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SATISFACTION WITH AN ALTERNATIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT APPROACH, GENDARMERIE: A CASE STUDY FROM TURKEY

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to fill an important gap in the comparative literature of criminal justice by comparing the public perception of two law enforcement organizations in Turkey: the Turkish National Gendarmerie and the Turkish National Police. The data were taken from the Turkish Life Satisfaction Survey conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institution in 2008. Binary logistic regression was used to obtain the results. The independent variable of the study was a dummy variable that indicated whether respondents received their law enforcement services from the Gendarmerie or the Turkish National Police. The dependent variables were satisfaction of citizens with the traffic services carried out by the law enforcement system, satisfaction of citizens with the timeliness of the law enforcement system (in intervening with crime) and satisfaction of citizens with the behavior of the law enforcement system. The control variables were fear of crime, individual victimization, age, income, marital status, level of education, satisfaction with the neighborhood, and gender. The results of the study indicate that Turkish citizens, who receive law enforcement services from the Gendarmerie are more likely to be satisfied with traffic services, attitudes towards citizens, and timeliness in intervening a crime compared to those people who receive law enforcement service from police. This study presents the notion of gendarmerie (law enforcement organization with military status) and provides evidence that of Gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations can perform law enforcement duties as effective as traditional police forces based on public satisfaction.

Keywords: Law Enforcement, Police, Gendarmerie, Satisfaction, Turkey.

1. Introduction

Studies of public satisfaction with the law enforcement system are critical because one of the main indicators of the effectiveness of the law enforcement services is the satisfaction of citizens with their security agencies. Furthermore, the public's trust in their law enforcement agencies is related to the social control mission of these agencies through their influence on citizen assistance and collaboration (Schafer et al., 2003). In other words, the satisfaction of citizens with law enforcement agencies affects the level of informal social control enforced by citizens (Silver and Miller, 2004).

From this standpoint, a common question is whether or not the structure of law enforcement agencies affects the perceived satisfaction of citizens. One law enforcement agency where effectiveness (satisfaction of citizens with it) has not been measured to date, is the Gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations. Considering their ability to serve in both a military and a police manner and capability to serve under both civilian and military command, The gendarmeries deserves special attention from criminal justice scholars. In this sense, the gendarmerie's overall capabilities might provide a plausible approach for dealing with various forms of crime control such as violent demonstration. The gendarmerie system and its capabilities are utilized to benefit many countries in Europe, such as France, Italy, Spain, and Romania. Despite the potential of the gendarmerie in dealing with crimes, based on knowledge of authors of this study, there is presently no study that reports measuring the effectiveness of the Gendarmerie by comparing it to traditional police forces. Therefore, in this study we have attempted to address the gap in the comparative literature of criminal justice by

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examining the public perceptions of the Turkish National Gendarmerie in Turkey. Since 2008 Turkish Life Satisfaction Survey provides data concerning satisfaction of citizens with the law enforcement services in Turkey (The Turkish National Police and the Gendarmerie), this specific dataset was utilized in this study. It was expected that this study would provide a framework for further studies aimed at understanding the difference between the likelihood of satisfaction of citizens with the Police and the Gendarmerie.

In this study, the comparative method was preferred in order to articulate whether there is a variation between the satisfaction of citizens who receive their law enforcement services from the Gendarmerie and the satisfaction of those who live in an area where the National Police are responsible for security. That is to say, the goal of carrying out the comparisons conducted in this paper was to demonstrate how an alternative law enforcement approach, the Gendarmerie, is as effective as the Police based on the satisfaction ratings of citizens. One of the goals of comparative studies discussed by David Nelken (2007) is “to show how meaning of crime and criminal justice is embedded within changing local, international, historical and cultural contexts”. In this sense, we note that in both an international and local context, the Gendarmerie seems to be an ascending criminal justice agency because the gendarmerie model is an added value model that can be utilized throughout a crisis to carry out various missions which the police force cannot take on, yet which do not require harsh use of army units (Gobinet, 2008). As an example of these kind of crisis situations, riot, and peace keeping operations are such situations. Despite these advantages, from the perspective of citizens, how Gendarmerie performs their law enforcement duties, preventing crime and providing safety is a noteworthy research question, which was asked in this study. In this respect we compared Turkish National Police and Gendarmerie in order to examine how an alternative criminal justice agency can become a rational option when dealing with crimes in rural areas. In this paper, three different dimensions of effectiveness (timeliness in intervening in a crime activity, traffic services and attitudes toward citizens) were used as outputs to indicate how the Gendarmerie is as effective as a traditional police force. Moreover, another justification for our comparison, which David Nelken (2002) pointed out, is that the mission of comparative criminal justice is to compare our own method for dealing with crimes with those who practice in a different way. This often includes trying to learn from what is done in other countries or different cities (Nelken, 2009). From this standpoint, our study attempted to provide a framework for future studies that might examine the effectiveness of the Gendarmerie. In short, we compared the Turkish National Police and the Gendarmerie because other countries using the Gendarmerie system might benefit from this study on how the Gendarmerie is as effective as the Police in terms of satisfaction of citizens in rural areas. Furthermore, countries not using the Gendarmerie system might consider this alternative law enforcement agency for their own law enforcement system.

In the following sections, the brief history of the Gendarmerie and the Turkish law enforcement system is examined. Then, the academic resources examined are utilized to support our argument in this paper. In the next step, the dataset was analyzed with binary logistic regression and the results in public satisfaction with the Turkish National Police and the Gendarmerie are presented. Finally, several implications and limitations to this study are highlighted, and recommendations are made for future research.

2. Understanding the Notion of the Gendarmerie

The notion of Gendarmerie is not known well by English-speaking countries and takes little attention from criminal justice scholars of the United States. In order to better understand the notion, it would be useful to examine what really gendarmerie is. France established first gendarmerie organization during the time of the revolution. Later, some European countries including Italy, Ottoman Empire (in our day Turkey) and Spain formed their own gendarmerie organizations in the 19th century. Fundamentally, these organizations had military personnel, however their primary duty was to maintain law and order in the rural areas of their countries (Lutterbeck, 2004).

For the purpose of this study, “Gendarmerie” refers law enforcement organization with military status. Even though they don’t call themselves as gendarmerie, Italian Carabinieri and Spain Guardia Civil is regarded as gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations since both of them are law enforcement organizations with military status. These types of organizations perform a range of police functions such as traffic control, criminal investigations, and general policing activities in their home countries. They can operate with military or civilian ability as in the case of gendarmerie forces of Turkey, France, Italy and Spain. These organizations have similar structure, competence and tasks in their home countries. For instance, France’s Gendarmerie and Italy’s Carabinieri are subordinate to the Ministry of Defense in times of war but perform domestic law enforcement, during peacetime under the command of Ministry of Interior.

3. Law Enforcement System in Turkey

In Turkey, the Ministry of the Interior is responsible for maintaining law and order across the national territory. There are mainly two law enforcement organizations in Turkey: (1) Turkish National Police and (2) Turkish National Gendarmerie. While both of them are subordinate to Ministry of interior in maintaining law and order, it should be noteworthy to express that there is a difference between the Turkish National Police and the Turkish National Gendarmerie in terms of the subordination. While, in terms of training and education, Turkish National Gendarmerie is subordinated to the Turkish Armed Forces, it is subordinated to the Ministry of Interior in terms of maintaining public order. The Ministry of Interior provides its budget and its equipment.

In performing law enforcement duties, Turkish National Police is responsible for urban areas and the Turkish National Gendarmerie is responsible for sub-urban areas. The Turkish National Gendarmerie performs security and public order services in 92% of Turkey geographically and for 41% of the total population. Approximately 27 million people live in the gendarmerie jurisdiction areas; this number increases to 43 million (65% of the population) in the summer months (Soylemez, 2005).

In provinces and cities of Turkey, there are two law enforcement agencies: (1) police and gendarmerie. Both of them perform law enforcement duties under the command of the province or city governor. The police are responsible from the center of provinces or cities. However, the gendarmerie's responsibility area is the countryside of the provinces or cities. In other words, gendarmerie's jurisdiction area is outside of the police duty zones in a particular city or a province.

4. Literature Review

The perception citizens hold of law enforcement agencies is one indicator of whether the law enforcement agencies will have a notable effect on the citizens, and whether the citizens will be satisfied with the law enforcement agencies. In the literature review, determinants of the public's satisfaction with law enforcement agencies are conceptualized as two categories by Correia, Reising, and Lovrich (1996). The first category is made up by individual factors such as age, income, education, and gender. The second category includes contextual or social factors, such as previous experience with law enforcement agencies (Correia et al., 1996), and neighborhood crime (Alpert and Dunham, 1980). In this regard, the timeliness of law enforcement agencies, which refers to the time for them to respond to a call for assistance, the nature of the traffic services offered, and the attitudes of police officers or Gendarmerie officers toward the citizens are studied in this paper. The perception of citizens in urban areas and in rural areas on law enforcement agencies, namely police officers and military officers, are discussed in this section of the paper.

4.1. Attitudes of Officers

A holistic assessment of law enforcement agencies is carried out by the perception citizens hold of law enforcement agencies (Kumar, 2012). When officers behave in an unfair manner, this incident shapes not merely their short term officer-citizen encounters, but also citizens general opinion of law enforcement agencies (Tyler 1990; Tyler and Huo, 2002). The comprehensive perception of the public is also designated by some other factors, such as cooperation with law enforcement actions, support of police officers or gendarmeries' actions, and the degree of obedience to the instructions of officers (Kumar, 2012). It is also noteworthy that "*Thus, it is conceivable that negative perceptions of the police contribute to a cycle of reduced police effectiveness, increased crime, and further distrust of police*" (Brown and Benedict, 2002, p.545.)

The context of law enforcement agencies and citizen interactions with these agencies are a key determinant of the citizens' perception of law enforcement agencies (Wilson, 1983). On the basis of the research conducted by Bordua and Tifft (1971) when law enforcement agencies treat the citizens fairly and answer their service call with compassion, the citizens' assessment regarding the law enforcement agencies' performance tends to be higher. Additionally, Engel (2005) avers that the type of and frequency of contact in this regard has a significant influence on the citizens' perception of officers and influences their understanding, because the satisfaction of those who have had previous contact with officers, tends to remain low. Generally, when the citizens are treated with respect by law enforcement agencies, the citizens assess the officers' performance positively (Johnson, 2004). Furthermore, some evidence reveals voluntary and positive interactions between citizens and officers improves the satisfaction level of citizens toward officers (Thurman and Reising, 1996).

The attitude of a law enforcement agency towards its citizens is a specific predictor of the satisfaction level of the citizens. Citizens overall assessment regarding their law enforcement agencies is determined in turn by the attitudes of officers (Dean, 1980). Within our research context that aimed at comparing the Turkish Gendarmerie and the National Police, for the first indicator of public satisfaction, it was hypothesized that:

H₁: Among Turkish adults, citizens who receive their law enforcement services from the Gendarmerie would be more likely to be satisfied with the attitudes of law enforcement agencies than citizens who live in an area where the National Police are responsible for security.

4.2. Response Time of Law Enforcement Agencies

One of the predictors of the satisfaction level of citizens toward law enforcement agencies is the response time with respect to the required law enforcement actions. The published research has indicated that a rapid response time significantly impacts citizens' satisfaction (McEwen, Thomas, Connors and Cohen, 1986). One example of research that aimed to gauge the relationship between citizen satisfaction with police and rapid response time was conducted by McEwen et al. (1986). According to the research results, if there appears a delay to citizen service calls, the satisfaction level of citizens toward law enforcement agencies decreases. Brandl and Horvath (1991) asserted that a rapid response time is also a significant component of a victims' assessment toward law enforcement agencies. For instance, Brandl and Horvath (1991) conducted a survey, which asked whether response time had any effect on the victims' satisfaction level toward law enforcement agencies on 436 crime victims. On the basis of the results, victim satisfaction level in serious offenses was affected by the victim's anticipated response time. A slow response time, ineffective and disrespectful policing perceptions engendered low citizen satisfaction levels. As a matter of fact, in spite of the increase in the number of officers, this increase did not trigger any decrease in the crime rate (Bayley, 1996).

This measure of citizen satisfaction with its police as far as the time it takes for an officer to respond to a call for assistance is termed the 'Response time' and the citizens' satisfaction with law enforcement agencies' response time was examined in the present study. In this vein, for the second indicator, it was hypothesized that:

H₂: Among Turkish adults, citizens who receive their law enforcement services from the Gendarmerie are more likely to be satisfied with the response time of law enforcement agencies than citizens who live in an area where the National Police are responsible for security.

4.3. Traffic Service

Law enforcement agency-citizen encounters are generally categorized as either "voluntary" or "involuntary" (Bercal, 1969). Existing data indicates that citizens who have had contact with law enforcement agencies involuntarily tend to give negative reviews regarding officer performance compared to those who initiated the contact (Schwartz and Clarren, 1978). The most general type of involuntary contact of citizens with law enforcement agencies are traffic stops. According to Vedder and Keller (1965), this type of contact with officers has been defined as the most deleterious encounter to law enforcement agencies in the eyes of citizens. After taking a citation, the citizens more often than not feel very frustrated due to the increased car insurance costs or believe that the officers' main concern should be serious crime (Radalet and Carter, 1994). According to Correia et al. (1996), receiving a traffic citation from an officer has a negative influence on the citizens' perception of officers, in general.

According to Shelley, Hogan, Unnithan, and Stretesky (2013), it is a remarkable to consider the degree to which perception of traffic safety or the motoring environment quality can influence a citizens' satisfaction level. Specifically, the motoring environment might be regarded as an equivalent measure of life quality. Shelley et al. (2013) exemplified the fact that if a driver uses a particular route when he goes to work, school, shopping or another activities, being familiar and observations regarding accidents, traffic conditions, the number of drivers driving while intoxicated or other problems will have a considerable effect on the perception of citizens toward law enforcement agencies.

Therefore, the last indicator which gauges the satisfaction of citizens is the nature of the traffic services. In this study, the satisfaction level of citizens who reside in rural settings, and are served by the Gendarmerie was compared to the satisfaction level of citizens who live in urban settings, with services provided by the National Police force. Thus, for the third indicator, it was hypothesized that:

H₃: Among Turkish adults, citizens who receive their law enforcement services from the Gendarmerie are more likely to be satisfied with the traffic services of law enforcement agencies than citizens who live in an area where the National Police are responsible for security.

As a result of our literature review and questions asked in the data set, we selected to examine the control variables, satisfaction with neighborhood, fear of crime, and victimization, which are predictors which illustrate the level of citizen satisfaction toward law enforcement agencies. According to Hawdon, Ryan, and Griffin (2003), satisfaction with law enforcement agencies is formed by the neighborhoods and community where citizens reside. Inhabitants who reside in a socially disorganized community tend to be less satisfied than those in an organized community (Reisig and Parks, 2004). If law enforcement agencies succeed in fighting

crimes that affect them negatively, the inhabitants will feel safer in the society (Bridenball, 2005). However, if law enforcement agencies are ineffective in fighting against crime, high levels of fear of crimes and victimization will be anticipated (Steadman, Minton and Townsend, 1999). Several studies have proven that satisfaction with law enforcement agencies remains low among inhabitants in neighborhoods with high level of crime or where fear of crimes is perceived to be high (Jesilow, Meyer, & Namazzi, 1995; M. D. Reisig & Parks, 2006).

In addition to the aforementioned factors, some demographic factors, such as age, gender, family income, education, and marital status influence the perception of citizens toward law enforcement agencies. In most cases, there is a positive association between age and the perception of citizens toward city police. (Hadar and Snortum, 1975; Jesilow et al., 1995; Wilson, 1983) Younger individuals have negative police-citizen encounters, so officers are regarded as officials who restrict their acts (Cao et al., 1998). According to the research conducted by Reisig and Correia (1997), it appears that the city police are perceived as a more serious threat by younger citizens than county police compared to older citizens.

Brown and Benedict (2002) examined 100 articles and found that age, race, previous contact with police, and neighborhood characteristics have a significant effect on the satisfaction level of citizens. However, they did not stress that gender is insignificant. This means that gender is simply less meaningful than age, race, previous contact, and neighborhood characteristics (Lord et al., 2009). Skogan (2006) claims that since males have more contact with law enforcement agencies than females, they are presumed less supportive toward officers.

Education and family income are utilized to designate the socioeconomic status of citizens in society. In parallel to increases in socioeconomic status, trust in law enforcement agencies increases (Karakus, McGarrell, & Basibuyuk, 2010). On the contrary, Cao and Solomon Zhao (2005) aver that since law enforcement agencies symbolize the brutal part of governments, an increase in socioeconomic status may result in a stringer who desire for more freedom, and decreased trust in the police. Additionally, marital status, which is perceived as a factor integrating citizens into society, is a notable indicator to measure the satisfaction level of citizens toward law enforcement agencies (Schafer et al., 2003; Correia, 2000). Marital status indicates the extent of people's "investments" in society. Those who have more investments in society might tend to bolster the law enforcement agencies' activities more than those with fewer investments.

5. Method

5.1. Data and sample

The data for this current study was drawn from the Turkey Life Satisfaction Survey (2008) conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute at the national level. The survey has been conducted since 2003 annually and aims at measuring social issues, such as the public's perception of state agencies, happiness, social relations, education, economic conditions, future expectations, among other factors. In addition to having a national sample, which can be considered as representing the entire Turkish population, the reason why this data was used in this study is two folds. First, the survey provides a question which enables us to determine whether respondents received their law enforcement services from the National Police or the Gendarmerie. Second, recent surveys no longer ask this question. In terms of the data collection method, the sample consisted of 6465 respondents who were 18 years old and over, and who were randomly selected from 2878 households from rural and urban areas of Turkey by using a two stage stratified cluster sampling approach.

5.2. Measurement

To understand the different aspects of satisfaction with law enforcement, three different variables were used as dependent variables to measure public satisfaction with law enforcement. The first dependent variable asked whether or not respondents were satisfied with the timeliness of the law enforcement they encountered when the police/gendarmerie had to come to crime sites. The second dependent variable measured the satisfaction of respondents with the attitudes of law enforcement personnel towards citizens. The third asked whether or not respondents were satisfied with the traffic services provided by the law enforcement agencies. All dependent variable were dichotomous response categories ranging from 0= not satisfied to 1=satisfied.

The independent variable was a single item indicating whether respondents received their law enforcement services from the National Police or the Gendarmerie. Responses were coded as 0=the National Police and 1= the Gendarmerie.

For the control variables, fear of crime, individual victimization, satisfaction with the neighborhood, and demographic characteristics such as gender, education, family income, marital status and age were used to increase the explanatory power of the models. Fear of crime was measured with a scale having two items asking respondents how safe they feel when they are alone in their homes and when they are walking in their neighborhoods at night time (Cronbach's alpha =.834) Response categories range from (1=very safe) to (5=very

unsafe). Responses were summed and divided by question numbers to keep the original scale intact. Individual victimization indicates whether or not respondents were victimized by any of the following crime types: threats, rape, robbery, and snatching, violent assaults, harassment by telephone or other type of crimes. Respondents who were at victimized at least once by the crime types above were coded 1 and other was coded =0. For satisfaction with neighborhood, using a 5 category response set (1=Very dissatisfied, 5=Very satisfied), respondents were asked how satisfied they were with their neighborhood in 2008. Gender was coded as 1= male and 0=female. For marital status, 1 was assigned to respondents who were married and 0 was assigned to others. Education as a variable had 5 ranked categories ranging from 1=Elementary school or less to 5= Graduate level education. Family income was measured a scale having 6 categories in that a higher score represented a higher income (1=0-450 New Turkish Liras and 6= 2501 YTL (New Turkish Lira) or more.) Age was measured in years.

5.3. Analysis Plan

The present analysis was conducted through a descriptive and multivariate analysis. For the multivariate analysis, three different logistic regression analyses were used in an attempt to better understand whether or not respondents were satisfied with the attitudes, timeliness, and traffic services of the law enforcement agencies studied. For each analysis, two models were run. In the first model, the effect of the independent variable, showing what sort of law enforcement respondents had was measured alone. In the second model, control variables were introduced to increase the explanatory power of the model.

6. Results

6.1. Descriptive Analysis

As seen in Table 1, on average, most respondents (around 79%) were satisfied with the attitudes, timeliness and traffic services of their law enforcement agencies. On average, 75% of the respondents received their law enforcement services from the National Police. The average score on the index of fear of crimes, ranging from 1 to 5, was 2.76. In 2008, on average, 5.5 % of the respondents were victimized at least once by any crime type. The mean score on the index of satisfaction with neighborhood was 3.79 with a standard deviation of .86, meaning that Turkish people were, on average, satisfied with their neighborhood. The percentage of males in the data set was slightly greater than females (55%). Average education that respondents had was secondary school. Most of the respondents were married (76%). The average family income of respondents ranged between 701 YTL and 900 YTL in 2008. On average, respondents were 42 years old.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations (S.D.), and Range of Variables Used in the Analysis of Turkish Adults, in the 2008 Life Satisfaction Survey , (N=6465)

Variables	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
<i>Dependent Variables</i>					
Satisfaction with Traffic Service (1=Yes)	6465	78.6 %		0	1
Satisfaction with Behaviors (1=Yes)	6465	79.3%		0	1
Satisfaction with Timeless (1=Yes)	6465	78.5%		0	1
<i>Independent Variable</i>					
Sort of Law Enforcement (1=Gendarmerie)	6465	.25 %		0	1
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Fear of Crime	6465	2.46	.868	1	5
Victimization as Individual (1=Yes)	6465	5.5%		0	1
Satisfaction with Neighborhood	6465	3.79	.857	1	5
Gender (1=Male)	6465	45.2 %	.497	0	1
Marital Status (1= Married)	6465	76.0 %		0	1
Education	6465	1.77	1.07	1	5
Family income	6465	3.17	1.41	1	6
Age	6465	42.99	16.13	18	96

6.2. Multivariate Analysis

As discussed in the previous section, logistic regression was used for analyzing the two models of each dependent variable. For satisfaction with traffic services of the law enforcement agencies, as seen in Table 2, the first model indicated that there was a positive relationship between having law enforcement services from the Gendarmerie and satisfaction with traffic services of law enforcement ($p \leq 0.001$). After introducing the control variables into the second model, it was observed that -2 Log Likelihood of the model decreased and model X^2 increased, which means that the second model is the best fit model and has more explanatory power. In this vein, there was a positive and significant relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variable in model 2 ($p \leq 0.001$). Moreover, those who have law enforcement service from the Gendarmerie were 1.67 times more likely to be satisfied with traffic services of law enforcement in comparison to those who lived in an area where the National Police were responsible for security, controlling for all other variables (Odds ratio=1.67). For control variables, it appeared that there is a positive and significant relationship between traffic service of law enforcement and satisfaction with neighborhood ($p \leq 0.001$), age ($p \leq 0.001$) and being married ($p \leq 0.001$). On the other hand, fear of crimes ($p \leq 0.001$), being victimized ($p \leq 0.001$), being male ($p \leq 0.001$), and family income ($p \leq 0.001$) were negatively and significantly associated with the dependent variable, all else being equal.

For satisfaction with the timeliness of law enforcement, model 1 indicated that having law enforcement services from the Gendarmerie was positively and significantly related to the satisfaction with timeliness of law enforcement ($p \leq 0.001$). When we introduced control variables in the second model, it appeared that the second model was the best model since -2 Log Likelihood of the second model is smaller than model 1, and model X^2 of the models was greater than model 1. In the second model, it was seen that there was a significant relationship between the law enforcement type and satisfaction with the timeliness of law enforcement ($p \leq 0.001$). Therefore, respondents who lived in an area where the Gendarmerie is responsible for security reported being 1.72 times more likely to be satisfied with the timeliness of law enforcement than those who received their law enforcement services from the National Police, holding other factors constant (odds ratio=1.72). Focusing on the control variables, satisfaction with neighborhood ($p \leq 0.001$), age ($p \leq 0.001$) and being married ($p \leq 0.001$) were positive and significant whereas fear of crimes ($p \leq 0.001$), being victimized ($p \leq 0.001$), being male ($p \leq 0.001$), and family income ($p \leq 0.001$) negatively and significantly related to the dependent variable, timeliness of law enforcement, all else equal.

For attitudes towards citizens, the first model showed that receiving law enforcement services from the Gendarmerie and the National Police has a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of being satisfied with law enforcement ($p \leq 0.001$). Introducing control variables into the second model, the second model was observed as the best fit model because of the lower -2 Log Likelihood and higher X^2 than model 1. In the second model, a statistically and significantly variation in perception of citizens on attitudes of the Gendarmerie and the National Police were reported as well ($p \leq 0.001$). The predicted odds of being satisfied with law enforcement for those who are having their law enforcement service from the Gendarmerie were 1.86 times those for respondents who lived an area where the National Police were responsible for security, holding other factors constant (Odds ratio=1.86). For control variables, while satisfaction with neighborhood ($p \leq 0.001$), age ($p \leq 0.001$) and being married ($p \leq 0.001$) were positively and significantly associated with the dependent variable fear of crimes ($p \leq 0.001$), being victimized ($p \leq 0.001$), being male ($p \leq 0.001$), and family income ($p \leq 0.001$) negatively and significantly correlated with the dependent variable, and attitudes of law enforcement toward citizens, all else being equal.

Table 2. Logistic Regressions Analyses of Satisfaction With Traffic Service, Satisfaction With Timeliness and Satisfaction Attitudes

Variable	Satisfaction Traffic Service		Satisfaction Timeliness		Satisfaction Attitudes	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	OR (SE)
Sort of Law Enforcement (1=Gendarmerie, 0=Police)	2.6425*** (0.2281)	1.6594*** (.1548)	2.401*** (.201)	1.72*** (.157)	2.979*** (.279)	1.8589 (.182)
<i>Control Variables</i>						

Fear of Crime		.6689*** (.0262)		.6568*** (.0254)		.6319*** (.0251)
Victimization as Individual (1=Yes)		.5575*** (.0685)		.4475*** (.0531)		.5647*** (.0700)
Satisfaction with Neighborhood		1.25*** (.0498)		1.348*** (.0526)		1.254*** (.0506)
Gender (1=Male)		.5567*** (.0386)		.5760*** (.0395)		.6221*** (.0435)
Marital Status (1=Married)		1.07 (.0843)		1.221*** (.093)		1.333** (.1020)
Education		.7654*** (.025)		.853*** (.0098)		.769*** (.0095)
Family income		.83*** (.0222)		.90*** (.0237)		.8318*** (.0225)
Age		1.007*** (.0023)		1.009*** (.0023)		1.007*** (.0023)
Constant	3.064*** (.100)	12.42*** (3.07)	3.066*** (.102)	4.99*** (1.204)	7.3613*** (.104)	11.57 (2.895)
-2 Log Likelihood	3281.45	3010.71	3299.9582	3053.2356	3205.9358	2925.11 86
Model X ²	149.12***	690.60***	125.11***	618.56***	175.78***	737.41** *
N	6465	6465	6465	6465	6465	6465

P<.001***, P<.01**, P<.05*. Standard Errors were presented in parenthesis. (OR=Odds Ratio)

7. Discussion and conclusion

The principal aim of this study was to make a comparison between satisfaction of citizens with Turkish National Police and Gendarmerie. Based on the results of the study, on average, Turkish citizens who receive their law enforcement services from the Turkish Gendarmerie are more satisfied than those who have their law enforcement service from the Turkish National Police in terms of the three criteria, which constituted the dependent variables of this present study. That is to say, the citizens living in areas where the Gendarmerie is responsible for services are more satisfied with the timeliness of law enforcement actions in intervening in crimes, their attitudes toward the citizens and traffic services provided by this law enforcement service than those living in areas where the National Police are responsible. Therefore, we can say that the three hypotheses of the study were supported by the results. Also, as for control variables, while being married, satisfaction with the neighborhood and age were positively related with satisfaction with law enforcement, fear of crimes, being victimized, being male and family income had a negative relationship as regards satisfaction with law enforcement. In this respect, the negative effect of family income should be emphasized because this is related to the power of the state and civil society in Turkey. Because power of the state over civil society is a long-standing characteristic of Turkish political structure (Sozen and Shaw, 2002), this negative effect might be related to the response of higher socioeconomic class to power distance between civil society and the Turkish public bureaucracy (Karakus et al., 2010).

Taken as a whole, our results indicated that in addition to its military tasks, such as participation in peacekeeping operations, the Gendarmerie might be effective as police in providing law enforcement services to citizens. In other words, the Gendarmerie system might be considered as an alternative and effective law enforcement system in dealing with crimes with its unique capabilities in rural areas.

Despite the strength of the study in that a national sample was presently used and this increases the generalizability of the study in Turkey, the study has the following weaknesses. It should be considered that there might be a variation in citizens' expectations from law enforcement service for rural and urban areas. These expectations, also, have an impact on the perception of citizens toward police (Brown and Benedict, 2002). For instance, residents in urban and rural communities have different expectations from law enforcement agencies (Maguire et al., 1991). Despite the fact that this issue is not examined much (Weisheit et al., 2005), it is anticipated that citizen perception regarding crime and law enforcement agencies is differentiated by whether

respondents reside in urban or rural communities. The existing studies about the perceptions of citizens living in urban and rural communities did not result in comprehensive conclusions (Brown and Benedict, 2002). Some studies showed rural inhabitants are more satisfied with law enforcement agencies (Huang and Vaughn, 1996; Hurst, 2007; Kowalewski et al. 1984; Worrall 1999), other studies resulted in the opposite findings (Zamble and Annesley, 1987), and some indicate that there are no major discrepancies between urban and rural inhabitants (Albrecht and Green, 1977). Therefore, it can be said that The Gendarmerie and The National Police are responsible for different areas having different geographical features and crime rates. These differences might have effect on the public's perception of law enforcement agencies.

For further studies, this case study approach can be conducted in different countries having a Gendarmerie system to provide more generalizable results. In addition, countries that have similar cultural values might be compared as far as having a gendarmerie system or a conventional police system in rural areas to better understand any differences in perception of citizens of these law enforcement services. Multi-level studies with samples from different countries with Gendarmerie systems in rural areas can also help provide a more generalizable picture to help us understand the effectiveness of the Gendarmerie. Over and above these ideas, evaluation programs and qualitative studies might contribute to our knowledge on the effectiveness of the Gendarmerie. In sum, although there have been studies focusing and highlighting the advantages of the Gendarmerie in the context of international peace keeping operations and hostile environments with its semi military structure, this study fills the gap in the literature by centering on the conventional security role of the Gendarmerie in rural policing.

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