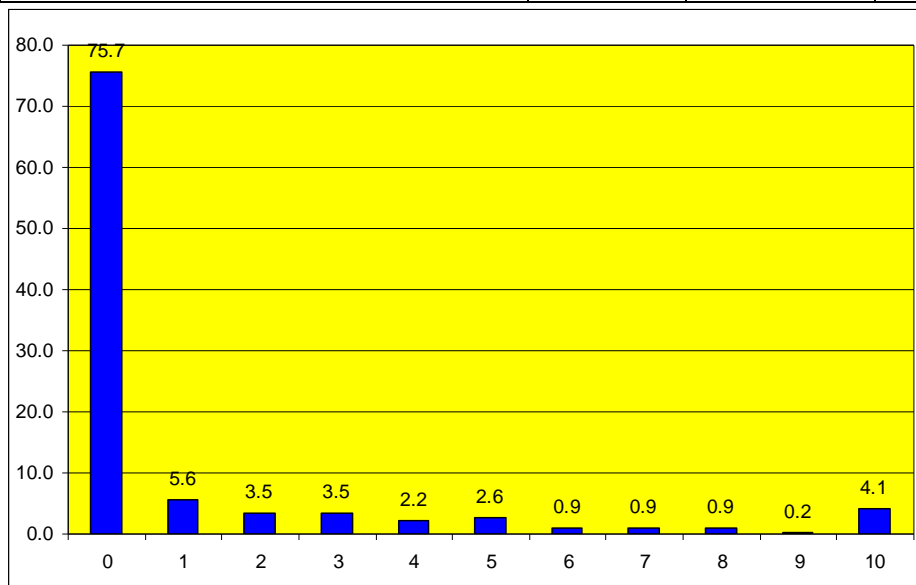


As seen, a great majority finds it totally unethical to propose even the smallest amount of money to the traffic officer (Highly unethical 79.6 %). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer, the rate of “wrong” is 93.2% and the rate of “right” is 5.5%.

When this question is asked to the police officers, 91% say “highly unethical”, 0.4% say “totally ethical”. When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the police survey, the rate of “wrong” is 96.3%, and the rate of “right” is 1.9%. Therefore, it is seen that the ethical sensibility of the police officers is higher than the citizens’.

Table 40: The evaluation of how ethical it is when the driver proposes money or goods that is worth the half or less of the fine to be given by the officer because of over speed.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Too wrong	349	71.8	75.7
	1	26	5.3	5.6
	2	16	3.3	3.5
	3	16	3.3	3.5
	4	10	2.1	2.2
	5	12	2.5	2.6
	6	4	0.8	0.9
	7	4	0.8	0.9
	8	4	0.8	0.9
	9	1	0.2	0.2
	10 Exactly Right	19	3.9	4.1
	Total	461	94.9	100.0
Missing	-1	24	4.9	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	25	5.1	
Total		486	100.0	



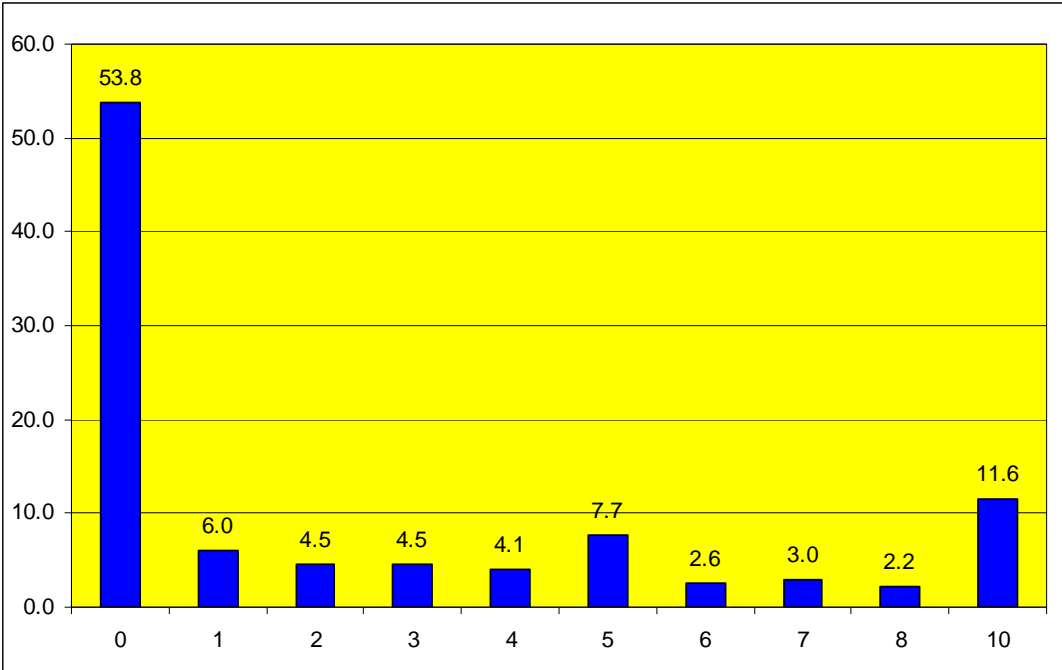
As seen, a great majority finds it totally unethical to propose even a “small amount of money” to the traffic police officer (highly unethical 75.7%). Further, a great majority finds it totally unethical to propose even the smallest amount of money to the traffic officer (Highly unethical 79.6 %).

In the question, the people mentioned (who propose money to the police officer) do not have to be drivers. The mentioned people are the people who the police serve to, and who propose money to the police while s/he is on duty (for some reason). The people mentioned in the question (Table 40), on the other hand, are people who are drivers and who have been stopped by the police for some reason.

When “5” is taken as the neutral answer, 90.5% of the participants find it wrong when the driver proposes money or goods that is worth the half or less of the fine to be given by the officer because of over speed, while 7% find it right. When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the police survey, 95.7% find it wrong and 1.5% find it right. Therefore, it is seen that the ethical sensibility of the police officers is higher than the ethical sensibility of the citizens.

Table 41: The evaluation of how ethical it is when the owners of businesses such as restaurants or coffeehouses award the police officer who is highly respected by the people in the region with gifts or meals for such reasons as religious festivals or the new year.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Highly unethical	250	51.4	53.8
	1	28	5.8	6.0
	2	21	4.3	4.5
	3	21	4.3	4.5
	4	19	3.9	4.1
	5	36	7.4	7.7
	6	12	2.5	2.6
	7	14	2.9	3.0
	8	10	2.1	2.2
	10 Totally Ethical	54	11.1	11.6
Total		465	95.7	100.0
Missing	-1	20	4.1	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	21	4.3	
Total		486	100.0	



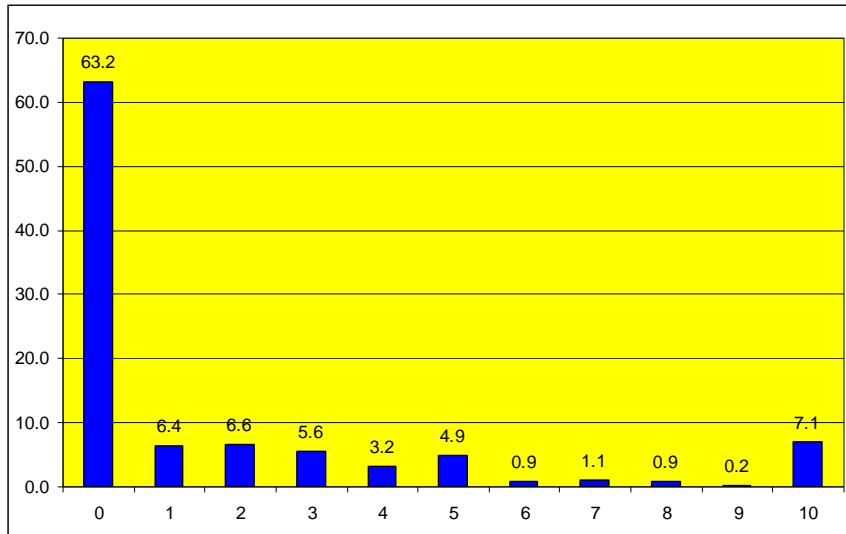
As seen the participants find it unethical when the owners of businesses such as restaurants or coffeehouses award the police officer who is highly respected by the people in the region with gifts or meals (highly unethical 53.8%); and a noteworthy amount of citizens find it ethical (totally ethical 11.6%).

The answers of the police officers are 57.4% “highly unethical”, and 3.7% “totally ethical”. When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, the answers of the citizens rate as 72.9% wrong, and 19.4% right; while the answers of the police officers rate as 79.2% wrong and 10.5% right.

In conclusion, we see that the ethical sensibility of the police officers is higher, and this situation is perceived a relatively smaller bribery. For example, one fifth of the citizens find gifting right.

Table 42: The evaluation of how ethical it is when a traffic officer accepts an honouring or a gift from the citizens while on duty.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Highly unethical	295	60.7	63.2
	1	30	6.2	6.4
	2	31	6.4	6.6
	3	26	5.3	5.6
	4	15	3.1	3.2
	5	23	4.7	4.9
	6	4	0.8	0.9
	7	5	1.0	1.1
	8	4	0.8	0.9
	9	1	0.2	0.2
	10 Totally ethical	33	6.8	7.1
	Total	467	96.1	100.0
Missing	-1	18	3.7	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	19	3.9	
Total		486	100.0	

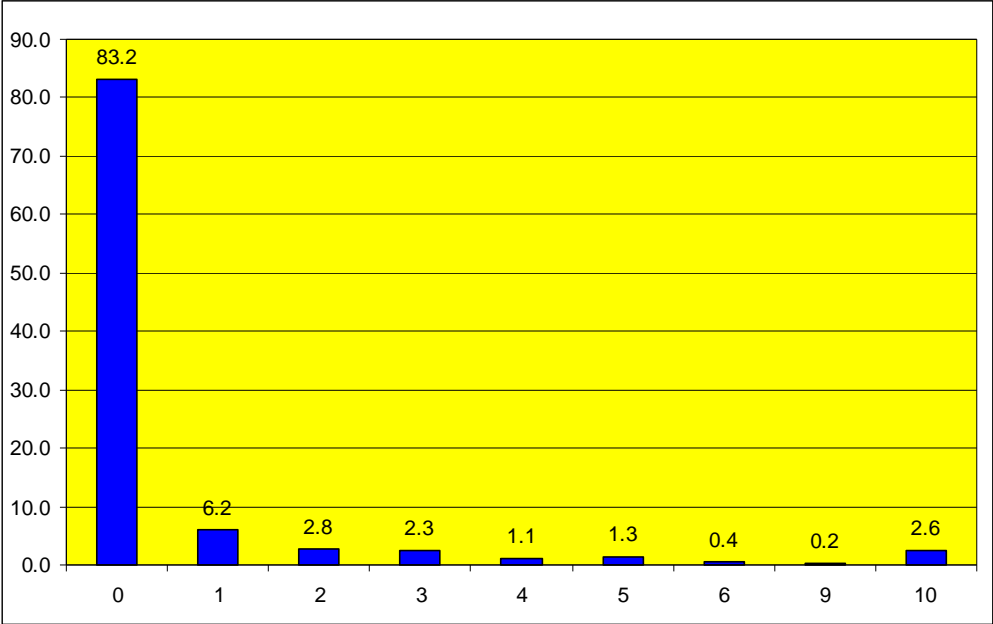


While most of the participants find it unethical when an officer accepts gifts or honouring (highly unethical 63.2%); an important percentage finds it ethical (totally ethical 7.1%). The answers of the police officer participants are 79.6% “highly unethical”, and 1.3% “totally ethical”.

When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, 85% of the citizens say that it is wrong and 10.2% say it is right; while 91.8% of the police officers say it is wrong and 3.8% say it is right. In conclusion, the ethical sensibility of the police is higher in this question as well.

Table 43: The evaluation of how ethical it is when a traffic officer demands a small amount of money from the citizens while on duty.

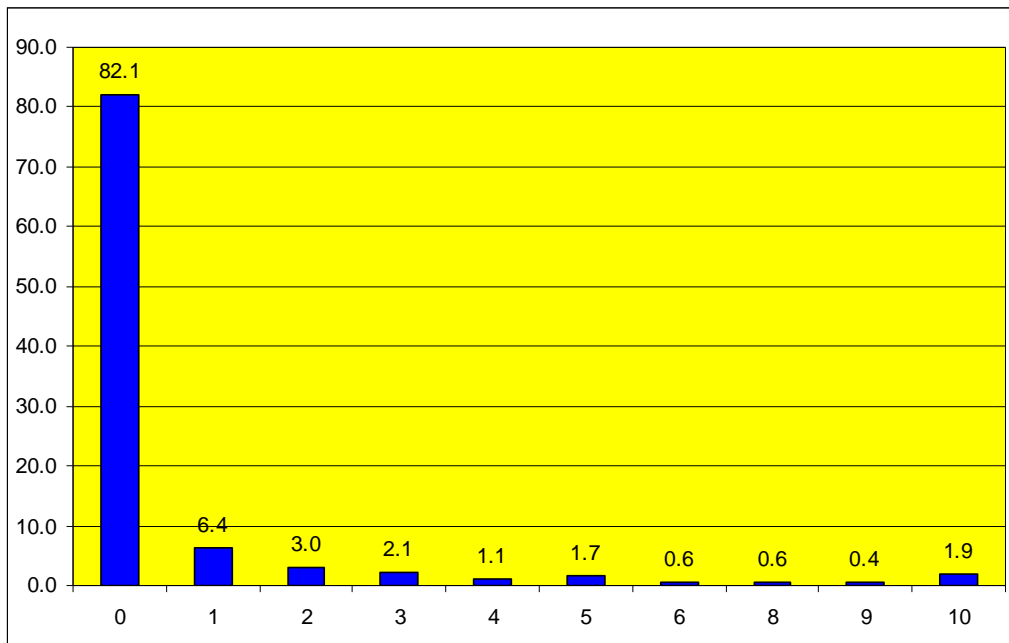
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Highly unethical	391	80.5	83.2
	1	29	6.0	6.2
	2	13	2.7	2.8
	3	11	2.3	2.3
	4	5	1.0	1.1
	5	6	1.2	1.3
	6	2	0.4	0.4
	9	1	0.2	0.2
	10 Totally ethical	12	2.5	2.6
	Total	470	96.7	100.0
Missing	-1	15	3.1	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	16	3.3	
Total		486	100.0	



The great majority finds it unethical when the police demand even a small amount of money from the citizens (highly unethical 83.2%). When “5” is taken as the neutral answer, 95.6% say it is wrong and 3.2% say it is right. Therefore, demanding money from the citizens or accepting the money of the citizens is perceived relatively more unethical than gifting.

Table 44: The evaluation of how ethical it is when a traffic officer accepts the bribery proposed by the citizens, when on duty.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Highly unethical	384	79.0	82.1
	1	30	6.2	6.4
	2	14	2.9	3.0
	3	10	2.1	2.1
	4	5	1.0	1.1
	5	8	1.6	1.7
	6	3	0.6	0.6
	8	3	0.6	0.6
	9	2	0.4	0.4
	10 Totally ethical	9	1.9	1.9
	Total	468	96.3	100.0
Missing	-1	17	3.5	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	18	3.7	
Total		486	100.0	

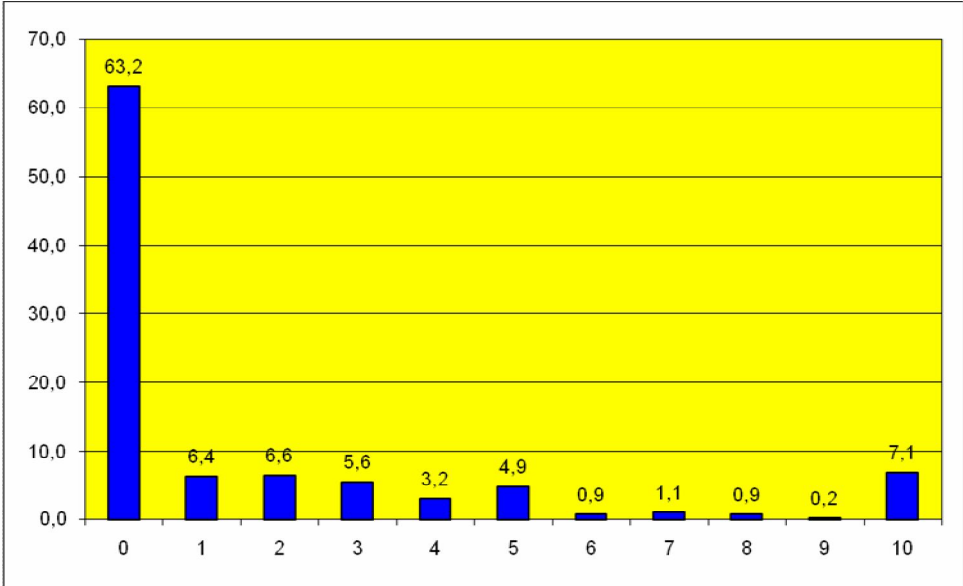


The majority finds it unethical when the traffic officer accepts the bribery proposed by the people s/he serves to (highly unethical 82.1%). 91% of the police officers answered this question highly unethical while 0.5% answered totally ethical. When the two tables above are evaluated together, it is seen that the citizens find it equally unethical when the police officers demand bribe or when the citizens offer bribe without any demand from the police officer.

When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, 94.7% of the citizens find it wrong and 3.5% find it right; while 97.2% of the police officers find it wrong and 1.4% find it right. Therefore, it is seen that the ethical sensibility of the police is slightly higher.

Table 45: The evaluation of how ethical it is when the business enterprises on the route of a traffic patrol propose them small-value gifts such as food or beverage.

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	0 Highly unethical	292	60.1	63.2
	1	32	6.6	6.9
	2	19	3.9	4.1
	3	18	3.7	3.9
	4	16	3.3	3.5
	5	29	6.0	6.3
	6	7	1.4	1.5
	7	9	1.9	1.9
	8	10	2.1	2.2
	9	1	0.2	0.2
	10 Totally ethical	29	6.0	6.3
	Total	462	95.1	100.0
Invalid	-1	23	4.7	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	24	4.9	
Total		486	100.0	



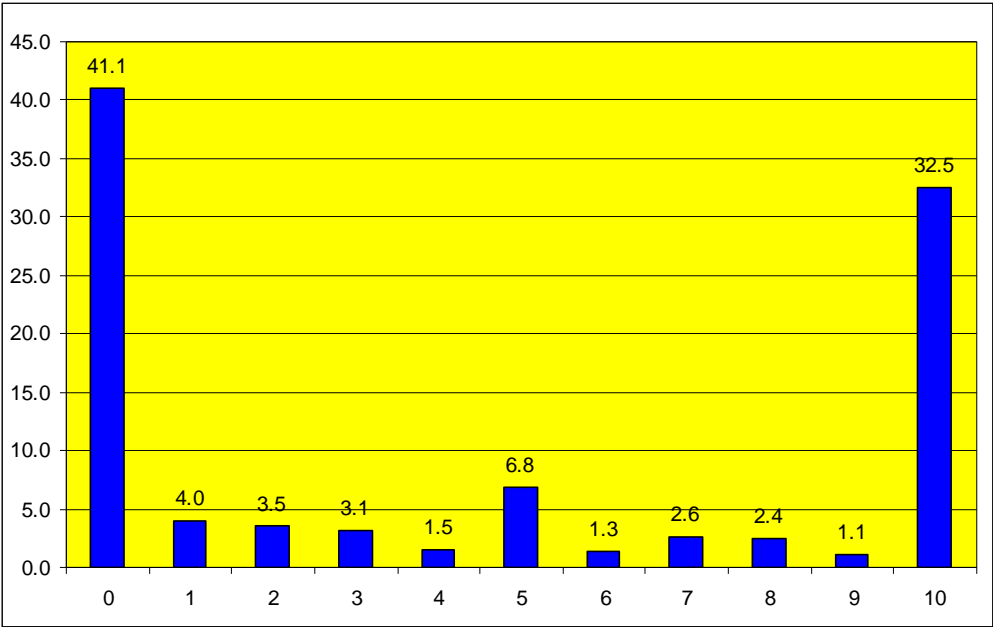
Even though the majority states that they find it unethical when the business enterprises on the route of a traffic patrol propose them small-value gifts such as food or beverage (highly unethical 63.2%); an important percentage finds it ethical (totally ethical 7.1%). When the answers given are compared to those of the police officers, it is seen that 52.3% of the police officers find it highly unethical and 3.2% find it totally ethical.

When "5" is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, 81.6% of the citizens say it is wrong and 12.1% say it is right; while 77.4% of the police officers say it is wrong and 10.1% say it

is right. However; it is significant that in both groups about 10% of the participants find honourings correct.

Table 46: The evaluation of how ethical it is when a traffic police, who sees a violation of traffic rules, does not apply any criminal procedure even though s/he has no gain of it.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Highly unethical	186	38.3	41.1
	1	18	3.7	4.0
	2	16	3.3	3.5
	3	14	2.9	3.1
	4	7	1.4	1.5
	5	31	6.4	6.8
	6	6	1.2	1.3
	7	12	2.5	2.6
	8	11	2.3	2.4
	9	5	1.0	1.1
	10 Totally ethical	147	30.2	32.5
	Total	453	93.2	100.0
Missing	-1	32	6.6	
	System	1	0.2	
	Total	33	6.8	
Total		486	100.0	



There is no big difference between the participants who do and do not find it ethical when a traffic police officer, who sees a violation of traffic rules, does not apply any criminal procedure even though s/he has no gain of it (highly unethical 41,1%; totally ethical 32.5%).

The rate of the police officer participants who say it is highly unethical is 43%, and the ones who say totally ethical is 13.4%. The question on which the police officers and the citizens had most diverted opinions is this one.

When “5” is taken as the neutral answer in the scale, 53.2% of the drivers find it wrong and 39.9% find it right; while 63.4% of the police officers find it wrong and 21.1% find it right.

Table 47: The most marked options about what can be done against the routine corruption in traffic services. (The participants can mark more than one option. The percentage here should be handled one by one).

Number of the participants: 485

Option of Solution	Frequency	Percentage
The traffic penalties should be applied equally (to everybody without exception; i.e. the police officers, the soldiers, the attorneys etc.)	361	74.4
The supervision in traffic should be done with technologic devices	281	57.9
The traffic behaviour awareness of citizens should be increased by media and practical training (the awareness of everybody obeying the rules and providing the social supervision by informing the ones who do not)	281	57.9
The citizens should accept the penalties and should not involve in bribery	271	55.9
Penalties other than monetary penalties should be given (i.e. traffic education or rehabilitation penalties)	203	41.9
The salaries of the traffic personnel should be increased	172	35.4
The money amounts of traffic penalties should be decreased	140	28.9
The money amounts of traffic penalties should be		

increased	115	23.7
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As seen from the table, the citizens chose the option “the traffic penalties should be applied equally (to everybody without exception; i.e. the police, the soldiers, the attorneys etc.)” most, with the percentage of 75%. Besides, they supported the option “The supervision in traffic should be done with technologic devices” with the percentage of 58%. The option “The traffic behaviour awareness of citizens should be increased by media and practical training (the awareness of everybody obeying the rules and providing the social supervision by informing the ones who do not)” was chosen with the percentage of 58%. At the same time, with the percentage of 56%, the option “The citizens should accept the penalties and should not involve in bribery” was chosen. 42% of the participants chose the option “Penalties other than monetary penalties should be given (i.e. traffic education or rehabilitation penalties)”. The interesting point is that only 35% of the participants think that the salaries should be increased, contradicting with the general claim that low salaries are the reason for bribery. The options about increasing or decreasing the level of the penalties have not been much respected. In this context, the participants who believe that they should be decreased are 29%, while the participants who think they should be increased are 24%.

In conclusion, the participants attached priority to the options of justice in penalizing, firm supervision with technological devices, and the citizens not to propose bribery to prevent unethical cases in traffic services. However, only some of the participants think that it would be useful if the salaries are increased, and some alternative solutions other than monetary penalties are applied. A certain group thinks that it would be useful if the penalties are aggravated, while another group thinks that it would be more useful if the penalties are lightened.

9. THE EVALUATION OF THE SURVEY DATA

All the tables of the survey can be summarized as follows:

According to police personnel survey;

- The first subject concerned about is education. It is seen that the ethical education of the staff is insufficient both in pre-service and in in-service.
- Secondly, it is seen that the superiors do not supervise the staff sufficiently about gifting or bribery. It is stated that rather than supervision, the staff has a self-control system by which they “warn” each other.
- The reasons of bribery and the effect of the citizens are evaluated differently. The rate of the citizen affecting the procedure to be taken by offering something or happening to be an acquaintance when stopped for violating a traffic rule is 17-20%; while the rate of the effect if the stopped driver is a police officer is 50%. It can be interpreted from here that there is a professional affect and solidarity among the police officers.
- Another subject concerned about was the effect of the salaries on bribery among reasons for bribery. Three fourth of the participants do not have an additional income; moreover, the spouses of 85% do not work. Even though it is seen that insufficient salary itself is not the only matter affecting bribery; it will affect the staff by the rate of approximately $\frac{1}{4}$.
- The effect of the fact that some people, institutes or companies help police managers by providing official cars or furnishing is believed “not to affect” bribery by more than half of the participants; one third of the participants think it will. Therefore, it is very important to be careful about providing and receiving “institutional benefit”.
- According to the police officers participated in the survey, when the police officers or the drivers hint anything about offering or accepting bribery in their communication; if it is the police officer who implies that s/he expects bribery, the rate of the citizens being affected is 50%; however, if it is the driver who offers bribery, the police officers are affected with the rate of 80%.
- Another matter of concern in the survey was perception. It is perceived as “unethical” with the rate of; 92% when the police officer accepts the gifts of the citizens, about 97% when the police officer accepts money. Therefore, the rate of perceiving gifting and accepting money as bribery is quite high.
- Moreover, accepting the gifts and honouring of the artisans who work nearby is perceived as wrong by 77% and right by 10%; and not penalizing these people is perceived wrong by 90% of the participants. Therefore, proportionally, not penalizing is perceived as more unethical than accepting the gifts and honouring. Even on special days, gifting is perceived wrong by 80% of the participants.
- Not fining the drivers in return for money is seen wrong by 96% and right by 1.5% of the participants; therefore, is perceived as bribery.

When we take a look at the driver participants the outcomes are as follows:

- 10% of the drivers have bribed or told that will bribe if stopped; so there is this potential. 75% states that they will do what the police officer demands. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the stopped drivers state that bribery had been demanded from them and 80% of them accepted the demand. In the interviews, they stated that the first offer usually was from

their own, for they thought they were faulty. In the survey, 11.4% stated that they will offer money or goods if they violate a rule, in order not to pay for the fine.

- The outcomes of the survey on the perception of ethics of the drivers are as follows: It is perceived as wrong with the rate of 93% when the citizens offer little money to the traffic officer; and with the rate of 90.5% when the citizen offers money or goods half the worth of the fine. This shows that the ethical perception is quite high. However, the perception of the police is higher. For example, the police find both wrong with the rate of 96%.
- The police officers being gifted by the citizens nearby is perceived 73% wrong and 19% right by the citizens; while 79% wrong and 10.5% right by the police officers. As it is seen, the citizens find these kinds of gifts relatively less unethical. The ethical sensibility of the police is; therefore, higher.
- The police accepting these gifts are perceived more unethical (85%). The fact that the rate in the police officers' survey is 92% shows that the sensibility is higher.
- It is perceived wrong by 96% of the citizens when the police officers demand money from the citizens. The rate of the police officer participants is 97%.
- Whereas 53% of the citizen participants find it wrong and 40% find it right when the police officers do not fine a faulty driver without any gain from it; the rates of the police officer participants were 63% wrong and 21% right. The greatest collision between the police officers and the citizens was in this question. This is because the question is directly about the benefit of the drivers.
- According to the survey data; when the police officers and the drivers are compared; it is seen that in general, the ethical sensibility of the police officers is higher than the ethical sensibility of the drivers.

10. CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

The data that were reached through the methodology used and the reasons found out through interviews and surveys held with police officers and citizens, throughout the process of the research, have been listed below. The staffs who work in the traffic services and the people have stated that, in this research which aims to measure the “ethical perception”, the sources of the problem can be categorized into two as “institutional” and “individual”.

The police and public's perception on ethical issues were investigated based on the following questions.

“Temptations” a police officer may be facing daily

A traffic police officer, unlike his/her counterparts working in a desk duty, works under pressure from his/her colleagues and public to accept things given or offered to him/her. Every day, his integrity is tested several times, in many different ways. While he is under pressures to accept food, beverage or even cash, he works without adequate supervision and control. In other words, on the one hand he/she is offered a number of different amounts of material benefits, on the other, he is not adequately supervised.

“Temptational situations”, include the following, are shown in the results of survey concerning free food, beverages, small amount of regular cash in tables from 21 to 28 and from 42 to 46.

Free food and beverages

Police officers, while working in a specific location, are routinely offered, food and drink (tea-coffee and beverages) by café owners or private business owners nearby. If a police officer wants to buy something, they usually would not accept the money, even if the police officers insist to pay for it. This kind of practice gradually becomes routine and police officers habituated not paying for the food they receive and after a while do not even attempt to pay for it. This societal tolerance gradually turns into some kind of pressure. Police officers who do not accept free food are, seen as antisocial by some people. They are also seen as zealot or nuisance among other police officers. In other words, police officers who are not receiving free food find themselves under pressure from the society as well as from his colleagues. What is more, it is also a profitable not to pay for the food during the day.

However, free food and drinks offered by the people are not always a manifestation of well known Turkish hospitality. The people who offer free food and services to the police expect some direct and indirect benefits in return.

During the interviews with commercial drivers some of them were cursing the police for their regular visits to “stop” (dolmuş durağı²). They said that “They (traffic officers) too often visit us (dolmuş durağı) every day and have their meal here without paying anything. Some police officers even come to “dolmuş stops” while they are off duty and have the minibuses drivers to buy cigarette and drinks for them. One bus driver said that;

² Minibus (Dolmuş) and buses travel on a specific route called “line” (hat). First and last stops at each end are called (Durak) where minibuses wait for their turn to begin the service.

"We offer coffee and food not because we willingly offer them, but because we have to. Otherwise, at every occasion they will stop and give us a ticket. The offering of food has nothing to do with generosity and hospitality. Actually we hate even to give them a cup of tea. What is more, when they visit us they do not wait for us to make an offer. They usually order the food they want to eat and we just have to buy it. This has nothing to do with hospitality. It is all about trying to avoid the tickets they may be giving us unless we give them food."

Free food and beverages offered to traffic officers does not mean that they will not give a ticket to commercial drivers. Police officers have to give certain amount of tickets every day to prove their supervisors that they are doing their job.

Small amount of regular cash flow

In addition to the regular providing of food, beverages, cigarettes, and sometimes beers to traffic officers, especially commercial drivers such as bus and minibus drivers, said that they collect money on a daily base to give the traffic units serving along the route. Amount of money varies between the bus and minibuses from 10-20 Turkish Liras per day. The amount collected from the commercial drivers is given to traffic officers on a weekly or fortnight period, to minimize the risk of being caught. Apart from this regular pay offs, commercial drivers has to collect additional amount of many before the New Year to give as cash to the traffic teams for the drinks and food. Additional amount of money is also collected, in the eve of the two religious festivals (Ramadan and Kurban) to be distributed to traffic officers. However, some bus and minibus drivers said that they do not have any information about who exactly gets the money. But, they did not have any information if the money collected were distributed among the management ranks. Some commercial drivers spoke highly about the integrity of the new generation of ranking officers, graduates of Police Academy.

Police officers are offered money, by the private car owners, to evade, greater fines. However, the research has also found that, this type of corruption was getting less and less every day. As the police officers did not know, especially, in the big cities, who the drivers were, they were not taking a risk by asking for a bribe. Sometimes, depending on the quality of the car, and the appearance of the driver, if they were sure that the driver was not a government official or a powerful figure, they may very rarely ask for bribes. But generally they do not take risks by asking for bribes from private car drivers.

Police officers daily "ethical dilemmas", such as the gratitude, gifts, free food/beverages, pay-offs and free-services. Police uniform means power and authority and this has unique attraction for some people, especially some young women in big cities. Some young women find uniformed police officers working in "motorcycled units", (Dolphins) very attractive. Therefore, in addition to "ethical dilemmas/tests, such as the gratitude, gifts, free food, pay-offs, mentioned above, members of some specific units within traffic department face unique temptational situations. Officers working in "motorcycled units" wear very impressive and attractive uniforms. Motorcycle they use also has an impressive appearance. Some young women, in big cities, approach to these officers with a particular interest. A police officer has to make a decision between his relatively old wife and very beautiful attractive women. A relationship with a young and beautiful woman, in addition to a legitimate wife and kids, means more expenses to cover. Additional money a police officer needs to maintain his regular family and a new relationship/affair requires additional money, that is bribe. A ranking officer stated his concern about the danger of family breakdown of police officers working in these units and he said that "a special care needed to control and prevent these officers from the temptation of women."

Role of pre-service “ethical training” “in preventing routine corruption”.

The results of survey concerning ethical training are shown above in tables 9 and 10. Police ethics courses and ethical training offered in pre-service police training is relatively new. Police ethics course has been a part of the curriculum since 2005. Most of the police officer serving in traffic units today have graduated from police school before 2005 and therefore, have not received formal ethical training when they were at police schools. Yet some of the instructor might have warned them about ethical awareness. But this informal education would be very weak and ineffective against a police-subculture which is extensively tolerant and not sensitive enough towards ethical issues. Some of those interviewed states that existing police education lack proper ethical training. They also think that the ethical training given in police schools do not prepare them to the realities of policing in the streets. Some stated that, ethical training they received was limited by some instructors warning them about the danger of taking minor benefits and bribes from the people. Over all almost all of those whom interviewed finds the existing ethical training far from being satisfactory.

Role of the “departmental control” (supervisory level) on police corruption

The results of survey concerning free food, beverages, small amount of regular cash are shown above in tables in 8, and from 11 to 17. None of those who were interviewed has mentioned about the existence of any systematic “departmental control”. Departmental control mechanism is nonexistent. However, some ranking officer, following a complaint, or randomly detects their offices. This control is limited to the following an allegation of corruption, if there is one. Some times ranking officers watch the practice of traffic officers from distance and tries to figure out if they are taking bribes or not. In short, this research has not found any systematic departmental control mechanisms.

Relationship between the “individual corruption” and “departmental corruption”

The results of survey concerning free food, beverages, small amount of regular cash are shown above in table 19. As most of the corrupt practices take place between police officers and drivers who are both happy from this interaction. Naturally, most of the corrupt practices do not come to the attention of the senior management. Senior management does not want to see the problem unless there is an official complain about it. In other words, corrupt practices take place under the indirect tolerance of senior management. What is more, none of the interviewed ranking offices seem to regard having a cup of tea and coffee from the citizen an ethical issue. Ranking officers, who are expected to set ethical standards for the police officers themselves, accept free food and gifts. And some of them, rather than seeing this as an unethical practice, regard this some kind of public relations. Some of them are even worried upsetting people by not accepting the gratitude and gifts given by people. Some ranking officers said that some times gifts are given in bulk and they justly distribute them between their officers.

In short, ranking officers and management rank themselves are not seem to be very sensitive about ethical issue. What is more, a great deal of needs of traffic division, such as car and building maintenances, is met by private citizens. And this is a rule and common practice rather than being an exception. The needs of police stations and traffic units are systematically covered by private citizens. This is not limited with police service. Even some other public services very often apply to private citizens and this is generally defined as the “use of local resources”(!) (mahalli imkanların kullanımı).

A police manager who covers the needs of his unit and department from the citizen with informal ways are usually considered as a successful manager. If a traffic vehicles needs maintenance, it is supplied by private persons: When a traffic car needed new tires it is also supplied by a private business man. Construction of traffic headquarters and even the

regular maintenance expenses are covered by private citizens and in return they expect some kind of benefit and tolerance from the police.

Police officers regularly observe that the police organization itself is supplying its needs from private individuals; they also gradually habituated supplying their personal needs from people. One commercial (bus) driver told that, he bought 4 tires for a police officers' private car and a computer for his son.

"Role of local civilian authorities" in preventing and detecting police corruption

As traffic department is a part of national police organization, it is organized as a national service not a local one. Therefore, elected local civilian authorities do not have any involvement in traffic services other than having the right to lay, like any other citizen, a complain about corruption. As they are not a part of the traffic services they are also not a part of the solution. However, sub-governors who are the primary civilian authority over the police department lack the personal and capacity to conduct an effective control. So the detection of the traffic services are only left to the police management ranks only.

Role of the external anti-corruption mechanisms"

The research has not found any external anti-corruption mechanisms other than the civilians' right to make an official complain. Detection of corruption in traffic services, like any other policing functions, is only left to the police organization itself and the management ranks are too busy to conduct effective control.

Following account tries to show that corrupt practices committed by police officers can not be seen as purely individual acts. In fact, these acts are the fruits of poisonous tree, in other words the reflection of a corrupt society and police organization. The authorities who are really keen in addressing the issue of corruption within the police service in general and traffic departments in particular have to take into consideration the wider causes of police corruption. Focusing, on the individual police officer is way of adapting the "rotten apple" approach. The issue of corruption is not a matter of a few rotten apples but the fruits of a poisonous tree.

Unless the underlying causes of the corruption is identified and addressed the so-called anti-corruption measures deployed by the authorities will have to be reactive and punitive. Purely punitive measures targeting the individual corrupt police officers are bound to fail. This method is not any different from the previously used and failed methods. Previously used punitive methods seem to be ineffective to produce long lasting results. After an allegation of corruption a couple of officer will be arrested and some of those arrested will be fired. As long as the existing system lacks systematic control, it will soon turn new and decent officers into corrupt ones. Within a couple of years we will be back to the same point where we were before.

To cut it short, there is a strong and urgent need to develop an effective "integrity testing system". Controlling the police officers' integrity should have a priority and it should be a rule rather than an exception. Every police officer, when they join the service, should be aware of the fact that their integrity can and will regularly be tested while they serve.

The effects of the "Institutional Factors" on ethical problems

Corruption is an event that happens with the free will of both the giver and the receiver; and both parties that take part will have to pay for the conscientious and punitive results of it. However, this definition does not mean that the institutional responsibilities of the police organisation in which these kinds of relationships take place, are abolished. The professional members of an institution should reach some standards with "training" by their institution and whether they keep the standards or not should be observed. The authorities

who do not provide proper “training” and “supervision” are as responsible for the briberies that take place in the traffic services. The only responsible for the problems that were not dealt with before are, surely, not the police chiefs of today. However, the chief of today do not have the right of transferring these problems to the future without handling them.

As an institutional factor, even a scientific research as this one has been approached with suspicion; and the high-level managers of the Turkish General Directorate of Security has taken too much time to give permission to it.

At the cities where the questionnaires and the interviews were conducted, even the general approach was helpful and positive; it was observed that some high-level managers had some worries.

One of the reasons that lay beneath the fact that the high-level managers approach to scientific studies with suspicion is that the situation that will emerge at the end of the survey may harm their personal performances. Some of the high-level managers are not aware of the fact that it is their responsibility to identify and solve a problem, if exists. The present managers actually, become directly responsible for the forthcoming problems for they do not let solve them; even if they were not directly responsible for the ones before them. A high-level manager is not the one that transfers the piled problems of the past to the coming terms piling them up more; but the one that works hard to solve them.

The effects of the institutional factors (police culture) on personal ethical problems

In this research study; it is seen that some of the high-level police managers, who are at the influential levels to affect the institution’s culture, know the importance and necessity of letting these kinds of studies to be conducted; whereas some others do not. Some managers of the first group see these research studies essential for the diagnosis and treatment of the illness and want the results to be shared with the public. The others in the first group however, want the results to be confidential within the institution, for it will damage the image of the Turkish Police.

It is seen that the second group of high-level managers perceive these kinds of scientific studies as “studies which try to find out and reveal their dirt” and they do not seem to be helpful.

In the scope of the research, it is realized that the “ethical sensibility” that was identified at police official level should also be reviewed at the high-level managers’ level. It is especially seen that the people at higher ranks receive lots of gifts. Even though these are tolerated as it may be the reflection of Turkish culture of receiving and giving gifts; the possibility of this having a negative effect on the sensibility of professional ethics should be kept in mind. It is clear that neither can these mid and high-level managers, who accept the gifts by their subordinates or citizens, demonstrate proper “ethic leadership” to their officers; nor can they be good examples for their subordinates about not accepting the treats or little gifts that are proposed.

It is also stated in the interviews done with a police officer, a superintendent and a high-level traffic manager that even a cup of tea they drink without paying for it caused trouble between them and the citizens.

The first and most important step to be taken by the Turkish Police Organization about the ethics violation and fighting against corruption is, the high-level managers should have an institutional attitude on ethics implementation and being good examples so that this will be assimilated into a sub-culture of the police as a “rising value”. Namely, ethical sensibility and honesty should become a rising value in the institution. The subordinates should not

have any doubt about the ethical sensibility and honesty of their provincial directors and traffic directors.

The tradition of compensating the needs of the institution by the “use of using local racecourses”.

It is seen that the security institutions compensate some needs such as “reconditioning”, “reparation” and “building” by the citizens and they collect financial aids from the citizens. Even if it is not seen that much, it is also seen in the developed countries that sometimes they do it systematically and under control; however the Turkish Police Organization does it very generally and without any control. This situation is known not only by the high-level authorized people in the Turkish Police Organization; but also by the provincial civil authorizes and political offices, they are even advocated. It is a general implementation that the Turkish Police Organization such as some other organizations compensates their needs using the local facilities (!).

Even if it is to compensate the needs of the institution, a regular relationship with the citizens as “demand and receive” has risks of corruption. The compensation of the consumable material by the citizens, which normally should be provided by the government, may have a bad effect on the security service members even if they themselves are honest people. Some traffic managers, with whom interviews were done, stated that the toners for the printers were not provided so they had to demand them from the people and institutions that they think to be “honourable”.

The interviewed staff agrees with the fact that when the police officers and the subordinates are commanded to demand help from the citizens by their high-level managers, this will lead them first to “gain the habit of demanding”; then “gain the tendency of providing their personal needs from the citizens”.

It is also seen that the people who identify themselves with the state first start this demand-receive relations to compensate the needs of their institutes, however in time, they use it to compensate their own needs.

The effects of the “personal factors” on the emergence of ethical problems

Corruption is an event that has two parties as the giver and the receiver. The factors that create the corruption atmosphere usually have attractive features for both the traffic officers and the citizens. The personal factors can never be thought completely divert from the institutional factors.

The effect of the difficulty of the working conditions of the traffic services on the perception of corruption. The traffic services is a unit of policing that has rather difficult working conditions when compared to most of the units. The staffs who work at the units such as terror or intelligence get some compensations as well as being awarded with salary favors.

Generally, it is possible to have tendencies to get out-of-salary earnings by the people who think that they do not earn as much as they work; namely, they do not think that the salary they get is the equivalent of how their work. Some officers may perceive corruption as the compensation of the right they can not get. This fact is also observed in the research studies conducted in western countries. A thought emerges that the people who take the hardest and dirtiest job should get the price of it properly.

The relationship between heavy penalty and corruption

It is usually thought that the reason why penalties are not deterrent is because the crime is not heavy enough. However, it is claimed that the penalties in traffic are not deterrent, and

they even leaves a leeway for corruption. Both the commercial drivers and the police think that the heavy penalties lead to corruption relationships. For example, it is stated that the fine for over tonnage is approximately 3,500 TL. Instead of paying this amount of money, the driver prefers to bribe.

The penalties that increase corruption relationships

The fact that some results of the traffic penalties are so heavy leads the possibility of the drivers' attempting to bribe the police. To illustrate, along with the "fine" to pay, the commercial drivers have a "driver's licence credits" reduction that leads the driver to be disqualified from driving causes unemployment. Therefore, the driver demands the police not to penalize him or demands a fine that does not require driver's licence credits reduction to be written.

The temptation of corruption

It is seen that most of the staff that work at the traffic services actually does not want so. The reasons for that are the working hours and the tough working conditions. The other reason was the staff's reluctance about going through the difficulty of whether or not to accept bribes.

For the citizens and police officers who do not have sufficient ethical sensibility, giving or receiving bribes is an issue of the temptation of corruption. The integrities and the ethical sensibility of the officers who work at the traffic units are being tested daily by hundreds of proposed corruption.

When the penalties are too severe, the drivers think that bribing is far better. Some of the drivers even claimed that in the case of paying for the penalties instead of bribing the police, they were being more victimized; therefore some did not want to contribute to the research study.

Effect of the "institutional" measures on "personal" ethical problems

As stated above, the corruption problem at traffic is an individual preference, but it can be reduced with preventive measures taken by the institute. For example, the training and education the police get and the education the citizens get in order to be informed about not bribing the police are two fields that complete each other on solving the problem. Moreover, the giving and receiving parties of corruption should be dissuaded with intense control.

"Ethical awareness" training

In the interviews done with the high-level traffic managers it is stated that not enough training is provided for ethical awareness against daily corruption and that the sensibility can not be gained. This has more than one reason.

Firstly, it is seen that the high-level managers of security and the traffic trainers and inspectors are not aware of the danger that the insufficient awariness towards daily corruption can cause more and more professional corruption in years to come.

Secondly, within the intensity of traffic field training, it is observed that there is no spare time left for "ethical sensibility". The half-hearted advices given from time to time are not as strong to help them in real life. For example, one of the officers has stated that his supervisor advices them as: "Do not drink the tea of the citizens..., Do not eat from them... It is not worth it!" In an advice that is given with goodwill, it is stated that taking the risk is not worth it. However, this also means that when it is worth it they can take it.

The officers could have been more resistant equipped with films that are taken from real life stories and with visual education materials.

What is the effect of “training” and “control” on fighting against daily corruption?

- Pre-service and in-service ethics training
- Supervisor control when on duty
- Citizen awareness
- Ethical values and honesty to be the rising value

The image of the high-level police managers and their determination about testing their subordinates' honesty are very important. The lower levels of hierarchy are formed accordingly with the higher ones. The police officers can develop defense mechanisms such as “we do not earn so much”, “everybody takes it, they even take more than us”, intending their supervisors and directors. This kind of a defense both provides a conscientious comfort and this implies that this problem is unsolvable.

In the interviews, it is understood that not being honest becomes less and less irritating in time.

At the places where bribing is so widespread and where there is not so much control, not the people who do involve in corruption but the ones who do not involve in corruption feel in confusion. The existence of an officer or supervisor who does not receive bribes can be perceived as irritating or even as a threat.

“Integrity testing system” as a method of controlling police corruption

Integrity of an officer who work at the traffic units are being tested daily by hundreds of proposed corruption. Even if it is not considered legal; the police officers who are not supported by “trainings” and who are not protected with “inspections”, namely who are left alone in their careers in their daily lives; are open to commit unetical conducts.

In USA, when there is a complaint about an officer that he/she involves in corruption or abuse; the officer is being inspected closely and there occurs integrity tests with scenarios of corruption. Even if it is considered a violation of human rights when this is done to a normal citizen, these tests seem essential for professionals. The police officers are being trained and warned about this even before they start their jobs.

Almost all of those interviewed said that the “integrity testing” would not work as an effective method of detecting traffic officers. One of the reasons for this negative attitude towards integrity testing was that they were not familiar with this method. The negative attitude towards integrity testing system was also partly based on a previous integrity testing like attempts which failed to give the expected result. As it did not have a legal base integrity testing like attempts was refuted by the court as it was considered as an entrapment and therefore illegal. The people who we interviewed believe that this kind of an inspection would bring more harm than benefit in Turkey.

The systematic implication of the integrity test will cause an important rate of deterrent effect. The police officers will think that the person who suggests corruption can be another police; therefore, they will carry out legal procedures about the drivers; and the drivers who learn this will not be as comfortable about corruption.

Some of the major findings of the research and recommendations are as follows:

- Ethical training both in service and pre-service seemed to be lacking the necessities of the job and were not adapted according to the needs of police officers serving in traffic divisions. The police officers were not adequately trained and prepared to the realities of their professional life.
- Civilian professor and uniformed instructors who teach “police ethics” course in various police educational institutions should receive regular and updated training. Police ethics curriculum should be updated and include current issues police officers may be facing in their daily lives. Ethic education should not be limited to abstract ethical advices, but include scenarios taken from real life.
- Presently police ethics course is only taught for one semester and this period is good enough to cover basic subjects and give a general ethical awareness. In addition to general ethics training given at the police educational institutions, there is also need for a follow up and refresher training as an in-service training format. Basic and mostly academic ethical training given in police educational institutions may be supplemented by in-service courses tailored according to the specific needs of the unit and division police officer may be working. Police officers working in different unsit and divisions face different ethical problems and therefore needs follow up ethical training which meets the specific requirements of respective departments and units.
- Newly appointed police officers (rookies) were left to the hands of the hardened (seasoned) and in some cases corrupt officers. Those new officers were not adequately prepared to maintain their decency while working alongside seasoned officers.
- During the performance of traffic duties, the police officers are not systematically tested or detected by their supervisors to see whether they are maintaining the ethical standards or not. Police officers working in a traffic unit sometimes conduct informal integrity tests among themselves. For example, a corrupt officer wants to be sure if the new member of the team is trustworthy (!) by applying a Mama Rossa’s Test. This is “a loyalty test that assesses the willingness of a rookie to go along with other officers when they are violating departmental policy” (Crank and Caldero, 2000: 261). Sometimes the opposite form of the Mama Rossa’s Test (integrity test) is conducted when a straight cop attempts to test a new comer if he/she is decent enough not to engage in corrupt activities.
- Police managers who are keen in promoting ethical awareness and police integrity should spend extra efforts to protect the newly appointed officers from the corruptive effects of seasoned officers. Relationships of new officers and seasoned officers in work environments should closely be monitored by supervising officers. By taking appropriate steps fresh officers can be protected from infectious bad effects of the corrupt officers.
- What is more, corrupt practices can also be controlled or at least minimized, to some extend, by newly appointed officers. Rather than being spoiled by seasoned officers, on the contrary, new officers may play a positive function in the fight against corruption by controlling the corrupt officers. However, this can only be achieved with the determined actions of the supervisory, middle and management ranks in anti-corruption policies. As this requires a very special management skills on the part of supervisory and mid-management ranks, we do not think that researchers of this project are in a position to give a fully satisfactory and comprehensive advices for the management ranks.

- This research has attempted to identify underlying causes of police corruption and ethical issues in traffic services in three major cities in Turkey. However, it would be too much to expect from this research to produce a specific answer to every solution and every aspects of police corruption. This mission can only be accomplished by a working group formed with the participation of multiple actors after the completion and dissemination of this report. Such a committee should be made up with the head of the three traffic departments of the TNP and heads of the traffic departments in three respective cities. Member of the research team of this project and some independent experts on this field may also participate and make crucial academic contribution to this endeavor.
- Minor material benefits such as food, beverages and small gifts and substantial or generous contributions such as providing a computer or similar equipment to a police department or a unit by the so-called respectful members of the public are also a common practice. Police officers working in traffic services often find themselves in a position of asking for something not for themselves but for the division or the unit. But once a police officer is habituated to solicit for something for the department he/she is at the risk of asking for something for themselves. This is probably a very corruption incentive practice and needs to be reconsidered by the senior official as well as politicians.
- Maintenance of police vehicles, buildings and other providence of traffic units such as papers, printer inks and etc. should be met by the government, not by police officers soliciting private business owners. This will, in the first place, prevent police officers getting used to soliciting for money or various supplies for the police department. Once they habituated soliciting for the police departments, it would become easier to solicit for their personal benefits.
- Central government and its local agencies should meet all maintenance expenses and the requirements of the police divisions and units. They should ban the receiving of any material or cash for the police organization.
- Whatever a police officer receives through the misuse of his/her authority is called as “material reward corruption”. This type of corruption may, for some, seem to be insignificant and not important and harmful enough to deal with. Yet this is proven wrong. The most insignificant and unimportant form of corruption may generate a long line of corruption. As Crank and Caldero (2000: 264) have stated “the theory that the first illegal acts committed by a police officer are minor and easy to justify. However, subsequent, more serious acts of wrongdoing are easier to justify”. In other words, minor and so-called insignificant corrupt activities will have a “slippery-slope” effect and will lead to more serious unethical activities and crimes.
- The survey did not include any specific question to test the link, if there is any, between “grass eater” level corruption and its “slippery slope” effects of turning police officers into a “meat eaters”. However, one can, based on a common sense about human nature, estimate that it is very likely that a police officer who is a “grass eater”, working in a corruptive cultural environment, may gradually turn into a “meat eater”. Based on our personal impression, not on a statistical data, it can be argued that all “grass eaters” may not become a “meat eater” but, almost all of the meat eaters begin as a “grass eater”.
- Apart from the law concerning bribe and other serious corrupt activities, there are no officially declared and publicized “organizational/departmental policies on ethical

standards". Turkish Police Code of Ethics, which has been prepared in line with the European Code of Police Ethics has not been reflected to the organizational policy yet. It would certainly require a considerable amount of time and effort to disseminate ethical principles among the members of Turkish police.

- Traffic police officers are under constant pressure to accept things offered or given them by private and commercial drivers every day. What is more, organizational culture is also more or less tolerant towards what they see as minor corruption. Under these circumstances, ethical training given to police officers will be too weak to resist the temptation of corruption. In order to be able to maintain their integrity there is a need to promote ethical awareness among the police officers as well as civilians. Refreshment trainings can be given in addition to basic police ethics training given in police educational institutions. For example, short movies can be made to be used in police training as well as for public view. Additionally, posters, brochures and leaflets, promoting ethical awareness, can be printed and displayed in police stations as well as in public spaces. Ethical awareness of the police officers and civilians may be raised by similar activities and ethical campaigns.

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ANNEX 1: Research Methodology

Making a choice amongst methods and approaches in doing a social research is a difficult one especially in terms of variety of methods, the nature of research, the time of choosing an approach and the need for more than one approach. One must be careful in choosing approaches which the nature of research requires, especially during the process of research, as said somewhere, researchers must avoid limiting themselves to a narrow choice of methods and several methods together may provide better and cheaper answers than any single method can.

The nature of the subject matter under investigation has required a qualitative approach as well as quantitative research in terms of collecting official records and reports, and analysing those data. Related to the action content of the research a qualitative research methodology has its own advantages especially when the process of implementation is of significant interest as well as the policy outputs and outcomes. In terms of defining the term qualitative research, it can be said that any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about persons' lives, stories, behaviour, but also about organizational functioning, social movements, or interaction relationships.

The survey as a quantitative approach is also chosen to get a general view from police officers in traffic services and citizens on routine corruption. In this respect, in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, a survey was held with 1057 people; 486 of them are citizens and 571 are police officers. Before going to the field, the researchers were faced with a resistance from the Police Organization. They were unwilling to let the survey be held, but after nearly 45 days, they were unwillingly convinced and let the survey conducted. This caused a delay to reach the final project report.