Making of the Ottoman Policemen (1876-1918)

Süheyla Nil Mustafa

A dissertation presented to the

Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
at Boğaziçi University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

July 2018

Approvals

"Making of the Ottoman Policemen (1876-1918)," a dissertation prepared by Süheyla Nil Mustafa in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, has been approved on 22 June 2018 by:

DISSERTATION ADVISOR

Professor Nadir Özbek _____
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
Boğaziçi University

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Professor Cengiz Kırlı _____
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
Boğaziçi University

Professor Cüneyd Okay _____
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Istanbul Technical University

Associate Professor Gültekin Yıldız _____
National Defense University

Assistant Professor Ufuk Adak _____
Department of Social Sciences
Altınbaş University

Copyright © 2018 Süheyla Nil Mustafa.
Some rights reserved.



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

To view a copy of this license, visit
http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/.

Abstract

"Making of the Ottoman Policemen (1876-1918)"

Süheyla Nil Mustafa, Doctoral Candidate at the Atatürk Institute
for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2018

Professor Nadir Özbek, Dissertation Advisor

This thesis aims at providing a social history of the police force in the late Ottoman Empire from the beginning of the establishment of the modern police forces under the Ministry of Police till the end of the Ottoman Empire (1876-1918). Following Foucault's theory on subject formation and modern power, the late modern Ottoman police force is conceptualized as a modern institution of power which shapes the mentalities and behaviors of its policemen. The dissertation illustrates how the modes of thinking and behaviors of policemen were corrected and normalized with respect to certain norms by analyzing the function of surveillance and disciplinary mechanisms in police stations. The study is based on primary data gathered from the Ottoman archives of the Prime Ministry as well as printed materials such as the Ottoman police journals, "Polis" and "Polis Mecmuası" and the training manuals of police schools. Literature on the Ottoman police offers an institutional history of the force and mostly provides an examination of the administrative-legal development of the institution. However, these studies provide an understanding of the police institution without taking into account the significant actors of this institution or policemen, their mentalities and modes of behavior meaning the subjectivities of the police officers. This study explores the modern Ottoman police by bringing its main actors in focus and also illuminates the social history of Ottoman policemen which has been left at the margins of the literature on police.

91,500 words

Özet

"Osmanlı Polisinin İnşası (1876-1918)"

Süheyla Nil Mustafa, Doktora Adayı, 2018
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Profesör Nadir Özbek, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez, Osmanlı polis teşkilatının Zabtiye Nezareti adı altında kurulmuş olduğu tarihten imparatorluğun nihayete erdiği zamana kadar geçen sürede (1876-1918) bu kurum mensupları olan polis memurlarının sosyal tarihine ışık tutmayı hedeflemektedir. Fransız düşünür Foucault'nun özne kurulumu ve modern iktidar kavramsallaştırmalarından yola çıkarak bu tezde son dönem Osmanlı polis kurumu, polis memurlarının zihniyet ve davranışlarını şekillendiren modern bir iktidar aygıtı olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu bağlamda modern bir iktidar aygıtı olarak polis kurumu kurum içi eğitim ve disiplin faaliyetleri yoluyla polis memurlarının çeşitli beceri, bilgi birikimi, tavır ve niteliklere sahip birer özne olarak kurulmasını sağlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri'nden elde edilmiş belgelerden, Osmanlı polis kurumu tarafından hizmet içi eğitim için 1911-1918 yılları arasında yayınlanmış olan Polis Mecmuası ve Polis gazetelerinden ve polis okulu ders kitaplarından yararlanılmıştır. Osmanlı polisi konusunda şimdiye kadar yapılmış olan çalışmalar çoğunlukla polisin kurumsal tarihini yani idari yapıdaki dönüşümü polis nizamnameleri ve kurumsal yapılanmayı irdeleyerek ele almaktadır. Böylelikle de polis kurumunun temel aktörleri olan polisleri, onların zihniyet ve davranış biçimlerini yani öznelliklerini değerlendirmeden kurum yapısını tartışmaktadır. Bu çalışma ise modern Osmanlı polis kurumunu, bu kurumun baş aktörleri olan polis memurlarını merkeze alarak değerlendirmekte ve böylece polis literatüründe kenarda bırakılmış olan polis memurlarının sosyal tarihine ışık tutmayı hedeflemektedir.

91.500 kelime

Curriculum Vitæ

SÜHEYLA NIL MUSTAFA

Born 23.04.1980
in Istanbul, Turkey

EDUCATION

Ph.D.	Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History Boğaziçi University 2017
M.A.	Political Science and International Relations Boğaziçi University 2006
B.A.	Political Science & International Relations and Sociology Double-Major Boğaziçi University 2003

PUBLICATIONS

- "Yeni Osmanlı Polisi'nde Örgütsel Bağlılık ve Kültür." In *Türk Polis Tarihinin Kökenleri*, edited by Doç. Dr. Yücel Yiğit, Ankara: T.C. Polis Akademisi Başkanlığı, 2017.
- "Organizational Culture of the Ottoman Police." In *Perspectives in Communication Studies- Festschrift in Honor of Prof. Dr. Ayseli Usluata*, edited by Ayşe Binay Kurultay, Burcu Sabuncuoğlu, Frankfurt, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang Publishing, 2016.
- "Turk's Ever-Lasting Quest for Identity: An Analysis of Turkish Modernization Through A.H. Tanpınar Novels," *Global Media Journal Turkish Edition*, Fall 2013.

- Darren G. Lilleker. Siyasal İletişim: Temel Kavramlar, translated by Süheyla Nil Mustafa, Feridun Mustafa Tınç, Abdullah Altın, Kenan Bölükbaşı, Betül Ekşi, Seher Midilli, Yenal Göksun, Alparslan Nas. İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2013.
- "Re-Articulation of the Sign of Turkish National Identity through the Discursive Performances of the Arab Other: The Case of Arabs in Batman," MA Thesis, Istanbul, Boğaziçi University, 2006.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- TÜBİTAK PhD Fellowship, 2007-2012

CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

- "Modern Polis Memurunun İnşası: Karakolda Disiplin ve Eğitim." Paper presented at *"I. Uluslar arası Kolluk Tarihi Sempozyumu: Türk Polis Tarihinin Kökenleri,"* Antalya, Turkey, April 2016.
- "Modern Polis Memurunun İnşası: Karakolda Disiplin ve Eğitim." Paper presented at the *"International Congress on Ottoman Studies,"* Sakarya University, Sakarya, Turkey, October 2015.
- "An Analysis of the Ottoman Police Journals and the Representation of the Ottoman Police," Paper presented at *"The WEI International Academic Conference,"* Istanbul, June 2013.
- "The Making of the New Police of the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1922," Paper presented at the *"9th International Conference on the New Directions in the Humanities,"* Universidad de Granada, Granada, Spain, June 2011.
- "Re-thinking National Identity: The Case of Pomaks in Greece," Paper presented in the *"9th European Conference of the Association for Business Communication,"* Istanbul, Turkey, May 2007.
- "Intercultural Encounter at the Global Classroom: Are They the Students of the Global Village?" Co-author of the Paper written by Usluata, A., Braithwaite, C.A., Gencer, A.B., Bal, E. ve Dalan, G., presented at the *"71st Annual Convention of the Association for Business Communication,"* San Antonio, Texas, ABD, October 2006.

- "Türk Milleti ve Milli Kimliği İşaretlerinin Söylemsel Performanslar Yoluyla Yeniden İnşaası: Batmanlı Araplar Örneği," Paper presented at *"Türkiye Siyasal İlimler Derneği-Ulusal Lisansüstü Öğrencileri Konferansı,"* Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey, November 2005.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- Boğaziçi University- UNDP (United Nations Development Program), Human Development Center, Research Assistant in the UNDP 2004 Human Development Report of Turkey.
- Erasmus Student Exchange Program, PhD visiting student at CETOBAC (Centre d'études turques, ottomanes, balkaniques et centrasiatiques) in EHESS (L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales), Paris, France (05.10.2011- 10.04.2012).

UNIVERSITY/DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE

- Marmara University, Faculty of Communication, Journalism Department, Research Assistant (2013-)
- Marmara Journal of Communication, Assistant Editor (September 2015-)
- Faculty Coordinator of Erasmus+ Student Exchange Program, Marmara University, Faculty of Communication (2013-2015)
- Yeditepe University, Faculty of Communication, Public Relations and Publicity Department, Research Assistant (2005- 2008)

LANGUAGES

- Turkish – Native Speaker
- English – Advanced
- French – Advanced
- Ottoman – Advanced ability to read 18th- and 19th- century Ottoman Turkish
- German – Intermediate
- Greek – Beginner

To my beloved family who had been the source of my resilience in life
and to my daughter, Bihter who has been the inspiration in my heart.

Hayattaki tüm gücümün kaynağı olmuş olan aileme
ve kalbimin ilhamı, kızım Bihter'e.

Table of Contents

List of Tables *xii*
List of Figures *xiii*
Acknowledgements *xiv*

1 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Historiography of Police 2
1.2 Historiography of the Ottoman Police 11
1.3 Historical Development of the Ottoman Police 17
1.4 Methodology 19

2 SOCIAL PROFILE OF THE OTTOMAN POLICE 27

2.1 The Number of Police on the Forces 28
2.2 Age 41
2.3 Hometown 49
2.4 Religious Community 57
2.5 Educational and Occupational Background 64
2.6 Marital Status 70

3 CONSTRUCTION OF THE IDEAL POLICEMAN IN THE INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE OF THE POLICE 72

3.1 Formal Police Education 73
3.2 Discourse and Discursive Analysis 83

4 THE MAKING OF THE OTTOMAN POLICE OFFICER: DISCIPLINE AND TRAINING IN POLICE CENTERS 120

4.1 Governmentality and Subjectification 121
4.2 Confinement of Policemen in the "Karakol" 124
4.3 Surveillance 128
4.4 Discipline and Training in Police Stations 134
4.5 The Normalizing and Corrective Sanctions of the Ottoman Police Organization 135
4.6 Practices of Normalization 159
4.7 Disciplinary Gaze of the Commissar 224

5 RUNNING THE POLICING MACHINE: DIFFERENCES AND DEVIANCES IN THE INSTITUTION 236

5.1 Police Centers or Stations in the Provinces 237
5.2 Composition of Police Personnel in the Provinces 253
5.3 Consolidating the Police Cadres in the Provinces 255
5.4 Police Officer as a Substitute for State Bureaucracy 265
5.5 In Search of the Ideal Commissar 269

6 CONCLUSION 275

BIBLIOGRAPHY 284

List of Tables

Table 2.1 The population of the police in the provinces and the autonomous districts 29
Table 2.2 The wage levels of policemen with respect to the ranks, before and after 1908 36
Table 2.3 Crosstabulation of the hometowns and ranks of policemen in Syria and Beirut police forces, 1894 56
Table 2.4 Crosstabulation of the hometowns and ranks of policemen of the Ottoman police forces, 1911-15 56
Table 2.5 The population of the non-Muslim policemen in the Ottoman provinces, 1893-96 59
Table 2.6 Crosstabulation of the ranks and religious affiliations of policemen in selected Ottoman provinces, 1911-15 62
Table 3.1 Course list of police schools 77
Table 4.1 List of equipment allocated to police personnel 131
Table 4.2 Criminal offenses 140
Table 4.3 Disobedience to superiors 142
Table 4.4 Drinking 144
Table 4.5 Disciplinary faults 146
Table 4.6 Financial self-sufficiency 149
Table 4.7 Ill-nature (Incompatibility with colleagues and ill-treatment to citizens) 151
Table 4.8 Incompetence/incapability in the police profession 151
Table 4.9 Gratification according to 1913 Police Code 156
Table 5.1 The names of the police stations, number of neighborhoods under jurisdiction of the station, number of personnel and the additional number of personnel required for the stations located in the center of Konya province. 242

Table 5.2 The number and ranks of the personnel of the Konya province and the additional personnel required on June 23, 1913. 243
Table 5.3 The population of the police cadres serving in the Kastamonu province's center and towns (*kaza*) in the years 1913 and 1918. 249
Table 5.4 The Population of the police officers and reinforcement officers serving in Konya province center in June, 1917 257
Table 5.5 Distribution of duty of the police force found in Kastamonu Sanjak in 1916. 258
Table 5.6 Distribution of duty of the personnel serving in the commissariat of Çankırı Sanjak in 1916. 259

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 The age distribution of policemen in the provinces of Syria and Beirut, 1894 42
Figure 2.2 The age distribution of recruits of the Syria and Beirut Provinces, 1894 44
Figure 2.3 The distribution of the recruitment ages of policemen in Syria and Beirut Provinces, 1894 45
Figure 2.4 The distribution of the recruitment ages of the Ottoman policemen, 1911-15 47
Figure 2.5 The distribution of the hometowns of policemen of the provinces of Syria and Beirut, 1894 50
Figure 2.6 The distribution of the hometowns of the Ottoman police force, 1912-14 52
Figure 2.7 The population distribution of the Ottoman policemen with respect to religious affiliation in selected provinces, 1911-15 61

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was written as a result of an assiduous study but with the generous support of many wonderful people. First, it is an honor for me to thank my dissertation advisor, Prof. Dr. Nadir Özbek both for his academic contributions to this dissertation, and personal belief and unconditional support to me, even in the hardest times. I will never be able to thank him enough for the sincere support he gave me throughout this long and depressing period of my life. I also owe my deepest gratitude to Prof. Dr. Cengiz Kırlı for his invaluable guidance and assistance during the entire course of my PhD study at the Institute and of this dissertation as my committee member. I am also grateful to the rest of my committee members, Prof. Dr. Cüneyd Okay, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gültekin Yıldız, and Asst. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Adak who critically read my dissertation and made precious contributions. I need to express my special thanks to TÜBİTAK, BİDEB for the PhD Fellowship which made it possible to concentrate on my PhD study and make such a full-fledged research. I am also thankful to the staff of the Boğaziçi University Library and the Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History – our deceased friend and secretary Necla Turunç, the secretary Kadriye Tamtekin, and the key-person Leyla Kılıç - for their never-ending support and friendship throughout my study.

I would never have been able to complete this dissertation if I had lacked the support of my beloved friends and respectable academics. I want to express my sincerest gratitude to Prof. Dr. Ali Akyıldız who never hesitated to provide his personal and professional support since the beginning of this study. I owe debts of gratitude to my dear friends Prof. Dr. Ayseli Usluata, Prof. Dr. Yusuf Devran, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Binay, Asst.Prof. Dr. Esra Atilla Bal, Dr. Müge Özbek, Dr. Ece Ertem, Çiğdem Bahadır, Dr. Nilay Özlü, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şeyda Barlas who always supported me with their comforting friendship and never stopped listening to my complaints. I am very grateful to my colleagues with whom I have worked with at the Marmara University, Faculty of Communication as research assistants. We have come over so many things with them and I

will never forget their encouragements. As a dear friend of mine, Zuhal İbidan helped me so much with the transcription of the Ottoman manuscripts. I am thankful to her. I am also indebted to Eralp Yaşar Azap who offered his precious help for the transcription of archival documents. I also need to express my special thanks to my dear friend Cafer Sarıkaya who was there for me when I needed and dear Burcu Halaç who helped me so much in the English translation of several sections of the manuscript.

Last but not the least, I would never have been able to complete this dissertation without the unconditional support and love of my family-my father, Mustafa Coşkun; my mother Özgül Coşkun; my sister, Derya Nil Budak; my brother, Alper Fırat Coşkun and my husband, Recep Mustafa. My little jewel, my daughter Bihter Ayşe Mustafa was born during this tough process but contributed with her love to my motivation in comleting this thesis.

NOTE: The in-house editor of the Atatürk Institute has made recommendations with regard to the format, grammar, spelling, usage, and syntax of this dissertation in compliance with professional, ethical standards for the editing of student, academic work.

1

Introduction

This thesis provides a social history of the police force of the late Ottoman Empire from the establishment of modern police forces in urban centers until the end of the empire (1876-1918).

The study inquires into the lives, working conditions, mentalities, professional identities, practices and relationships of the actual police officers in the Ottoman police institution through the analyses of the institutional discourse and organizational culture of the Ottoman police, the institutional and professional identity subjected to the police officers by the institution, the responses of the policemen to the institutional discourses and practices, the every-day functioning of the Ottoman police organization in terms of the quotidian practices of the police officers.

Following Foucault's theory on subject formation and modern power, the late modern Ottoman police force is conceptualized as a modern institution of power that targets to shape the mentalities and behaviors of its policemen. In this respect, the thesis provides an understanding of the Ottoman police institution with respect to the process by which average citizens are pursued to be transformed into police professionals through the appropriation of various techniques of surveillance and discipline as they were employed in police stations.

§ 1.1 Historiography of Police

There is a wide-range of police studies with various perspectives across the world which can be associated with the historiography of police.

National police historiographies have long been dominated by the studies on the history of the police institutions mostly written by the retired members of the police or the military, and by the state officials who were somehow connected with the institution. Such historical writing is close to the approach that focuses exclusively on institutions, mostly affected by the studies of law and gives priority to the breaking points of political history.[1]

In our study, this kind of historiography of police will be called as the classical institutional approach. In most of the studies of this kind, the police organizations are defined in terms of their administrative structures and the law and regulations upon which they function. Hence, they are not inclined to offer critical analyses with respect to the institutions at stake.

There is a great number of studies focusing on the history of the British police when compared with the other national police histories which are mostly understudied. British police historiography has long been dominated by a similar classical approach mentioned above, that is the Whig interpretation of the police until the mid-1970s. The scholars holding this Whig interpretation basically reproduced the thinking of the nineteenth-century police reformers that the existing and inefficient mode of policing was changed with the new modern police system which was first established in the country by the foundation of the Metropolitan police force. In this respect, the Whig interpretation has been reproducing the political arguments of the government with respect to the reasoning for the necessity of transforming the police system and claimed that a more efficient and modern police organization was required in order to deal with the increase in crime and mob violence.

1 Milliot, "Bir Tarihyazım Denemesi: Yeni Bir Polis Tarihine Doğru mu?", 86-7.

Hence the success of the Metropolitian police force motivated the government to adopt the same model throughout the country.[2]

This orthodoxy on the British police historiography has first been challenged by the scholars with Marxist point of view who argued that the police has been functioned as a repressive tool of the state in order to keep the working classes under control and thus it served basically the political and economical claims of the bourgeoisie.[3]

Clive Emsley, who is a well-known scholar who has written a number of studies in the historiography of both British and European police, is critical with the prevailing Whig and Marxist ideas due to the fact that they offered generalized interpretations on the emergence of the police institutions in the West without taking into account the national differences. According to Emsley, modern police organizations which had emerged in the West by the eighteenth century followed different paths of development in each national setting. These police forces differed from each other with respect to the existing social forces, traditions, social and political structures and historical incidences which took place in each country. Hence, Emsley provided a comparative approach to the history of policing in the West which led to a more comprehensive understanding of the administrative and political structures of the police forces in each country. For instance in his book, Policing and Its Context, Emsley evaluates the history of policing in England, France, Prussia and the United States in a comparative context. He provides differential

2 Emsley, "Albion's Felonious Attractions", 74. For a more detailed discussion on the Whig interpretation see. Charles Reith, *The Police Idea* (Oxford, 1938), *British Police and the Democratic Ideal* (Oxford, 1943), The Blind Eye of History (1975); T.A. Critchely, A History of Police in England and Wales (London, 1967); David Ascoli, The Queen's Peace: The Origins and Development of Metropolitan Police 1829-1979 (London, 1979).

3 For the Marxist interpretation see, Storch, Robert D. " '*The plague of the blue locusts': police reform and popular resistance in Northern England, 1840-1857*," International Review of Social History 20, (1975), 61-90; Storch, Robert D. 1976. "The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England, 1850-1880". *Journal of Social History.* 9 (4): 481-509.

explanations with respect to the development of the police forces in each country. In this respect his argumentation on the constitution of the police forces diverges from the prevailing Whig and Marxist interpretations on the police.[4]

The traditional police historiography also includes studies which provide the stories, anectodes and scandalous matters related to the secret police and the state. In his study on the police historiography of the Western European countries, Vincent Milliot argues that this approach is mostly interested in the significant actors in the histories of the police organizations such as Fouche, Vidocq and Robert Peel. Moreover, he adds that this approach also disregards the periods before the foundation of the modern police system and thus certain periods and places are emphasized.[5] The police of the capital cities throughout the industrialization and modernization processes of the Western European countries have been the focus of these studies whereas the history of police in the peripheral areas and before the modern ages are mostly ignored and thus relatively underwritten. The police historioghraphy in France has also been dominated by this traditional viewpoint until the rise of the studies in crime history by 1970s.[6]

The history of police has also been a subject - though not being a focal theme - in the studies of the scholars of state formation theory in the 1960s and 1970s.[7] Charles Tilly who was the leading figure of this scholarship provided many studies with his associates. Emsley explains the basic premises of the state formation theory as such,

---

4 Emsley, 1983. *Policing and its context: 1750-1870*. London: Macmillan.

5 Vincent Milliot, "Bir Tarihyazım Denemesi: Yeni Bir Polis Tarihine Doğru mu?" 87-8.

6 These studies exemplify the ones which can be classified as the classical institutional approach in French police historiography. Stead, Philip John. 1957. *The police of Paris* (London: Staples Pr.); Stead, 1983. *The police of France*. New York: Macmillan Pub. Co.; Carrot, Georges. 1992. *Histoire de la police française: tableaux, chronologie, iconographie*. Paris: J. Tallandier. ; Lebigre, Arlette. 1989. *Histoire de la police*, Lebigre, Arlette. 1993. *La police: une histoire sous influence*. Paris: Gallimard.

7 Emsley, "Albion's Felonious Attractions", 36.

> The totality of this work proposed that Europe was in cultural, religious, and social disarray from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and that its older authoritarian structures were in various stages of disintegration. The rise of the nation-state was seen as a response to war and threats to order, and the creation of national taxation, armies, police, foreign colonies, and industrialization enabled an alliance to be forged between landed and commercial elites to form strong central states. [8]

Although studies on modern state formation have not basically focused on the issue of police, modern police organizations have been considered as a significant part of the state formation process since the armed forces of state, that is to say the military and the police were considered as the basic elements of state domination. [9]

As Ferdan Ergut puts it, subversive potential of periods of war, revolution and massive migrations resulted in the emergence of the modern police organizations. In periods such as the French Revolution or the Industrial Revolution, when social movements are intense, social pressures on the state are increased and the relations of power in the society are rearranged, police was required for the maintenance of the social and political order. [10]

These studies have provided a challenge to the traditional and radical approaches to the national police histories by offering new conceptual frameworks in the analyses of the national police forces, underlined the political, sociological and economic variables throughout their analyses of the police histories, and thus criticized the previous approaches as being tautological with the argument that they had not taken into account the significant political and social dimensions in each setting.[11]

---

8 Ibid.

9 Ergut, "Polis Çalışmaları için Kavramsal Bir Çerçeve." 38.

10 Ibid, 57-8.

11 Charles Tilly, "Reflections on the History of European State-Making," in his *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* , Princeton, 1975, 3-83; Charles Tilly, Louise Tilly and Richard Tilly, *The Rebellious Century 1830-1930*, London, 1975; Da-

Police has been taken into consideration as a significant theme in the historiography of crime and criminal justice since the police - both as an actor and institution - was juxtaposed with the notions of criminality, criminals, judicial system and punishment. Since the 1970s the studies produced in the fields of crime history and criminal justice history have also contributed much to the historiography of the police. In James Sharpe's words, "The history of crime was initially regarded as an excellent medium through which 'history from below,' the reconstruction of the lives and mentalities of groups who are often excluded from mainstream history, might be explored."[12]

The police has not been considered as the main object of analysis in these studies. However, the historians of crime and criminal justice had to make use of the criminal archives and police records in order to explore the data with respect to the lives and mentalities of the lower orders. Therefore the police was taken into consideration mostly in terms of its relationship with the people in the margins of society, that is to say the criminals, the workers, the unemployed, the women and the indigents.

Milliot argues that two tendencies emerged among the scholars of crime history. First group of scholars tended to make studies in the the history of mentalities and inquired into the social norms and values regulating the thinking and practices of the people. Second group focused mostly on the social groups positioned in the margins of the society as the objects of their researches and thus these studies can be considered in terms of the sociology of crime.[13]

---

vid Bayley, "The Police and The Political Development in Europe" in Charles Tilly (ed.) *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* , Princeton: Princeton Uni Press, 1975; David Bayley, *Patterns of Policing*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1985; David Bayley, *Police and Society*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1977; A. R. Gillis, "Crime and State Surveillance in Nineteenth-Century France," *American Journal of Sociology* 95, no. 2 (Sep., 1989): 307-341; Robert Reiner, *The Politics of the Police*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1985.

12 Levy, "Crime, the Judicial System, and Punishment in Modern France", 99.

13 Milliot, "Bir Tarihyazım Denemesi: Yeni Bir Polis Tarihine Doğru mu?" 97.

French scholars have contributed much to the literature on the history of crime and criminal justice both due to the number of studies and also due to the the new concepts and questions they had provided.[14] Michel Foucault and Arlette Farge are significant with respect to the effects of their works in the field since they have introduced new subjects and analytical frameworks into the literature on crime history such as punishment, prisons, incarceration, crime, criminality, norm, and normalization.

As a major theme that has attracted a number of scholars in the field, the subject of punishment has been dominated by the philosophical works of Michel Foucault, Norbert Elias, David Garland, Otto Kirchheimer, and Georg Rusche.[15] Although their works were mostly theoretical, they have inspired a large number of studies based on archival research across the world.[16]

---

14 Rene Levy offers a detailed review of the literature from the 1980s onwards on the history of crime and criminal justice in nineteenth- and twentieth-century France. As he puts it, the local monographs constituted the majority of these studies and other studies were mostly based on the exploration of a specific type of crime and criminals. In addition, some of them offered a quatinfied analysis of the judicial records. ("Crime, the Judicial System, and Punishment in Modern France, "89) Since it is impossible to refer all the studies within the scope of this literature, the following studies are given as examples. Santucci, Marie-Renée. 1986. *Délinquance et Répression Au XIXe Siècle: L'exemple de LHérault*. Paris: Economica. ; Martinage, Renee. 1989. *Punir Le Crime: La Repression Judiciaire Depuis Le Code Penal*. Villeneuve-d' Ascq: L'Espace juridique.; Martin, Benjamin F. 1990. *Crime and Criminal Justice Under The Third Republic: The Shame of Marianne*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.; Forrest, Alan I. 1989. *Conscripts and Deserters: The Army and French Society During the Revolution and Empire*. Oxford University Press.; Guillais, Joëlle. 1986. *La Chair De L'autre: Le Crime Passionnel Au XIX. Siècle*. Paris: Orban.; Harris, Ruth. 1989. *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law, And Society In The Fin De Siecle*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.;Chauvaud, Frédéric. 1991. *De Pierre Rivière À Landru: La Violence Apprivoisée Au Xixe Siècle*. Paris: Brepols.

15 Knafla, "Structure, Conjuncture, and Event in the Historiography of Modern Criminal Justice History", 41.

16 Petit, Jacques-Guy. 1990. *Ces Peines Obscures: La Prison Pénale En France (1780-1875)*. Paris: Fayard.; O'Brien, Patricia. 1982. *The Promise of Punishment: Prisons in*

Even though the police was not the focus of attention in most of the works produced in terms of the crime history in France and other countries, these studies provided significant insights with respect to the functioning of the police.[17] However, the historical and sociological studies which started to take the police on the spotlight have been predominantly stressing the political oppression of the police, police surveilllance, and its victims.[18]

Clive Emsley has been one of the scholars who has first emphasized the role of the French police as an institution and the policemen as ac-

Nineteenth-Century France. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.; Spierenburg, Petrus Cornelis. 1991. *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions And Their Inmates In Early Modern Europe*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.; Spierenburg, Pieter. 1984. *The Emergence Of Carceral Institutions: Prisons Galleys And Lunatic Asylums 1550-1900*. Rotterdam: Centrum Voor Maatschappij Geschiedenis, Erasmus University.; Spierenburg, Pieter. *The Spectacle Of Suffering. Executions And The Evolution Of Repression : From A Preindustrial Metropolis To The European Experience, 1984.* Cambridge, 1984.; Dülmen, Richard van. 1990. *Theatre Of Horror: Crime And Punishment In Early Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Polity.; Gatrell, Vic. 1994. *The Hanging Tree: Execution And The English People, 1770-1868*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.; Pisciotta, Alexander W. 1994. *Benevolent Repression Social Control and the American Reformatory-Prison Movement*. New York; London: NYU Press.; Pratt, John. 1992. *Punishment In A Perfect Society: The New Zealand Penal System, 1840-1939*. Wellington [N.Z.]: Victoria University Press.

17 Milliot, "Bir Tarihyazım Denemesi: Yeni Bir Polis Tarihine Doğru mu?" 99.

18 Levy, "Crime, the Judicial System, and Punishment in Modern France", 93-4. Emsley, "The Policeman as Worker," 89. As exemplary of these kinds of studies which can be considered at the intersection of the police studies and crime history in France, see. Vigier, Philippe. 1987. *Maintien De L'ordre Et Polices: En France Et En Europe Au 19e Siècle*. Paris: Créaphis.; Vigier, Philippe. 1990. *Repression Et Prison Politiques: En France Et En Europe Au 19e Siècle*. Paris: Créaphis; Brunet, Jean-Paul. 1990. *La Police De L'ombre: Indicateurs Et Provocateurs Dans La France Contemporaine*. Paris: Seuil; Corbin, Alain. 1982. *Les Filles De Noce: Misère Sexuelle Et Prostitution : (19esiècle)*. Paris: Flammarion.; Harsin, Jill. 1986. *Policing Prostitution In Nineteenth Century Paris*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press.

tors in his studies.[19] His work has been followed by Jean-Marc Berliere, who is definitely the scholar whose pathbreaking studies dominated the field of police history in France.[20] Berliere's doctoral thesis on the institutionalization of the French police in the turn of the century has pioneered a new approach in the police historiography in France which was bereft of a scientific approach but mostly dominated by the political analyses of the French police. Throughout his thesis, he explored the foundation period of the French police between 1870-1914 which witnessed the professionalization of the institution and the development of the institutional departments with respect to the services and responsibilities of the police.[21] Dominique Monjardet's study, *Ce que fait la police: Sociologie de la force publique* - which provides a sociological analysis of the professional identity of the police, the definition of the policing profession, the general functioning, recruitment and work procedures held in the police institutions - has to be mentioned as a significant impact on the studies of the authors who made the police organization as the focal point of their analyses like Emsley and Berliere.[22]

From the end of the 1980s, the police historiography which has been basically under the influence of new social history in general or the crime history in particular started to extend its focus to the police itself. Emsley states that, quoting from Peter Linebaugh, the studies of the police has been departed from the history of crime and "has been trans-

19 Emsley, Clive. 1987. "Policing The Streets of Early Nineteenth-Century Paris". *French History.* 1 (2): 257-282.; Emsley, Clive. 1989. "The French Police: Ubiquitous And Faceless". *French History.* 3 (2): 222-227.

20 Berlière, Jean-Marc. 1992. *La Police Des Mœurs Sous La Iiie République*. Paris: Seuil.; 1993. *Le Préfet Lépine: Vers La Naissance De La Police Moderne*. Paris: DenoëL; 1996. *Le Monde Des Polices En France Xixe-Xxe Siècles*. Bruxelles: Éditions Complex.; 2011. *Naissance De La Police Moderne*. Paris: Perrin; Jean-Marc Berliere ve Denis Peschanski, *Pouvoirs Et Police Au Xxe Siecle, Europe, Etats-Unis, Japon* (Bruxelles: Complexe, 1997.)

21 Milliot, "Bir Tarihyazım Denemesi: Yeni Bir Polis Tarihine Doğru mu?" 95-6.

22 Ibid, 96. Monjardet, 1996. *Ce Que Fait La Police: Sociologie De La Force Publique*. Paris: La Découverte.

formed into the history of administration or 'the machinery of justice.'"[23] Hence, the object of the researches in the crime history has moved to the functioning of the criminal justice institutions and the norms, processes and actors related to these institutions.[24] Clive Emsley is definitely the most prominent scholar who has also dominated the field in terms of these new kinds of studies.[25] In addition to his studies on the crime history of England, he has also offered comparative studies in both fields of crime history and police history.[26]

Certain themes have moved to the center of the researches in crime history held in 1990s such as the social history of the policemen as workers; the social profiles of the policemen; the mentalities, practices and experiences of the policemen; the doctrines and definitions with respect to the police profession in different national settings; the working conditions and procedures held in the police institutions; the institutional and sub-cultures existant in the police organizations; the institutional norms and discourses generating the individual and collective

23 Emsley, "Albion's Felonious Attractions", 75.

24 Levy, "Crime, the Judicial System, and Punishment in Modern France", 99.

25 These studies are exemplary of Emsley's works in terms of the police, Emsley, Clive. 1983. *Policing and Its Context: 1750-1870*. London: Macmillan.; Emsley, Clive. 1991. *The English Police: A Political and Social History*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.; Emsley, Clive. 1999. *Gendarmes and The State In Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.; Emsley, C. 1999. "A Typology Of Nineteenth-Century Police". *Crime History and Societies.* 3 (1): 29-44.; Bessel, Richard, and Clive Emsley. 2000. *Patterns of Provocation: Police and Public Disorder*. New York [u.a.]: Berghahn.: Emsley, Clive. 2000. "The Policeman as Worker: A Comparative Survey c. 1800-1940". *International Review of Social History.* 45 (1): 89-110.

26 Emsley and Weinberger's study has been the first as a comparative research on the history of police. Emsley, Clive, and Barbara Weinberger. 1992. *Policing Western Europe: Politics, Professionalism, and Public Order, 1850-1940*. New York: Greenwood Press. The following two books are also significant comparative works in terms of the history of crime written by Emsley and his associates, Godfrey, Barry, Clive Emsley, and Graeme Dunstall. 2013. *Comparative Histories of Crime.*; Emsley, Clive, and Louis A. Knafla. 1996. *Crime History and Histories Of Crime: Studies In The Historiography Of Crime And Criminal Justice In Modern History*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood.

identities of the police; the institutional and individual police identities and their representations in the print media; the social perception of the police identity; interactions between the police and other state offices or policing organizations such as the gendarmes, the military, the administrative and judicial offices; relationships of the police with other social or professional figures or groups, such as journalists, different orders of society, or the citizens in general; various groups of actors working in different branches or hierarchical positions of the police organization such as the police detectives, superiors in the institutional hierarchy, and police inspectors; the police training and instruction manuels and procedures held in each national setting; the interactions and exchanges between different national police organizations in terms of the staff, police education, regulations, texts and procedures.

This shift of emphases and research questions in the history of crime by 1990s led to the emergence of the recent literature in the police historiography, which I had to name in order to use in my analyses in this study, that is to say the "new institutional history." As it is observed in the recent studies in terms of the police and crime history, the police is conceptualized as a social category and an occupational group.[27] Hence, the policemen who had been mentioned mostly with respect to their functions of political surveillance and dominance throughout the studies of crime history have captured the focus of at-

27 The recent works of Clive Emsley and especially his colleague Haia Shpayer-Makov in the 1990s and onwards are representatives of these kinds of studies. Emsley, Clive. 1991. *The English Police: A Political and Social History*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf. ;Emsley, Clive, and Mark Clapson. 1994. "Recruiting the English policeman C. 1840–1940". *Policing and Society.* 3 (4): 269-285. ; Emsley, Clive. 2000. "The Policeman as Worker: A Comparative Survey c. 1800–1940". *International Review of Social History.* 45 (1): 89-110. ; Shpayer-Makov, Haia. 2001. *The Making of a Policeman: The Social History of A Labour Force in Metropolitan London, 1829-1914*. Emsley, Clive, and Haia Shpayer-Makov. 2006. *Police Detectives in History, 1750-1950*. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate. ; Shpayer-Makov, Haia. 2011. *The Ascent of The Detective: Police Sleuths in Victorian And Edwardian England*. Ascent of the Detective. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

tention from the lower orders and have been positioned as the social category that needs to be voiced similar to the other "historically voiceless groups" who had long been studied, that is the criminals, marginals, working classes and the indigents.

In this respect, I presume that the new institutional history of the police combines the research questions and the subject matters of both the classical institutional history and social history. Hence, the police is studied both as an institution, with its docrines, regulations, institutional procedures and structure and also as a social category – in two respects, first as an occupational group and second as individuals. As an occupational group, the police is explored in terms of its organizational culture, its collective identity which is constructed in and through the institutional norms, processes and discourses, its social representations reproduced in the media and society, its perception by society and the policemen themselves. As individuals the policemen are examined with respect to their practices; responses to the institutional demands and professional responsibities; mentalities; experiences; relationships with fellow workers, other state officials, social groups and citizens; individual identities, perception of themselves as members of the police organization.

§ 1.2 Historiography of the Ottoman Police

The existing literature on the policing institutions of the Ottoman Empire consists of various studies with different theoretical emphases similar to the ones held in the historiography of the police in Europe.

Older studies from the 1940s emphasize the evolutionary development of policing institutions by displaying successive administrative reforms and regulations.[28] As Özbek puts it, contemporary theses on the issue are similar to those in the earlier literature in terms of the empha-

28 Tongur, *Türkiye'de İlk Zaptiyeler : Kolluk Tarihimizden Vesikalar; Türkiye'de Genel Kolluk Teşkil ve Görevleri;* Alyot, *Türkiye'de Zabıta : Tarihî Gelişim ve Bugünkü Durum;* Okçabol, *Türk Zabıta Tarihi ve Teşkilat Tarihçesi.*

sis on the legal and administrative evolution of the institution.[29] Although the contemporary ones have introduced significant archival data both in terms of the staff working in the police forces and the general functioning of the police organization, they maintained the similar perspectives in their analyses of the Ottoman police force given in the older studies.[30] Indeed, all these studies, especially those based on transcriptions of police archives administered by Eyüp Şahin[31]and the dissertations of Ali Sönmez[32] and Nurettin Van[33] are appreciable due to the fact that they provide tremendous invaluable primary data on the police force such as transcriptions of laws and regulations concerning the police and various archival materials on police issues.

In many respects, this first group of studies mentioned above share the shortcomings and problems found in the other national historiographies in Europe which hold the classical institutional approach. First, similar to the European counterparts, most of the authors of these studies are also the retired or actual members of the police institution and they do not offer a critical analysis of the organization but rather provide an untainted chronological narrative of the organizational development through the breaking points of political history. Hence the police is not explored in terms of the socio-political conjuncture of the

29 Özbek, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İç Güvenlik, Siyaset ve Devlet, 1876-1909,".62.

30 M.A. theses on the administrative development of the police institution are as follows: Çebitürk, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e "Polis" Mevzuatı"; Gün, "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde "Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdürlüğünün"Kuruluşu ve Gelişimi (1909-1918)"; Kaynar, "Tarihi Süreç İçerisinde Türk Polis Teşkilatı'nın Kuruluşu, Organizasyonu, Fiziksel Yapılanması, Aday Seçme Şekli, Eğitim Programları ve Eğitim Süreçleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma."; Şen, "20. Yüzyıl Başında Türk Polis Teşkilatı"; Tanışık, "Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Kayıtlarına Göre Polis Teşkilatı Kadro Hareketleri (1909-1938)."

31 Şahin, *1907'den 2000'e Polis Okulları; Türk Polis Teşkilatının Şanlı Geçmişinde ve Cumhuriyete Giden Yolda İz Bırakan Polisler; Belgelerle Türk Polis Tarihi; Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türk Polis Teşkilatında İlk Kadın Görevliler; Türk Polis Tarihinden Belge ve Fotoğraflar; Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1, 2, 3, 4, 5.*

32 Sönmez, *"Zaptiye Teşkilatının Kuruluşu ve Gelişimi."*

33 Van, "İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi; Kuruluşu, Teşkilatı ve Faaliyetleri (1909-1918)."

Ottoman setting and also through the use of the analytical concepts offered by contemporary sociological studies which are adopted in the analyses of the Western institutions in particular and police organizations in general.

According to Özbek, the reason for this failure is that these studies comprise the theoretical shortcomings of the modernization theory which had been a significant influence on the Ottoman historiography.[34] Modernization theory holds a Euro-centric and historicist assumption that all the non-western histories are derivatives of the western "History" which is the main plot to be shared by all the histories of the people around the world. [35] In this respect modernity which has dominated the western history is an unavoidable path to be experienced by the latecomers. This modernist-historicist understanding dominant in the Ottoman history writing for long attributes a central role to the Ottoman sultans and the Tanzimat elites since they are considered to have the leading role in the introduction of the modern western institutions and structures to the Ottoman setting. The older studies and their successors offer a narrative of Ottoman modernization which emphasizes the evolutionary development of the policing institutions, their administrative-legal development and the role of the elites in this process.[36]

Moreover, similar to their European counterparts these studies also limit their researches to the imperial or state capital and do not offer explanations with respect to police institution's administrative functioning in the rest of the country. Therefore, the police departments established in the geographical periphery of the country are almost left understudied and the information with respect to the institutional history is limited either to the administrative-legal developments which had taken place on paper or at best actually in the capital city. Three contemporary theses need to be emphasized since they provide invaluable archival data in terms of the provincial police forces during the second

34 Özbek, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İç Güvenlik, Siyaset ve Devlet, 1876-1909," 62.

35 Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

36 Özbek, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İç Güvenlik, Siyaset ve Devlet, 1876-1909," 62.

constitutional period, yet they do hold the similar modernist-historicist perspective together with the classical institutional approach which do not open up space for socio-political discussions in their analyses of the police in the Ottoman provinces. [37]

Relatively more contemporary studies on the Ottoman urban police have introduced analytical depth to the issue at hand by providing new concepts and broadening the spectrum of historical actors. Ottoman historiography has benefited from various conceptual tools in the past decades. Hence, Ottoman historians have introduced the issues of modern state formation and its administrative practices into Ottoman historiography.[38]

In his studies of Ottoman security forces, Nadir Özbek depicts the quotidian practices of gendarmes to generate a complex picture of police forces, society, and politics in the late nineteenth century. Özbek argues that even though the gendarmerie was a mechanism to carry out the policies of the ruling elite in the provincial context, the individual experiences of gendarmes indicate that the corps was more than a tool.[39]

Ferdan Ergut offers an analysis of the foundation of the modern police in the Ottoman Empire. He tries to understand it with respect to the process of modern state foundation. Police is conceptualized as an institution of the modern state.[40]

Noemi Levy is one of the scholars who has contributed much to the police literature. The focus of her studies is the police organization in the late nineteenth century especially the police of the Abdulhamit II

37 Arslan, "II.Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Aydın Vilayeti'nde Güvenlik"; Kılıçarslan, "II.Meşrutiyet Dönemi Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı (1908-1918)" ; Yılmaz, "20. Yüzyıl Başında Konya Polis Teşkilatı."

38 Özbek, "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)", 48.

39 Özbek, "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)"; "Tarihyazıcılığında Güvenlik Kurum ve Pratiklerine İlişkin Bir Değerlendirme."

40 Ergut, *Modern Devlet ve Polis*.

which is mostly analyzed in terms of state surveillance and reproduction of public order.[41]

Roger Deal's studies on the Abdulhamit II's police organization differs from the rest of the studies of the Ottoman police since he offers detailed account of the daily experiences of the policemen.[42]

Despite the fact that all these studies on the Ottoman and Turkish police forces provide detailed information and significant viewpoints on the police institution itself, they do not illustrate the individual experiences of policemen with respect to the state discourse of modernization and disciplinary practices within the force. Hence, the thesis offers a social history of the police institution that illustrates the experience of modernity as lived by policemen who were ordinary Ottoman citizens.

Although our study is an exploration of the institution of the Ottoman police, it differs significantly from former studies on Ottoman and Turkish police with respect to its conceptualization of the term "institution" and its target questions. In line with the recent studies in the police historiography in Europe, this study stands at the intersection of these two kinds of approaches to the police studies, that is to say those of the history of law/administration and of social history. Hence not only the institutional changes in terms of both the administrative laws and regulations and the Ottoman socio-political setting are acknowledged, but the actors of the institution as a labor force who take significant place in running, manipulating and reconstructing of this mechanism are also taken into consideration in our analyses of the police organization. Hence, the organizational culture of the Ottoman police, the institutional identity subjected to the police officers by the institu-

41 Levy, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş 1879 – 1909*; Levy,et al, *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransa ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğinde Çapraz Bakışlar;* Levy, "L'ordre Dans La Ville: Istanbul a l'epoque d'Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)"*;* Levy, et al, *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza, 18.-20.Yüzyıllar;* Levy, "Modalites et Enjeux de la Circulation des Savoirs Policiers : Un Modele Français Pour la Police Ottomane ?"; Levy, "La Police Ottomane au Tournant des XIX e et XX e Siecles : Les Memoires D'un Commissaire D'Izmir."

42 Deal, *Crimes of Honor, Drunken Brawls and Murder* ; *"*A Policeman's Life in Hamidian Istanbul."

tion, the responses of the policemen to the institutional discourses and practices, the every-day functioning of the Ottoman police organization in terms of the quotidian practices of the police officers are all explored in order to provide substantial knowledge about the lives, working conditions, mentalities, professional identities, practices and relationships of the actual police officers in the Ottoman police institution.

In this respect, Ottoman police is considered as a modern institution similar to its counterparts in the West in terms of its modern professional constitution but it is also acknowledged that the organization differed due to the historical and political setting, its institutional identity and the actors who had stakes in its functioning. Therefore the similarities of the Ottoman police institution with the Western police organizations and its differences from them are acknowledged. Hence the Ottoman police institution is historically positioned within a general framework of the modern professional/bureacratic police of the West.

Throughout the study, the continuities and discontinuities throughout the institutional discursive formation are also investigated and it was observed that the police organization of the Abdulhamit the II established the institutional foundation in terms of the institutional discourses and practices. Hence on contrary to the narrative shared by a number of studies in the Ottoman historiography and the arguments of the governments after the 1908 revolution, the police of the Abdulhamit II reign was not much of a deviance from the professional modern bureacratic police but it was just the initial phase of it which founded it. Hence it was illustrated that the continuities in the Ottoman police's institutional identity, discourses and practices outnumbered the discontinuities.

In Ottoman historiography, studies of the institutions can be said to be dominated by the classical institutional approach. A significant number of work exploring the Ottoman institutions, especially the institutions of state can still be compiled under this category of history writing. Although the Ottoman historiography has also been affected by the contemporary sociological theories and social history and there are many studies which have integrated in their analyses of the institutions

the new questions and analytical frameworks provided by these approaches; the social history of the Ottoman institutions are nevertheless understudied. The overwhelming themes of the studies -whose objects of study are institutions- are still mostly the administrative structures of the institutions, the laws and regulations upon which the institution is established and functioned, the significant political figures related to the institutional foundation, and the political breaking points in the history of the institutions. Moreover, these studies also reproduce the modernist-historicist narrative of the Ottoman history throughout their analyses of the institutions at stake.

§ 1.3 Historical Development of the Ottoman Police

Since the gendarmerie was constituted and organized as a military body, the government took various steps to also establish civilian forces to police cities that would function separately from the gendarmerie. A group of policemen called inspection officers (*teftiş memurları*) was founded as a division of the gendarmerie corps in 1845[43], but the constitution of a police force apart from gendarmerie was achieved only in 1879 after the Berlin Treaty of 1878 by which the government was compelled to carry out comprehensive reforms of its administrative practices.[44]

The modern police force responsible for policing urban centers was separated from the gendarmerie and organized under the new Ministry of Police in 1879.[45] The ministry operated for almost thirty-years until being reorganized as the Department of Public Security in 1909.[46] In 1909, the police force was divided into two bodies: the Police Directorate of Istanbul (*İstanbul Polis Müdüriyeti*) under the authority of the

43 Özbek, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İç Güvenlik, Siyaset ve Devlet, 1876-1909," 70.

44 Özbek, "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)," 38.

45 Alyot, *Türkiye'de Zabıta: Tarihî Gelişim ve Bugünkü Durum*, 183.

46 Ibid., 489.

Istanbul governor, which was mainly responsible for the Istanbul police, and the Department of Public Security (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti*) which was in charge of police organizations in the provinces and responsible to the Ministry of the Interior.[47] In 1911, the two bodies were made branches under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior with the names General Police Directorate of Istanbul (*İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi*) and Department of Public Security (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti*).[48]

The development of an organizational culture among Ottoman police dates to the bureaucratic rationalization of the organization in 1879 when an autonomous police organization was established under the Ministry of Public Security. After this date, the Ottoman police organization started to function as a modern bureaucracy in the Weberian sense and turned ordinary citizens into professionals. Police recruits were subjected to a systematic education in courses (*polis dershanesi*) and later in full-fledged police schools (*polis mektepleri*). Moreover, their professional training continued in police stations as they were subject to a strict regime of surveillance and discipline based on mechanisms of punishment, gratification, and examination.

In the turn of the twentieth century, the Ottoman police more or less functioned as a modern bureaucratic organization- an effect of the rationalization of its administrative system which entailed occupational regulations and also formal recruitment and education processes. Especially after the 1908 revolution that led to the re-establishment of the constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire, the Young Turk regime paid special attention to the rational functioning of the police organization and the construction of professional police officers who were to adopt the organizational culture of the police force- that is to say, a certain mode of thinking and behavior. Therefore, throughout the second constitutional era (1908-1918), the organizational culture of the Ottoman police was reproduced by the police administration in and through

47 Tongur, *Türkiye'de Genel Kolluk*, 239-242.

48 Alyot, *Türkiye'de Zabıta*, 487-494.

the formal discourse of the institution constituted and imposed by education materials such as inhouse police journals and textbooks.

The first police school was opened in 1907 in Salonika. After the 1908 revolution, six more were founded around the empire: in Istanbul in 1909; in the provinces of Baghdad, Erzurum, and Adana in 1911; in Beirut in 1912; and in Trabzon in 1918.[49] According to 1913 regulation, candidates were obligated to participate in the training program as police recruits, and after completing the program successfully; they were able to serve in the police force as officers.[50]

In addition to education in police schools, the police force continued to instruct policemen through police journals. Two inhouse journals, Police (*Polis*) and Police Journal (*Polis Mecmuasi*), were published by the Department of Public Security to enhance the work skills and knowledge of Ottoman policemen.

§ 1.4 Methodology

Utilizing conceptual tools provided by governmentality studies based on Foucault's theories of subject and subjectification, the police organization is defined in our study as a modern institution of power. Unlike Weberian descriptions of modern institutions run via a rational bureaucracy, the police organization is described as a modern institution of power in the Foucauldian sense that imposes a certain regime and disciplinary practices to generate specific subject positions in policemen.

Although further discussion of Foucault's theory and studies of governmentality inspired by his works are elaborated upon in detail in the following chapters, here a short introduction to Foucauldian theory is provided.

The main objective of Foucault's work is to create a history of the different modes by which human beings are made into subjects.[51] Fou-

49 Şahin, *1907'den 2000'e Polis Okulları,* 14-51.

50 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 387-8.

51 Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 208.

cault's notion of a subject is twofold: "subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge."[52] As he indicates, both meanings refer to a form of power that dominates the individualization process of the subject. "This form of power that applies itself to immediate everyday life categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and others have to recognize in him."[53] According to Foucault, the individual is entrapped within his own subjectivity. In this respect, the notion of subject in Foucault's writing radically differs from the humanist notion in which the autonomous, rational individual is solely responsible for his self-identification, conduct, and ideas. Hence, Foucault's main concern is the question of subjectivation without recourse to any notion of the subject.[54]

Foucault has studied three modes of objectification by which human beings are turned into subjects. "The first is the modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences, second is the dividing practices which try to divide subject either inside himself or from others, third is the way a human being turns him-or herself into a subject."[55]

Foucault illustrates that scientific knowledge is produced and reproduced in and through the relations of power which are dominant in modern society. In this respect, scientific knowledge mostly consists of various codes of morality that are found as truth regimes in a society. Scientific knowledge produces meaning - that is to say, it provides people with certain modes of thinking and conduct as soon as it becomes truth regimes. Modern medicine is such an example; as a truth regime it offers people ways to live their lives including procedures for achieving hygiene and health.

52 Ibid., 212.

53 Ibid.

54 Osborne, "Questioning Enlightenment: Ethics of Truth in Foucault and Weber," 127.

55 Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 208.

In his book Discipline and Punish, Foucault provided an analysis of microphysics of power, "exemplified by the study of the application of disciplinary techniques as part of the invention of the modern penitentiary prison. A whole aspect of modern societies, Foucault was suggesting here, could be understood only by reconstructing certain 'techniques of power', or power/knowledge', designed to observe, monitor, shape and control the behaviour of individuals situated within a range of social and economic institutions such as the school, the factory and the prison."[56]

Traditional studies of power have mostly been based on legal and institutional models that define power as a monolithic entity that has an existence in itself. However, Foucault argues that power exists only when it is put into action.[57] Thus, there is no power outside its exercise. In this respect, he introduces a different question to the study of power: "how is power exerted?" His answer is that power is exercised through relations of power between people. Thus, he conceptualizes power as power relations.[58]

Foucault asserts that the relationship of power is a set of actions upon other actions. It generates certain conduct while preventing various other modes of behavior. In this respect, Foucault considers power as basically a question of government, which means directing the conduct of individuals or groups.[59]

Foucault points to the introduction of new technologies in the exercise of power since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In contrast to feudal societies where power was exercised through signs and taxation, this new form of power exercises itself through social production and social service.[60]

---

56 Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction," 3-4.

57 Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 219.

58 Ibid., 217.

59 Ibid., 224.

60 Foucault, "Truth and Power," 66.

For Foucault, the modern form of power is power over life, meaning that its main objective is to ensure, maintain, and develop the lives of individuals and populations and to put these lives in order.[61] Foucault states that the organization of this power over life is deployed in two forms: disciplines of the body and regulation of the population are the two poles of this power being intimately related. The disciplinary techniques of power focus on the body and at turning it into a machine by enhancing both its capabilities and docility.[62] The second form of modern power centers on the population. All aspects of the life of the population are administered through various interventions and regulations. Foucault defines this new era of the subjugation of bodies and control of populations as the era of bio-power.[63]

In his historical studies, Foucault analyzes various forms of government of men by one another, such as prisons, asylums, schools, and hospitals. For Foucault, although the state is just another form of government, all other forms refer to it because power relations have come to be more and more under state control. Hence, "power relations have been progressively governmentalized, that is to say, elaborated, rationalized, and centralized in the form of state institutions."[64]

Foucault's study of power needs to be considered in relation to his analysis of the modes of objectification of the subject. In his study of asylums, he illustrates how the subjectivities of mad and sane are established in and through certain relations of power. Foucault's analysis of the technique of perpetual judgment displays the intricate relationship between disciplinary techniques of power and truth regimes in society. Foucault argues that the disciplinary, regulatory techniques of this modern bio-power are closely related to the dominant truth regimes in society. For Foucault, disciplines act like an infra-law and extend the general forms of law to the level of individual lives. Hence, individuals

61 Foucault, "The Right of Death and Power over Life," 259-260.

62 Ibid., 261-262.

63 Ibid., 262.

64 Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 224.

are trained to integrate into these general demands and insidiously objectified by the application of these disciplinary techniques.[65] In the asylum, while the insane are trained to become sane, they are also manipulated toward a certain form of sanity based on bourgeois morality. Foucault illustrates the liberal discourse of morality that prominently delineated the discursive boundaries of sanity in eighteenth century society in France.

This study employs the discursive analysis applied by Michel Foucault in his studies of modern institutions of power in the nineteenth century which functioned by governing people, directing their conduct, and turning them into subjects with certain modes of behavior and mentalities. Foucault suggests that analysis of the discourses appropriated by these institutions is central for the exploration of the normative rules set for the constitution of subjectivities in a given context.

For Foucault, the individual is no more than an object of discourse and/or knowledge that is dominant in any given social realm. There is no subjectivity possible outside of the discursive positions imposed upon or taken on by the individual as a result of discursive and disciplinary practices.

According to Foucault, a discourse is not composed of one statement; several statements together form a discursive formation. "The statements fit together because any one statement implies a relation to all the others as they refer to the same object, share the same style and support a strategy."[66] The statements within a discursive formation do not have to be the same, but the relationships and differences among them must be regular and systematic, not random. This is called a "system of dispersion" by Foucault. "Whenever one can define a regularity then we will say that we are dealing with a discursive formation."[67]

The institutional discourse of the police is analyzed in terms of Foucault's method of discursive analysis which leads to an exploration of

65 Foucault, "Panopticism," 209-212.

66 Hall, "The West and the rest: Discourse and Power." 291.

67 Ibid., 292.

the repeated discourses in the official discourse of the police organization, together with the categories and classifications generated in and through these discourses.

As an effect of the analyses of the official discourse, it is illustrated how modern policemen were subject to new definitions, categories, and classifications that they were to adopt in order to be turned into a new subject with an institutional identity - that is to say, a police professional.

The official discourse of the Ottoman police was retrieved from the educational materials of the police force such as textbooks used in police schools and the in-house journals, Police (*Polis*) and Police Journal (*Polis Mecmuasi*). Throughout this study, over three thousand pages of these journals, which were published between 1911 and 1918, were scanned and selected articles were transcribed.

Following Foucauldian theory and studies of governmentality, this dissertation conceptualizes the Ottoman police force as a modern institution of power that tried to conduct the conducts of its policemen. In this respect, a certain kind of subjectivity, that is the institutional identity was constituted and imposed both on police recruits and on Ottoman society throughout the processes of the modern governmental institution of police force. Hence, the discursive limits of this subjectivity and the scope of the subjectification processes appropriated by the police organization are inquired throughout the study.

Contemporary sociological studies (mostly based on Foucauldian theory) which focus on the surveillance mechanisms of the modern states ignore the human dimension of these mechanisms. These kinds of studies take it for granted that people who are subjected to the subjectifying or "objectifying" discourses and disciplinary practices of the modern institutions most necessarily internalize the enforced discourse of morality and appropriate that subjectivity which is imposed on them. This point of view results in a structuralist understanding of the constitution of subjectivity since it conceptualizes any given discourse or in-

stitutional framework as totally dominant over the individuals.[68] In this respect this perspective underestimates the agency of the individuals who are subjected to these discourses and practices of subjectification.

In our study the Foucauldian framework is appropriated for the analysis of the discursive formation of the Ottoman police institution with an acknowledgement of the criticisms set forth against this framework in terms of agency and resistance. The formation process of the mentality and institutional identity of average policemen in the police is provided through the analyses of the discursive formation of the Ottoman police. Hence, it is argued that the Ottoman police was established to function as a modern institution of power in the Foucauldian sense which imposes a certain professional identity, mentality and organizational culture to the policemen. However, differential responses of the policemen to the prevaling discourses and discursive practices held in the police organization are also taken into consideration in our analyses of the actual practices and functioning of police subjects throughout their lives in the force. Thus, the Ottoman police institution is not pictured as a "total institution" dominating the lives and minds of the policemen and thus being an omnipotent institution of power which does not allow any space for individual agency. [69]

The study shows that there was a great number of policemen who were subjected to various kinds of punishments due to their resistance

68 For a critical discussion of the Foucault's analytical framework on subjectivity, agency and modern power, see Andrea Rossi, "Foucault, Critique, Subjectivity", Journal for Cultural Research; Dec 2017, Vol. 21 Issue 4, p337-350; Cremonesi, Laura. 2016. *Foucault and The Making of Subjects*. Lanham : Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016; Simons, Jon. 2016. "The Analysis of Limits", 24-35 in *Foucault & the Political*. London New York Routledge 2016; O'Brien, Patricia. 1982. *Promise of Punishment: Prisons in Nineteenth-Century France*. Princeton University Press.

69 According to Erving Goffman, a total institution is a place of residence and work where people are totally cut off from the outer world. For a discussion of total institutions, see Goffman, Erving. 2017. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. London : Taylor and Francis, 2017; Scott, Susie. 2011. *Total institutions and reinvented identities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

to the disciplinary practices of the police organization. Moreover, especially in the countryside where the surveillance mechanism of the organization did not function well, the scope and number of the deviant behaviours of the policemen exceeded those displayed in the imperial and provincial centers.

Chapter 2, "The Social Profile of Ottoman Policemen," aims at providing an understanding of the Ottoman police force at the turn of the century by drawing the profile of the population of the provincial police forces. In our analysis, the populations in two different periods are taken into account: first, the Ottoman police force during the reign of Abdulhamit II, and second, that in the era of CUP governments.

In Chapter 3, titled "Construction of the Ideal Policeman in the Institutional Discourse of the Police," the institutional discourse of the police under the second constitutional regime is analyzed to ascertain the limits of the normative discourse imposed on policemen. Since the police force is defined as a modern institution of power, we delineate the official discourse of the police institution - which was systematized during the second constitutional regime - in order to comprehend the limits of this modernization discourse and the modern subject position it offered to policemen. Policemen were subjected to a new moral regime or normative discourse that led to the development of a modern, capitalist work ethic within the institution.

The official discourse of the police institution is interpreted through the printed materials of the institution, such as education programs, textbooks, and inhouse journals. The projects and techniques appropriated by the police training system are problematized through analytical tools provided by governmentality studies.

Chapter 4, "Making of the Ottoman Police Officer: Discipline and Training in Police Centers" illustrates the process by which ordinary Ottoman men were transformed into police professionals with a certain subject position through the use of disciplinary techniques and discursive practices such as surveillance techniques, punishment and gratification practices, personal records, and examinations.

The police force developed as a modern institution of power that imposed a new normative discourse on policemen in addition to being a modern bureaucratic organization. This normative discourse based on a new system of differentiation divided policemen in and among themselves. Hence, those who did not or could not appropriate the required characteristics and forms of behavior were either excluded from the force or subjected to intervention of their superiors through the implementation of various kinds of discursive practices and disciplinary techniques, that is to say punishments, rewards, and surveillance through personal records.

This chapter also develops an understanding of the conditions of policing job and illustrates the actual experiences of policemen. In this respect, an analysis of the reactions of policemen to the subjectification process exerted by the police institution is provided through an exploration of archival police records.

In Chapter 5, "Running the Policing Machine: Differences and Deviances in the Institution," it is illustrated that the modern institution of power that was building police professionals did not function as perfect as suggested in previous chapters. The mechanism was established, but human conditions always led to divergences and anomalies that need to be taken into consideration. Therefore, the deviations of policemen from the normalizing practices of this disciplinary and normalizing mechanism are delineated by making use of the archival data. On this basis, whether the "ideal police station" or "ideal commissars" - which were both significant parts of the police force for the surveillance and normalization of the police officers- actually existed is questioned especially in provinces located far from supervision of the center.

2

The Social Profile of Ottoman Policemen

This section aims at providing an understanding of the Ottoman police force at the turn of the century by drawing a profile of the police population of the provincial forces. In our study, for analytical purposes, the period of development of the Ottoman police force under the reign of Abdulhamit II is called as the "first" period and that in the era after the 1908 revolution is called the "second" period.

The population of Ottoman police in the first period predominantly involved young men with few qualifications and little interest in police work. Moreover, the Ottoman police administration continuously struggled to keep these men on the force even though they were not the institution's ideal recruits. Recruits were subjected to never-ending disciplinary techniques of the force and often tried to escape the duty.

The police institution managed greater discipline and stability in the latter years of the CUP (Committee of Union and Progress) government. However, high turnover and poor discipline among policemen continued to create serious distress for the police until the end of the empire.

From 1908 to 1914, the CUP government worked hard to improve the qualifications of police officers and increase the number of provincial police cadres. As a matter of fact, the constitution of the new policeman was accelerated by the regulations of the CUP government. The increasing number of police schools together with police journals con-

tributed to the constitution of police professionals. Hence, the institutional development of the process of making policemen out of ordinary people reached its completion by the end of the CUP government.

§ 2.1 The Number of Police on the Forces

Throughout the two periods, Ottoman police forces in both the capital city and the provinces steadily increased in numbers. Table 1 indicates the rise in the populations of police forces of the provinces and autonomous districts over a thirty-year period.[1]

1 Most of the data in the table were gathered from the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry including the data from 1912 and 1923. BOA.DH.EUM.MH.235/53, 29 Zilhicce 1341/12 August 1923; BOA.DH.EUM.MH.33/43, 27 Rebiülahir 1330/15 Nisan 1912.

For the year 1894, I found the number of police for sixteen of thirty provinces. Alyot indicates that provincial police forces had started to be constituted by 1894 in fifteen provinces; however, he does not indicate which provinces (Alyot, *Türkiye'de Zabıta*, 184). Whether there were police forces in the provinces other than the sixteen in Table1 is uncertain.

The numbers of police in eleven provinces in 1894 were determined from archival data. The archival materials are as follows: BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/59, 10 Rebiulevvel 1312/11 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/69, 18 Rebiulevvel 1312/19 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/61, 10 Rebiulevvel 1312/11 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/78, 25 Rebiulevvel 1312/26 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/63, 12 Rebiulevvel 1312/13 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/64, 13 Rebiulevvel 1312/14 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/62, 11 Rebiulevvel 1312/12 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/60, 10 Rebiulevvel 1312/11 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/65, 13 Rebiulevvel 1312/14 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/99, 29 Rebiulevvel 1312/30 September 1894.

For the remaining five provinces, numbers were gathered from the yearbooks of the provinces. These provinces were Diyarbekir, Halep, Kastamonu, Kosova, and Musul. Most yearbooks have not been transcribed into contemporary Turkish, and some yearbooks were not issued for the year 1894; I have not been able to obtain transcriptions of yearbooks from 1894 for all provinces. Hence, I have used the number of police in 1896 in Kosova and in 1893 in Kastamonu since these dates are the closest available to 1894. Ağanoğlu, *Kosova Vilayeti Salnamesi*; İnan, *H. 1311 (1893) Tarihli Kastamonu Vilayeti Salnamesi*; Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi, *Diyarbakır*

Table 2.1 The population of police in provinces and autonomous districts

	Police Directorates				Commissars & Sergeants				Officers				Total on the Force			
	1894	1912	1918	1923	1894	1912	1918	1923	1894	1912	1918	1923	1894	1912	1918	1923
Adana		1				21	25			90	113			112	138	
Ankara	0	1		0	4	27	24	28	23	90	67	86	27	118	91	114
Aydın	0	1		1	24	80	61	71	100	353	474	283	124	434	535	355
Bağdad		1		0		17	19	18		100	130	50		118	149	68
Basra		1		0		5		6		40		29		46		35
Beyrut	0	1		1	9	47	40	39	34	189	45	99	43	237	85	139
Bitlis		1		0		27	23	28		80	100	58		108	123	86
Cezayir bahr-i sefid		1		0		30		31		74		74		105		105
Diyarbekir	0	1		0	3	18	20	19	8	60	79	44	11	79	99	63
Dersaadet							280				2524		1471	2500	2804	
Edirne	0	1		1	24	53	52	51	103	182	208	158	127	236	260	210
Erzurum	0	1		0	6	23	25	20	15	117	124	69	21	141	149	89
Halep	0	1		1	5	25	24	27	19	85	100	89	24	111	124	117
Hicaz	0	1		0	0	3	5	8	0	45	16	19	0	49	21	27
Hüdavendigar		1		1		36	20	36		122	111	92		159	131	129
İşkodra		1		0		11		10		40		24		52		34
Kastamonu	0	0		0	2	24	22	11	8	80	89	25	10	104	111	36
Konya		0		0		31	23	30		91	85	66		122	108	96
Kosova	0	0		1	8	44		47	22	205		201	30	249	0	249
Manastır		0		1		43		40		175		146		218		187
Mamuratülaziz		0		0		20	23	21		72	84	68		92	107	89
Musul	0	0		0	1	9	19	10	5	40	67	27	6	49	86	37
Salonika		1		1	0	61		59		318		278		380	0	338
Sivas	0	0		0	6	44	37	45	37	110	132	105	43	154	169	150
Suriye	0	1		1	12	26	31	26	50	140	177	104	62	167	208	131

Salnameleri 1286-1323; Eroğlu, et al., *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde Halep*; Eroğlu, et al.,*Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde Musul*.

	Police Directorates			Commissars & Sergeants				Officers				Total on the Force			
Trablusgarp	0		0	3			11	10			47	13	0	0	58
Trabzon	0	0		7	18	23		34	72	114		41	90	137	
Van	0	0	1	4	19	21	17	30	20	120	45	34	39	141	63
Yanya		0	0		20		21		70		56		90		77
Yemen		0	0		5	5			25	12	0		30	17	0
Urfa Sancağı		0			3	7			13	20			16	27	
İzmit Sancağı		0			5	8			38	40			43	48	
Bolu Sancağı		0			5	12			18	22			23	34	
Kale-i Sultani-ye						9				37				46	
Canik Sancağı						10				51				61	
Çatalca S.	0			0		5		0		13				18	
Zor Sancağı						9				30				39	
Kudüs-i Şerif S.						17				131				148	
Karesi Sancağı						12				47				59	
Medine-i Şerif						7				20				27	
EUM Dairesi						7				20				27	
Total	0	17	10	118	800	925	730	498	3154	5402	2342	2087	6471	6327	3082

The table provides significant information with respect to the growth processes of police forces in their initial period of establishment and in subsequent periods characterized by institutional development.

Even though a police organization that was fully independent of the army was legally established in 1879, the establishment of the police forces in the provinces lasted almost two decades. For this reason, the year 1894 was considered because provincial police forces were not developed in number until the 1890s. Indeed, although the number of police steadily increased throughout the reign of Abdulhamit II, the more significant increase took place during the Young Turk period from 1908-1918.

The table illustrates that CUP governments paid special attention to increasing the police population. Police forces in 1912 were three and, in some provinces, even four times larger than those in 1894. Moreover,

the table presents the growth of provincial police departments by CUP governments. Many provinces lacked directorates (*polis müdürlüğü*) which were highest offices to be found in any provincial police organization and had few high-ranking officers in 1894. However, the table indicates that by 1912, police departments in many provinces had one directorate and a significant number of commissars and sergeants (*komiser muavini*) to lead the officers under their command. Throughout their rule, CUP governments were keen to advance the police population in terms of both quantity and quality. The police regulation of 1913 and newly established police schools best illustrate their resolve.

With the advent of World War I, the number and quality of police forces decreased. First, well-qualified police officers left to join the army.[2] For example, candidates being educated in the police school in Istanbul left to join the army. Police schools started to be close one by one as the war progressed. Moreover, the immediate need for men on the police forces required the employment of men without any job training. For instance, after the war began, 1600 men on the Istanbul police - comprised of a total of 2500 men- were conscripted from among literate soldiers injured in the war.[3]

Although the First World War caused a temporary deterioration in the quality of police, it led to a rise in organizational authority and in the budgets of police forces.[4] The authority of the police steadily increased throughout the war under the CUP government which hoped to sustain its governmental authority vis-à-vis the political opposition and also protect itself against potential threats that would destabilize social order in time of war.[5] Indeed, police forces were mostly used to recruit soldiers for the army. The table shows that in 1918 the number of police increased in most provinces, or at least remained the same. In this respect, the war did not cause much of a decrease in the police population.

2 Kaynar, "Türk Polis Teşkilatı'nın Kuruluşu," 48.

3 Ergut, *Modern Devlet ve Polis*, 212.

4 Ibid., 212-3.

5 Ibid., 213.

Capital cities around the world host the largest police populations and have large budgets for policing due to the fact that they are the centers where revolutions and regime changes take place. For instance, in 1870 the London police force reached a high of 9000 officers for a population of three and a half million civilians. Similarly, the Paris police force, which was comprised of 7000 policemen in 1892, employed more police than all other forces in the country together.[6]

Although smaller when compared to Western capitals, the police force of Istanbul was the largest in the empire. In 1891 there were 895 police officers in Istanbul and its districts.[7] After two decades, that is to say until the beginning of the First World War in 1914, the number of recruits in Istanbul reached 2500. The sum total of police in other provinces amounted to 3971 men that same year.

As a universal trend, the rural provinces of western countries as well as the Ottoman Empire always suffered from a shortage of policemen. The archives consist of copious correspondence among police headquarters in the provinces and the center concerning the necessity of increasing the number of officers in the provinces. Police stations in the provinces required two, three, and even four times the number of recruits they currently had under their command.[8] For instance, correspondence from the province of Edirne to the Department of Public Security (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti*) stated that fifty-five police officers, a chief commissar, and second and third class commissars needed to be added to the cadre in 1910 since maintaining order would be impossible with the number of policemen currently under its command.[9]

Similarly, the number of policemen in the countryside of France was significantly low throughout the nineteenth century due to the fact that

6 Emsley, *Policing Western Europe*, 7.

7 BOA. ZB. 44/18. 28 September 1307, 10 October 1891.

8 The date of the table does not exist but I assume that it was formed between the years 1326-1331. BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 121/98. (no date indicated).

9 BOA. DH. MUİ. 56/2.11. 2 Kanunisani 1328, 15 January 1915.

municipalities did not want to increase the economic burden of financing the municipal police.[10]

"In towns with less than 40 thousand inhabitants, mayors and municipal councils alone decided on the size of the police force needed, and to save money, they kept them as small as possible."[11]

In contrast to France, the Ottoman police organization was centralized in terms of its institutional administration, and all decisions with respect to the police population and salaries were made by the center - that is, by the Ministry of Police between 1879 and 1909 and by the Department of Public Security (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdürlüğü*) after 1909. Hence, the reason for any shortage in the number of police was always the economic stringency of the national budget.

Moreover, there were significant differences with respect to the number of police in provincial forces. Provinces with larger populations that were politically and economically important were able to maintain larger forces. Aydın Province was second to Istanbul in terms of the province with the most of policemen within its borders. Provinces on the Balkan Peninsula followed Aydın in terms of their police populations such as Salonika, Edirne, Manastır, and Kosova.

Even though the table indicates that the police population in the Ottoman Empire increased in two decades up until the end of the First World War, this process of growth of the police population was not smooth. Police forces suffered from high turnover. It is assumed that formal registers of the number of policemen recruited onto the force do not indicate the exact number of recruits.

Evidence testifies to incidences of ad hoc recruitment (*muvakkateten istihdam*) of police officers in cases of necessity or emergency. For instance, given the threat of a contagious disease, one hundred men were recruited on an ad hoc basis in Istanbul in the year 1894.[12] These recruits were charged with patrolling shorelines since the number of

10 Emsley, *Policing Western Europe*, 38..

11 Ibid., 39.

12 BOA. DH. MKT. 266/13. 25 Muharrem 1312, 29 July 1894.

coastal police officers was limited. After the end of the threat, fifty of these recruits were employed on a permanent basis because of a serious need for police to maintain order especially in the districts of Üsküdar and Beyoğlu. However, the other fifty temporary recruits were dismissed, and that fifty new men who were competent and able to speak foreign languages fluently ("cidden muktedir ve lisana aşina") be recruited. The allowance used to pay of the fifty temporary recruits would be appropriated for the wages of the new recruits.

Another incidence of ad hoc recruitment was the recruitment of 240 secret agents and detectives as temporary additions to the Istanbul police force in 1905.[13] It was decided to recruit 240 police officers, but only 200 were recruited until then. According to the same archival document, it was proposed to recruit twenty civilian commissars instead of forty police officers.

Similarly, in 1895 it was decided to recruit four temporary police officers in the Maraş district upon request.[14] It was argued that one superintendent[15] and police officer were insufficient to investigate Armenian intriguers (*Ermeni müfsidleri*) who dressed up differently each day to hide their conspiracies.

It is clear that the necessity of recruiting policemen onto the police force had no end, and governments found it easier to recruit police officers on an ad hoc basis in times of emergency due to budgetary constraints.

Another reason for the high turnover was the low wage paid to policemen, a problem shared with the police forces of many countries in

13 BOA. ZB. 632/38. 10 July 1321, 23 July 1905.

14 BOA. İ. DH. 1329/1313 C-06. 7 Cemaziyelahir 1313/25 November 1895.

15 The rank of superintendent (*merkez memuru*) was founded following the 1908 revolution and the police ranks were reorganized by a regulation in August 4, 1909 by adding up the rank of superintendent between the (first-class) commissar and director. Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 19-20.

the nineteenth century. In Britain, police actions and protests over wages took place in 1870s and 80s.[16]

However, the response of Ottoman policemen to low wages was much more docile than that of their British colleagues. Many policemen in the Ottoman police forces left their jobs in their first year of their service due to the lack of reward for an arduous job.

The Ottoman case differed from western ones since the problem of low wages was accompanied by the problem of inconsistent payment. The payment of wages was a real burden for Ottoman governments. The archives are replete with documents that reveal that the wages of policemen were postponed - sometimes for months - in order to finance police officers. For example, in 1909 it was decided that 10,800 piasters of the allowance for wages (*maaş tahsisatı*) in the districts of Kudüs-i Şerif and Biga would be transferred to provide for the travel expenses of a police director (*polis müdürü*) and third-class commissar to go to Yemen from Istanbul.[17]

As this case illustrates, irregularity was common with respect to the payment of wages, creating distress in the lives of policemen whose jobs were anyway not lucrative.

Police wages remained low until the end of the Ottoman empire despite changes made by CUP governments after 1911. In 1914 the wages of all policemen weres raised to 500 piasters.[18] Only after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, in 1927, the wages of the police significantly raised. The average policeman started earning 1500 to 2000 piasters.[19]

Generally, the salary of an Ottoman policeman ranged from 150 to 400 piasters throughout the four decades between 1879 and 1922. For instance, the monthly salary of Ahmed Efendi, who had worked in Istanbul as a police officer for eleven years and as a police sergeant for

16 Taylor, *The New Police*, 45.

17 BOA. ZB. 464/113. 8 February 1324/21 February 1909.

18 EGM, 162.

19 Ibid.,, 299,316.

fourteen years, ranged from 300 to 350 piastres.[20] Throughout his twenty-five years of service, his salary increased only 50 piasters. While in 1880 a day-laborer in Konya normally earned seven piastres a day during construction.[21] An average police officer in 1884 earned twelve piasters a day (based on twenty-five work days a month).[22] The Ottoman police earned more or less the same as an unskilled laborer.

The CUP government managed to raise wages. Table 2 indicates the wages of police officers of different ranks before and after 1908.

Table 2.2 Wage levels of policemen with respect to rank, before and and after 1908[23]

Rank	Wage (piasters)	
	Before 1908	After 1908
Director	1500-2000	3000
Inspector	1500	2000-2500-3000
Superintendent	-	1500
Commissar	900	1000-1200
Second class commissar	600	750-1000
Third class commissar	500	600-800
Sergeant (*kom.muavini*)	350	500-600
Police officer	300	400
Police candidate[24]	-	200

In addition to low wages, high fines contributed to turnover in the Ottoman police forces. As disciplinary measures, police officers were frequently subjected to significant fines that were deducted from their salaries. For instance, a certain policeman in Van was charged half his monthly salary - 200 piasters- because he did not wake up for guard

20 BOA. DH.EUM.MH. 10/25. 9 Zilhicce 1327/22 December 1909.

21 Özbek, *"Policing the Countryside,"* 42.

22 BOA. DH. EUM. MH. 109/32. 1333. ZA. 05 5 Zilkade 1333/14 September 1915.

23 Tanışık, "Polis Teşkilatı Kadro Hareketleri," 45.

24 Police candidates who were studying in the police schools during the second constitutional period also received half of the salary of a police officer.

duty.[25] The high fines created great distress for Ottoman policeman who earned little from a demanding job that was seldom paid regularly.

In addition to low, inconsistent wages, Ottoman policemen could not expect a forward progress in their careers. After long service on the force, he may not be promoted. Moreover, promotions were not accompanied by increases in wages. Ottoman policemen did not expect benefits would come with his promotion. Many cases revealed in the service records of policemen illustrate that wages did not rise immediately after promotions. For instance, a certain Mehmet Mevlüt Efendi on the Musul police force was promoted to the rank of third commissar, but his wage remained unchanged.[26] Even promotion to the one of the highest ranks such as chief commissar might not entail any raise.[27] Indeed, while the good record and successes of policemen were rewarded with promotions, it could take time for the wage increases they promised were put into effect.

Moreover, promotions were not stable. A policeman who had obtained a promotion with a raise in his salary could be demoted after a short while.[28] Indeed, a policeman could be demoted several ranks at once. For instance, a third-commissar could end up being an ordinary policeman due to the judgments of a police commission or his superiors. In this respect, Ottoman policeman did not feel they were offered smooth progress with respect to their careers and wages.

The aforementioned problems with respect to wages contributed to the high level of turnover in the Ottoman police. Hence, from 1879 until 1922 the number of Ottoman police fluctuated dramatically.

High turnover on the force was also caused by the departures of many policemen due to the nature of police work and the subsequent return of some in a short span of time. The service records of policemen indicate that a significant number of policemen resigned from office in

25 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 43/65, 19 Rebiulevvel 1332/15 February 1914.

26 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 125/12, 22 Şevval 1332/13 September 1914.

27 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 125/12, 22 Şevval 1332/13 September 1914.

28 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 42/45, 19 Safer 1332/17 January 1914.

their first years or even first months on the force. In addition to resignations, many police officers left their jobs without notice. The service records indicate that the police officers who deserted were immediately removed from office. There were various reasons for the departures of policemen, but the heavy work load and the hard life in police stations were the most important.

The basic duty of an ordinary policeman was to patrol a beat. The police officers spent long hours on duty. They would patrol long beats on foot in hot and cold weather. Moreover, they were denied permission to rest in the coffee houses or chat with friends. In addition, they were strictly forbidden from enjoying everyday leisure of the labor classes such as going to the theatre or to public houses. A policeman on the Jerusalem force was fined for listening to a phonograph in a coffee house. Police officers were bound by strict codes of behavior all the time.[29]

The conditions of life in police stations added to the distress police officers experienced at work. Life in the police stations was uneasy. Apart from the arduous work, police officers found no comfort in the stations while on their breaks. Police stations lacked the primary needs of policemen such as coal, food, and equipments. The police precincts were continuously demanding coal for heating, as well as money for food, bread, and trenchcoats (*muşamba*) from the center. In addition, police officers were never able to relax in the police stations where they lived six days a week. They were always under the gaze of their superiors. They were expected to be engaged with their duties all the time. They were not allowed to socialize with colleagues in the precincts during work time. Having a chat with friends and playing backgammon were considered serious acts of looseness in the duty and thus fined.

Many police candidates left after attending police schools for a few months. They might have realized the demanding nature of the job during their education at the school. These candidates and recruits had tried out different professions before ascending to the police force.

29 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 42/45, 19 Safer 1332/17 January 1914.

Apart from former soldiers and gendarmes, recruits might have found the job demanding and too hard to bear. Since they were not accustomed to working under military command in their former professions, the mode of work might have been more unbearable for those who were not former soldiers or gendarmes who had undergone some military training.

Moreover, many policemen were removed from office due to disciplinary offences. One of the most common reasons for dismissal was deserting one's duty and escaping to one's hometown. The archives include many documents concerning police officers who left their jobs without notice and went to their hometowns. If they later returned, they found that they had been dismissed from office due to their absence without notice. Policemen were able to foresee the consequences of deserting their posts. Due to a shortage in the number of police officers to man the stations, many of these policemen had long not been able to get permission to visit their families in their hometowns. Hence, they had to take the path of desertion. Most probably they considered that their misdemeanor would be tolerated if they returned, since they had a legitimate reason for leaving and the police force was in need of experienced, qualified policemen.

Most policemen dismissed from office for various reasons or offences returned to the force to ask for re-employment. The reason for their return was that they could not find a better job and were destitute. The administration reemployed them if they indicated regret.

For instance, Cemaleddin Efendi served on the force for ten years until his removal from office.[30] He was also paid compensation upon dismissal. Upon his appeal, Cemaleddin Efendi managed to get a permission (*cevaz-ı istihdam kararı*) from the Council of State that affirmed that he could be reemployed on the police force due to his good service record. Hence, he applied to the Department of Public Security to be re-recruited. In his petition to the Ministry of the Interior, he stated that his

30 BOA. DH. EUM. MH. 247/52. 10 Zilkade 1330/21 October 1912.

application had not yet been answered and that he was unable to wait due to his destitution; therefore, he demanded to be recruited as soon as possible. Similarly, in another document to the police directorate, it was stated that Fuad Efendi, a former police officer who had been dismissed, was requesting to be reemployed by the corps due to his serious destitution and desolation.[31] Since Fuad Efendi promised not leave his district and wander around other areas, the administrative commission approved his reaccession to the force.

The punishment of dismissal for police officers who violated the rules was a method of training recruits who were not easily tamed. Policemen learned in time that the threat of being fired was not an empty one. The service records are full of policemen who left the job or were dismissed - even several times - and then returned to office after a time.

The frequent reappointments of policemen were another cause of departures from the force. The same point is frequently repeated in the service records of many policemen; "due to necessity, the so-called policeman was temporarily appointed to this province" (*lüzumundan dolayı muvakkaten şu vilayete nakil edilmiştir*). One reason for these unending reappointments was the serious shortage of men on the force, a problem solved by appointing policemen of both in low and high ranks from one province to another or from one district to another within the same province.

The time lapse between successive reappointments of a given policeman could be very short. A policeman could be moved from one district to another within a few months. These appointments caused serious distress for police officers and their families if they had one. An appointment to a distant province could last ten to twenty days. Although the policeman was sometimes paid travel expenses, moving his home and family would have been a serious trouble. For instance, a policeman appointed to the Musul police department became sick on his way to Musul and was given sixty days off to rest.[32]

31 BOA. ZB. 383/6, 15 May 1324/28 May 1908.

32 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 125/12, 22 Şevval 1332/13 September 1914.

Appointments sometimes functioned to punish policemen who did not disavow his misdemeanors. A policeman employed in the Karesi district in 1914 was appointed to various townships (*nahiye*) of the district because he did not get along with his colleagues in the police stations and did not follow the commands of his superior officer. All in all, successive appointments throughout their careers drove many police officers to resignation from their jobs.

The continuous wars which took place in various provinces of the empire between the years 1911-1913 resulted in significant increases in reappointments made across the provinces. Police officers who constituted the forces of Balkan provinces such as Edirne, Salonika, Manastır, Yanya, and Kosova either came to Istanbul with the Ottoman army following the Balkan wars or were temporarily appointed by the Ministry of the Interior during the war to the nearest police forces in North eastern Anatolia, such as Istanbul, Bursa, or Karesi.[33] These policemen would face several temporary reappointments until they would be finally appointed to fill vacancies in the forces of Anatolian and Arab provinces such as Van, Trabzon, and Musul. Moreover, policemen from the islands of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Province and from Trablusgarp Province either escaped or were sent to nearby Antalya or Izmir.

All in all, the number of police in the provinces steadily increased in the decades from the foundation of a modern police force to the beginning of the World War I. However, insufficient number of men in the forces and high turnover as a result of low wages and the nature of police work continued to be a serious problem until the end of the empire.

33 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 51/10, 16 Ramazan 1332/8 August 1914; BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 52/7, 15 Şevval 1332/6 September 1914; BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 129/51, 24 Zilhicce 1329/16 December 1911; BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 63/71, 12 Cemaziyelahir 1333/27 April 1915.

§ 2.2 Age

Since its establishment, the Ottoman police force was dominated by a population of young men in their twenties and thirties. Adult males were usually preferred over adolescent and elderly candidates. Figure 2.1 illustrates that in 1894 the police forces of the provinces of Syria and Beirut provinces was mostly comprised of policemen between the ages of twenty and forty. Moreover, the average age of police serving in these forces was twenty-nine. Although the chart does not represent the entire Ottoman police force, regulations with respect to the age qualifications for police recruits lead to a similar conclusion.

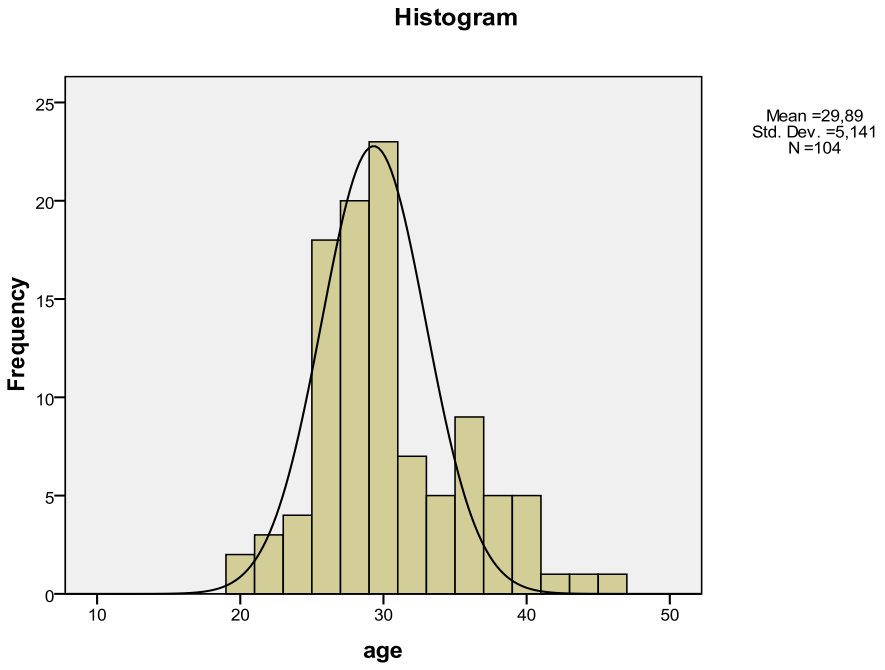


Figure 2.1 Age distribution of policemen in the provinces of Syria and Beirut in 1894[34]

34 The data acquired from service records of policemen of the Syrian and Beirut forces in 1894 were analyzed using the social statistics program SPSS 17.0. The total number of

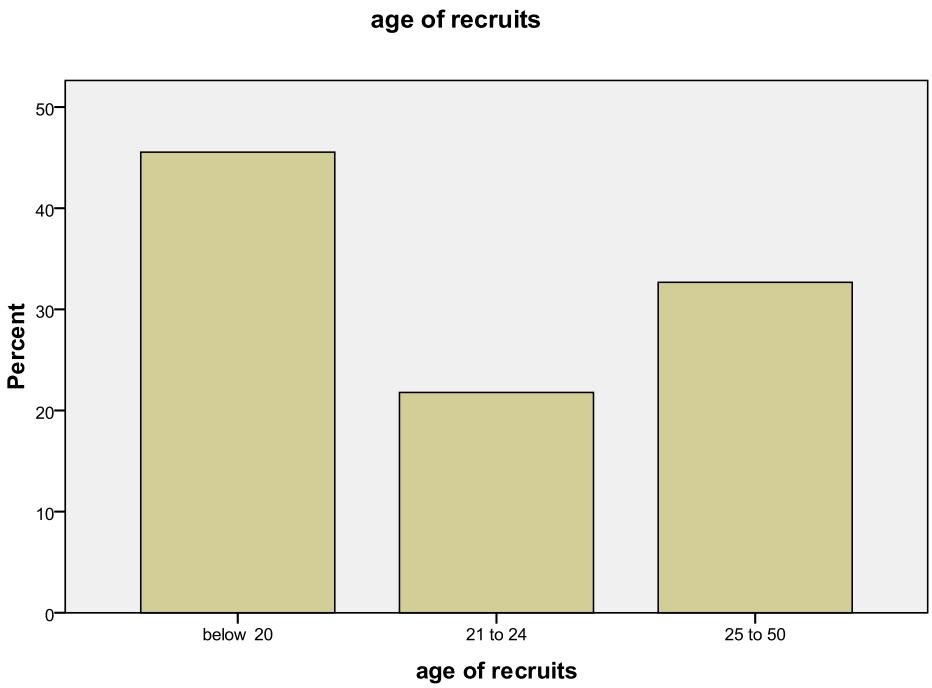
Until the enactment of 1907 police regulation, the qualifications for joining the Ottoman police force were not formally regulated. Indeed, before this date policemen were recruited in line with the qualifications and recruitment procedures set for *zaptiye* forces. In an 1864 regulation, a new branch of zaptiye officers was established called "officers of inspection" (*teftiş memurları*). This branch was the predecessor to modern Ottoman police which was established in 1867. The inspectors were selected from among literate men who were speakers of foreign languages.[35] The police force established in 1879 made use of the existing regulations of the *zaptiye* in terms of age qualifications. In this respect, the 1869 regulation concerning the *zaptiye* constituted the basic guideline for the police force and provided the qualifications for police recruits.

According to the 1869 regulation, recruits should be between the ages of twenty-one and fifty; those below age twenty-five should be limited in number. Indeed, the number of under twenty-five years of age should not exceed one third of any troop (*bölük*).[36] Until the first police regulation of 1907, the Ottoman police were recruited respecting the age qualifications set in 1869 regulation, to which archival evidence testifies.

policemen in our data is 105. The Syrian and Beirut forces were comprised of sixty-two and forty-three policemen, respectively. BOA. Y. PRK. UM., 30/65, 13 Rebiulevvel 1312/14 September 1894; BOA Y. PRK. UM. 30/60, 10 Rebiulevvel 1312/11 September 1894.

35 Sönmez, *"Zaptiye Teşkilatının Kuruluşu ve Gelişimi,"* 146-8.

36 Ibid.



Age of Recruits	Number	Percent
20 & below	46	45.5 %
21 to 24	22	21.8%
25 to 50	33	32.7%
Total	101	100%

Figure 2.2 The age distribution of recruits of the Syria and Beyrut Provinces, 1894

Figure 2.2 indicates that of the 101 police officers who served in the two provinces fifty-five were recruited between the ages of twenty-one and fifty.[37] The data show that the age qualifications mandated by the 1869 regulation were applied for the recruitment of half of policemen in the force.

37 The total number of police was 105, but there were four missing values with respect to their ages. Therefore, the statistical analysis was applied to the remaining data.

However, forty-six of the 101 policemen were recruited before the age of twenty-one. Indeed, the overall age distribution of the recruits ranged from the age of eight to that of forty-three. The service records of these policemen illustrate that some of those employed before the age of twenty were children, not even adolescents. Nineteen policemen were recruited before the age of fifteen. The recruitment ages of policemen on the force are illustrated in detail in Figure 2.3.



Figure 2.3 The distribution of the recruitment ages of policemen in Syria and Beirut Provinces, 1894

The statistical analysis of the ages of the recruits indicates that the average age of the recruits was twenty-two. Although the figure illustrates that half of the population of policemen were recruited at a very young age – younger than twenty-two – one can assume that these men were conscripted into the army or zaptiye forces before joining the police force. Indeed, analyses of various service records of policemen in other provinces suggest that if a policeman had served in the army or zaptiye, the start date of enterance to this state service was usually taken as the start date of their service on the police force. Just to say, in the records

of the policemen, the date one entered state service was not always differentiated from the date of one's recruitment onto the police force.

In this respect, young recruits can be assumed to have served in the army before joining the police. According to the 1869 regulation, experience in the ranks of the army was a preferred qualification for recruits. Indeed, military experience even counterbalanced being an adolescent. For instance, a certain Hüseyin Efendi was recruited as a policeman at the age of twenty after four years of service in the army. From his position as sergeant in the army, he was moved to the inordinate (*tertib harici*) police force of Dersaadet in 1897.[38] The case of Hüseyin Efendi illustrates that adolescents were recruited onto the police force if they had enough military experience. The police force in period shortly after its establishment lacked schools to educate recruits; therefore, experienced men from the army were expected to offset the lack of qualified, policemen with job training and work experience.

The age limits changed as the institution of the police developed in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The force demanded young men instead of adolescent and elderly men. In the first police regulation of 1907, the age limit was set to between the ages of twenty-five and forty. Later on, in 1913, the limits were changed by lowering both the maximum and minimum. Entry to men younger than twenty-three and older than thirty was constrained.

This shift in age qualifications can be explained with respect to the quality of work on the force and its institutional targets. Adult men were expected to become officers due to the strenuous work that potency and robustness. Moreover, the Ottoman governments sought to constitute a professional police force comprised of policemen loyal to the job. Men above the age of thirty were considered to be too old to start a career on the police force and to adapt the professional education and discipline.

38 Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Polisin Özlük Dosyaları,* 29.

The data presented in Figure 2.4 below illustrate the age distribution of a sample of police recruits who served in various provinces of the empire from the years 1912-1914.[39]

39 The statistical analysis of the data presented in the figure was appropriated from the service records of police forces of the five provinces and four autonomous districts found in various regions of the empire. These provinces were Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Mosul, and Aydın, and the autonomous districts were Jerusalem, Antalya, Canik (Samsun) and Karesi (Balıkesir). These service records all concerned the period, 1911-1915 - that is , the second period of Ottoman police regulated by a CUP government. The number of records obtained concerning the police forces of the provinces Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Mosul, and Aydın were respectively 121, 11, 49, 18, and 26. The number of the police records obtained from the autonomous districts of Jerusalem, Antalya, Canik, and Karesi are 94, 26, 41, and 20, respectively. The total number of records analyzed came to 406. As Table 1 indicates, the total number of police in 1914 was 6471. In this respect, the sample at hand is almost 6 % of the total population in 1914. Although the sample does not fully represent the police population of the period, it nevertheless presents significant data from which make arguments about this second period of police. The analyses obtained from the sample data are further related to archival documents.

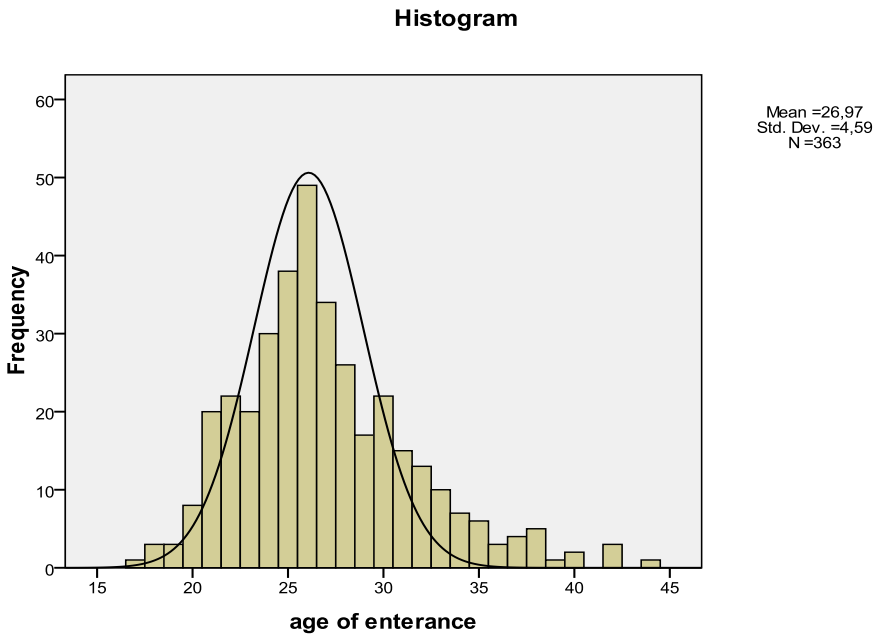


Figure 2.4 The distribution of the recruitment ages of Ottoman policemen from 1911-15

The figure illustrates that the age distribution of recruits changed in line with the age limits set by the 1907 police regulation. The Ottoman police started to employ most of its recruits from among a population of adult men in their twenties and thirties. The figure shows that almost 90 percent of recruits were between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five.

Moreover, the age distribution of Ottoman policemen also changed due to the dismissal of older policemen from the force after 1909 on account of the Reorganization Regulation (*Tensikat Kanunu*).[40] The reg-

40 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, I, 326-333. The Reorganization regulation, issued in July 1, 1909, was composed of eighteen articles which were to be implemented in all branches of the state bureacracy, but later in 1910 it was changed upon the harsh criticisms rising from all over the country. The government's cause for such a regulation in the state bureaucracy was officially increasing the quality of the officers, however the regula-

ulation sought to reform the police by dismissing unqualified policemen from the force. For this purpose, special commissions (*tensikat komisyonu* or *komisyon-ı mahsusa*) were established in each province to evaluate the skills and experience levels of policemen. Thus, all the policemen were subject to written and oral exams after 1909.[41]

The service records of policemen indicate that many were dismissed from the force upon their failure to pass in the examinations. The most common reasons for dismissal were their illiteracy, old age, and lack of knowledge.[42] However, the newly established regime may also have made use of this regulation to remove supporters of the old regime from the police force and consolidate its authority in the country. Whether or not the regulation was a political tool, the number of notes and petitions written related to the dismissal of policemen indicates that a significant number of police were removed from office.

All in all, the Ottoman police force was mostly populated by young men in their twenties and thirties since its establishment in the 1890s. The force applied the recruitment qualifications of zaptiye forces for almost two decades. In the first police regulation of 1907, the qualifications for recruitment significantly changed. Hence, as the institutional development of the Ottoman police neared completion, the force started to be made up of adult males rather than adolescent and older policemen.

---

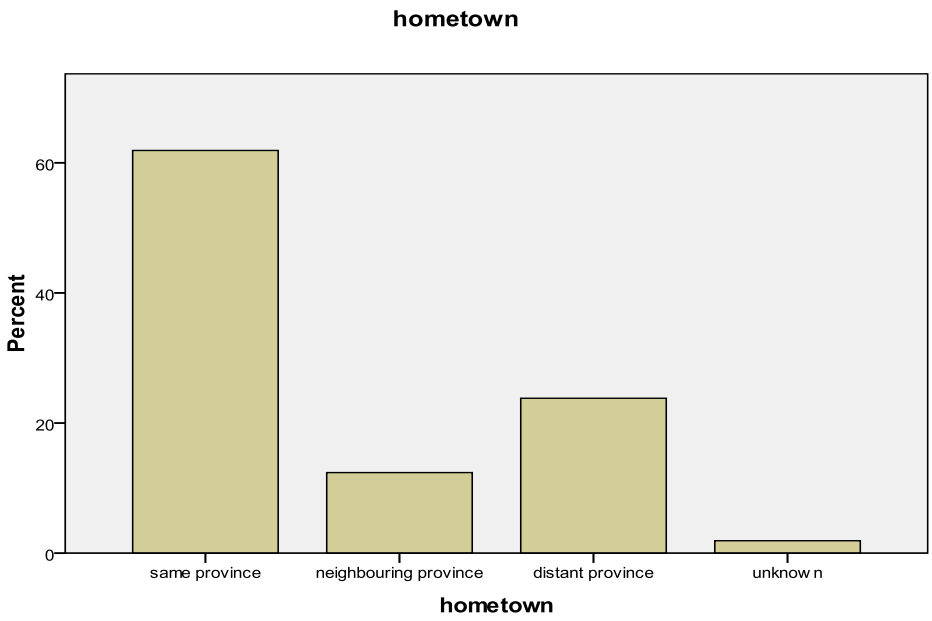
tion was used as a tool for dismissing many government officials due to political reasons or personal problems. For a detailed discussion of the implications of the Reorganization Regulation of 1909, see Tural, *1909 Tenzilat ve Teşilat Kanunu*; Kırmızı, *Meşrutiyette İstibdat Kadroları*.

41 Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Polisin Özlük Dosyaları,* 37-9; Van, 26-33; Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 26-33.

42 Ibid.

§ 2.3 Hometown

The policemen in the force predominantly worked in the provinces which were their hometowns. Most of the time, newly recruited policemen were immediately appointed to their places of birth or hometowns. Moreover, many ended up serving in their hometowns after having served in other provinces for varying periods of time. Hence, the populations of policemen in any province given were mostly made up of locals. The service records of policemen testify to the fact that this circumstance remained the same throughout various periods of the development of the police force.



Hometown	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
In the same province	65	61.9%	61.9%
From a neighboring province	13	12.4%	74.3%
From a distant province	25	23.8%	98.1%
Unknown	2	1.9%	100.0%
Total	105	100.0	

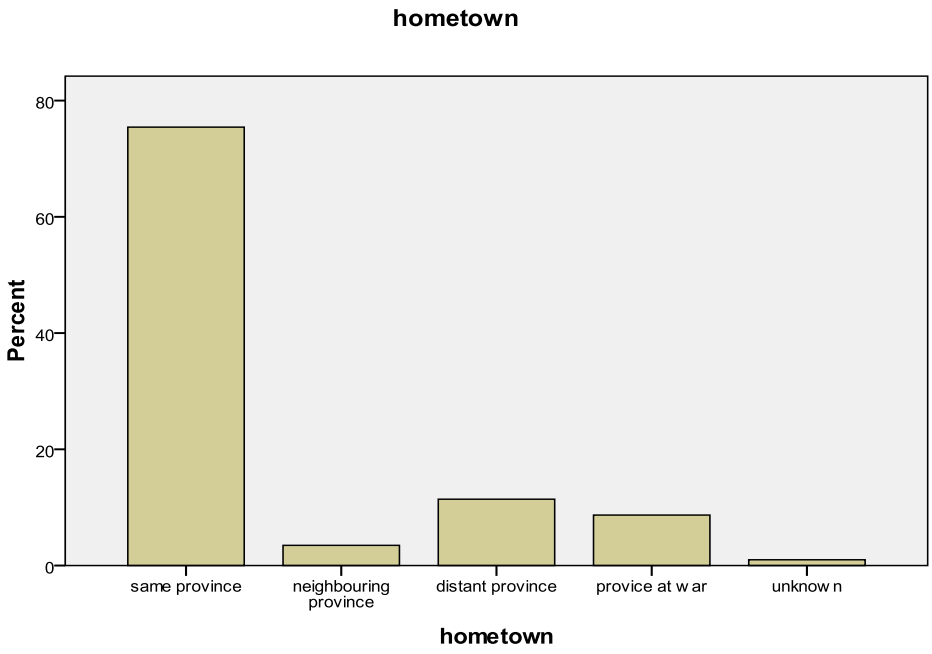
Figure 2.5 Distribution of the hometowns of policemen in the provinces of Syria and Beirut in 1894

According to the Figure 2.5, more than 60 percent of policemen in Syria and Beirut were working in the provinces in which they were born. 12 percent were born in the neighboring provinces. Which to say, almost 72 percent of the police force was comprised of policemen from the region and only one fourth of the police of Syria and Beirut were outsiders.

The registers (*künye cetveli*) of the police force from Erzurum province support this argument held.[43] According to the registers, in 1894 there were twenty-one policemen among whom were six commissars (*komiser*) and fifteen police officers. The hometown of seventeen was Erzurum, while the hometowns of the remainder were various provinces such as Edirne, Rumeli, and Van. Evidence shows that 80 percent of the police force of the Erzurum province in 1894 was comprised of residents of the province.

For two decades this trend continued among the provincial forces of the Ottoman police. Figure 2.6 below illustrates the distribution of hometowns of Ottoman policemen in the period from 1912-14. The situation did not change much with the advent of the CUP government.

43 BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/64. 13 Rebiulevvel 1312/14 September 1894.



Hometown	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
In the same province	304	75.4%	75.4%
From a neighboring province	14	3.5%	78.9%
From a distant province	46	11.4%	90.3%
From a combat zone	35	8.7%	99.0%
Unknown	4	1.0%	100.0%
Total	403	100.0%	

Figure 2.6 Distribution of the hometowns of Ottoman policemen from 1912-14

The figure shows that although the institutional development of the Ottoman police had furthered, the traditional mode of appointment used in the force- that is to say, of employing recruits in their hometowns - remained intact. The figure illustrates that about 75 per-

cent of the 403 policemen working in various provinces in the empire were employed in their hometowns.

However, in this period, the number of appointments of outsiders increased because of wars that took place in various regions of the empire between 1911-13. With the outbreak of the subsequent wars Italo-Turkish War and two Balkan Wars, policemen from Tripoli, islands of the Mediterrenean, Edirne, Salonika, Manastır, and Kosova started to move safer regions of the empire. Upon the direction of the Ministry of the Interior, these policemen were temporarily appointed to the provinces in which they had arrived. However, they would be reappointed several times before ending up in vacant positions in Anatolian and Arab provinces of the empire.

Despite the fact that the frequency of appointments from distant provinces increased as a result of wars in this period, the predominance of locals in provincial police forces continued. The proportion of policemen who were non-residents did not exceed one fourth of the policemen in our sample. In this respect, the rate was similar to that of 1894.

In addition, the service records of policemen reveal that young being born in the same province, many policemen came from the same village (*köy*) or neighborhood (*mahalle*) and were likely acquintances or somehow related to each other. For instance, in 1914-15, ten of 124 policemen on the Van police force were recruited from the neighborhood of Nurşinaba. These recruits were sent to the Erzurum police school in the same year. There were other similar incidents both in Van and in other provinces.

Why did policemen mostly work in their hometowns? There are two possible answers. First, they preferred to. Service records indicate that many policemen demanded to be appointed to their hometowns or to neighboring provinces close to their hometowns. In order to be employed in their hometowns, they had to find a vacant position or a policeman working in that province with whom to exchange positions (*becayiş*). For instance, a certain policeman demanded to be appointed to Canik when he learned that there was a vacant position on the force

there. He was on his way to his hometown of Malatya for a vacation when he learned of it. The policeman probably wanted to be employed in Canik rather than Istanbul because he would be much closer to his home and family.[44]

Ottoman policemen desired to live near their families, friends, and neighborhoods. The urge to live in their hometowns derived from the nature of their job. Life on the force alienated policemen from their social lives; they had to spend most of their time - six days a week - in the stations. They had only one day off a week and their vacation time amounted to fifteen to twenty days a year. Time to see their families was so limited that they could not take care of their families as they should. Many policemen resigned due to familial problems. For instance, a certain policeman resigned twice because of the health issues of his family.[45]

Therefore, working in their hometowns provided policemen with the possibility more easily to bear the difficulties of the work in various ways. They could sneak off from their beats, take care of their families and rest in their own homesfor a while. They could also see friends and enjoy life by visiting coffeehouses, theaters, and public houses and then return to their duties without anyone having noticed their absence. Indeed, service records are full of notes on the misdemeanors of policemen who escaped their beats.

Second, the employment of policemen in their hometowns was an informal procedure of the police. Indeed, in contemporary Turkey the appointment of policemen to their or their wives' birthplaces is prescribed, but the Ottoman police did not prohibit and indeed supported such appointments. For instance, the appointment of a Bitlis policeman to Muş was affirmed with the common that he was considered a resident ("*yerli hükmüne girmesinden dolayı nakli*").[46]

44 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 32/4, 2 Receb 1331/7 Haziran 1913.

45 Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Polisin Özlük Dosyaları.*

46 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 124/10, 4 Zilkade 1331/5 Ekim 1913.

The employment of policemen in their hometowns helped the Ottoman police to recruit ordinary men to become police professionals with job loyalty. Since its establishment it had been a challenge for the force to retain men in service for long periods in police stations far from their families and social networks. Even in 1914, the service records of police officers are full of notes concerning policemen punished for desertion of their office. Police officers ran off from the force to their hometowns throughout their careers. Thus the police tried to reduce the number of desertions and foster job loyalty.

Moreover, policemen employed in their hometowns were already informed about the province and its people. Therefore, such policemen had been insider's point of view and knowledge that would help to the police force. On the issue of whether there were relatively more residents employed in the police forces of certain provinces, the data there were no significant differences among the police forces in three regions of the empire; the Anatolian, Eastern, and Arab provinces.

However, an analysis of a small sample from the Istanbul police indicates that more than half of fifty-two police officers on the Istanbul force were not Istanbulites. Although the sample is not sufficient to represent the Istanbul police as a whole, the service records of policemen support this argument. Policemen were frequently appointed to the Istanbul police force for their good records and successes while on duty. Hence, this force which required skilled, experienced police officers for the surveillance of the capital city demanded the most industrious policemen of the provinces.

Despite the fact that police officers from provinces other than Istanbul were mostly employed in their hometowns, there was a significant number appointed to provinces far from their hometowns. Evidence testifies to a significant number of temporary and permanent appointments of police officers to various police forces in far-flung provinces because of the never-ending problem of a shortage of policemen.

The analysis of archival data indicates that provincial police forces continuously demanded the appointments of both low and high-ranking policeman. The policemen who worked in provinces other than those of

their hometowns were comprised of both ordinary police officers and high-ranking policemen. However, in comparison with the number of policemen from among the upper ranks, the number of ordinary police officers from different provinces was much higher in the two periods under analysis. The tables below illustrate the number of policemen with respect to ranks and their hometowns in the two periods.

Table 2.3 Crosstabulation of the hometowns and ranks of policemen in on the Syria and Beirut police forces in 1894

	Rank				
Hometown	Police Officer	2nd Class Commissar	3rd Class Commissar	Chief Commissar	Total
In the same province	51	1	13	0	65
From a neighboring province	12	0	1	0	13
From a distant province	21	1	3	0	25
Unknown	1	0	0	1	2
Total	85	2	17	1	105

Table 2.4 Crosstabulation of the hometowns and ranks of policemen on the Ottoman police forces from 1911-15

	Rank					
Hometown	Police Officer	Sergeant	2nd Class Commissar	3rd Class Commissar	Chief Commissar	Total
In the same province	261	24	3	16	0	304
From a neighboring province	10	2	1	1	0	14
From a distant province	31	8	3	3	1	46
From a combat zone	28	4	2	0	1	35
Unknown	1	1	0	2	0	4
Total	331	39	9	22	2	403

Tables 2.3 and 2.4 illustrate that the population of that policemen who were appointed to provinces other than those of their hometowns were predominantly ordinary policemen. According to table 2.3, the total number of policemen from other provinces was thirty-eight, and thirty-three of these were ordinary police officers. According to table 2.4, the proportion of ordinary policemen from other provinces was greater than the proportion of higher ranking policemen from other provinces. While the total number of policemen from other provinces was ninety-five, sixty-nine of whom were ordinary policemen.

In addition, when the percentages of high-ranking policemen who worked in provinces other than their own are comparedthere are relatively more such appointments in the latter period. In the first period the proportion is 13 percent and in the second one it is 27 percent. As thepolice cadres in the provinces were enlarged, provincial forces required experienced, skilled high-ranking police officers. Since they lacked such cadres in their provinces, high-ranking police officers from other provinces were appointed by the center as needed.

§ 2.4 Religious Community

The Ottoman police force included non-Muslims since its establishment in 1879. The police registers of Syria Province from1894 which consisted of the service records of policemen indicate that two non-Muslim policemen had been on the force for fifteen years, since the establishment of the police force in the region.[47]

Indeed, by 1878 it was legally obligatory to employ non-Muslims in local security forces. “The treaty [of Berlin in 1878] required representation of non-Muslims in local police forces and gendarmeries in proportion to their percentage of the total population.”[48]

47 BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/65, 13 Rebiulevvel 1312/14 September 1894.

48 Özbek, *"Policing the Countryside,"* 60.

Apart from the legal obligation, the recruitment of non-Muslims onto police forces was imposed by the administrative needs of an empire intending to govern a population composed of a variety of religious and linguistic communities. Correspondence from the province of Edirne testifies to this.[49] The chief superintendent's office (*polis serkomiserliği*) of Edirne Province demanded that a number of men recruited who were more or less able to speak various foreign languages, such as French as well as the languages of the local communities; Greek and Bulgarian. It was stated that the residents of the province were mostly Greeks, Bulgarians, and foreigners; thus, the police force needed to employ policemen who knew languages other than the official one.

Despite the fact that police positions were open to non-Muslims, they rarely applied for police work. The basic reason for their lack of motivation was the low wages they offered for an excessively demanding job. Indeed, the aforementioned correspondence refers to the difficulty of attracting qualified men to the force at that wage level. To increase the number and quality of applications, employment opportunities with the police were formally announced in provincial newspaper, but no qualified applicants - whether Muslim or non-Muslim - applied for the job. Finally, it was implied that an increase in the police salaries was essential to provide order in the province. Hence, it was demanded that salaries decreased as an effect of a reform draft (*ıslahat layihası*) be returned to their former amounts.[50]

Throughout the thirty years of the Abdulhamit regime, the population of non-Muslim policemen steadily increased as the Ottoman police continued to develop its institutional organization, but this population rarely exceeded 10 percent of the police force in any given province. Table 2.5 indicates proportion of non-Muslim policemen in thirteen provinces of the Ottoman Empire in 1894.[51]

---

49 BOA. DH. TMIK. S. 25/76. 23 Safer 1317/3 July 1899.

50 BOA. DH. TMIK. S. 25/76. 23 Safer 1317/3 July 1899.

51 The numbers of police in the provinces of Trabzon, Ankara, Aydın, Sivas, Van, Erzurum, Edirne, Beirut, Syria, and Tripoli were obtained from the Ottoman Archives of the

Table 2.5 Proportion of non-Muslim policemen in the Ottoman provinces from 1893-96

Regions and Provinces	3rd Class Commissar	Police Officer	Total	Percent	Total Police Force
ANATOLIA					
Trabzon			0		41
Ankara		1 Armenian	1	4%	27
Aydın	1 Greek	92 Greeks, 4 Armenians, 3 Jews	10	8%	124
Kastamonu			0		10
Sivas		3 Armenian	3	7%	43
Van		3 Armenian	3	9%	34
Erzurum			0		21
Diyarbakır		3 Armenian	3	27%	11
Regional Total			20	6%	311
BALKANS					
Kosova			0		30
Edirne	1 Greek	94 Greeks, 3 Jews, 1 Bulgarian, 1 Armenian	10	8%	127
Regional Total			10	6%	157

Prime Ministry. These records all concerned the year 1894. Data for the remaining three provinces was acquired from transcriptions of provincial yearbooks. Therefore, the Kastamonu and Kosova data concern the years 1893 and 1896, respectively. However, for Diyarbakır Province, I found data on the police force in 1894. The archival materials are as follows: BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/59, 10 Rebiulevvel 1312/11 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/69, 18 Rebiulevvel 1312/19 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/61, 10 Rebiulevvel 1312/11 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/78, 25 Rebiulevvel 1312/26 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/63, 12 Rebiulevvel 1312/13 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/64, 13 Rebiulevvel 1312/14 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/62, 11 Rebiulevvel 1312/12 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/60, 10 Rebiulevvel 1312/11 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/65, 13 Rebiulevvel 1312/14 September 1894; BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/99, 29 Rebiulevvel 1312/30 September 1894; Ağanoğlu, *Kosova Vilayeti Salnamesi*; İnan, "*H. 1311 (1893) Tarihli Kastamonu Vilayeti Salnamesi*"; Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi, *Diyarbakır Salnameleri 1286-1323.*

Regions and Provinces	3rd Class Commissar	Police Officer	Total	Percent	Total Police Force
ARAB					
Beyrut		2 Greek	2	5%	43
Trablusgarp			0		13
Suriye	2 Jew	6 Greek	8	13%	62
Regional Total			10	8%	118
Total			40	7%	586

Table 2.5 illustrates that in 1894, the proportion of non-Muslim police to the total in any given province varied from 4 to 27 percent. The police forces of Anatolian provinces started to be founded in 1885; therefore, the number of non-Muslim policemen on provincial forces had not increased enough within a decade. Despite the fact police forces had not completed their development in 1894, the proportions of the non-Muslim population within police forces neared or exceeded 10 percent. Especially in provinces where non-Muslim populations resided, such as Diyarbakır, Syria, Van, Edirne, and Aydın, the proportions were high, 27,13, 9, 8, and 8 percent, respectively. However, the ranks of these non-Muslim policemen were low. Only four of these were third class commissars, and all the rest were ordinary police officers.

The numbers and ranks of non-Muslim policemen seemed to increase as the Abdulhamit government neared its end. The yearbooks of three Anatolian provinces - Sivas, Ankara, and Diyarbakır - support this argument and offer detailed information about the police forces in these provinces.

According to the Ankara yearbook of 1907, the police force was composed of seventy-four policemen, five of them who were non-Muslim, which mean that the proportion of the non-Muslim police there had increased from 4 to 6 percent since 1894.[52]

52 Emiroğlu, *"Ankara Vilayeti Salname-i Resmisi,"* 64-249.

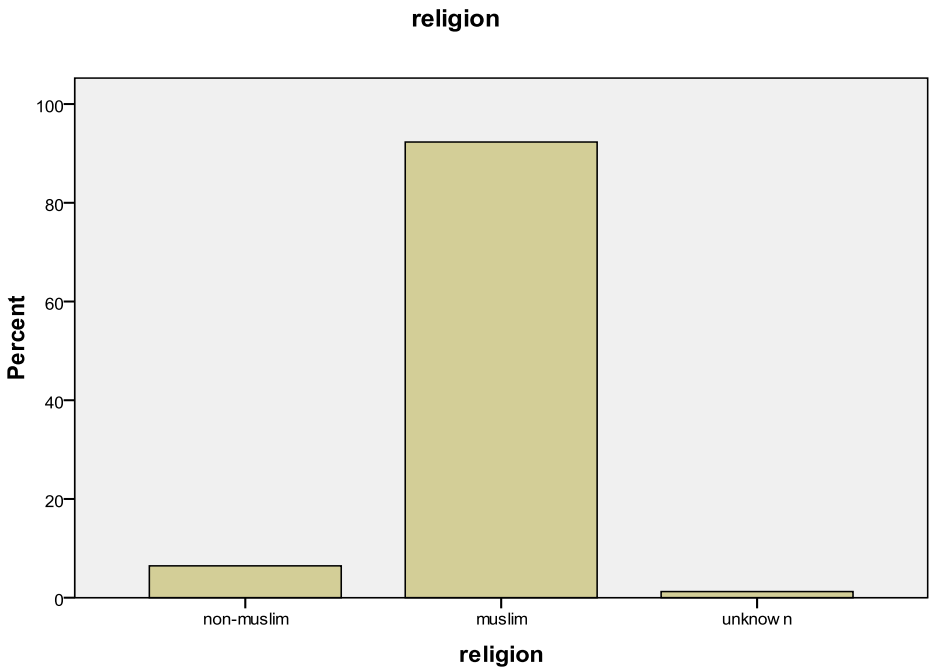
Similarly, the proportion of non-Muslim policemen in Sivas Province changed from 7 to 11 percent over the same thirteen years. In 1907 the Sivas police force was increased to 175 policemen, twenty of whom were non-Muslims. Moreover, the ranks of these non-Muslims were also different. Four were third-class commissars and one was a second-class commissar. The remaining fifteen were ordinary policemen.[53] By 1905, the proportion of non-Muslims on the Diyarbakır police force was also about 10 percent and two of the six non-Muslims held the rank of third-class commissar.[54]

All in all, compared to the time of the establishment of the police organization, the numbers and ranks of non-Muslims on the force increased during the Abdulhamit reign.

How did the numbers of non-Muslims on the police force change with the advent of the CUP goverment? The analysis of our sample of policemen on various provincial police forces indicates that the ratio of non-Muslims to the total force dropped to 6.5 percent in the period 1911-15. Since our sample does not include forces in the Balkans where non-Muslim subjects of the empire predominantly reside, the sample fails to fully represent the actual proportion of non-Muslim Ottoman policemen to the total.

53 Yücel, *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas H. 1325 (1907)*, 61-142.

54 Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi. *Diyarbakır Salnameleri 1286-1323*,.



Religion	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Non-Muslim	26	6.5%	6.5%
Muslim	372	92.3%	98.8%
Unknown	5	1.2%	100.0%
Total	403	100.0%	

Figure 2.7 Population distribution of Ottoman policemen with respect to religious affiliation in selected provinces from 1911-15

The figure illustrates that only 6.5 percent of the total population of our sample of policemen was non-Muslim, less than that of non-Muslims on the police force in the Abdulhamit era. The ratios changed from 4 or 5 percent to about 10 percent by the end of the reign of Abdulhamit. An analysis of the differences between the proportions of non-Muslim police in specific provinces in the two eras offers a better understanding.

In August 1912, the ratio of non-Muslim policemen to the total number on the Diyarbakır police force was 10 percent - the same as the

ratio in 1905. Similarly, in January 22, 1915, the ratio of non-Muslims on the Van police force was also about 9 percent. Thus, the non-Muslim population within the Ottoman police was not reduced by the CUP government until 1915. However, as the World War I continued into mid-May 1915, the CUP government ordered the evacuation of the Armenian population from the provinces of Van, Bitlis, and Erzurum. Since the Armenians constituted the majority of the non-Muslims on the police forces of Anatolian provinces, enforced emigration of Armenians explains the sharp decline of the non-Muslim population on these forces.

Archival data indicate that from 1910 until 1915 the CUP government had continued to recruit new policemen from among non-Muslim populations onto the force. Among the twenty-six non-Muslim policemen in our sample, twenty were employed on the force throughout the CUP government. Their employments began between 1910 and 1914, and eleven of the twenty were sent to police schools near their hometowns. These policemen were recruited and employed mostly in the provinces of Van and Diyarbakır as well as the autonomous district of Kudüs.

Despite the fact that the CUP government did not meddle with the numbers of non-Muslim policemen on the forces and adhered to the 10 percent benchmark set by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, as had the Abdulhamit regime, it did make changes to the ranks of non-Muslim policemen.

Table 2.6 Crosstabulation of the ranks and religious affiliations of policemen in selected Ottoman provinces from 1911-15

	Rank							
Religion	Police Candidate	Police Officer	Sergeant	Senior Sergeant	2nd Class Commissar	3rd Class Commissar	Chief Commissar	Total
Non-Muslim	1	20	3	2	0	0	0	26
Muslim	25	282	28	6	9	20	2	372
Unknown	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	5
Total	27	304	31	8	9	22	2	403

Service records from the Diyarbakır and Van police forces support this argument. By 1905, the non-Muslim population on the Diyarbakır police force consisted of two third-class commissars. However, by 1912 there were no commissars among the non-Muslims on the same force.[55] There were only two sergeants who were not Muslim. Moreover, the ethnic distribution of the non-Muslim population on the Diyarbakır force had also changed by 1912. The six Armenian policemen on the 1905 force had been replaced by four Chaldean (*keldani*) and just one Armenian policemen.

Similarly there were no non-Muslim commissars in the Van police in January 1915, though 9 percent of the policemen on the force were non-Muslim. Among 121 policemen, there were eleven non-Muslim officers all of whom were Armenians, and there were only three sergeants, two of whom were senior sergeants.[56]

As with Muslim policemen, non-Muslims were predominantly employed in their hometowns ever since the establishment of the Ottoman police force. In 1894, upon an order from government, the governor of Edirne Province sent data concerning the number and religious affiliations of policemen and gendarmes that had been recruited in the province.[57] Moreover, the correspondence identified all of the non-Muslim policemen, all of whom were from Edirne. While four were from the provincial center, the other seven were from various districts of the province such as Dimetoka, Cezzar Mustafa Paşa, Lüleburgaz, and Gelibolu.

Similarly, a note from the vice chief commissar of Van Province (*başkomiser vekili*) presents similar data.[58] According to the note, there were thirty-four policemen in the province, only three of whom were non-Muslim. The correspondence identified the non-Muslim police of-

55 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 15/13, 21 Şaban 1330/5 August 1912.

56 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 43/65, 19 Rebiulevvel 1332/15 February 1914.

57 BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/62. 11 Rebiulevvel 1312/12 September 1894.

58 BOA. Y. PRK. UM. 30/63. 12 Rebiulevvel 1312/13 September 1894.

ficers, all three of whom resided in the neighborhoods of the provincial center.

In the second period, this trend continued. In our sample, twenty-four of twenty-six non-Muslim policemen were residents of the provinces in which they were working.

The nationalist tendencies of the CUP government, especially after the Balkan Wars, caused a certain distrust of non-Muslim populations in Anatolia, especially of Armenians because of rising Armenian nationalism and terrorist incidents that had occurred since the 1890s.

Archival materials indicate one incidence of an Armenian nationalist on the police force of Van in 1915. A certain Kirkor Efendi, who was an experienced police officer who had served for at least for five years on the Van force betrayed his duty and joined the Russian and Armenian forces during the invasion of Başkale in May 1915. Kirkor Efendi fired against the Ottoman army, killed five Muslim soldiers, and let the Russian Kazakhs in his company to retrieve the revolver of his colleague on the force, a certain İzzet Efendi. Finally he was shot to dead in his house. After the incident, it was commanded that his record on the force be deleted.[59]

All in all, throughout the two periods, the non-Muslim population on the force remained about 10 percent. However, with the advent of the CUP government, high-ranking policemen among the non-Muslims decreased in number.

§ 2.5 Educational and Occupational Background

Policemen of the Ottoman police force were mostly recruited from among the urban poor, as was the case for Western police forces at the turn of the century.[60] The low wages which were only relatively improved with the advent of the CUP government were the basic reason

59 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 43/65, 19 Rebiulevvel 1332/15 February 1914.

60 Emsley, *Policing Western Europe.* 7.

for the recruitment of low-profile men onto the force. Especially in the first period of the development of the Ottoman police, the organization could not attract educated or trained men from any profession other than those who had served in the army or gendarmerie.

The average police recruit was expected to read and write only in a moderate degree. Indeed, this was not a qualification set for the recruitment of soldiers and gendarmes. Moreover, given that the literacy level of the fin-de-siècle Ottoman population did not exceed 10 percent, the average police officer would not have seemed uneducated.[61]

The early recruits of the force were mostly former soldiers and gendarmes who were drafted due to their military experience. For example, a certain Mustafa Efendi entered police service after seventeen years within gendarmerie corps.[62] Another Mustafa Efendi was recruited to the police in 1892 after ten-years of service in the gendarmerie battalion of Galata.[63] Similarly, "for a long time, in the late nineteenth century France the great majority of French policemen were former soldiers who had completed at least four to five years of military service."[64]

Although these former military men were mostly illiterate, their applications were welcomed by the police which had no formal job training program. These recruits held onto the higher ranks during the first period until the CUP government started to reorganize the police force in 1909. Most of them were then dismissed or demoted as a result of the examinations instituted by the reorganization commissions. For instance, in 1909 a certain Batumlu Hasan Efendi was dismissed from his office of third-class commissar after ten-years of service upon the decision of special commission.[65] According to this decision, Hasan Efendi was found not sufficiently competent and educated for police work. Hence, it was decided to pay him compensation amounting to 6051 pi-

61 DİE , *Osmanlı Devletinin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı*,

62 Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Polisin Özlük Dosyaları,* 205-209.

63 BOA. DH. EUM. MH. 252/46. 15 Recep 1332/9 June 1914.

64 Emsley, *Policing Western Europe*, 40.

65 Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, *Polisin Özlük Hakları*, 27.

asters. This amount was computed with respect to the terms of his service and his salary which was 350 piasters.

Some of the dismissed policemen of this kind were let to return to the force not as officers but as office boys. The petition of a certain Abdülaziz Efendi is revealing with respect to this process.[66] In his petition, Abdülaziz Efendi from Dağıstan who was a former gendarme and later a cavalryman on the force, states that he was dismissed from office because he was illiterate following the reorganization of 1909. He added that he was paid compensation but demanded to be employed in various services of the ministry (*hademecilik, perdecilik, kapıcılık*).[67] He argued that his demand was justified by a decree of the ministry that provided job opportunities for those dismissed for being unqualified for police work but whose record of service was good.

Despite the fact that the Ottoman police always sought to recruit qualified men, budgetary problems of the government were an obstacle to achieving certain educational standards for recruitment. In order to fulfill the need for policemen on the forces, the organization had to recruit from among the urban casual poor which at the turn of the century was mostly comprised of migrants. As Özbek puts in, "massive migrations from the Balkans and the Caucasus in the latter half of the 19th century generated favorable labor market conditions for government."[68] The archives are full of petitions of migrants wishing to be recruited onto the police force. The common theme emphasized throughout these petitions was the destitution of the applicant. The applicants narrated their poverty and requested to be recruited into the corps in order to be rescued from their fate. One example is the petition of a father who requested his sonbe recruited onto the force. A certain Raşid Efendi who

66 Ibid., 39.

67 It was decided that the police officers who were illiterate were to be assigned to duties which did not require literacy such as (*hademelik, gardiyanlık, belediye tanzifat onbaşılığı, odacılık, perdecilik, rüsumat kolculuğu*). Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 31.

68 Özbek, *"Policing the Countryside,"* 54.

was a migrant from Bosnia, said that he and his son were in utter poverty; therefore, he asked his son be employed.[69] Similarly, a certain Osman Efendi explained in his petition that he had come to Dersaadet from Divriği due to his destitution. Hence, he wanted to be recruited onto the force and said that he was literate.[70]

In the second period of the force, after 1908, the social status of policemen in the urban milieu had improved as the institutional organization of the police developed and they provided their employees with various forms of economic and social capital. By 1910s, policemen earned relatively more than in the former period and they were formally educated in the police schools that had been founded in provincial centers. Moreover, the occupation of policing started to be acknowledged both by its practitioners and by society as a profession rather than as a stopgap. The success of police in catching thieves and murderers using professional methods of crime investigation were continuously mentioned in the newspapers by the late nineteenth century. The organization was able to attract much more qualified people - even non-Muslims who already had a career - in the second period. For instance, Panayot from the Greek community applied to the police in Isparta in 1910 and passed the examination of entrance. Previously he had worked as a pharmacist. Moreover, he knew foreign languages including Greek and French and had also worked as a scribe in various offices.[71]

Throughout the first period, age limits were much broader and a number of men from transferring from various occupations jıoined the force. After the 1913 regulation which constricted the age limit to between 23-30, the average age of recruits dropped. Thus the number of police officers who had worked in other occupations before being a policeman was less than that of the former period.

In the first period most recruits joined the force due to their temporary desperation. Agricultural laborers and migrants wanted to join the

69 BOA. DH. MKT. 2345/48. 15 Muharrem 1318/15 Mayıs 1900.

70 BOA. DH. MKT. 2363/119. 23 Safer 1318/22 June 1900.

71 Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, *Polisin Özlük Hakları*, 31.

force to escape low earnings and irregular employment. The case of the recruitment of a certain Hasan Efendi is an example.[72] Hasan Efendi, who applied to become a prison guard in Istanbul, had worked as agricultural laborer in his village in Trabzon. He was married and with four children but had come alone to Istanbul in order to make a living.

However, many applied for opportunistic reasons. Working on the force provided fringe benefits beyond wages. The force offered a place to stay and clothes and footwear on regular basis. Moreover, there were unofficial benefits such as the social capital provided by representing the authority of the state in a town. Indeed, the service records of policemen illustrate that many police officers were from among the families of local notables. Many policemen or their fathers had the titles *hacı, müftü, paşazade* and *beyzade*, designating a certain social standing and the wealth of their families. In this respect, the organization attracted local notables who needed to establish good relations with state authorities to enhance their local power. Therefore, they sent their brothers and sons to the police expecting them to become police office, s or better yet, commissars in their hometowns.

Actually, Ottoman policemen differed from European counterparts with respect to their familial background and social class. Although the Ottoman police was constituted by and large by the urban poor, it also included people from relatively higher social classes.

Until the opening of police schools in the first decades of the twentieth century, Ottoman policemen were not provided with any preliminary instruction before being thrown to the police stations. Indeed, they received their training on the job. The case was not much different for European policemen. There is little evidence new policemen in Europe received any formal training until late nineteenth century: "Recruits were often thrown straight into police work with little or no training beyond basic drilling."[73]

72 BOA. ZB. 63/71. 25 February 1320/ 8 March 1905.

73 Taylor, *The New Police*, 51.

In Britain, the first courses that provided systematic instruction in police duties started in the 1880s.[74] Similarly, the first course was offered to forty policemen in Istanbul in 1889. The course lasted an hour and a half and took place two days a week. The lectures basically concerned crime investigation and judicial process. Students were subject to examinations upon which they were promoted.[75]

In contrast to their European counterparts, the Ottoman police provided no manual to its police officers in the first period. The police manual by Metenier, *Guide Pratique de Police,* was published in 1885 and was the sole aid for French policemen.[76]

However, the police school in Salonika (the former name of which was *Vilayat-i Şahane Polis Mektebi*) was opened in 1907, just as the Peel House was founded in Britain as a training school. During the CUP reign, the number of police schools in the provinces steadily increased. There were six police schools functioning across around the empire by the First World War. These were established in Istanbul in 1909, in the provinces of Baghdad, Erzurum, and Adana in 1911, in Beirut in 1912, and in Trabzon in 1918.[77]

The training program lasted four months according to the 1910 Regulation for the police schools (*Polis Mektebi Nizamnamesi*).[78] According to the 1913 regulation the recruits were obligated to participate in the training program as a police candidate and after their completion of the program with success they would be able to serve in the force as police officers.[79]

The courses provided in these schools were designed to turn the recruits into subjects who were obedient agents of the force with a certain view of themselves as police professionals. There were basically two

74 Ibid.

75 Kaynar, "Türk Polis Teşkilatı'nın Kuruluşu," 24.

76 Emsley, *Policing Western Europe*, 39.

77 Kaynar, "Türk Polis Teşkilatı'nın Kuruluşu," 44.

78 Çebitürk, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e "Polis" Mevzuatı, 113.

79 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 387-8.

kinds of course offered in the schools that contributed to the making of the new police. The first included courses that targeted the disciplining of the body and mind of the recruit. Basic drills and exercise were for disciplining the body, meaning that recruits were to become accustomed to the physical demands of police work. Recruits were also subjected to courses called "the police regulation" and "occupational morality" which illustrated for the recruits the behavioral boundaries of a policeman. In this respect, the body and mind of the recruit was shaped in a certain style, and he was expected to adopt a new subjectivity.

The second type of course involved lectures on profession. The recruit was given basic job training. He was taught to use the basic tools in the police stations such as the telecommunications (the telephone and telegraph). Moreover, he was informed about the appropriate discourse or official correspondence. Lectures on mathematics (calculation) and law were also provided. Moreover, policemen responsible for the security of the people were informed about the physical attributes of criminals who threatened public security. The new police would root out these criminals with modern methods of crime investigation. In this respect, the occupation required professional knowledge and skills.

All in all, police schools under the CUP government contributed to the constitution of the new police cadres in a relatively short time. The process of the making of the new police started in the Abdulhamit era but reached its peak under the reign of the CUP.

Therefore, by the beginning of the First World War, the Ottoman police force was composed of two kinds of policemen - one older, experienced, but relatively uneducated, and the other young, inexperienced, but with formal training. Due to the reorganization by the CUP government 1909 onwards, the young, educated policemen started to dominate the force both in terms of number and rank.

§ 2.6 Marital Status

In the first period of the Ottoman police, being single was an informal recruitment qualification. Correspondence between the police head-

quarters of Çatalca and the center indicate that among candidates who fulfilled formal qualitifications, bachelors were to be preferred.[80]

Indeed, most police forces in the West were composed of young, single men. Recruitment campaings stated that married men need not apply.[81]

Being married caused problems of inefficiency in police work. According to the 1913 regulation, it was obligatory for police officers and commissars to sleep in the police stations.[82] Only superintendents (*merkez memurları*) were allowed to live outside their stations, but they were still obliged to find a house in a neighborhood close to the headquarters.

All police officers were granted twenty-four hours of weekly permission. Despite the fact that this rule first appeared in the regulation of 1913, it was barely the formalization of the obligation to stay in the stations that was already common practice in the period before 1913. The obligation was not a significant problem for poor or unmarried policemen; on the contrary, the job provided them with shelter. However, it created trouble for married policemen. For instance, a certain Salih Niyazi Efendi, a sergeant on the force, resigned twice in 1912 and 1924 because of his wife's health.[83]

Policemen's families were not always able to follow them to their numerous appointments to distant provinces or districts. Hasan Efendi, who applied to become a prison guard in Istanbul, came alone, leaving his wife and four children in Trabzon.[84]

All in all, being single was an informal qualification for recruits throughout both the first and second periods of the development of the police, but the organization included many policemen who were married with children.

---

80 BOA. DH. EUM. THR. 9/39. 12 Şevval 1327/27 October 1909.

81 Taylor, *The New Police*, 49.

82 Alyot, *Türkiye'de Zabıta,* 526.

83 Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, *Polisin Özlük Hakları*, 169-170.

84 BOA. ZB. 63/71. 25 February 1320/ 8 March 1905.

3

Construction of the Ideal Policeman in the Institutional Discourse of the Police

This chapter offers an analysis of the institutional discourse of the police organization in order to find out the discursive limits of the police identity under in the second constitutional regime.

Following Foucauldian theory of modern power and governmentality, it is argued that the Ottoman police force as a modern institution of power imposed a certain kind of discursive formation and disciplinary practices generating new norms and subsequent subject positions to be inculcated by policemen.

In this chapter, the police subjectivity reproduced in the institutional discourse which entailed certain characteristics, manners, and capabilities to the exclusion of certain others will be delineated.

It is argued that the "commissar" was considered the embodiment of this ideal police subjectivity, and thus the commissar subjectivity was promoted as a "moral" model for policemen throughout this discursive formation.

Throughout the analyses, how this commissar subjectivity was constructed in and through the relations of power among police officers themselves is illustrated. As the ultimate police subject to be attained by the ordinary police officer, the commissar identity was constructed by

various discursive practices entailing the exclusion and inclusion of certain capabilities, deeds, and modes of thinking.

Moreover, it will also be illustrated that this police subjectivity was constructed in relation to other subjectivities such as those of gendarmes and state officers - that is to say, public servants such as teachers and administrative officers.

The course book used in police schools, the course notes held in the Salonika police school, and the in-house journals of the police were employed to analyze this institutional discourse.

§ 3.1 Formal Police Education

This section provides information on the scope of formal education provided to police candidates and policemen by the police institution. This education consisted of formal instruction provided by the police in training courses, the police schools, and inhouse journals. Therefore, it is argued that the educational materials employed by the force provide significant data with respect to the institutional discourse. Below the history of police education is briefly mentioned and an introduction to the written materials of the police organization which are used in the analysis of the institutional discourse are offered.

3.1.1 *Police Schools*

The education of policemen was an issue under consideration in the upper echelons of the Ottoman bureaucracy and police force since the end of the nineteenth century. Until the 1908 revolution, this consideration was mostly due to the demands of the Great Powers with respect to the enhancing the rights of non-Muslim communities in the empire.

Manyasizade Refik Baha Bey, who was a well-known political figure of the first constitutional period as the lawyer in Midhat Pasha's case, gave lectures on law and policing to policemen in his office as he was the head of the Investigation and Inspection Commission (*Tahkik ve Teftiş Heyeti Reisliği*) in the Ministry of Police (*Zaptiye Nezareti*). However, the first attempt to establish a systematic education for policemen

had to wait until 1889. In Istanbul, forty policemen of various ranks were offered classroom lectures on criminal code, judicial procedure, and prreliminary criminal investigation on a regular basis - two days a week for one and a half hours each session. The students were subjected to examinations upon which they were promoted.[1] As Manyasizade Refik Bey mentions four course titles in his book, these courses can be assumed to have been among the lectures in the training program between 1889 and the second constitutional revolution in 1908. These courses were Police Regulations or Police Duties (*Nizamat-ı Zabtiye veya Vezaif-i Zabıta*), Military Recruitment Procedures according to Military Law (*Kanun-ı Askerinin Ahz-ı Askeri Muamelatı*), Theories of Punishment (*Nazarriyat-ı Ceza*), and Cases in Criminal Courts (*Ahval-i Mehakimat-ı Cezaiyye*).[2]

Although Manyasizade Refik Bey resigned from lecturing in 1893, the lectures were taken up by Cemalettin Bey who was the Principle of Criminal Affairs in the Ministry of Justice (*Adliye Nezareti Umur-ı Cezaiyye Müdürü*) from this date forward until the revolution in 1908.[3] Moreover, Manyasizade Refik Bey turned the course from notes of two courses, Police Regulations and Military Recruitment Procedures, into a book in 1893. This book was handed out to trainees and used as a manual for the training program until the revolution in 1908.[4]

The number of police schools steadily increased throughout the country parallel to an increase in the budget allocated to the Ministry of Police during the CUP reign. In addition to the school in Salonika, CUP governments founded six more police schools around the empire. These were established in Istanbul in 1909, in the provinces of Baghdad, Erzurum, and Adana in 1911, in Beirut in 1912, and in Trabzon in 1918.

1 Şahin, *Polis Okulları*, 13-14.

2 Manyasizade, *"Nizamat-ı Zabtiye,"* 5, 34.

3 Ibid., 76.

4 Ibid., 76-77.

The training program lasted six months between 1907-1909 and decreased to four months in 1909,[5] and in the 1910 Regulation for the police schools (*Polis Mektebi Nizamnamesi*) the period of education was stated as four months.[6] In 1912, the period of education was decided to last six months in order to teach Turkish to the candidates only in Beirut police school.[7]

According to the 1913 regulation, the recruits were obligated to participate in the training program as a police candidate and after their completion of the program with success they would be able to serve in the force as police officers. Upon the reorganization process (*Tensikat*) which took place in many government offices and also in the police after the 1908 revolution, the policemen who were not dismissed were also sent to the schools along with the new recruits. For instance, Ahmed Hami Efendi, who worked in the police force of the autonomous district of Canik and had entered in the police force in 1910 remained in his position upon the Reorganization Commission's decision, but he was sent to the Dersaadet police school in 1913 while his friends in the same police headquarters, who also maintained their positions after the Commission's trials, were not sent to the police school.[8]

Although not all the course materials appropriated in the police schools are available, we can still determine what was taught and how it was taught to policemen throughout their education in and after school by delving into police journals and the two known course books, that of Manyasizade Refik Baha Bey and that of İbrahim Feridun Bey. Furthermore, the publications of the archives of General Directorship of Public Security (*Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü)* offer significant archival data on the education process used by the Ottoman police. These sources provide the curriculum, course names, and examination reports of students of the police schools.

5 Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Polis Okulları: Eğitim," 108.

6 Çebitürk, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e "Polis" Mevzuatı, 113.

7 Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Polis Okulları: Eğitim," 109.

8 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 32/4, 2 Receb 1331/7 Haziran 1913.

The formal instruction of police cadets served three objectives: disciplining the body and mind, providing professional skills and knowledge, and inculcating a certain mode of thinking and behavior. Courses on physical education, gymnastics, and fencing were offered for the disciplining of the body and mind, meaning that the recruits were to become accustomed to the physical demands and disciplinary system of the police work.

The program of the police schools was mostly filled with occupational training courses. Recruits were instructed to develop their professional knowledge and skills. They were taught to use the basic and modern tools in the police stations such as the telecommunications (telephone and telegraph) and also informed about the discourse appropriated in the official correspondence (*tahrirat*). Moreover, there were courses of basic calculation (mathematics), accounting, and writing in the Ottoman and French languages.

The new police would root out these criminals with modern methods of crime investigation. Policemen responsible for the security of the people were informed about anthropometry, that is to say the method for measuring and recording the physical attributes of criminals, in the course called "*İlm-i Eşgal*". Fingerprint analysis was taught in the police schools in a course on dactyloscopy. The lectures on this investigation method were also repeatedly published in police journals. Moreover, the police cadets took courses on hygiene and first aid. In this respect, policemen were trained to become professionals with the knowledge and skills required for the modern policing.

The third objective of police training in schools was to inculcate certain values and forms of behavior in line with the institutional discourse, as is demonstrated in detail in the analyses in the following sections. Although the course on professional discipline (*Terbiye-i Meslekiye*) was the only explicit course with this agenda, its content was reproduced in all the other courses providing professional education. The notes of courses held in the police school of Salonika published in the police journals illustrate that the institutional discourse on police behavior was reproduced in courses on law and police regula-

tions. Moreover, the course book of the police school paid special attention to professional discipline and allocated one third of its pages for this issue.

Table 3.1 Course list of police schools[9]

Kavanin ve Polis Nizamnamesi	*Laws and police regulations*
Hukuk	*Jurisprudence*
Kitabet	*Writing (in Ottoman)*
Fransızca	*French*
Tahrirat	*Official correspondence*
Kroki	*Map*
Fotoğrafi	*Photography*
Daktiloskopi	*Dactyloscopy (the science of finger-print identification)*
Telgraf	*Telegraph operation*
Otomobil[10]	*Automobile operation*
İlm-i Eşgal	*Anthropometry*
Hıfzısıhha	*Hygiene*
Müdavat-ı Evveliye/ İbtidaiyye	*First aid*
Hesap Dersi	*Mathematics*
Muhasebe	*Accounting*
Tatbikat-ı Cezaiye	*Applications of law*
Tatbikat	*Policing in practice*
Terbiye-i Meslekiye	*Professional discipline*
Riyazet-i Bedeniye	*Physical education*
Jimnastik ve Endaht	*Gymnastics and Shooting*

9 Most of the course names were written in the diplomas of the police schools' graduates. Moreover, the lists of the lecturers teaching in the police schools also reveal significant data in terms of the courses taught (Şahin, *1907'den 2000'e Polis Okulları,* 14-52*;* Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü*, Diploma, Sertifika ve Üniformalı Resimler,* 26-40).

10 Although there is no course name in the diplomas as such, there is a photograph of police recruits studying around an automobile in the police school. (Şahin, *1907'den 2000'e Polis Okulları,* 29.) According to the 1915 Police Equipment Regulation (Polis Levazımı Nizamnamesi), the responsibilities of the drivers were written in detail (Çebitürk, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e "Polis" Mevzuatı,"145-7). Moreover, in 1914 a certain Halil who was to work in the Kayseri Municipality as driver was sent to the Istanbul Police School for driving lessons (Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Polis Okulları: Eğitim," 118). Moreover Ali Rıza Öge, a former police commissar, also indicated in his memoirs that the Ottoman police made use of automobiles during the pursuits of criminals by 1913 (Öge, *Cumhuriyet*, 4 Mart 1935).

Eskrim	*Fencing*

Despite the fact that policemen were provided a training program in police schools, the Ottoman police force did not provide a full-fledged manual for police officers until 1913, long after their European counterparts. Therefore, the contents of formal police education in police schools must mostly by be ascertained from the available course book, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus Terbiye ve Malumat-ı Meslekiye.*

The book was written by İbrahim Feridun Üstünel, a former soldier who worked as physical education *(Terbiye-i Bedeniye*) teacher in the police schools of Salonika and Istanbul in 1910. İbrahim Feridun also significantly contributed articles to the police journals. As he wrote in the preface of his book, he was motivated to author the book by his students and friends - that is to say, other teachers at the police schools. He worked over the school's one-month Ramadan vacation, sent to Vienna in order to prepare them for print, and asked help the of Turkish artists for several other pictures. Moreover, he paid all the expenses of the book himself.[11] The fact that İbrahim Feridun spent so much effort to realize his book project shows that there was a great need for such a course book in the schools. As illustrated in the following sections of this chapter, the professional education of policemen was mostly provided through course books written by foreign authors. Indeed, the police journals consisted of numerous transcribed articles on police profession. Therefore, teachers and students of the police schools felt of a need for a course book in Turkish that would provide the material being taught in printed form, explain police duty in detail, and supplement foreign course materials.

The book is significant for our analysis of the professional and moral education of Ottoman policemen. It is divided into four parts. The first is as Professional Discipline (*Terbiye-i Meslekiye*) and is composed of a number of articles on professional and moral requirements for police-

11 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 11-12.

men. The second part is Corporal Discipline (*Terbiye-i Bedeniye*), which provides information on the physical training of policemen. The third is Professional Knowledge (*Malumat-ı Meslekiye*) in which policemen are instructed on measures to be taken in times of emergency such as in fires, terrorist attacks, and times of social unrest and protest. Moreover, articles gave information about various types of crimes and criminals in the country as well as about new and different policing techniques applied in foreign police forces, such as the use of dogs. The fourth part is called as History of the Ottoman Police (*Tarihçe-i Zabıta-i Osmaniye*) and provides a narrative of the history of the police in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, a subsection of this last part is entitled Memoirs *(Hatırat*) and consists of a few articles based on the memories of two policemen who were the friends of the author.

3.1.2 *Inhouse Newspapers:* Polis *and* Polis Mecmuası

In addition to the education in police schools, policemen continued to be instructed through police journals. Two inhouse journals were published by Department of Public Security in order to enhance the skills and knowledge of Ottoman policemen. The tagline of the "*Polis Mecmuası*" reveals the intent of the journal: It is the official magazine that serves to illuminate the idea of the police and to advance the profession "It is the official magazine that serves to illuminate the opinion of the police and to develop the profession" (*Polisin tenvir-i fikrine ve mesleğin terakkisine hâdim resmî mecmuadır*).[12]

The journal, Police (*Polis*) was published weekly on Thursdays and consisted of eight pages.).[13]

The first date of publication was August 31, 1911.[14] Issue 40, which was the final one of *Polis* was published on April 4, 1912.[15] A single issue was sold for twenty para, and a yearly subscription cost thirty pias-

12 *Polis Mecmuası*, 10 Temmuz 1329/19 Şaban 1331 (24 July 1913), nr. 1, 1.

13 *Polis*, 25 Ağustos 1327/ 14 Ramazan 1329 (7 September 1911), nr. 2, 9.

14 *Polis*, 18 Ağustos 1327/ 7 Ramazan 1329 (31 August 1911), nr. 1, 1.

15 *Polis*, 22 Mart 1328/ 16 Rebiülahir 1330 (4 April 1912), nr. 40.

ters. In our study, thirty issues were scanned, including numbers 1-29 and 40.

The second journal, Police Journal (*Polis Mecmuası*) was a bimonthly publication of thirty pages. The first date of publication was July 24, 1913.[16]

The study encompasses the journals through the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918 which ended the World War I. This date also represents the end of the reign of the CUP. As is well-known, the party dissolved itself and its top leaders left the country after the signing of the armistice.[17] Therefore, our study encompasses the issues of the journals up through number 107.

Over three thousand pages of the journals, *Polis* and *Polis Mecmuası* were scanned. Selected articles were transcribed and then all the article titles published in the journals were compiled. In order to meaningfully describe the data at hand, we started to analyze the list of articles by classifying the article titles in certain themes. In addition to this list, various interesting articles that were useful for further analysis were transcribed. In order to introduce these inhouse newspapers, a thematical classifification of their contents is provided.

The first theme is significant political events and figures. The journals informs readers with respect to political events taking place in the national and international arenas such as political assassinations (such as the assassinations of Mahmut Şevket Paşa[18] and the heir to the Austrian-Hungarian throne, Franz Ferdinand, for which detailed court records were reprinted in the journals[19]); information about the Armenian

16 *Polis Mecmuası*, 10 Temmuz 1329/19 Şaban 1331 (24 July 1913), nr. 1, 1.

17 Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey,* 327-28.

18 *Polis Mecmuası*, 10 Temmuz 1329/19 Şaban 1331 (24 July 1913), nr. 1, 4-11.

19 *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Teşrinievvel 1330/ 8 Zilhicce 1332 (28 October 1914), nr. 31, 738; 1 Teşrinisani 1330/25 Zilhicce 1332 (14 November 1914) nr 32, 765; 15 Teşrinisani 1330/10 Muharrem 1333 (14 November 1914) nr. 33, 786; 1 Kanunıevvel 1330 / 26 Muharrem 1331 (14 December 1914), nr. 34, 812; 15 Kanunıevvel 1330 / 10 Saferulhayr 1333 (28 December 1914), nr.35, 836; 1 Kanunısani 1330 / 27 Saferul hayr 1333 (14 January 1915), nr. 36, 861; 15 Kanunısani 1330/12 rebiülevvel 1333

rebels, their operations and the photographs of the arms captured from the Armenian rebels[20]; and various state ceremonies[21]. In addition, images of important figures such as sultans and the Ottoman and high-echelon Ottoman and foreign statesmen were published in each issue.[22]

The second theme is laws and regulations. Under the title of "Laws and Regulations" (*Kavanin ve Nizamat*) and Edicts and Decrees (*İrade ve Mazbatalar*), laws and regulations that had been put into effect or updated were covered in every issue. In addition, sections from the police regulation (*Polis Nizamnamesi*) were regularly published under the title, "Laws and Regulations."[23]

The third theme is Inside the Police Departments: Discipline and Punishment. The journals offer significant information on the mecha-

(28 January 1915), nr. 37, 885; 1 Şubat 1330 / 29 Rebiülevvel 1333 (14 February 1915), nr. 38, 911; 15 Şubat 1330/ 13 Rebiülahir 1333 (28 February 1915), nr. 39, 931.

20 The journals are abundant with such information, here only a number of the relevant news are indicated. *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Teşrinievvel 1330/ 8 Zilhicce 1332 (28 October 1914), nr. 31, 721, 726; 1 Teşrinisani 1330/25 Zilhicce 1332 (14 November 1914) nr 32, 763-67; 15 Mayıs 1331/14 Receb 1333 (28 May 1915), nr. 45, 132-33; 15 Kanunisani 1331/22 Rebiulevvel 1334 (28 January 1916), nr. 61, 518; 15 Mart 1332 / 23 Cemaziülevvel 1334 (28 March 1916), nr. 65, 46.

21 For several examples of the official ceremonies published in the journals, see. *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Haziran 1330 / 4 Şaban 1332 (28 June 1914), nr. 23, 529-536; 15 Kanunısani 1330/12 Rebiülevvel 1333 (28 January 1915), nr. 37, 865-71.

22 For instance, the photograph of the French academic Monsieur Pierre Loti was given in the journal. *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 Eylül 1329 / 12 Şevval 1331 (14 September 1913), nr. 4, 76. 16 The photographs of the Minister of the Interior, Talat Bey and a certain pilot, Fethi Bey are also published. *Polis Mecmuası*, Teşrin-i Sani 1329 /29 Zilhicce 1331(29 November 1913), nr. 9, 196.

23 There is a great number of sections with the title "Kavanin ve Nizamat," and thus only a few of them are indicated. *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 Teşrinievvel 1329/ 13 Zilkade 1331 (14 October 1913), nr. 6, 124; 30 Teşrinisani 1329 /14 Muharrem 1332 (13 December 1913), nr. 10, 235; 1 Nisan 1330 / 18 Cemaziyülevvel 1332 (14 April 1914), nr. 18, 426- 431; 15 Kanunısani 1330/12 Rebiülevvel 1333 (28 January 1915), nr. 37, 877; 15 Şubat 1330/ 13 Rebiülahir 1333 (28 February 1915), nr. 39, 923-25; 1 Temmuz 1331 / 2 Ramazan 1333 (14 July 1915), nr. 48, 205-6.

nisms of discipline and punishment in police departments. Under the title, "Appointments and Changes" (*Tevcihat ve Tebeddülat),* the journals provide detailed information about various moments and events in a policeman's career such as graduation from the police school, employment, vacation, promotion, demotion, assignments, retirement, desertion, misdemeanors, and various fines and rewards.[24] Moreover, tables called dismissal registers (c*ezayı terkin-i kayd cetvelleri*) which revealed detailed information about police officers in Istanbul and İzmir who were fired due to their misdemeanors.[25] In addition, photographs also provide invaluable data on the practices of policemen that were punished with fines or rewarded with money, decorations, and letters of appreciation (*takdirname* and *tahsinname*). The journals included numerous photographs of both the rewarded and punished police officers together with narratives of their circumstances.

Professional education is the fourth theme. First, via journals the institution tried to institute an accumulation of professional knowledge on police work. In this respect, lectures in the police school of Salonika were regularly published in the journals.[26] Moreover, photoghraphs of

24 Since the journals are abundant with this section, here only a number of them are indicated. *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 Teşrinievvel 1329/ 13 Zilkade 1331 (14 October 1913), nr. 6, 125; 30 Teşrinisani 1329 /14 Muharrem 1332 (13 December 1913), nr. 10, 219; 1 Nisan 1330 / 18 Cemaziyülevvel 1332 (14 April 1914), nr. 18, 411; 1 Teşrinisani 1330/25 Zilhicce 1332 (14 November 1914) nr 32, 758; 1 Kanunısani 1330 / 27 Saferul hayr 1333 (14 January 1915), nr. 36, 852; 1 Temmuz 1331 / 2 Ramazan 1333 (14 July 1915), nr. 48, 204.

25 For the tables used in our analysis, see, *Polis Mecmuası*, 3 Teşrinisani 1329/14 Zilhicce 1331 (14 Kasım 1913), nr 8, 189-193; *Polis Mecmuası*,1 Kanunisani 1329, 16 Safer 1332 (14 ocak 1914), nr 12, 287-289; *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Şubat 1329, 4 Rebiülahir 1332 (2 Mart 1914), nr 15, 360; *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 Mart 1330, 16 Rebiülahir 1332 (14 Mart 1914), nr 16, 383; *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 Nisan 1330, 18 Cemaziyülevvel 1332 (14 Nisan 1914), nr 18, 432; *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Şubat 1330, 13 Rebiülahir 1333 (28 Şubat 1915), nr 39, 935.

26 A few examples of the lecture notes held in the police school of Salonika are as such; "Selanik Polis Mektebinde Not Edilen Polis Nizamnamesi Dersleri, 1" *Polis*, 22 Eylül 1327 / 12 Şevval 1329 (6 Ekim 1911), nr. 5, 37; "Selanik Polis Mektebinde Not Edilen

newly established police schools, their educational staffs and the policemen who graduated from them were published in the journals. In addition, the journals regularly published articles translated from foreign books and journals, mainly on police job. These translated articles provided Ottoman policemen with some recognition of advanced methods of crime investigation such as the methods of detecting finger prints (daktiloskopi), the use of police dogs, and an understanding of the nature of modern police work in the West. Moreover, photographs of foreign police departments, their policemen, and their practices were also frequently published in the journals. In this respect, the Ottoman police force carefully monitored developments in modern police work especially those taking place in France, Austrio-Hungary, Germany, Britain, and even the United States.

The fifth theme is Moral Education. The journals not only reproduced the Western literature on police work but tried to offer an Ottoman interpretation of this literature. Many articles written by high-ranking Ottoman policemen narrated the ideal Ottoman policeman and the ways to make use of modern techniques of policing. Therefore, the journals are useful for analyzing the discursive formation produced by and within the Ottoman police organization from 1911 onwards. We are able to inquire into the particular values and modes of behavior offered by this institution and hence to analyze certain modes of behavior and thus subjectivity imposed on its police officers.

The sixth theme is actual police practices vis-à-vis crime and criminals. The journals provide significant insight about the types of crimes with which the Ottoman police dealt. Many articles written by policemen depict real criminal events and the ways that the Ottoman police dealt with them. Moreover, a section called Criminal Department (*Kısm-ı Adli*) provides detailed information on actual criminals who were convicted in the capital city. The photographs given in the journals also illuminate events handled by the police. Numerous photographs of fires,

---

Polis Nizamnamesi Derslerinden, Polisin İfa-ı Vazifede Hukuk ve Salahiyeti 4", 1 Kanunievvel 1327/ 22 Zilhicce 1329 (14 December 1911), nr. 14, 100.

floods, and terrorist attacks include explanatory notes. There are also many photographs of criminals arrested in the country together with the narratives of their criminal acts and records.

The seventh theme is Institutional Coordination and Information. The journals were used by the police force as a tool for organizational communication. They provided updated information to readers about the newly established branches of the organization, newly constructed police stations around the country, and staff whose ranks had recently changed. The journals are replete with photograhs of the police stations (*karakol*) and of both promoted and demoted policemen. In this respect, they provide us significant insight in terms of the functioning of the organization.

§ 3.2 Discourse and Discursive Analysis

We need to provide a short discussion of the terms "discourse" and "discursive analysis" before continuing with our study of the institutional discourse of the Ottoman police force.

> In common-sense language, a discourse is simply 'a coherent or rational body of speech or writing; a speech, or a sermon'. But in sociological analyses by discourse we refer to a group of statements, which provide a language for talking about or a way of representing a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. The discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way and limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed.[27]

Stuart Hall provides a detailed introduction to the concept of discourse and how the discourse of "the West and the Rest" came into being as a discourse of power that generates meaning and knowledge and has thus shaped public perceptions and attitudes up to the present. As he puts it,

27 Hall, *"The West and The Rest,"* 291.

discourse is the production of knowledge through language. "But it is itself produced by a practice: 'a discursive practice'- the practice of producing meaning. Since all social practices entail meaning, all practices have a discursive aspect. So discourse enters into and influences all social practices."[28]

Unlike the concept of ideology, the concept of discourse does not refer to the existence of an essential truth. Ideology is based on a distinction between true statements about the world (science) and false statements (ideology). Foucault argues that statements about the social, political or moral world are rarely ever simply true or false but facts can be construed in different ways.[29]

Language or discourse has real effects in practice as the description "becomes true". Foucault's description of discourse places considerable weight on questions of power since it is power, rather than facts about reality, that make things "true." According to Foucault's theory of discourse, a discourse can be produced by many individuals in different institutional settings (like families, prisons, hospitals, and asylums) and can be used by groups with different, even contradictory, class interests.[30]

According to Foucault, a discourse is not composed of one statement, but of several statements together to form a "discursive formation." "The statements fit together because any one statement implies a relation to all the others as they refer to the same object, share the same style and support a strategy."[31]

The statements within a discursive formation do not have to be the same. But the relationships and differences among them must be regular and systematic, not random. Foucault calls this a "system of disper-

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid, 292.

30 Ibid., 292-3.

31 Ibid., 291.

sion." "Whenever one can define a regularity then we will say that we are dealing with a discursive formation."[32]

A discourse can function by generating certain categories and classifications. Second, it creates a language or system of representation by which certain images and ideas come to be associated. In his analysis of the discursive formation of "the West and the Rest," Hall illustrates the idea of "Western" is equated with the concepts "urban" and "developed," while "non-Western" is associated with the concepts "non-industrial" and "rural."[33] As such this discursive formation provides a standard or model of comparison. Thus it helps to explain the difference between Western and non-Western societies and provides the criteria of evaluation, by which various modes of behavior are ranked.

Discourses are not closed systems since they make use of elements from other discourses, binding them into their own network of meanings. For instance, Hall indicates that the discourse of "Europe" draws on the earlier discourse of "Christendom," but alters and translates its meaning. Past discourses can remain embedded in more recent discourses.[34]

Anyone deploying a discourse must position themselves as if they were the subject of the discourse. If we use a certain discourse, such as the discourse of "the West and the Rest," we necessarily find ourselves speaking from a position that holds that the civilization of West is a superior civilization.[35]

For Foucault, the individual is no more than an object of discourse and/or knowledge that is dominant in any given social realm. There is no subjectivity possible outside of the discursive positions that are imposed upon or taken by the individual as a result of discursive and disciplinary practices. In his article, "The Subject and Power," Foucault says that "this form of power that applies itself to immediate everyday life

32 Ibid., 292.

33 Ibid., 277.

34 Ibid., 292.

35 Ibid., 291-2.

categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and others have to recognize in him."[36]

Foucault's conceptualization of power is essential in terms of his understanding of subjectivity or the subject position. Foucault does not search for the origin of power since he refuses the conceptualization of power as a massive or global entity. He rather introduces a very different question to the study of power: "How is power exerted?"[37]

Foucault says that power brings relations between individuals into play. For Foucault the analysis of "how" or the analysis of the exercise of power requires as its object power relations and not power itself. Foucault asserts that the relationship of power is a mode of action upon the actions of individuals or the conduct of conducts. It is exerted in the acts of people.[38]

3.2.1 *Capable and Competent Policemen (Liyakatlı ve Ehliyetli Polis)*

The discourses of rule of law and a just regime were continuously reproduced in journals and course book. The Young Turk government was differed from the previous regime as it was a new, just regime, the administration of which was based on the rule of law.

As a representative of this just regime, the police was also depicted as functioning within the restraints of constitutional laws and organizational rules and regulations. Hence, police cadres of the second constitutional period were distinguished from the former police with respect to their knowledge of laws and regulations and their implementation of procedures.

In the article, "Competence Required for the Foundation of Justice" (*Temin-i Adalet için Mucib-i Liyakat*) it was argued that the notion of

36 Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 208.

37 Ibid., 217.

38 Ibid., 217, 224.

justice can be maintained in society if the police fulfill their duty well, meaning that officers were able to arrest the criminals and do not disturb innocent people.[39] As indicated in the article, the existence of policemen acting within the limits drawn by the law was the basis of a just regime.

These discourses of rule of law and a just regime provided a certain mode of subjectivity that entailed certain norms of conduct and modes of thinking among policemen.

Throughout police journals and course book, policemen were represented as capable (*liyakatli*) and competent (*ehliyetli*) officers who fulfilled their policing duty with utmost success by following the rules and regulations. Hence, it was continuously emphasized that policemen of the new regime - that is to say, the Young Turk regime – were distinct from the police of the Sultan Abdülhamit II with respect to their possession of professional knowledge (*mesleki vukuf*) and implementation of legal procedures (*muamelat-ı zabtiye*).

A basic moral lesson can be drawn from the written materials of the police force: No matter what, comply with the law and regulations! Since the first publication of its journals, the limits of police power were explained in detail in various articles such as Privacy of Residence (*Mesakinin Taarruzdan Masuniyeti*), Personal Privacy (Masuniyet-i Şahsiyye), Duties and Authorities of Police (Polisin Vazife ve Salahiyyeti), Laws and Regulations (*Kavanin ve Nizamat*), General Information about Police and Police Regulation (*Polis Hakkında Malumat-ı Umumiye ve Polis Nizamnamesi*), and Competence Required for the Foundation of Justice (*Temin-i Adalet İçin Mucib-i Liyakat*).

The titles of these articles are revealing with respect to the limits of the duties of the police. Policemen were offered information about constitutional rights and taught that the police were limited by constitutional laws and police regulations. Three consecutive articles published on the right of personal privacy (*Masuniyyet-i Şahsiyye*), and two arti-

39 Temin-i Adalet için Mucib-i Liyakat. *Polis*, 11 Kanunisani 1912, nr. 18, 140-41.

cles on the issue of the privacy of the residence (*Mesakinin Taarruzdan Masuniyyeti*) emphasized that policemen could neither transgress individuals' personal freedom nor the privacy of their residences.

Moreover, police regulations were explained in detail in a series of articles titled "General Information about Police and Police Regulation" which appeared in thirty-seven issues of *Polis Mecmuası*. Moreover, in a feature that appeared in many issues of *Polis Mecmuası* called "Laws and Regulations," policemen were informed about new laws and regulations related to police duty.

In all the aforementioned articles, policemen were provided with necessary knowledge on constitutional law and also with expertise on the implementation of these laws. Hence, policemen were expected to be competent and capable subjects, meaning that they possessed the necessary information on laws, regulations and procedures together with the expertise to implement these laws. Thus, the new police differed from the old police with respect to the acquisition of certain qualities, capabilities, and manners as an effect of his subjectivity.

As mentioned in the article, Love of Duty (*Aşk-ı Vazife*) new policemen were displayed as able subjects that accumulated professional knowledge through the education provided to them in police schools, police journals, and the rules established in police regulations, all of which were constituted by the new regime.[40] Hence, the police force was elevated from the filth of morality and corrupted behaviors with the imposition of a new subjectivity for the police officer. The conduct of policemen that violated the laws and regulations was associated with immorality. Hence, any police behavior that transgressed the laws or police regulations was subject to the moral judgement of the narratives in the journal articles and coursebook. Policemen who deviated from the norms of conduct offered by the discourses of rule of law and a just regime were subject to moral evaluation and were labeled with the characteristics such as incompetent, incapable and immoral, while

40 *Polis*, 1 February 1912, nr. 21, 165-66.

those who conformed to the norms were considered competent, capable and moral.

The discourses of a just government and the rule of law were also reproduced in narratives on the relations between superiors and subordinates. It was stressed that the old police were treated unlawfully and unfairly by their superiors. However, the new police need not to be afraid. The new superiors were sufficiently competent and fair (*muktedir ve adil*) to evaluate and appreciate the achievements of the policemen under their commands.

According to the articles and course book, the new police of the constitutional regime differed from the old police with respect to an administrative system based on meritocracy and the rule of law rather than relations of patronage and injustice. Policemen were guaranteed that the new system of administration of the police force would provide the opportunity to rise up in the institutional hierarchy if they worked hard to develop themselves and enhance their professional skills and if they acted in accordance with the rules and regulations.[41]

Policemen were advised to put their trust in their own labor rather than in relations of patronage with superiors. In this respect, they were motivated to work hard, fulfill the requirements of policing, and enhance their professional knowledge and skills in order to rise up through the institutional hierarchy. Moreover, behavior based on patronage was a violation of bureaucratic rationality and was evaluated as immoral conduct. İbrahim Feridun underlined these points in the following paragraphs in his book:

> Everybody desires to increase their income so that their family's livelihood will improve. Such progress is to be appreciated so long as it occurs on a legitimate basis. If such progress occurs as the result of favoritism and patronage, it serves no benefit other than to incur the curse and hatred of people who believe in fairness and justice – as well as the perpetuation of vice and inequity

41 *Polis*, 1 February 1912, nr. 21, 165-66.

> that cause damage to the citizens of a country over and over again. [42]

> Even the lowest ranking officers should refrain from favoring their friends, relatives, and dependents in order that they be promoted to higher positions or from treating them in a manner in which they are not worthy and which is not in accordance with the laws. These are extremely detrimental and destructive actions that should be avoided.[43]

While policemen were advised to conduct themselves within the laws, rules, and regulations with respect to their interactions with the population, it was also emphasized that they act similarly in terms of their relations with superiors and colleagues. Hence, the superiors and subordinates should follow the laws and police regulations which delineated a certain kind of job description, responsibilities and authority for policemen in different ranks.

Throughout the journals and the coursebook, irrational relations between superiors and subordinates were harshly criticized and associated with immorality. It was continuously stressed that superiors and subordinates not violate the rules and regulations in terms of their relationships within the force. Any relationship based on patronage was rejected and associated with corruption. Policemen who followed irrational orders from their superiors were morally judged in the articles with respect to their transgressive behavior. They were criticized for breaching the limits of their official duties and responsibilities. Moreover, superiors who backed some subordinates over others were considered to have displayed unlawful and immoral behavior.

In a section in his course book on the order of police stations, İbrahim Feridun argues that superiors should justly distribute the du-

42 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 58.

43 Ibid., 52.

ties among their subordinates.[44] They should not give easy duties to ones that they like. Duties should be evenly distributed among policemen because patronage relationships between superiors and subordinates damage the bonds of solidarity that need to be constituted in the police organization according to the author. Every police officer should know that he is assigned duties with respect to his skills and capabilities and should receive the recompense of his services in the end. In this respect, patronage relations transgressed the normative discourse of justice and of a just regime which had been appropriated by the government and was promoted in the police force. Hence, these kinds of relations were subject to moral judgment in the articles and the course book. Feridun described such relationships as very indecent (*pek çirkin*) due to the fact that they were biased and contrary to the principle of equality among citizens (*tarafgirane ve kaide-i müsavata mugayir*).[45]

3.2.2 *Modern Police Education and Expertise*

In addition to the accumulation of knowledge of rules and regulations, competent policemen were described with respect to their acquisition of modern police education and expertise. Throughout the journals and coursebook, policemen who were able to perform their policing duties with the appropriation of modern policing methods were commended and evaluated with certain characteristics such as as competence, hardwork and capability.

In line with Foucault's analysis of the normalization of behavior in the mental hospitals, it is argued that the readers were expected to reproduce certain modes of behavior and thinking and avoid certain others due to a mirroring effect created by these representations constituted in the journals. That is, policemen with certain modes of conduct and characteristics were held up as role models for policemen.

44 Ibid., 63.

45 Ibid.

In his analyses of the birth of the asylum at the end of the eighteenth century, Foucault illustrates the disciplinary techniques through which the insane were divided in themselves and from others, sane people. Foucault illustrates four structures peculiar to psychiatric practice aimed at making madmen observe and demystify their own madness. The second strategy is recognition by mirror. The madman was informed about the madness of other patients and the conducts of other madmen served as a mirror reflecting his own madness. Hence, "he was made to see, little by little, the absurdity of his pretensions."[46]

The graduation photographs and degrees of graduates of the police schools were constinuously published in the journals to exemplify successful, competent policemen. Moreover, photographs of policemen who succeeded in identifying criminals by use of modern policing methods such as dactyloscopy or by finding evidence were also published in the journals. The achievements of these policemen were also held up as success stories of actual policemen in various sections of the journals. Hence, throughout these visual and narrative representations of the ideal police subjectivity, policemen were offered role-models who exerted certain modes of conduct and had various characteristics and capabilities. This role-model was mostly displayed as the commissar as the ideal police subjectivity in the narratives. Policeman reading these narratives were expected to critically reflect upon himself and position himself in relation to this ideal police subjectivity. By comparing his subjectivity on the mirror of this ideal commissar, he was expected to ascertain the disabilities and lacks in his subjectivity and correct course accordingly by acquiring the necessary manners, characteristics, and modes of thinking.

Although police were not always successful in catching criminals by appropriating modern methods of policing, it was emphasized that they should not deviate from these modern methods since they provided the legitimacy of the regime in the eyes of the population. Unlike the former

46 Foucault, "The Birth of the Asylum," 153.

police, the new police did not disturb innocent people without having concrete evidence of a crime.

In the article "Competence Required for the Foundation of Justice," the author mentioned that police had the right to interrogate people but could not assert that they were guilty without concrete evidence because constitutional laws protected innocent people from such unlawful accusations.[47] Therefore, the just regime required the existence of competent and honest (*liyakatli ve istikamet sahibi*) policemen who would provide evidence concerning the identities of criminals.

The journals consisted of many articles giving information on these modern policing methods. Modern policing methods such as dactyloscopy and anthropometry (*ilm-i eşgal*) were explained in detail in various articles translated from foreign books. In addition, a number of articles consisted of narratives of commissars who made use of these techniques for collecting evidence.

For instance, there are two articles, "Threadbare Shoe" (Fersude İskarpin) and "A Story of Suicide" (Bir Hikaye-i İntihar) in which two police narrated their personal experience with unsolved crimes. Both policemen regretted their inability to arrest the criminals despite the fact that they knew the perpetrators. However, they confessed that they were unable to arrest the criminals and maintain justice due to the fact that they were bound by law.

Policemen were expected to draw moral lessons from these narratives in which, although the identity of the criminals was presumed, the policemen could neither act without concrete evidence nor even accuse suspects of the crime that they had actually committed. In this respect, policemen were taught to act within the rules and regulations as they performed their jobs. They were to understand that their power derived from their office which was always bound by given rules and regulations. Any transgression of the limits on police work, even for the sake of justice, was evaluated as a criminal offense under the law.[48]

47 *Polis*, 11 Kanunisani 1912, nr. 18, 140-41.

48 *Polis*, 31 August 1911, nr. 1, 5-6.

Since the existence of the police force was associated with a regime of justice throughout the articles, the situation of failing to arrest a criminal created a paradox in the discursive formation. This paradox was overcome with reference to the Divine justice of God. In these articles, both authors stated that these criminals would be judged by God in the end, even though they were able to run from the hands of worldly justice.[49]

All in all, the police subjectivity was defined by the acquisition of a modern police education that was accompanied with the appropriation of certain modes of behavior and thinking with respect to fulfilling the duty of the police.

For instance, in an article written by Commissar Kirkor, "Investigations in the Crime Scene" (*Mahall-i Vaka'da Taharriyat*) readers were informed about crime scene investigation methods.[50] The crime in question was the robbery of a house or shop. Policemen were advised to follow the evidence at the crime scene left by the thieves. These may be fingerprints, drips of candle wax, and the personal belongings of the thieves left at the crime scene such asbuttons or scraps of paper that may lead to identifying the thief. Hence, the policeman should be attentive when making observations of a crime scene.

Moreover, the author gave information about the personal qualities and characteristic behaviors of thieves in order to provide an understanding of the criminal mentality. Policemen were expected to be capable of thinking like criminals in order to ascertain the details of criminal acts. Thus, policemen were described as having the capability to make psychological analyses and assess criminal behaviors.

Similarly, in another article, "Can the Police Have 'Good Intentions' ?" (*Polisde 'Hüsn-i zan' Olabilir mi?*) an author identified by the initials I. Z. mentioned another quality that needed to be present in policemen. In accordance with the discourse of the competent policeman, policemen were advised to develop critical thinking. The author argued that think-

49 *Polis*, 14 September 1911, nr. 3, 22-23.

50 *Polis*, 1 February 1912, nr. 21, 163-65.

ing with good intentions (*hüsn-i zan*) was pleasant for ordinary people but detrimental to police work due to the fact that sentimental thinking prevented policemen from acting rationally. As an effect of rational thinking, distrust and suspicion motivated policemen to conduct a critical investigation and find out the truth beneath the surface. The author advised policemen to consider all people relevant with a crime as possible suspects so as not to miss any point or item of evidence to identify the criminals or prove the innocence of given suspects. [51]

The conduct of policemen outside the formal job description were disliked and even associated with corruption. In hid course book, under the section titled "Cleanliness and Orderliness of the Police Stations" (*Karakollarda Nezafet ve İntizam*), İbrahim Feridun informed policemen on the cleaning and care of the police departments. He stated that for the time being the government was not able to subsidize the employment of a servant and cook for each police department for the time being. In addition, he noted that there were policemen who wanted to deal with these kinds of "inferior services" (*süfliye*), by saying that they were able to fulfill them because they had no families or houses which to go in their free time. Feridun harshly criticized the conduct of these policemen, referring to them as infamous, indifferent, and selfish (*haysiyetsiz, duygusuz, bencil*).[52]

This example is telling with respect to the delineation of the police subjectivity promoted in the discursive formation of the police organization. Although policemen were willing to fulfill extra duties in the police stations, this kind of work beyond the job description was considered a transgression of police morality and thus labeled immoral. The police officer was required to act within the boundaries of the work defined according to his rank, and any breach was associated with immorality.

Second, policemen were expected to develop their professional knowledge and skills in order to hold their jobs. Those who did not

51 *Polis*, 3 Teşrinisani 1911, nr. 9, 69.

52 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 70-2.

want to pursue a career in policing work by studying to enhance their professional capabilities and taking exams were not to be commended even if they worked hard to fulfill extra services that were labeled inferior. In this respect, the acts of these policemen were associated with corrupt and selfish behavior.

Being unsuccessful and incompetent - meaning not having the desired capabilities and characteristics - was not tolerated in the institutional discourse. Those who worked in the institution just to earn a living (*maişet temini*) but who were not able to adapt to the discipline of the institution's work were advised to leave. To continue on the job without fulfilling its requirements was considered immoral behavior. Those who retained their posts but were not able to provide the expected work discipline were almost considered thieves who were stealing from coffers of the money of Ottoman society.

> If a police officer rests at ease or sleeps during his watch or patrol duty, disobeys orders given to him, conducts similar acts disallowed by moral codes, or performs illegal and banned acts just because he is out of sight of his superiors, it means that this police officer is committing acts of treachery, and I must say, it is a shameful situation for him.
>
> There is no difference between a police officer who earns his salary by abusing his position of power or by performing his duties with no passion and enthusiasm and a government official who is fed by his country without serving it and a burglar who robs from the safes of people and steals from their purses.[53]

It is significant that policemen who agreed to do such inferior services were accused of being selfish. They were accused of thinking only of their salaries when they agreed to do these kinds of services. They were advised to leave the profession if they did not fulfill its obligations so that someone else who had the required qualities would join the force.

53 Feridun, 48.

3.2.3 *Overcoming Differences: Experience Required for Competence*

Throughout the institutional discourse of the police force was a constant emphasis on the significance of experience. Experience was promoted as one of the most important qualities of a policeman in addition to that of being educated.

For instance, in the article "Subtleties of Policing" (*Dakaik-i Zabıta*), the author argued that every policeman already possessed to some degree a theoretical knowledge of the policing profession or that he could learn it on his own if he studied it. However, the job of policing was based on a quality more essential than having knowledge - that is to say, it was based on being experienced. He further stated that the head of the crime unit in Paris had once told him that "a police officer should have the qualities of being experienced, clever, patient, and strong in character."[54]

The significance of experience in the policing job was emphasized in the journals. In the article "Competence Required for the Foundation of Justice" (*Temin-i Adalet İçin Mucib-i Liyakat*) it was argued that the qualified policeman should have an accumulated knowledge of the legal norms and regulations required to deal with criminal incidents. However, such knowledge required experience in order to be applied to the investigation of such incidents. In this respect, experience was considered a kind of "accumulated wisdom" of police work which was essential for fulfilling the duty of this profession.[55]

The stress on experience should also be considered in relation to the pedagogical discourse of education reproduced by Young Turk intellectuals such as Prince Sabahaddin, Satı Bey, and the directors of the Teacher Training School, Ethem Nejat Bey, and İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu. The authors of the journals and the course book were influenced by this discourse which was popular among intellectual, educated

54 *Polis*, 18 Kanunisani 1912, 146-47.

55 *Polis*, 11 Kanunisani 1912, nr. 18, 140-41.

circles. For instance, İbrahim Feridun, who was both the author of the course book and of many articles in the journals, had worked as a teacher and also as a principle in Teacher Training Schools after his service as lecturer in the police school.[56]

Moreover, the pedagogical discourses of Prince Sabahaddin and the Teachers Training Schools were reproduced by many authors and intellectuals of the Young Turk movement who had contact with these discourses either through conferences held in these schools and those given by Prince Sabahaddin himself. Moreover, Prince Sabahaddin's discourse on the individualization, professionalization, and industrial development of the Ottoman state were favored by many intellectuals and authors of the period and reproduced in newspapers and journals.

Following the European pedagogical knowledge based on social Darwinist thinking, all these thinkers believed that experience was significant method for learning and enhancing the capabilities of the individual. Demolins promoted the British method of teaching which targeted the education of colonial state officials. Students were provided with experimental rather than theoretical knowledge in the British schools. Hence, they were made capable of dealing with the difficulties they would face in distant colonial lands.[57] Prince Sabahaddin visitied the Ecole des Roches established by Demolins, which applied the British principles of teaching, and he continued to promote the school of experimental teaching as the ideal for fostering modern Ottoman individuals that could overcome any difficulty in life, which he called "the men of hard work and struggle" (*cehd ve cidal adamları*).[58]

Similar to Prince Sabahaddin, Satı Bey also considered experience to be the basis of the modern education of the "army of teachers" of the constitutional regime. Hence, he established an applied school within

56 *Feridun,* Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 9.*

57 Alkan, *Gönüllü Sürgünden Zorunlu Sürgüne*, 348-359.

58 Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 295.

the Teacher Training School where students were able to practice teaching.[59]

In addition to the normative discourse on experience in the period of second constitutional regime, this persistent emphasis on experience can be explained in two ways.

The first is that there was always a high level of turnover in the profession, meaning that the police force lost its experienced - and thus its most valuable - members on a regular basis. Indeed, there was even a regulation put forward to prevent policemen from leaving the job before two years of service. In this respect, the force was bereft of policemen with accumulated professional knowledge. Hence, the training of newcomers took time and energy from the force.

The second reason behind the emphasis on experience was that the most experienced policemen were those who had been recruited before the revolution and had developed some degree of job loyalty and personal attachment to the police organization Although they lacked the modern education that the organization provided to new recruits, some of them had risen through the institutional hierarchy and become the superiors of subordinates who did have a modern police education. There was a tension between these two groups of policemen, the first of which composed of relatively older policemen with expertise from experience and the second of which consisted of younger policemen with a modern education provided by police schools or one provided by high schools of the Ottoman education system such as those of "mülkiye," "idadi" and "rüşdiye."

The article, Love of Duty (*Aşk-ı Vazife*) provides evidence of such tension among policemen. The course book and articles indicate that younger recruits educated in the police schools were continuously warned about irreverent treatment of uneducated but experienced policemen. Educational background created a conflict within the force between educated and uneducated policemen. However, this division was

59 Kafadar*, M. Satı Bey*, 24-33.

detrimental to the solidarity that the police force aspired to develop among policemen.[60]

3.2.4 *Policemen as Self-Sufficient Individuals and Professionals*

A new work ethic based on liberal rationality was promoted throughout the official discourse of the Ottoman police force. The relationship of the individual to his job was problematized following a liberal rationality. It was argued that only those with talent and will could succeed in the profession. In addition, an individual should choose a profession with respect to his characteristics and skills. Only those with the necessary skills could succeed in a given job due to the fact that competence in any profession can be achieved only through assiduous work. Such an assiduous work can only be performed by those who possessed the required qualities.

This liberal rationality had social Darwinist underpinnings. The individual was considered to be alone in a constant struggle for life in which he had to survive by developing his capabilities. Success in this social struggle could only be achieved as a result of individual progress and constant study and work on the part the individual. Hence, the individual enhanced his skills and became powerful in society as he turned into a professional. As Prince Sabahaddin mentioned, the individual was able to develop a personality (*şahsiyet*) only by developing a career, by having a profession. In this respect, he thought that the evolution of the individual in the social realm could only be achieved through professionalization.

In line with the liberal rationality of the Young Turk regime and its intelligentsia, the articles and course book promoted a discourse that one should trust only in one's work and effort in order to become powerful in the struggle of life. Hence, a new moral regime was imposed on policemen emphasizing the immorality of dependence on others or the bonds of solidarity that exist in one's immediate social milieu. In this

60 *Polis*, 1 February 1912, nr. 21, 165-66.

respect, the social Darwinist idea that the individual was on his own for survival established as a norm in this new moral regime. The normality of the self-sufficiency of the individual was constantly reproduced in an institutional discourse which also emphasized the immorality of relations of solidarity and patronage.

The discourse of self-sufficiency was also supported by a discourse that individuals could reach whatever they wanted in life through individual effort. In this respect, in accordance with a liberal rationality, the individual was held responsible for the failures and problems in his life as well as his achievements. If a person did not choose the right job, he would not succeed in his professional life, and he and his family would be devastated as a result of his failure in the struggle of life. Significantly, catastrophic experiences were associated with the choices and effort of the individual. Hence, just as individuals were being attributed with responsibility of their lives, the ideas of self-responsibility and self-dependency were being normalized in the institutional discourse of the police.[61]

In the institutional discourse of the police force, the path to professional success was drawn. Policemen were advised to work hard, enhance their professional skills and knowledge, succeed in the examinations, and fulfill their obligations of the job. They were promised that their efforts would be rewarded by the institution. Policemen would be able to rise smoothly up the institutional hierarchy if they followed this path. It was continuously emphasized that policemen no longer needed patronage relations to succeed in life, but rather they had to depend on themselves and their assiduous effort at work. Therefore, it was also underscored that the existence of patronage relations between superiors and subordinates not only damaged the institution but also the benefits of the individual policemen. Policemen of all ranks were advised to resist such irrational relations and behavior.

61 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 59.

Moreover, the new discourse of work as a profession differed from the classical discourse of work prevalent in the Ottoman society - that is to say, maintaining a job for one's livelihood. The classical conceptualization of work was based on a work ethic which associated the job initially as a tool for earning one's living. In this respect, there was little difference whether people were employed in one job or another. Job preference was not a matter of individual concern for most people in premodern times. People did not have much choice with respect to a job. They would be engaged in a given job mostly because of a social connection to them. Some continued a family business such as peasants working the lands of their ancestors, while others were employed in official or unofficial trades as a result of bonds of solidarity existing in their social environments.

As Carter Findley illustrates, the career development of an individual in the traditional Ottoman bureaucracy was almost always shaped by his association with patrons in various echelons of the state.[62] Patronage relations were influential both for the employment of an individual and the shifts in his career throughout his life. All in all, the classical mode of employment was primarily based on social bonds rather than individual choice.

This discourse of work as a profession should be considered in relation to social Darwinist pedagogical and psychological studies of the nineteenth century that argued that every human being was born with certain characteristics just as other living organisms were bestowed with different features. As animals were born with talents and skills that differed from one to the next, every individual was born with certain intellectual capabilities. Therefore, each individual should choose a profession in line with his characteristics. For instance, a man with artistic qualities would be successful as a craftsman, but would probably fail in commerce. In order to succeed in the struggle of life, individuals should choose the right job for them. According to liberal thinkers such as

62 Findley, *Kalemiyeden Mülkiyeye.*

Prince Sabahaddin, Satı el Husri, and İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, the failure of Ottoman society in the international political and economic arenas derived from the fact that Ottoman society was not composed of professionals concerned about career development and exerting assiduous effort in their jobs. This discourse of work as a profession chosen by the individual was continuously reproduced in the articles in police journals.

In the institutional discourse of the police force, the idea of work as an individual profession was constantly presented as a norm. In the article "Professional Ethics- Attachment to Profession" (*Meslekte Ahlak-Ma'bad, Muhabbet-i Meslekiye*), it was argued that the productivity of a worker working in a job that he preferred would be higher than that of another working in a job out of necessity.[63] In this respect, success in a profession was associated with an individual preference that should be based on one's personal characteristics and qualities. It was thought that a person would work with ardor and enthusiasm (*şevk ve heves*) and thus succeed in developing a career in a profession - only if his personal characteristics and qualities matched those required by that profession.

Hence, policemen were expected to enter the police force with these concerns in mind and work toward the target of turning themselves into professionals at policing; they were not just obliged to fulfill the obligations of the job. As professionals, they were expected to work in the job they had chosen with ardor and enthusiasm (*şevk ve heves*).[64]

According to the discourse of work as a profession, professionals are differentiated from others with respect to certain values they possess such as determination, assiduity, perseverance, ardor, eagerness, and passion (*azim, gayret, sebat, heves, istek,* and *hırs*). An individual on the path to professionalization was expected to have such values. Indeed, these values were contrasted with the values of resignation, contentment, and modesty (*tevekkül, kanaatkarlık* and *tevazu*) that had been

63 *Polis*, 4 April 1912, nr. 40, 235-36.

64 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 58-9.

promoted in the classical work ethic of the Ottoman society - that is to say, in the guild ethic. Prince Sabahaddin and many Young Turk thinkers continuously pointed to the Ottoman mentality based on values of contentment (*kanaat*) and resignation (*tevekkül*) as the impediments to the industrial development of the country. They longed for the Ottoman entrepreneur who would work incessantly with eagerness and perseverance for the development and modernization of the country, not just for his own selfish gain. A similar point was constantly emphasized in the institutional discourse of the police force. In articles, policemen were advised to work and study hard, to enhance their professional skills and knowledge, and thus to develop a career in policing.[65]

The article, "Professional Ethics- Explanation of the Purpose" (*Meslekde Ahlak, İzah-ı Maksad*) is significant with respect to its promotion of a discourse of work as a profession.[66] In the article, the author provided a sociological analysis of the various motivations of police recruits as they entered the police force and of their performance at work. He started by emphasizing the significance of sociology (*ilm-i içtimaiyye*) in terms of its many benefits for the examination and investigation of society. He indicated that since social phenomena were numerous and various, it was impossible to perfectly examine all of them once. However, this science helped to successfully examine social conditions and phenomena by categorizing them into classes and phases.

The author further stated that the police journal was a social publication and examinations provided in the journal were also social. The profession of policing was among the significant state bureucracies dealing with social issues. Thus, the journal investigated, analyzed, and published police issues and aspects with respect to the progress of the police officers.

He started his argument with an incident that was referred to in religious narratives. He said that even at the beginning of the creation of mankind, when the community was constituted of only a few people,

65 *Polis*, 1 February 1912, nr. 21, 165-66.

66 *Polis*, 7 March 1912, nr. 36, 204.

plunder took place due to internal conflicts. He asked "What is the reason for the incident between the first two men, Habil and Kabil, if not a conflict of ideas?"[67] Moreover, if siblings who were raised by the same parents wre not able to come to terms on an idea, there must be many people who had various ideas within a nation. Hence, in order to govern these people and make them live peacefully, a government had to constitute police force and gendarmerie. Immediately after his scientific argumentation, he made references to religious stories in order to legitimize the existence of the government and its security forces. Following his discussion of the merits of sociological analysis, he started categorizing and analyzing police recruits with respect to their various considerations as they entered the force.

He classified the recruits into three. The first group was composed of those who joined the force with the most decent motivations such as thinking that he had eagerness and ability to serve as policeman and to serve this nation and country well. This group consisted of the most desired and appreciated recruits who had become the most beneficial to the force within a short period of time. The second group was composed of policemen of the ancient regime who had entered the force in order to gain illegal profits or other benefits provided by the police profession such as being able to carry a gun. He indicated that some would be fired from the profession when their motivations were discovered, while others would understand their mistakes, change their minds, and start working loyally in line with their professional ethic. Some would leave the job themselves after seeing that they would not succeed in their desires. The last group was constituted of those men who entered the force to earn a living. He emphasized that these could be made into dedicated policemen if they are educated well and criticized and commended with respect to their personal conditions and livelihoods - which is to say that they could be made into loyal subjects by being disciplined with rewards and punishments.[68]

67 Ibid..

68 Ibid.

As revealed in the articles, policemen who are able to attain the required capabilities and education could conform to the discipline demanded by the institution better than colleagues who lacked them. In this respect, new distinctions were established among policemen with respect to the existence and lack of certain abilities. Therefore, those who did not or could not conform to the professional and disciplinary obligations of the police organization were to be "corrected" (*ıslah ve irşad-ı himmet*) by their superiors and colleagues in order to build into them the competence and capabilities they lacked.[69] In the course book and articles, such interventions were deemed a necessity for the progress of those incapable policemen and also of the institution itself.

> Who can disrupt the existing sense of unity and fraternity among police officers which should be maintained? It is either those who are disapproved of by the majority of their colleagues or those who are corrupt!...
>
> It is proper in terms of being a good colleague to be understanding and tolerant of those belonging to the first group. Those who have such friends should examine and understand the reasons underlying these individuals' maladaptation, to help them acquire the required professional competence and skills, to include them, to correct their defects as much as possible, and to advise them so as not to lose even a single member of [the police] family. If all these efforts come to nothing and it is understood that the sense of brotherhood is being harmed, then one has to sacrifice that ill-tempered friend for the sake of the future of the profession, but this is rarely required.[70]

Incapable policemen were considered different with respect to their lack of certain qualities. In addition, the capacities they lacked were essentialized and associated with their characters. All those who did not or could not comply with the discipline demanded by the work were

69 *Polis*, 11 Kanunisani 1912, nr.18, 138.

70 Ibid.

given a variety of labels such as lazy (*tembel*), sluggish (*tenperver*), inattentive (*dikkatsiz*), and reckless (*lakayt*). In contrast, those who acquired the work discipline and had strong attachments to duty were described with positive qualities such as serious (*ciddi*), hardworking (*çalışkan*), and responsible (*vazifeperver*). Hence, policemen were subjected to a new system of differentiation and distinction based on the existence and non-existence of certain modes of behavior and certain attitudes.

Throughout the institutional discourse, policemen were advised that they would be included in the organization if they managed to acquire the required skills, characteristics, and modes of behavior. However, this discourse of inclusion at the same time produced the forms of exclusion by creating a category of immoral, incapable policemen. The individuality of the incapable policeman was continuously illustrated as faulty and thus needed to be corrected by the policeman himself and by his colleagues. Thus the policeman was divided both within himself and also among his fellows.

3.2.5 *Maintaining Solidarity in The Police Force: Professional Brotherhood (Uhuvvet-i Meslekiyye)*

It was argued in previous sections that throughout the institutional discourse of the police force there was an emphasis on the immorality of making use of patronage relations or bonds of solidarity existing in society in order to attain a position in the force or rise up through the organizational hierarchy. In this respect, a merit based system was appreciated in the police organization. Therefore, relationships among police officers were to become rationalized as they were in other modern bureaucracies.

Despite this objective of rationalizing the police force, the discourse of professional brotherhood was constantly repeated in the articles. According to this discourse, the relationship among police officers was defined as a brotherhood, while the relationship between superiors and subordinates was described as that of a father and son. This family metaphor was juxtaposed against the discourse of meritocracy and individ-

ualization. Moreover, certain modes of behavior were expected from police officers in line with this discourse of brotherhood, such as solidarity (*teavün*), harmony (*uyum*), and compliance (*itaat*). Policemen were expected to act in accordance with norms of behavior imposed on them by laws, regulations and their superiors, and as they also had to behave themselves and get along with their colleagues in the police stations.

An article series titled "Subtleties of Policing" (*Dakaik-i Zabıta*) was written by a certain Hasan Ali who was probably a commissar. The theme of the second article of the series was the professional brotherhood (*uhuvvet-i meslekiyye*) among the police officers. According to the author, in order to fulfill their duty - that is to say, in order to attain the purpose of sustaining law, order, and public security - policemen should have a sense of solidarity and brotherhood among themselves. The degree of these feelings should be such that policemen are considered to be one body. [71]

The author made a scientific analogy and said that the existence and permanency of an object was based on the degree of chemical relations among its individual components.[72] Similarly, the strength and ability of a body of policemen increased or decreased with respect to the degree of affection and sincerity among officers.

Hasan Ali stated that the word police had a certain connotation - that is to say, the sense of universality. He explained further that when a policeman contacted a citizen while on duty, the citizen should comprehend that the orders of that individual policeman were based on the combined power of thousands of policemen with similar aspirations and goals. He intended that society should have a comprehension of the police as a coalesced body. His phrasing illustrated the scientific point of view that he shared with many young Turks of his time. The combination of policemen he called "muhassala-i kuvva," the union of powers

71 *Polis*, 11 Kanunisani 1912, nr.18, 138.

72 Ibid.

(*kuvvetlerin bileşkesi*) was a term borrowed from modern physics.[73] He added that the policeman could fulfill their duty only if they were capable of making people feel this way - meaning that their power be considered larger than the individual strength of a single policeman. The orders of a single policeman were considered representative of the collective power of all policemen.

A certain solidarist understanding is emphasized continuously throughout articles in police journals. In the same article, Hasan Ali indicated that the police resembled a family whose basic quality was solidarity among members.[74] The members of the police family should constantly strive to sustain one another's the material and moral needs, and hence, they should not feel the need to ask for the help of outsiders. Only with such occupational solidarity would the unity of the police body be steady.

According to the author, there were two kinds of violation against the unity and brotherhood of the police.[75] One is dissonant policemen who were not able to get along with their colleagues. The second breach was that of corrupt policemen. For him, the first breach was tolerable, but the second was not. Policemen who had a colleague with dissonant behaviors should act as if they were dealing with a dissonant family member. Hence, they should try to understand the reasons behind his actions and then try to change them.

Indeed, dissonant people were of two kinds. First, the author referred to policemen who lacked the abilities to perform police work. He suggested that in order to deal with such policeman, colleagues should help him generate the merits and capabilities required. In this respect, the breach could be overcome. This breach was based on the lack of aptitude, while the second tolerable breach was based on personal characteristics (*huy*). Policemen needed to have certain personal qualities in order to work with a group of men. The life of a policeman was domi-

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid.

nated by the police organization: he had to stay with his colleagues under the same roof, eat and sleep with them in the police stations, and work with them all the time. Hence, certain social qualities were a must for policemen. Being ill tempered was a quality that needed to be eliminated in order to become a policeman since it was a job performed collectively. The author said that the ill tempered person could be sacrificed for the sake of the harmony of the brotherhood. Moreover, it was harder for such policemen to comply with the organizational rules and orders of his superordinates.[76]

The author advised that those who did not comply with the laws and regulations should be excluded from the solidarity of policemen.[77] The policemen should not allow such immoral people on the force. Any transgression should be responded to by moral policemen. The breach that was considered intolerable was that of corrupt policemen. Since their immoral actions harmed the image of the profession and of all other policemen, such policemen should be immediately removed from the circle of brotherhood of decent policemen. He stated that maintaining the dignity of the police profession was as significant as that of maintaining brotherhood among police officers. The author said that corrupt conduct led to rumours about the superiors of corrupt officers. Hasan Ali was probably referring to maintaining the prestige of CUP governments. The activities of policemen in the second constitutional period were significant since they were considered representative of a government that legitimized its rule as a "just regime" - working for the good of the society - vis-à-vis the old regime of Abdülhamit II, which was associated with a corrupt bureaucracy in general and corrupt policemen in particular.

In the third article of the "Subtleties of Policing" (*Dakaik-i Zabıta*), series, the author discusses the ideal relationship between superiors and subordinates in the police force.[78] He clarified the ideal behavior of

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 *Polis*, 18 Kanunisani 1912, nr.19, 146-7.

superiors in the last paragraph of his article. According to him, superior and subordinate should act as if they were the members of the same family. Only if the superior treated his subordinate sincerely - like a father treated a son - would the subordinate discharge the duties he was ordered with pleasure and fervor (*zevk ve şevk*). The relationship between the two should exclude hate, prejudice, and rumors, meaning that they neeed to have a sincere relationship like those within a family.

The author continuously stressed the family metaphor as he defined the relationships in a police organization.[79] He even emphasized this point when mentioning the police department in Paris. The famous head of the Paris police, Monsieur Lepin, gave a speech at the funeral of a French policeman wherein he claimed that the loss of this policeman was like the loss of a part of his body or the loss of a family member. Hasan Ali underscored the same point about the solidarity or unity of the organization again and again by using the metaphors of body and family.

Throughout the journals, the Paris police department was the organization referred to as a representative of modern police organizations in the West. Hasan Ali continued with a description of the professional conditions of the French police. According to him, the feeling of solidarity among the French police was constituted by strict implementation of rules and regulations within the organization. A French policeman had strong feelings of attachment to the organization due to the fact that he was confident that his honor and rights were protected by law and that he would not face with unpleasant surprises in the future. The author explained employee rights in the French police organization with appreciation. He stated that policemen everywhere were exposed to dangerous incidents on duty as a result of which they could be injured, become disabled, or lose their lives. In France, the police organization took utmost care of these policemen by granting monetary or honorary rewards. In his words, an injured policeman was sent to the best hospital

79 Ibid.

where he was treated with care and he was also honored with monetary gifts and decorations.[80]

The author cited a similar example of this practice in the Ottoman police. Recently, following an incident that had taken place in Şehremini, the head of police, Edib Beyefendi visited injured policemen in the hospital. According to Hasan Ali, this act by the head of police should be an example to all superiors in the Ottoman police. Like Edib Bey, they should treat their subordinates with kindness (*hissiyat-ı şevkatperverane*) and flattering conduct (*muamele-i nevazişgarane*).[81]

In the fourth and final article of the "Subtleties of Policing" (*Dakaik-i Zabıta*) series, Hasan Ali discussed the idea of cooperation/solidarity (*fikr-i teavün*), which for him should prevail among police officers.[82] He started his argument with the point that acts of cooperation were a duty of humanity; thus, police officers should help the families of colleagues who had lost their lives or had been disabled either on or off duty. Moreover, he continued by saying that the police corps resembled a family whose members supported the unfortunate among them in hard times. Policemen should open their hands generously and show their benign hearts to the families of their unfortunate friends. Hence, they needed to treat the orphans of their friends with a father's affection and to remember that their own families could potentially share a similar fate in the future.[83]

Following this discussion, he described the position of French police officers in such situations. Unlike the Ottoman police, the French police corps established a charitable society in which all officers participated. He said that government aid to the unfortunate families of deceased and injured policemen was unsatisfactory in every country; therefore, the police corps had a charitable society to supplement government aid. The French prime minister, who gave a speech at the congress of the

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid, 147.

82 *Polis*, 25 Kanunisani 1912, nr. 20, 155-56.

83 Ibid., 155.

French police charity in 1911, made the same point: "I must confess that the government has not provided you, the police corps what you well deserve, and that is why this charitable society was founded."[84]

He gave further detailed information on the charitable society of the French police. The *Sociate amicale de prevoyance de la prefecture de polis* was founded twenty-seven years earlier and had amassed a fund of four million francs in the meantime. Police officers of all ranks participated by paying monthly fees to the society with respect to their membership category. Moreover, the society was administered by a committee of ten police officers presided over by the head of the Paris police. The author provided detailed information on the functions of the charitable society and showed its many benefits to police officers and their families, such as providing financial aid to policemen in need and supporting the education of the children of officers. Hasan Ali claimed that police officers were not paid well in any country, and in order to fulfill the needs of their families, the establishment of such a charitable society was necessary. He ended his article by stating his wish that such a society be founded in his own country.[85]

The discourse of professional solidarity reproduced in the institutional discourse entailed the constitution of certain kinds of subjectivities for policemen. As superiors were offered the subjectivity of the father or elder brother, subordinates were infantilized as sons or younger brothers. In this respect, the discourses of the job description and of the self-sufficiency of individuals were juxtaposed with the discourse of a patriarchal family. Hence, the individual subjectivity of policeman - which was previously offered in the discourse of self-sufficiency - was challenged by the representation of the police subjectivity as a unit of the institutional totality.

84 Ibid., 156.

85 Ibid.

3.2.6 *All That Is Individual Is Communal: Individual Interest or Public Good?*

Despite the fact that there was constant emphasis in the institutional discourse on the individuality of the policeman and his self-sufficiency, this liberal discourse was juxtaposed with the discourse of national solidarity.

In the institutional discourse, any emphasis on personal interest was almost always juxtaposed with communal benefits. Throughout the articles and the course book, it was continuously stressed that individual efforts displayed at work by policemen benefitted both them and the country or nation.

Personal attachment to the profession - that is to say, professionalization of the individual - was considered key for the development of Ottoman society. Readers were advised to act like professionals who are devoted to their professions and determined to build a career. It was mentioned that the professionalization of individuals empowered society in general due to the fact that society was constituted of individuals in accordance with a liberal rationality. Therefore, the institutional discourse of the police force juxtaposed the liberal, capitalist rationality with a solidarist one that associated individual interests with the public good. Accordingly, individual professionalization and career building not only served personal interests such as earning livelihood, becoming powerful, and rising up through the bureaucracy but also communal interests such as the economic and social development of the nation.

> A police officer who does not love his job is a useless one. This is because these people consider the duties assigned to them as a burden undertaken to make a living, and hence [they] always carry out their duties without any enthusiasm for willingness. They do not show any sign of progress or achievement in their jobs. However, our country desperately needs great progress and achievement in every branch of art and profession. Our nation harbors sincere hopes and expects to be proud of the achievements of its workers and citizens. Therefore, it is necessary po-

> lice officers to embrace and consecrate their profession for both their personal interests and their country's benefit. If a police officer does not cherish his profession, [does not]strive to be successful and skillful at it, and fails to quit his job, then this police officer is committing treason against his country and his nation.[86]

As revealed in this quotation written by İbrahim Feridun in his book, the individual choices to become professional and build a career were associated with communal interests (*menafi-i vataniye*) as well as personal ones (*menafi-i şahsiye*). From a solidarist point of view, the individual interest was appreciated if it served the public good. Therefore, any resistance to work or to build a career on the part of the individual was considered a betrayal of the country and the nation.

Similarly in a journal article "Professional Ethics" (Meslekte Ahlak), readers were advised that the individual's attachment to his profession contributed to the public good.[87] It was argued that a society composed of such individuals - that is to say, of professionals devoted to their jobs - would be powerful and overcome all trouble.

Moreover, in the article Love of Duty (*Aşk-ı Vazife*), the author stressed a similar point that those who were eager to build a career would achieve much in order to rise up through the bureaucratic hierarchy. Hence, as an effect of their achievements, the country would be enriched.[88]

Following a liberal thinking, it was stressed in the institutional discourse that individuals had the responsibility to choose their professions with respect to their skills and characteristics. However, this liberal thinking about the individual preference of profession was

86 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 58-9.

87 *Polis*, 4 April 1912, nr. 40, 235-36.

88 *Polis*, 1 February 1912, nr. 21, 165-66.

continuously associated with the public good in addition to personal interest.[89]

3.2.7 *The Recipe for the Modern Ottoman Subjectivity: Neither Asceticism nor Selfishness*

The discursive limits of the modern Ottoman subjectivity were also demonstrated in the institutional discourse of the police force. The "bad policeman" was defined throughout the articles with illustrations of faulty and immoral modes of behavior of policemen.

The article Professional Conversation 1, In View of Statistics (*Musahabe-i Meslekiye 1, İstatistik Karşısında*) analyzed statistics of crimes committed by police officers.[90] In this respect, it offered an analysis of the moral comportment of policemen on the force. The police were subjected to critical scrutiny of their moral situation.

According to the article, policemen who committed crimes were dangerous for the regime because they were neither loyal to the regime nor any idea, but only to their own selfish benefit. These men who were drinking, gambling, and frequenting public entertainment venues were spending their time, energy, and money to satisfy their individual desires and extravagance (*taşkınlık*). Therefore, they could neither be trusted as loyal citizens nor as state bureaucrats.[91]In this respect, their actions were exact opposite of the modern Ottoman subjectivity demanded by the regime. Extreme individualism and selfishness were modes of behavior disapproved in the institutional discourse and seriously and immediately punished by the police institution.

As Zafer Toprak put it in his analyses of the national economy politics of the Young Turks, the accumulation of personal wealth by a new Turkish bourgeoisie - especially after the Balkan Wars - was desirable due to the fact that it enhanced the development of national industry.

89 *Polis*, 7 March 1912, nr. 36, 204.

90 *Polis Mecmuası,* 15 Kanunisani 1329/ 1 Rebiulevvel 1332 (28 Ocak 1914), nr. 13, 291.

91 Ibid.

From a solidarist point of view, the literature of the second constitutional period emphasized the necessity of engendering the moderate man (*orta adam*) who had the positive qualities of the liberal capitalism - that is to say, the capitalist work ethic and discipline – and did not have the negative ones – that is, selfishness and extreme individualism. Similarly, in the institutional discourse of the police, the bad policeman was depicted as selfish and extremely individualistic, and the good policeman was defined as neither resigned nor selfishly individualistic. Any behavior that exceeded the limits of moderation, such as lust for wealth, individual extravagance, laziness, or resistance to work, was labelled as immoral.[92]

The article "Ignorance is the Basis of Crimes" (Ceraimin Menşe'i Cehaletdir) written by Murad Emri, a second-class commissar and chief of the police committee of Hüdavendigar (*Hüdavendigar Polis Meclis Reisi*), revealed the crimes committed in Bursa in a month.[93] The author started by stating that the monthly crime statistics were compiled with utmost care and outlined the crimes committed. Moreover, he provided information on police performances in terms of solving crimes. The number of suspects arrested was 178. One suspect escaped and the offenders in 152 crimes were identified. Only three crimes were left unsolved. The author also provided data on the qualities of the criminals. He stated that 172 among the 178 people arrested were illiterate and argued that this act indicated that crime derived basically from ignorance of the society. He added that the most common crimes could be categorized as moral crimes (*ceraim-i ahlakiyye*). For him, the police would not need to constitute such criminal statistics if the source of crime - the ignorance of the people - was destroyed. He ended by arguing that state officials in all echelons of the state bureaucracy and in society should look to solve the illiteracy inherent in society.

As the author put it in the article, the basic reasons for social decadence and the crimes resulting from it were illiteracy and ignorance of

92 *Polis*, 21 March 1912, nr. 28, 222-23.

93 *Polis*, 1 February 1912, nr. 21, 166-67.

the Ottoman society.[94] Hence, the lack of education in society required the intervention of state officials bestowed with modern education. In this respect, while society was illustrated as faulty and lacking education, the state bureaucracy was hierarchically positioned as superior to Ottoman society due to its distinct modern education which differentiated it from the rest of the society. The Young Turk discourse of moral decadence, which dominated intellectual circles immediately after the counterrevolution of 1909, was being reproduced in the institutional discourse of the police force.

This article was criticized in an article in the following issue entitled article "On the Article Titled 'Ignorance is the Basis of Crimes'" (Ceraimin Menşe'i Cehaletdir Serlevhalı Makale Münasebetiyle).[95] The author of the latter argued that the source of evil and crime could not be reduced to illiteracy in society. For him, one reason behind the rise in crime was unemployment. Second, he argued that the great number of robberies derived from a lust for wealth which was caused by moral weakness. The extreme desire for personal wealth was disapproved and moreover considered dangerous for society, similar to overtly criminal acts like theft and adultery.

Indeed these two sources of crime - unemployment and the desire to accumulate wealth were two sides of the same coin with respect to the discourse of the moral decadence of Ottoman society. This argument illustrates the articulation of solidarist and liberal discourses in the problematization of social backwardness. From a solidarist standpoint, the problem in society was liberal capitalism's individualism which resulted in dangerous modes of behavior such as selfishness, and the desire for selfish benefits and wealth. On the other hand, from a liberal point of view, resistance to work was detrimental to society since the strength of any society was deemed to be the sum total of the economic power of its individual members. In this respect, the first author explained the problem as the moral decadence of Ottoman society due to

94 Ibid., 166.

95 *Polis*, 9 February 1912, nr.24, 187.

the lack of modern education and the author of the critical evaluation offered a solution to the social problem by making simultaneous use of solidarist and liberal discourses. Limits of the modern Ottoman subjectivity was being illustrated by the articulation of these discourses. Themodern Ottoman man was expected to be bestowed with the capitalist work ethic, to be employed in a profession and accumulate wealth. However, he was disapproved when he acted selfishly only for the sake of his personal interests. On contrary, he was wished to have a consideration of the public good always in his mind as the ultimate target of his socio-economic behavior.

The second article reveals that, as the members of the state bureaucracy, policemen were considered the embodiment of the new moral regime (*numune-i ahlak*) provided in the Young Turk discourse of modernization and being imposed by the government.[96] Therefore, policemen who were subjected to the intervention of the government for their appropriation of the correct modes of behavior in the police organization through the use of discursive and disciplinary practices were also employed with the duty of correcting the society.

3.2.8 *Policing as a Sacred Duty: Policemen as Patriots*

Undertones of solidarist thinking in the articles increased as the liberal phase ended towards the First World War. In the institutional discourse of the new police, a transcendental meaning was attached to the concept of work or duty. Indeed, who fulfilled the obligations of duty was considered to serve a transcendental objective - that is, respectively, the Ottoman state and nation.

Throughout the articles there is an emphasis on the pleasure policemen experienced as a result of fulfilling their duty. In this respect, professional duty is associated with religious duty, the fulfillment of which provides a person with pleasure and relief.[97]

96 *Polis*, 9 February 1912, nr.24, 187.

97 *Polis*, 1 February 1912, nr. 21, 165-66.

Duty is not just a responsibility to be fulfilled. It was demanded that policemen feel attached to their duties, and desired that they identify with their profession. In the article titled Love of Duty, it was stated that bearing the difficulties faced while working and achieving even small successes as a result of that work would give a person such a deep emotional pleasure that those who had tasted this feeling would never be able to give it up. Hence, officers who lived that experience would definitely continue to achieve many more successes.[98]

Two letters were published in the journal, *Polis* with the title, "Trablusgarp sahne-i mücahedesinde bir meslekdaşımızın sada-i hamiyyeti".[99] Nuri Efendi, who was the police chief of Humus of in the Hama district (*sanjak*) of the province of Syria, wrote these letters to his father from the front during the Trablusgarp war between the Ottoman Empire and Italy. The letters were delivered to the police journal by his father. They had no news value with respect to the war or the author's situation, but the publishers considered them significant enough to publish. Following the letters is a short paragraph written by the publishers under the heading, Police (*Polis*). Here it was stated that policemen and their colleagues confronted all kinds of danger on duty in times of peace for the sake of maintaining the lives, assets, chastity, and honor of the people. It was also added that they were happy to see that their colleagues had not escaped from sacrificing their lives for the protection of the beloved country. In this respect, it was implicated that the readers should act in a certain manner. Police journals advised policemen to become dedicated to two things: the police job and the country and state. Readers were urged to act like Nuri Efendi in times of war. The letters showed that Nuri Efendi had left behind his family, father, mother, brother, wife, and son to attend the war. The publishers' article ended with a remark by Nuri Efendi's father who said that he would be proud to see other letters similar to his son's. With this notice in the closing sentence, the participation of policemen in the war was clearly appreci-

98 Ibid., 165.

99 *Polis*, 4 Kanunisani 1912, nr. 17, 132-33.

ated by the institution, and policemen were urged to act in such a patriotic, selfsacrificing manner.

3.2.9 *Policemen as Public Servants*

In the discursive formation of the police force, policing duty was associated with public service. As public servants, policemen were distinguished from ordinary people or citizens with respect to their modern education and wisdom. However, the people were characterized as ignorant and lacking a modern education and the consequent capabilities it enabled. Hence, they needed to be corrected by administrative officials.

The police officer was an equivalent of the state official and thus stood on the side of the state in the binary opposition set between the state and society by the patriarchal state discourse reproduced by the Young Turk regime.[100] Therefore, the police subjectivity was discursively positioned as a moral model for the people similar to the other subjectivities of the Ottoman state official. It was stated that the policemen together with the rest of the state officials were assigned the duty of emanating modern education to the smallest villages and thus enhancing the moral character of the people.[101]

As the authors made distinctions between the state and the people based upon the discourse of the patriarchal state, they also distinguished state officers from the gendarmerie. Indeed, the gendarmerie was positioned discursively as equivalent to the people due to the fact that it did not have the right manners and capabilities in its relations to the people. Throughout the articles, there was no definite emphasis on the gendarmerie, but one emphasis is exemplary of this differentiation between the two subjectivities - that is, the police and the gendarmerie. For instance, the article "Curiosity of an Idea in the Police, Yellow Notebook" (Poliste Fikir Tecessüsü, Sarı Defter) is a detective story, written

100 *Polis*, 9 February 1912, nr.24, 187.

101 Ibid.

by an author called Haşim Nahid, which narrates the story of an officer called Zekai Efendi.[102] When an old lady comes to the door of the police station in order to inform the police of a crime happened, a gendarme officer (*jandarma neferi*) yells at her and asks her problem in a rude manner. Hower, the police officer Zekai Efendi makes her enter the police station, have a sit, and comforts her with his nice talking and polite manners. In the end of the story, Zekai efendi finds out that a suicide incident that took place in the old Lady's mansion was infact a murder. The personal qualities of the police officer - such as using logic and modern policing techniques in solving the incident, being cunning while gathering evidences of the crime and also acting politely and calmly in his relations with the people- are continuously emphasized throughout the story. In this respect, the police officer is differentiated from the gendarme officer in terms of his manners, relationships with the people, accumulation of modern policing knowledge and expertise. In this respect, as a qualified officer with modern education and good manners he was distinguished with his personal and professional qualities from the gendarme officer.

102 *Polis Mecmuası*, 9 February 1912, nr.10, 233-5.

4

The Making of the Ottoman Police Officer: Discipline and Training in Police Centers

This chapter illustrates the process of transformation of ordinary Ottoman men into police professionals with a certain subject position by use of disciplinary techniques and discursive practices in the Ottoman police force after the establishment of the Ministry of Police in 1879.

Since the Tanzimat, the police were subject to a number of administrative regulations in order to establish a disciplined body of policemen. Following the establishment of the Ministry of Police but especially throughout the second constitutional period, the administrative modernization and rationalization of the Ottoman police force was enhanced. Policemen were subjected to a regime of practices of government aimed at constituting a certain subjectivity within them. This governmental regime of practices involved certain discursive practices and disciplinary techniques which would impose on policemen certain subject positions.

In this respect, the police force was developed as a modern institution of power that imposed a new moral regime on policemen in addition to being a modern bureaucratic organization. This moral regime was based on a new system of differentiation among policemen that divided them in and among themselves. Hence, those who did not or

could not adopt the required characteristics and forms of behavior were subjected to a number of discursive practices and disciplinary techniques of "normalization" in order to generate certain subject positions within them. Policemen who continuously resisted against these normalization practices were eventually expelled from the force.

First, a brief introduction is provided on the techniques of subjectification suggested by Foucault which will be appropriated for our analyses.

§ 4.1 Governmentality and Subjectification

Foucault's theory and study of power needs to be considered in relation to his analyses of the modes of objectification of the subject. In his historical studies, Foucault analyzes various forms of government of men by one another, such as prisons, asylums, schools, and hospitals. According to him, "a whole aspect of modern societies could be understood only by reconstructing certain 'techniques of power, or power/knowledge', designed to observe, monitor, shape and control the behavior of individuals situated within a range of social and economic institutions such as the school, the factory and the prison."[1] In addition, for Foucault, although the state is just another form of government, all other forms must refer to it because power relations have become more and more under state control. Hence, "power relations have been progressively governmentalized, that is to say, elaborated, rationalized, and centralized in the form of state institutions."[2]

Foucault offers a detailed examination of disciplinary strategies in the classical age and the emergence of modern disciplinary power from classical modes of discipline and control in his seminal book, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*. He "identifies three general principles underlying the way the disciplinary society functions: the principle of

1 Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction," 3-4.

2 Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 224.

enclosure; the principle of the efficient body; and the principle of disciplinary power."[3]

In his studies, Foucault offers a genealogy of organizations that produce elaborate discourses of knowledge and the regimes of truth that are dominant in society. In his study of asylums, he illustrates how the subjectivities of "mad" and "sane" are established through the imposition of certain moral regime by disciplinary and discursive practices.[4]

In his analysis of the birth of the asylum at the end of the eighteenth century, Foucault illustrates disciplinary techniques through which insane men were divided in themselves and from others – the sane. Asylum was not merely a place where madmen were confined within walls and segregated from the rest of society; more importantly, it acted as a medical center where madness was cured. The psychiatrist believed that madmen also possessed reason but that it was hidden beneath his madness. Before the birth of the asylum, the insane were treated violently, while in asylums, physical violence was mostly used as a threat. By use of this strategy of fear, madmen acknowledged that their madness was an object to be punished and something to be regretted. Hence, madmen who become aware of their guilt consider their madness or themselves as objects to be corrected by themselves and others. As Foucault puts it, "from the acknowledgement of his status as object, from the awareness of his guilt, the madman was to return to his awareness of himself as a free and responsible subject and consequently to reason."[5]

All in all, the disciplinary techniques appropriated in the asylum divided madmen within themselves as people who were insane but who also possessed reason beneath that madness. Hence, the insane existence of a man was objectified by himself in order to attain his reason. In this respect, although the madman was liberated from the iron chains on his wrists, his conscience created new chains.

---

3 McKinlay, *Foucault, Management and Organization Theory*, 129.

4 Foucault, "The Birth of the Asylum," 146.

5 Ibid.

Foucault illustrates four structures peculiar to psychiatric practice to make madmen observe and demystify their madness. The first is the strategy of "silence." People around the madman are not allowed to display an interest in his madness. This indifference and the silence of those around him with respect to his insane behavior show madman that his spectacle of madness does not exalt the audience around him. He recognizes that his exaltation is derived from within himself, and thus the madman observes his madness and feels guilt. The second strategy is "recognition by mirror." Madman is informed about the madness of other patients and the conducts of other madmen reflect a mirror onto his madness. Hence, "he was made to see, little by little, the absurdity of his pretensions."[6]

The third strategy was the perpetual judgment of the madman. Foucault shows that the asylum was a juridical space where madmen were continuously accused and then immediately judged and condemned. In this respect, the madman was not free to act outside the norms of the eighteenth century bourgeois society. As Foucault puts it, "disobedience by religious fanaticism, resistance to work, and theft, the three great transgressions against the bourgeois society, the three major offenses against its essential values, are not excusable even by madness."[7] Any transgression was immediately punished with repression so that madmen recognized their guilt.

Foucault's analysis of the dividing practices appropriated in the asylum displays the intricate relationship between disciplinary techniques of power and truth regimes in society. Foucault argues that the disciplinary and regulatory techniques of this modern bio-power are closely related to the predominant moral regimes in society. For Foucault, disciplines act like an infra-law and extend the general forms of law to the level of individual lives. Hence, individuals are trained to integrate with these general demands and are insidiously objectified by the application

6 Ibid., 153.

7 Ibid., 157.

of these disciplinary techniques.[8] In the asylums, the insane were trained to become sane, but they were also manipulated to have a certain form of sanity based on bourgeois morality. Hence, Foucault illustrates the liberal discourse of morality which prominently delineated the discursive boundaries of sanity in eighteenth-century French society.

Following Foucault's analysis of the functioning of modern disciplinary power which seeks to constitute disciplined bodies and minds, this section analyzes the modes of subjectification imposed on policemen – that is to say, a certain moral regime and subject position was imposed on police recruits through the implementation of various disciplinary techniques and discursive practices.

It is illustrated that policemen were subjected to the Young Turk discourse of modernization that had been appropriated by the Ottoman police organization of the second constitutional period. They were compelled to adopt a modern subjectivity that generated in them certain behavior, values, and modes of thinking.

Moreover, it is argued that despite the fact that the police organization of the second constitutional period developed a disciplinary mechanism through the appropriation of various disciplinary techniques and discursive practices, there were serious problems in the running of this modern institution of power even at the end of the CUP reign. In addition, individual responses of average policemen who were subjected to such disciplinary regime are also subject of analysis. It is argued that police officers did not always conform to the strict regime of government within the police institution, and responded with resistant rather than obedient behavior.

8 Foucault, "Panopticism," 209-212.

§ 4.2 Confinement of Policemen in the "Karakol"

Police recruits were subjected to a modern surveillance system that imposed an order of life in the police stations that was different from that of their previous lives. First, they were isolated from their social milieu and forced to live in the police stations. Regular policemen and commissars had to live in the police stations. Superintendents (*merkez memuru*) did not have to sleep in the police stations but had to live in quarters nearby their stations. Policemen were legally allowed to leave the stations for one day a week according to the 1913 police regulation.[9] In Istanbul, Director General of the Police (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdürü*) and directors (*polis müdürleri*) of the Beyoğlu and Üsküdar districts and the director generals of the provinces were charged with granting permissions to policemen. Superintendents (*merkez memurları*) were responsible for this in autonomous *sanjaks*.[10] Permissions had always been problematic among the police due to the fact that the organization lacked enough policemen at any given time; therefore, directors hesitated to give regular permissions to policemen.[11]

In addition to the surveillance of policemen in police stations, their daily encounters with civilians during their patrols and in their leisure time were strictly watched by superiors and colleagues, and any divergence from institutional rules and norms was immediately reported to the station.

The encounters of policemen with civilians outside of policing were restricted and strictly regulated. Policemen were not permitted to spend time in public places such as theatres, coffeehouses, café-chansons, and taverns - even in their free time. In this respect, they were forbidden from enjoying the daily leisure of the labor classes and were subjected to punishment if they frequented such public places. In

9 Alyot, *Türkiye'de Zabıta*, 526.

10 Ibid., 532.

11 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 66.

1912, a policeman of the Jerusalem force was charged with fine for listening to the phonograph in the coffee house while on patrol duty.

Moreover, police officers were bound by strict codes of behavior throughout their relationships with society. They had to act seriously among the common people. First, policemen were the representatives of government. Therefore, any misconduct damaged the prestige of the government in the eyes of the people. The constitutional government claimed to be different from that of Abdülhamit II, which was considered illegitimate and inefficienct. Hence, policemen of the new regime were required to act properly in order to maintain the legitimacy of the constitutional regime and its government. The new regime was differentiated from the old with respect to its educated officials whose behaviors were strictly restricted and regulated by law.

Although the basic reasons for the confinement of policemen was discipline and to constitute docile professionals with a certain morality, another reason was derived from classical procedures of the Ottoman bureaucracy according to which state officials were not permitted to frequent the public places such as theatres, café-chansons, coffeehouses, and taverns due to the fact that such visits were considered inappropriate for state officials. One reason was to prevent officials from spending work time on entertainment. However, the other essential reason was to reproduce the classical division between state officials and the people - that is to say, between *askeri* and *reaya*.[12]

The Ottoman police force appropriated the confinement of policemen in police stations as a disciplinary technique, as revealed in the course book written by İbrahim Feridun. According to the author, policemen were permitted to leave the station and rest on their own in their own houses once their transgressive behaviors were changed and corrected as a result of their inculcation of the police identity provided to them by the institution.[13] In other words, once changed as a result of the disciplinary practices of the institution and turned into police pro-

12 I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Ali Akyıldız who contributed this comment.

13 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 67.

fessionals devoted to their work, they no longer needed to be confined in the stations and forced to act in certain ways. Policemen would act as a subject with a certain mode of thinking and behavior ever afterwards.

> If sentiments of reverence and loyalty to duty can be completely evoked in police officers and if they can be made to acquire the valuable habit of being present on duty at a specified time by overcoming each and every obstacle and hardship on the way without ever requiring a warning, then … going home provides many benefits instead of any harm. Because he gets his food at home, he does not pay extra money for it, and he gets to know the daily life of his family. [14]

Feridun confessed that the internment of policemen in stations served a disciplinary purpose. The service records of policemen and dismissal registers (*kaydı terkin cetvelleri*) also testify to the fact that desertion of their duty was a regular phenomenon among policemen. They ran from their duty in order to return to their hometowns - sometimes for months - or just to their houses for a meal or nap. Therefore, it was necessary to keep the policemen in the police stations under the surveillance of their superiors in order to make them follow the obligations of the duty.

The confinement of policemen in the stations was expected to contribute to the training of policemen by superiors. The course book illustrates that the congregation of subordinates and superiors together in the police stations was considered significant for the maintenance of the police institution in general. Policemen were able to learn much from as an effect of their encounters with superiors who already possessed the necessary capabilities within themselves. Hence, it was expected that the actions of subordinates would be corrected as a result of observation of the correct behavior and manners of superiors during both work and leisure time in the stations.

14 Ibid.

Foucault states that the military camp is the ideal model of surveillance and disciplinary mechanism employed by disciplinary institutions.[15] Police station was similar to military camp with respect to its composition and function. It collected armed men under one roof and subjected them to constant hierarchical surveillance and training. The police station - the building itself - functioned as a pedagogical instrument to transform recruits into docile, trained police professionals. Foucault illustrates that the physical building of a disciplinary institution "permit[s] an internal, articulated and detailed control by rendering visible those who were inside it, …operate[s] to transform individuals: to act on those who shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them."[16]

Police stations were partitioned into sections with respect to their functions, giving the policemen a sense of order. The course book and police journals illustrate that police stations were mostly constructed under the supervision of police directors but with financial aid provided by the locals of a district. For instance, a former police director of the Edirne Province, Cemal Bey, managed to construct four police stations in the vilayet with the help of the local people.[17] These were two-story buildings which were composed of various sections such as a bedroom, guestroom (*misafir kabul odası*), and office (*resmi iş odası*) for use by the commissar as well as bedrooms, a dining room (*taamhane*), a living room (*istirahat salonu*), a kitchen (*matbah*) and a telephone office (*telefon dairesi*) for general use by the policemen. Police stations in other provinces were similarly partitioned with respect to functions.[18] There

15 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 171.

16 Ibid., 172.

17 Twelve hundred *liras* were spent on the construction of each of the buildings. Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 181.

18 The captions under the photographs in the police journals reveal significant information with respect to the construction of police stations. Old police stations were renovated into larger, more comfortable ones in lieu of new police stations being established. Moreover, the names of police directors responsible for the organization

could be additional sections such as a restaurant (*lokanta*),[19] a dormitory (*koğuş, yatakhane*),[20] and a stable for the horses of mounted police (*süvari polis hayvanatı ahırı*)[21] and a prison (*hapishane*), which was mostly found in provincial police directorates.[22] Moreover, these sections were ranked, further inculcating the hierarchical positioning of policemen: commissars and assistant commissars in charge of the stations were given separate rooms and offices for their use.

Policemen had to follow certain rules of conduct while living and working in the stations. They had to knock on the door before entering the office of superiors and to greet them upon leaving. Therefore, they were continuously being trained and surveilled as they lived in the stations.

§ 4.3 Surveillance

Foucault's studies on modern disciplinary power illustrate that the subjectification of the individual - that is to say, the normalization of individual behavior and thinking with respect to a certain moral regime - can be accomplished by enhancing the visibility of the subject through various techniques of surveillance. As Foucault puts it,

> Hierarchical surveillance emerged in the eighteenth century as a special kind of 'looking on' or 'gaze' that constrained the individual without the watchers being seen or, even without them looking. This discreet art of close watching consisted of 'the mirror techniques of multiple and intersecting observations, of eyes that

of the construction and those of financial supporters among the local notables (*eşraf*) were also indicated under the photographs. The buildings were mostly two stories with ten to fifteen rooms, but there were also smaller stations with one story buildings.

19 *Polis Mecmuası,* 15 September 1329/ 26 Şevval 1331 (28 September 1913), nr. 5, 105.

20 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 July 1330/ 20 Şaban 1332 (14 July 1914), nr 24, 557.

21 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 Kanunisani 1330/ 27 Safer 1333 (14 January 1915), nr. 36, 864.

22 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 139.

> must be seen with-out being seen, using techniques of subjection and methods of exploitation.' The gaze constrained as it watched.[23]

As a modern institution of power, the Ottoman police force also appropriated a system of control that employed subtle techniques of surveillance of policemen rather than force. Policemen were subject to certain techniques of surveillance in order to inculcate them with the sense of constantly being watched.

Various military techniques were appropriated in the Ottoman police force to develop a sense of order in policemen, even since the establishment of the first police force, the inspection officers (*teftiş memurları*). These included making policemen wear uniforms and classifying them into ranks. However, these trials were not fully incorporated into a strict regime of surveillance as was performed in the second Constitutional period.[24]

Throughout the second Constitutional period, disciplinary techniques that have been appropriated into the Ottoman police force were developed into a regime of control that "fix[ed] policemen in positions assigned to them."[25] The service records of policemen in various provinces illustrate that every police officer was identified by a number, was fixed in a definite place- that is to say, the police station - and was attached to a certain position in the institutional hierarchy.

The dressing of policemen in uniforms was a disciplinary technique that intensified their identification with their position on the force. Policemen had to wear uniforms all the times on duty. In this respect, they were obliged to remind themselves and the common people around them that they were set apart with respect to their professional identity. The aim of this disciplinary technique was to provide a professional

23 McKinlay, *Foucault, Management and Organization Theory*, 135.

24 See Sönmez, *"Zaptiye Teşkilatının Kuruluşu ve Gelişimi"* for the development of the administrative organization of the security forces in the Ottoman Empire after the Tanzimat.

25 Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, 142.

subjectivity in policemen. They were not allowed to take off their gloves, even in hot weather. The dress code was strictly imposed.

The standardization of police uniforms had been a serious concern for the Ottoman police since the establishment of the inspection officers (*teftiş memurları*) in 1867. It was decided that these investigation officers would wear dark blue clothes and that the fabric would differentiate officers with respect to ranks.[26] However, it can be argued that the standardization of clothing for the police continued to be a matter of concern until the middle of the second constitutional period. Archival documents testify to the fact that before the second constitutional period, policemen were annually provided with clothing by the force, but there were differences with respect to color and form, especially in the countryside. In order to solve this problem, it was decided that the uniforms would be produced in Istanbul in 1892.[27] Although the 1907 regulation indicated that official clothing of policemen would be provided by the state, the details of the uniforms were not explained.[28]

Immediately after the July revolution, the clothing of the police force was changed by the new regime in order to illustrate the difference between the police force of the ancien regime and the new police of the constitutional regime. Istanbul police in the districts of Dersaadet and Köprübaşı donned new uniforms on October 1, 1908.[29] Each policeman was provided with a uniform, arms, and equipment with respect to their rank on the force.

The police regulation of 1913 briefly describes the police uniform. Every year, police officers were given a fur cap (*kalpak*), a jacket and pants for winter and summer, respectively, and a pair of boots; and they were given an oilskin raincoat (*muşamba*) every three years.[30] İbrahim Feridun indicates the uniform and equipment that policemen had to

26 Sönmez, *"Zaptiye Teşkilatının Kuruluşu ve Gelişimi,"* 67.

27 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 147.

28 Ibid., 148.

29 Ibid., 147.

30 Alyot, *Türkiye'de Zabıta,* 525.

wear in the course book written in 1910: a gray fur cap, a winter coat, black pants, black buskins (*potin*), and boots. They wore black oilskin capes (*muşambadan pelerin*) over their jackets in rainy weather and put on their cloaks (*kaput*) in winter. They carried professional equipment such as a knife (*meç*), a revolver, a whistle, a watch, a flashlight, a penknife (*bilekbent çakı*), and an observation notebook (*müşahedat ve hatırat defteri*). While on formal duty, they always wore a pair of white linen gloves. Only commissars, sergeants, and cavalry officers were a sword. All uniforms were properly sized, and an epaulet pinned to officer's jacket collars included information about his police site and province. His registration number was ingrained on his jacket collar. Policemen were positioned with respect to a specific order via their uniforms.[31] The articles and weapons allocated to officers and the particular rules concerning such allocations in accordance with rank were defined in detail in the 1913 regulation. Table 4.1 below shows the equipment allocated to different ranks of the police force.[32]

Table 4.1 List of equipment allocated to police personnel

Equipment	Rank of the police it was allocated to
Knife	To police officers
Knife strap	To police officers
Baton	To police officers
Revolver	To all police personnel
Handcuffs	To all police personnel
Sword	To commissars, sergeants, and cavalry officers
Sword strap	To commissars, sergeants, and cavalry officers

In addition to being fixed in their stations and positions, policemen's time was also subjected to order. According to Foucault,

> Time thus ceased to be the amount of temporal space a certain act 'naturally' occupied but became a specific allotment, meas-

31 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus,* 15-19.

32 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 738.

> ured in minutes and seconds, in which that act had to be performed. Moreover, these acts were to be conducted not only within these new boundaries, but also regularly, i.e. according to the schedule imposed from above and specifying how frequent a certain act was to be performed.[33]

The police regulation of 1913 imposed such an ordering of the time of policemen. The superintendents (*merkez memuru*), commissars and heads of police stations were responsible for conducting regular inspections of policemen under their commands at least once a month. Moreover, they had to check the weapons, clothes, inventoried stock, and furniture every Thursday and send reports of these inspections to superior offices. In addition, the noon hour was allocated for routine control of the order and cleanliness of the stations.[34]

Moreover, policemen were subjected to a strict regime of surveillance based on the record of their presence and absence. The most useful tool for checking the presence of policemen was the daily timetable (*yevmiye cetveli*), which was organized by the superior in charge of the station. The course notes from the Salonika police school provide a detailed account of the daily timetable appropriated in police stations.

> Every commissar should decide on the services to be provided within his police site in the most proper manner and in accordance with his coworkers' merits and skills. In addition, he shall hang a chart on the wall within police headquarters or the police station building whereon information about the specific working hours and beats of his coworkers is included, and [he shall] write down the names of officers specified on the chart on a piece of paper framed under glass. Hence, any inspector who visits the building in question can see how many officers are present and who they are. He can identify which officers are on duty at which locations. He will perform the inspection procedure accordingly.

33 Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, 145.

34 Alyot, *Türkiye'de Zabıta,* 527.

> Also when officers see this duty chart and the detailed information regarding the times and places of duties, he will have been considered notified about the orders given to him. And the commissar is thus relieved of the burden of calling every officer into his presence and informing them about the time and place of their assignments.[35]

In addition to the account in the course notes, İbrahim Feridun also gives information on the work routine of policemen with respect to the timetable. Policemen had to sign the roster (*vazife cetveli*) after fulfilling their patrol work (*devriye*) or guard duty (*nokta nöbeti*). This roster included a section called the "observations" (*mülahazat*) where policemen were expected to write down their comments on the duties accomplished. İbrahim Feridun states that policemen should write down significant events that took place during their time on duty and that superiors should read these notes and take action with respect to the received, as needed.[36]

These tables also functioned as a tool of surveillance and inspection of policemen. When policemen were unable to provide an accurate account of events that took place as they were guarding a location or patrolling a beat, the notes indicated in the table - written or not - revealed the truth about their behavior on duty. For instance, a certain police officer, Mahmud Ali Efendi, from the Beyoğlu police station concealed information from his superior about an incident that took place on his duty. Five days later, a report was demanded from him with respect to the incident, but it was gathered following his interrogation that Mahmud Ali Efendi had received a bribe to conceal the incident that he had witnessed. Upon exposing this corruption, he was levied a monetary fine amounting to one day's salary.[37]

35 *Polis*, 12 Kanunisani 1327/ 5 Safer 1330 (25 January 1912), nr. 20, 159.

36 Feridun*, Polis Efendilere Mahsus,* 64-65.

37 *Polis*, 29 Kanunievvel 1327/ 21 muharrem 1330 (11 January 1912), nr. 18, 144.

Policemen had to get permission from their superiors if they were unable to fulfill their duties. Moreover, they had to account for absences. The tables of dismissal as punishment (*cezaen kayd-ı terkin cetvelleri*) illustrate that policemen who left their duty without giving information to superior or who came back to the station from their vacation late without justification were immediately dismissed from office. Moreover, those who were sick had to account for their condition with medical report from the hospital.[38]

§ 4.4 Discipline and Training in Police Stations

The system of surveillance appropriated in the Ottoman police force was accompanied by a regime of discipline and training to correct the behavior and thinking of policemen with respect to a certain discourse reproduced in the institutional discourse of the police force. In this respect, policemen were subjected to constant observation and intervention of superiors in order to impose correct modes of behavior on them. Therefore, policemen found themselves subjected to a series of normalizing or disciplinary practices - that is to say, evaluations, sanctions, and incentives resulting in the production and reproduction of a system of differentiation, hierarchization, homogenization and exclusion similar to that system suggested by Foucault in his analysis of modern institutions of power.

For Foucault, the art of punishment which was composed of normalizing or disciplinary practices was

> neither retributive nor restitutive. Rather it put into place five other processes: it set up an entire field of comparisons for individual actions; it differentiated each individual in terms of his or her minimal, average, or optimal rule-following behavior; it measured, quantified, ranked and valued each person according to his or her capacity, level of ability and 'general nature'; it in-

38 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 130-1.

> troduced the constraint of conformity through the valorization of specific activities and behavior; and it defined both ex-treme limits or frontiers of the abnormal.[39]

The Ottoman police force also made use of normalizing practices to impose correct behavior on policemen. As revealed in articles in the police journals, policemen who possessed the required capabilities and education better followed the work discipline demanded by the institution than colleagues who were bereft of them. In this respect, new distinctions were established among policemen with respect to the epresence or lack of certain abilities and professional knowledge.

Therefore, in cases of those who did not conform to the professional and disciplinary obligations of the police organization, superiors and colleagues intervened to help build within them the competence and capabilities they lacked. In the course book and articles, such intervention was deemed necessary for the progress of incapable policemen and for the institution itself. Hence, those policemen were considered different with respect to their lack of certain qualities. In addition, their incapacity was essentialized and associated with their characters. Hence, anyone who did not or could not comply with the work discipline were given a variety of labels such as lazy (*tembel*), sluggish (*tenperver*), inattentive (*dikkatsiz*), and reckless (*lakayt*). By contrast, those who acquired the work discipline and had strong attachment to their duty were described in positive qualities such as straight (müstakim), serious (*ciddi*), hardworking (*çalışkan*), and responsible (*vazifeperver*).

§ 4.5 The Normalizing and Corrective Sanctions of the Ottoman Police Organization

The punishment and gratification system used for the normalization of police behavior and attitudes is described in this section. Such a pun-

39 McKinlay, *Foucault, Management and Organization Theory*, 137.

ishment and gratification system was applied to inculcate norms that would generate certain kinds of behavior or mentality in policemen.

First, a discursive analysis of the punishment and gratification system established for the regulation of the attitudes and behavior of police officers and supervisors in the 1907 and 1913 police ordinances is presented. It is presented that the ideal police identity laid out in the institutional discourse produced in the in-house publications, *Polis* and *Polis Mecmuası*, was also reproduced by the punishment and gratification regulations of the institution.

The punishment and gratification system, which was first codified in 1907, was specified in further detail by the 1913 police regulation. Accordingly, the most important characteristics of the modern penal system – which is that the punishment is restrained and every act is subject to a certain punishment - is appropriated by this regulation.

In the 1913 regulation, the various behaviors of police officers were categorized, and each behavior was paired with specified punishment and gratification practices. Thus, the target was not only the punishment of the behavior of officers and superiors, but also the correction of certain behaviors as an effect of a certain punishment or reward. In this sense, the basic principle of the modern practice of punishment, to direct a person to adopt a certain attitude or behavior was appropriated by the police regulations.

As Foucault illustrates in his analysis of normalizing practices appropriated in governmental institutions, the right measure of punishment is essential to the correction of deviant behavior. In the police institution, sanctions of false conducts and comportments of policemen were described in detail in the police regulation of 1913. The 1907 regulation although there were explanations with respect to the punishment of policemen, but it was not fully systematized until 1913.

In the following sections, the punishment and gratification practices given in the 1907 and 1913 police regulations are analyzed to clarify the boundaries of the ideal and acceptable police behavior and mentality that is reproduced throughout these regulations for correcting and normalizing the behavior and attitudes of police subordinates and su-

periors. In the discursive analysis of the punishment-gratification system, it is also indicated that the punishment-gratification system together with other disciplinary techniques (hierarchical surveillance through use of examinations and personal records) used in police offices and stations effectively operated in order to develop the ideal subject in the body of the ordinary police officer.

4.5.1 *Norms of Punishment According to the 1907 & 1913 Police Codes*

In the 1907 police regulation, the issue of punishment of police officers was addressed, though not in as detailed a manner as in the 1913 Police Regulation. In articles 71 and 153-157 of the 1907 regulation, behaviors subject to penalties were explicitly enumerated.[40] The punishments for these behaviors were also graded. When behavior subjected to punishment was not corrected, it was countered with more severe punishment.

As stated in Article 156 article, police commissars, sergeants, and police officers are first warned by an order (*tenbih*) and reminder (*ihtar*). Second, they are subjected to rebuke (*tekdir*) and reprimand (*tevbih*) and their misbehavior is also be noted and indicated (*şerh ve işaret edilecek*) in their personal record; moreover, they would were dismissed by the administration if they repeated the same demeanor (*hal ve harekat*).[41]

A three-level punishment practice had been put into practice according the aforementioned article; the first level included advice and warning (tembih ve ihtar), the second reprimand and condemnation (tekdir ve tevbih) and also an indication in one's personal record; and the third level dismissal from office when repetition of the punished behavior continued.

40 *Düstur,* Tertib-i Evvel, VIII, 677-691.

41 Ibid., 690-91.

In Article 70 of the ordinance, decrease of an officer's class (*tenzil-i sınıf*) is specified as another penal practice. However, there is no definite description of the kinds of behavior that call for such a punishment.[42] Upon the required investigation, a report (*zabt varakası*) describing the level of deficiency and negligence (*kusur ve tekasülün*) was prepared, and the police commissar, sergeant, inspector, or officer was reprimanded or rebuked accordingly by the *mutasarrıflık* or the province to which was attached. Moreover, the decision was reported to the Ministry of Police, and if required, his class was demoted or he would be withdrawn from duty. If deemed necessary by the state, the officer would be arrested and remanded to custody of the court. As revealed in the following part, punishment rules defined in the 1913 police code were declared ambiguously in 1907.

Behaviors and attitudes to be punished mostly consisted of disciplinary offenses which can be categorized as disobeying a superior, undisciplined behavior while on duty, or a demeanor inappropriate to civil service. In Article 156, acts and attitudes that required punishment were as follows:

Disobedience of superiors' orders and being stubborn (*emre riayetsizlik ve serkeşlik etmek*); not giving timely information to superiors regarding matters related to police duty; absenteeism and indifference towards one's duty - that is to say, not fulfilling the requirements of one's duty as demanded – and acts such as deserting one's guard place (*nokta mahali*), patrol search (*kol*), or other official duties are all described as inappropriate conduct for the title of officer, and thus, it was indicated that these behaviors require punishment.[43]

Article 71 also reveals acts to be punished. Drinking; sitting in coffeeshops or taverns (*gazino*) and similar places; being engaged with acts like playing backgammon or cards; unceremonious acts (*laubaliyane*) that violated the dignity of a civil servant; wandering around with their chests bared or without their rapiers (*meç*); smoking, eating, loi-

42 Ibid., 677.

43 Ibid., 690-91.

tering , chatting with people unnecessarily while fulfilling one's formal duty such as guarding a point, patrolling a beat, or conducting a search (kol); and abandoning a task despite with no valid reason and without permission from superiors were acts to be punished. In addition, it was decided that the corresponding amount be deducted from policemen's salaries if they wasted inventory assets such as the weapons, or clothes issued to them.[44]

A more detailed punishment system was established in the 1913 police regulation, and as a reflection of a modern criminal system, it was decided that each behavior would be corresponded to a certain level of punishment. Thus, normalization of officers was targeted by the immediate and systematic correction of the attitudes and behaviors of policemen. Dismissal from office was a last resor- a final punishment applied to those who persisted in their wrongdoing and resisted complying with norms despite a number of punishments of various kinds being imposed.[45]

Since it was possible for discharged policemen to return to the profession, the dismissal from the register (*kayd-ı terkin*) made also be considered a form of corrective sanction similar to other penalties. As Foucault noted, the existence of a class consisting of the most unsuccessful students was necessary for the correction of underachieving and maladjusted ones.[46]

In this respect, even discharge from office could serve as a corrective measure for both the officer who was dismissed and others. The one who was dismissed would know that he needed to comply with the norm in order to stay in office, and others would realize that noncompliance would not be tolerated long and countered with severe punishment - that is, dismissal from the register as a last resort.

According to the regulation, six types of punishment were specified, namely removal from register (*terkin-i kayıt*), lowering of one's rank

44 Ibid., 677.

45 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 385-403.

46 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 181-2.

(*tenzil-i sınıf*), lessening one's seniority (*tenkis-i kıdem*), cutting one's salary (*kat'-ı maaş*), reprimand (*tevbih*) and warning (*tenbih*).

The section of the regulation entitled "Punishment" ("Mücazat") indicates that eight behaviors were subject to punishment.[47] These eight categories obtained criminal behavior given included:

- Criminal offenses
- Disobedience of superiors and orders
- Drinking
- Disciplinary faults
- Ineptitude on duty
- Self-sufficiency
- Ill-naturedness

4.5.1.1 Criminal Offenses

Criminal acts included behaviors that were against the law, all of which criminal acts were punished with removal from office. These acts and the corresponding punishment are illustrated in detail in Table 4.2. Criminal acts that required dismissal from service were identified as murder (*cinayet*), conviction and sentence to imprisonment of six months or more (mahkemece altı ay ve daha yukarı mahkumiyet), theft, forgery (*sahtekarlık*), fraud (*dolandırıcılık*), sexual assault (*iffete saldırı*), bribery (*rüşvet*), slander (*iftira*), disclosure of state secrets, deliberate abuse of authority, and firing gun without cause.[48] In addition, adultery (*fuhuş*) was also described in detail and punished with dismissal. Accordingly, unless assigned to a specific duty, officers could not go to brothels on workdays whether in uniform or civilian attire and could not have any relationships with prostitutes. Any breach of these rules was punished with dismissal.[49] Finally, as stated in the Article 85 of the regulation, police officers would receive a reprimand (*tevbih*) in

47 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 398-400.

48 Ibid., 398.

49 Ibid., 399.

the first instance of abusing the legal or other rights of others, and at the same time, they were required to mitigate their infringement of said rights. If they persisted in such behavior, they would be removed from service.[50]

Table 4.2 Criminal offenses

Act	Punishment
Murder	Removal (*terkin*)
Prison sentence of six months or more	Removal
Theft	Removal
Forgery	Removal
Fraud	Removal
Sexual assault	Removal
Bribery	Removal
Slander	Removal
Disclosure of state secrets	Removal
Deliberate abuse of authority	Removal
Adultery, frequenting brothels, or having relations with prostitutes	Removal
Firing a gun without cause	Removal
Obvious infringement and abuse of other's rights	1. Reprimand and litigation of the act 2. Upon persistence, removal

4.5.1.2 Disobedience of Superiors and Orders

Two types of behavior were identified as disobeying superiors in the 1913 police regulation. First, it was appropriate to dismiss those who caused the state to suffer harm because they did not listen to the lawful orders of their superiors.[51] Second, those who did not obey and moreover, defied their superiors's cautions (*tenbihe riayetsizlik ve serkeşlik*) for the first time were punished with a reprimand (*tevbih*). If they did so a second time, they were punished with a cut in their salary. If it was

50 Ibid., 400.

51 Ibid., 398.

no longer reasonable to expect that the behavior would be corrected, removal from the register was the punishment of final resort.[52]

The 1917 description of the punishment for acts of disobedience was revised with an adjunct added to the 1913 police regulation.[53] Police candidates, officers, sergeants, commissars, center officers, directors, and the directors of administrative and judicial branches (*kısm-idari ve adli müdürleri*) who disobey the orders of superiors (*adem-i itaat*); exchange ideas with colleagues critical of the official conduct of superiors (*müdavele-i efkar*); make decision contrary to those of superiors (*tenkidkarane karar ittihazı*); criticize orders; attempt to enforce their own decisions individually or collectively; or meet, communicate and discuss with colleagues to prevent the enforcement of superiors' orders or conduct were subject to punishments of various kinds such as removal from the register, lowering of one's class or lessening of seniority depending on the severity of their actions.

52 Ibid., 399.

53 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, IX, 175-176.

Table 4.3 Disobedience of superiors

Act	Punishment
Causing the state harm by disobedience of superiors' legal orders (*âmirinin kanuni emirlerini dinlememek suretiyle devletin zarara uğramasına neden olmak*)	Removal
Disobedience and defiance of superiors' cautions (*amirlerinin tenbihlerine riayetsizlik ve serkeşlik eylemek*)	1. For the first offense, reprimand (*tevbih*) 2. For the second, cutting off of one's salary, 3. For incorrigibles, removal
Disobedience of superiors' orders, by expressing an opinion,criticizing the official conduct of superiors, participating in communications for discussions that prevent the enforcement of order (*amirlerinin emrine itaat etmemek, bunların resmi muameleleri hakkında fikir yürütmek ve eleştirmek, verilen emrin yapılmaması için muhabere ve müzakere etmek*)	According to the degree of severity of the offense, lessening of seniority (*tenkis-i kıdem*), lowering of rank (*tenzil-i sınıf*), or removal from the register (*terkin-i kayıt*)

4.5.1.3 Drinking

Although a disciplinary infraction, drinking is a seperate category due to its significance in the the system of punishment system. Drinking was a behavior committed by policemen of all classes and thus a serious problem to be dealt with by the organization through the imposition of a number of punishment practices of varying degrees. In the section titled "Punishment" in the police regulation, the issue of policemen's drinking was addressed in articles 75, 77, 78, and 79.[54]

The police officers were subjected to different punishment practices than superiors. As pointed out in Article 75, police were immediately

54 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 398-9.

removed from office in cases of shouting in public places and collapsing from being drunk.[55] According to the Article 77, officers who drank despite being in uniform and on duty, whether in a police station, at a check point, or on patrol, were also subject to the most severe punishment: the removal.[56] However, according to the articles 78 and 79 when not officially on duty, officers in uniform who drank openly in public places like taverns or casinos were punished with lessening of two years seniority. Police superiors who committed similar acts were subject to a more severe penalty: the lowering of their rank.[57]

In case of repeated infractions, both superiors and officers were expelled. Moreover, even if not in uniform, policemen drinking publicly on workdays would receive a reprimand (tevbih) and a five days' salary cut for the first time. If the same act repeated a second time, the officers were subject to lessening of two years' seniority and the ranks of superiors were lowered. If the same act was committed a third time, the penalty of removal would be executed.[58]

As stated in detail, subordinates and superiors were differentiated in terms of the punishments to which they were subjected. Superior policemen were given more severe punishments since they were expected to better follow the norms and, as commanders, to be role models for their subordinates. In addition, the section of the 1913 regulation on punishment does not regulate the drinking of policemen in their leisure time. In this respect, policemen and their superiors were not totally restrained from public drinking on their days off. They were expected to drink moderately and to not find themselves in disgraceful situations in public.

55 Ibid., 398.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid., 399.
58 Ibid.

Table 4.4 Drinking

Act	Punishment
Shouting in public places and collapsing when drunk	Removal
Drinking while on official duty (for police officers of all ranks)	Removal
Drinking while not on official duty but while in uniform (only superior officers)	1. Lessening of two years seniority 2. Removal
Drinking while not on official duty but being in uniform (only the police superiors)	1. Lowering of rank 2. Removal
Drinking while not on leave but in civilian clothing (only for police officers)	1. Reprimand and cut of five days' salary 2. Lessening of two years of seniority 3. Removal
Drinking while not on leave but in civilian clothing (only for superior officers)	1. Reprimand and cut of five days' salary 2. Lowering of rank 3. Removal

4.5.1.4 Disciplinary Infractions

Disciplinary penalties are defined in the most detailed manner. The behaviors and attitudes categorized under this heading included those displayed by officers while performing their duties or with respect to the use of permissions (weekly or annual permissions, and sick leave).

For example, weekly leaves were arranged in detail in Article 82, and it was expected that the deadlines of permissions not violated. The number of days officers remained absent beyond their weekly leave without informing superiors determined the severity of the penalty. Moreover, commitment of such an infraction for the first time and the repetition of such a behavior were not met with the same penalty. An officer who stayed beyond his weekly leave for the first time for one day

would have to forgo one day's salary, but he would be punished more severely if he made a habit of it.[59]

For each workday breached beyond the end of an officer's leave, he would be punished with a wage cut of one day. Those who violated their permissions on a regular basis were subject to a more severe wage cut. As noted above, the correction of behavior was targeted, so each deviation from the norm was subject to a different penalty. Examplary of the corrective quality of modern power, offenders committing lesser infractions would receive minor punishments, while the offenders repeating the same infraction would receive a severe punishment.

As stated in the regulation, officers were given many chances to correct their faulty behavior, and each time they committed the same mistake, they were correspondingly penalized. Dismissal from work was the final punishment practice when it was considered to be impossible that the faulty behavior be corrected. It was stated in the regulation that if it was no longer reasonable to expect correction (*ıslahından kat-i ümid edilirse*), the punishment of removal should be executed.[60]

Officers were given many chances to correct their disciplinary mistakes, and thus, a scaled punishment system was put into effect. However, as put in the Article 81, there was no tolerance for leaving one's duty unannounced, and officers did so were immediately removed from service.[61]

In addition, two phrases in the regulation indicate categories of behaviors to be punished. However, it is not explicitly stated what kind of behaviors these phrases correspond to these categories. The expressions are "behaving contrary to professional discipline" (*mesleki terbiyeye aykırı hal ve hareketlerde bulunmak*) in the Article 80 and "displaying behavior which impedes employment in the police profession and violates personal dignity and the official title" (*polis silkinde istihdâma mani ve haysiyet-i şahsiye ve sıfatı resmiyesini muhill harekâtı*

59 Ibid., 399.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

görülmek) in the Article 75.[62] Unlike the previously given punishment categories, these expressions are vague and do not reveal exactly what types of behavior or attitudes that are subject to punishment.

Indeed, such expressions allow for the punishment of all kinds of attitudes and conduct not specified in the police regulation but which they be considered inappropriate by superiors in the course of supervising men under their command. In this respect, police superiors are given authority for the surveillance of their subordinates. Moreover, many attitudes and conducts cannot be foreseen and associated with specific punishments in the regulation. Normative deviations that may arise in everyday life but which are not specified in the regulation are included in these categories.

In addition, as superiors were the ones attributing and reporting faulty behavior, they made use of these categories and associated certain behaviors of their subordinates with one of these penal categories. Therefore, although various disciplinary faults –such as leaving one's duty or patrol without notice or violating the weekly permission - are defined and correspond to given punishments in the regulation, many other violations of professional discipline that superiors may consider subject to punishment are not specified in the regulation. In the following sections, the scope of these penal categories are explained in detail and how the police superiors made use of these categories and executed punishment practices is explored. The personal records prepared by one police commissar, which reveals the qualities, conduct, and comportment of the police officers and superiors under his command, is analyzed in order to illustrate the boundaries of "correct" police behavior - that is, an assessment of professional discipline and norms by an actual police superior.

Second, tables of dismissal as a punishment are analyzed in detail in to explain the implementation of the penal system in the police force.

62 Ibid., 398-9.

Hence, it is explored whether or not the punishment system was actually executed as it was designed in the regulation.

Table 4.5 Disciplinary faults

Act	Punishment
Displaying behavior that is an impediment to the employment in the police profession and violates personal dignity and one's official title (*polis silkinde istihdâma mani ve haysiyet-i şahsiye ve sıfatı resmiyesini muhill harekâtı görülmek*)	Removal from the force
Behaving contrary to professional discipline (mesleki terbiyeye aykırı hal ve hareketlerde bulunmak)	1. Reprimand (*tevbih*) 2. Wage cut (*maaş kat'i*) 3. If all hope of correction is lost, removal from the force (*ıslahından ümid kesilirse terkin*)
Leaving one's position and duty without the consent and knowledge of superiors or leaving a check point without assigning it to one's successor (*Amirinin izni ve bilgisi olmaksızın mevkiini ve vazifesini ve halefine devretmeksizin memur olduğu nokta mevkiini terk etmek*)	Removal from the force
Indifference towards duty of which one is in charge (*Memur olduğu işlerde kayıtsızlık, umursamazlık*)	1. Reprimand (*tevbih*) 2. Wage cut (*maaş kat'i*) 3. If all hope of correction is lost, removal from the force (*ıslahından ümid kesilirse terkin*)
Sitting or wandering around in uniform in places that are inappropriate to the title of officer (*memuriyet sıfatları ile uygun olmayan mahallerde üniformalı olarak dolaşmak, oturmak*)	1. Reprimand (*tevbih*) 2. Wage cut (*maaş kat'i*) 3. If all hope of correction is lost, removal from the force (*ıslahından ümid kesilirse terkin*)
Not punctually informing superiors about issues related to the police (*zabıta işleri hakkında vakit ve zamanı ile amirlerine bilgi vermemek*)	1. Reprimand (*tevbih*) 2. Wage cut (*maaş kat'i*) 3. If all hope of correction is lost, removal from the force (*ıslahından ümid kesilirse terkin*)

Act	Punishment
Constant overstaying of one's weekly leave, provided it is not expected that this behavior can be corrected (*haftalık mezuniyet saatlerini devamlı olarak geçirmekteyse ve ıslahından ümit kesilirse*)	Removal from the force
Not coming to work or disappearing for more than three days without an excuse, even upon the first defense (*bir defa bile olsun mazeretsiz olarak üç günden fazla işe gelmezse/kaybolursa*)	Removal from the force
Overstaying one's weekly leave for a day for the first time (*haftalık mezuniyet saatini ilk defa olarak bir gün için geçirmek*)	Wage cut for one day
Overstaying one's weekly leave for between one to three days for the first time (*haftalık mezuniyet saatini ilk defa olarak bir günden üç güne kadar geçirmek*)	Wage cut for one day for each late day (*maaş kati her gün için birer yevmiyesi*)
Repetition of overstaying one's weekly leave (*Haftalık mezuniyet saatini tekrar geçirmek*)	Increased wage cut (*maaş kesme cezası şiddetlendirilir*)
Exceeding the permission dates (weekly leave and all kinds of permissions, such as permissions for appointment or sick leave) without excuse; not returning to office after a deadline (*İzin sürelerini - tayinde veya hastalık vs gibi izinlerinde de- mazeretsiz olarak aşmak, müddeti dolunca memuriyet mahaline gelmemek*)	Removal; considered to be resigned. This period would be added to the leave if the officer proves that the violation was due to a valid cause or problem. (*Müstafi sayılır. Bu tecavüz-i müddetin geçerli bir sebep veya sorundan kaynaklı olduğu resmi evrak veya geçerli belgeyle isbat ederse izin süresine ilave sayılır*)

4.5.1.5 Financial Self-Sufficiency

In the 1913 police regulation, a distinct article specified that police officers live in accordance to their income. As stated above, articles on the criminal behavior of officers also included punishment for bribery. Although bribery was described as a criminal act subject to the most se-

vere punishment - removal from office - police officers who forced people to lend them money was distinguished from the act of bribery and regulated under a separate article.

In Article 85, it was stated that officers were banned from using their authority to borrow or take money by in order to spend more than their incomes allowed (*hal-i malisinden fazla masraf ihtiyar içün*).[63] This article must be considered with respect to the process of the rationalization of Ottoman state structure since the Tanzimat by which state institutions were expected to function as rational bureaucratic mechanism. In Weberian terms, police officers were expected to act as rational bureaucrats, depend only on their monthly wages, and to not abuse the authority stemming from their position to enhance their incomes.[64]

Following the promulgation of the Tanzimat edict, a new administraive mentality was put into effect which challeged the traditional administrative mentality by associating certain of its procedures with criminal acts subject to punishment. Extraction of benefits – whether fiscal or of other various kinds - from people considered to be *subjects* of state was a usual procedure employed by Ottoman elites of until the Tanzimat era. However, Ottoman *subjects* were given the title *citizens*, long standing administrative procedures were associated with new meanings provided by a new normative system. Cengiz Kırlı provides an account of the changing normative system after the Tanzimat by providing an analysis of the trials of Ottoman pashas accussed of corruption, which had been banned by the Tanzimat edict. [65] The new administrative rationality did not suddenly change with the edict; the normative codes of this new rationality touched the daily lives and affected the official conduct of state bureaucrats in time.

63 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 400.

64 For Weber's analysis of bureaucracy, Weber, "Bureaucracy" and Alexander, "The Dialectic of Individuation and Domination: Weber's Rationalization Theory and Beyond."

65 Kırlı, "Yolsuzluğun İcadı."

As seen in Article 85, police officers were deliberately targeted by this new administrative rationality at the turn of the century. The extraction of money or income from citizens was strictly banned. Those who committed such corrupt behaviors were not provided the same tolerance granted for the officers who committed disciplinary infractions such as being late to work or disobeying a superior. Officers who forced people to lend money or violated others' legal or any ordinary rights were punished with a reprimand and ordered to correct the misconduct immediately. In case he persisted with the same behavior, he would be removed from office.[66]

Table 4.6 Financial self-sufficiency

Act	Punishment
Making a habit of borrowing and not paying back due to the desire to spend more than one's income; deliberately violating others' rights (*Mali durumundan fazla harcama isteğiyle şundan bundan zorla borç para alıp ödememeyi ve adi hukuktan sayılsa bile başkasının hakkına açıkça tecavüz etmeyi adet edinmek*)	1 Reprimand and litigation of the act (*Tevbih ve tashih-i muamele istenir*) 2. Upon persistence, removal (*Israr ederse terkin*)

4.5.1.6 Ill-Naturedness (Incompatibility with Colleagues and Poor Treatment of Citizens)

The relationships of police officers with colleagues and citizens visiting the offices or police quarters were also addressed in the the Article 80 of the 1913 police regulation.[67] In addition to professional discipline and expertise, policemen were expected to develop communicative skills, get along with their colleagues and display pleasant behavior towards citizens.

66 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 400.

67 Ibid., 399.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, policing was a profession that required team work. Both superiors and subordinates spent long hours working together on their teams and, when necessary depended on each other for their lives. Moreover, policing was described throughout the institutional discourse as a civil service provided to citizens whether in police stations, government offices, or on the street while policemen are on patrol work. In this respect, policemen represented the state throughout their interactions with the people. Ferdan Ergut depicts the role of the new police in the Ottoman state; policemen provide a service that is the responsibility of the modern Ottoman state vis-a-vis the responsibilities fulfilled by the citizens.[68] Being incompatible with colleagues and treating colleagues or citizens visiting the state offices poorly without just cause was not tolerated by the police organization, and these kinds of disharmonious behaviors were subject to three types of penalty ranging from reprimand to a wage cut and to removal from service.[69]

Table 4.7 Ill-naturedness (Incompatibility with colleagues and ill-treatment of citizens)

Act	Punishment
Being incompatible with colleagues treating colleagues or citizens visiting state offices poorly without just cause (*Refikâsına ve ashab-ı mesalihe karşı bi gayr-ı hakkın bârid muamelâta ictisâr etmek, memurîn arkadaş ve dairelerde işi olan kimselere haksız olarak fena muamelede bulunmak*)	1. Reprimand (*tevbih*) 2. Wage cut (*maaş kat'i*) 3. If all hope of correction is lost, removal from the force (*ıslahından ümid kesilirse terkin*)

68 Ergut, *Modern Devlet ve Polis*. 20, 48-54.

69 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 399.

4.5.1.7 Incompetence in the Police Profession

According to the Article 76 of the 1913 regulation, if the inadequacy of police superiors in the performance of their duties was observed, their rank would be reduced one degree, but police officers exhibiting the same were removed. Such decision about an officer's insufficiency was only implemented if there was concrete evidence with respect to their failure to fulfill their duty, such as not being able to prepare a document or carry on formal proceedings. However, those who were recruited into the profession after receiving diplomas from police schools and completing the one year of police candidate process – the period of time spent in the police school was included in the one year of candidacy according to the Article 17 of the regulation[70]- were exempt from this provision.[71]

Table 4.8 Incompetence in the police profession

Act	Punishment
Superior officers	Lowering of one rank (Tenzil-i sınıf bir derece)
Police officers	Removal from office (Terkin)

4.5.2 *Norms of Gratification According to Police Codes*

The Ottoman police organization, as a modern institution of power, also benefited from disciplinary techniques in the form of gratification as well as in that of punishment for the normalization of its employees' attitudes and behaviors. This section analyzes the types of attitudes and behaviors subject to various kinds of rewards as indicated in the police codes. Therefore, the boundaries of normal police behavior are indicated by providing an analysis of rewarded behaviors that police officers are expected to exhibit.

70 Ibid., 387-8.

71 Ibid., 399.

Foucault states that gratification is another form of disciplinary technique that should be frequently used in order to enhance the effect of normalization.

> In discipline, punishment is only one element of a double system: gratification-punishment. And it is this system that operates in the process of training and correction. The teacher must 'avoid, as far as possible, the use of punishment; on the contrary, he must endevor to make rewards more frequent than penalties, the lazy being more encouraged by the desire to be rewarded in the same way as the diligent than by the fear of punishment; that is why it will be very beneficial, when the teacher is obliged to use punishment, to win the heart of the child if he can before doing so.'[72]

The author of the school book used in the police schools, İbrahim Feridun, also points out the significance of the use of rewards for training policemen. For him, superiors need to make rewards more frequent than penalties.[73] Both the punishment-gratification registers (*tecziye-taltif defterleri)* and the police journals illustrate that policemen were subject to a double mechanism of gratification-punishment. According to Feridun, superiors should have good knowledge of the skills and professional accumulation of their subordinates, know them, and appoint qualified persons to respective duties. Furthermore, he should not forget to show his approval of the good conduct and qualifications of his subordinate and thus, he should give rewards. [74]

The 1907 police code did not involve any system of gratification. In the 1913 code, a detailed codification of the rewards was issued under the title of "Rewards of the Officers" (*Memurinin Taltifleri*).[75] Article 51, stated that officers who displayed selfsacrificing and conscientious be-

72 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 180.

73 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 27-28.

74 Ibid., 28.

75 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 393-4.

haviors with respect to the provision of the security and order of the country and the protection of the lives, property, and honor of the people and the interests of the state would be bestowed with a monetary reward.[76]

This reward ranged from one quarter of the monthly salary of the officer to two such salaries. Monetary rewards were specified as either ordinary or extraordinary. As indicated in Article 52, extraordinary monetary rewards could amount to up to a year's salary. This kind of reward would be bestowed on officers who succeeded in exposing a significant act against the state, country, and the people and did what was to prevent such an act or a certain danger from occurring.[77]

Despite the provisions in the ordinance for the granting of cash rewards to police officers, in 1915 this was not possible because there were no allowances available for such rewards. It was requested that officers be rewarded with one of the other kinds of rewards prescribed by the ordinance.[78]

As stated in the Articles 55, 56, and 57 letters of commendation were also used to gratify officers whose behaviors were praiseworthy and whose job performance and effort was apparent and thus approved by their superiors. These letters were of two kinds, called certificate of appreciation (*takdirname)* and certificate of commendation (*tahsinname*). Certificate of commendation was a certificate of a higher degree to be bestowed in more sigificant situations.[79]

Although certificates of appreciation for policemen were first mentioned in the 1913 ordinance, they existed in practice before the ordinance. In 1912, a template was prepared in order to provide uniformity of the form of the certificates (*takdirname*); moreover, this template

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid., 394.

78 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 144.

79 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 394.

was sent to provincial police directorates, centre officers of autonomous sanjaks and commisariats.[80]

Increase of wages was basic motivation for seeking promotion to a higher rank in bureaucratic institutions in general and in the police force in particular. However, the Ottoman police force consisted of many officers and superiors who were unable to climb the organizational ladder by achieving success in the competition exams (*müsabaka yarışmaları*) for promotion. Therefore, in accordance with the Article 54, police officers, sergeants, and commissars with clean records were rewarded with raises even if they were not promoted.[81]

Wage increases were provided to those with good records and certain number of years of service spent to the force even if they had failed the exams for promotion. The amount of a wage increase depended on seniority in the police organization. Those with five years of seniority but who were not promoted received a raise amounting to ¼ of their current salary, and those with ten years of seniority were eligible for a raise amounting to half of their salary.[82]

The fact that police officers who were unsuccessful in competitive examinations were still rewarded due to their seniority and good record indicates that job loyalty and professional experience were qualifications valued by the police institution. In this respect, police officers with many years of service on the force and good records substantially contributed to the running of the institutional mechanism through their experiential knowledge of policing and state service. As a police commissar who spent many years serving the Ottoman police organization, Ali Rıza Öge repeatedly points out the significance of experience for the job of policing in his memoirs. He especially indicated how much he was impressed by the skills and knowledge of a certain commissar accumulated through years of service on the force.[83]

80 Van, 144.

81 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 394.

82 Ibid.

83 Öge, *Cumhuriyet, 26 Kanunisani 1935.*

As specified in the regulation in Articles 56 and 57, police superiors had the authority to decide which attitudes and behaviors were rewarded and the kinds of rewards to which said behaviors would correspond.[84] For instance, police superiors were responsible for approving certificates of appreciation to be bestowed. Upon the request of a police superior for the gratification of a certain police officer under his command, police directors (müdür) in the provinces as well as the directors of the Beyoğlu, Üsküdar and Istanbul police in Dersaadet would prepare and provide the certificates. These officials were also in charge of the payment of the ordinary monetary rewards.

The Ministry of the Interior was responsible for the payment of cash prizes and wage increases on the advice of governors and autonomous governors in provices, and that of the Director General of Police in Istanbul. Cash prizes to be given to officers in autonomous sanjaks were reported to the Department of Public Security by the highest police superior of that sanjak via the *mutasarrıflık* and were subsequently paid by the Department of Public Security.[85]

The process of providing cash prizes and raises illustrates the significant control police superiors had over the gratification of police officers under their command. The first stage in the process was identification of a behavior that was considered worthy of being rewarded and notification (*inha*) of the request for gratification to a higher office. The second stage was recommendation of the higher offices to the Ministry of the Interior or to the Department of Public Security which ultimately provided the cash prize or certificate.

84 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 394.

85 Ibid.

Table 4.9 Gratification according to the 1913 Police Code

Act	Reward
Any officer who displays appreciated, selfsacrificing, conscientious act for the first time (*Tüm memurlar, ilk defa olarak takdireşayan hareket, fedakarlık ve vazifeperverlik*)	Cash prize, amounting to between ¼ to 2 months' salary (*Nakdi mükafat- Maaşın ¼ ila 2 maaş arası*)
Commissars and sergeants - if they had received cash prize twice before- with two years of service and a good record (*Komiser ve komiser muavinleri, iki defa nakdi mükafat aldıysa, iki yıllık hizmeti varsa, sicili temizse*)	Cash prize, amounting to between ¼ to ½ month's salary (*Nakdi mükafat- Maaşın ¼ ila ½ maaş arası*)
Police officers, sergeants, and commissars, with five years of service and a good record, who have not been promoted (*Polis memuru, muavin, komiser, 5 yıl hizmeti varsa, terfi edememiş ama sicili temizse*)	Increase of wage amounting to ¼ of one month's salary (*Maaş zammı, ¼ oranında*)
Police officer, sergeants, and commissar, with ten years of service and a good record who have not been promoted (*10 yıl hizmeti varsa, terfi edememiş ama sicili temizse*)	Increase of wage amounting to ½ of one month's salary (*Maaş zammı, ½ oranında*)
Prevention of a significant act against the state, country, or the people by using necessary information and means; prevention of a certain danger from occurring (*Devlet, memleket veya halka yönelik bir tehlikeyi istihbarat alıp çeşitli vasıtalarla önleme, kesin bir tehlikenin olmasını engelleme*)	Extraordinary cash prize of up to a year's salary (*Fevkalade nakdi mükafat, 1 yıllık maaşa kadar*)
Approval of an act, work performance, or effort by a superior (*Harekatı, çalışma ve gayretinin amirince onaylanması*)	Certificate of appreciation (*Takdirname belgesi*)
Approval of an act, work performance,or effort by superior in more significant matters (*Harekatı, çalışma ve gayretinin amirince onaylanması daha mühim konularda*)	Certificate of commendation (*Tahsinmame belgesi)*

Table 4.9 illustrates in detail rewarded police behaviors as delineated in the police regulation via the composition of a gratification system. Certain acts and attitudes are emphasized in this scheme and deliberately described- such as selfsacrificing and conscientious behavior; exerting preventive policing duty, which is to say thwarting dangers to the state and society; providing many years of dedicated service to the organization; having professional knowledge and skills due to experience with policing and seniority; and having an untainted record. Such a gratification system motivated policemen to reproduce certain attitudes and conducts demanded from them by the institution. Hence, policemen were differentiated amongst themselves with respect to their having certain qualities and qualifications. Policemen were expected to develop certain abilities such as the use of modern policing techniques which involved executing criminal investigations (*adli tahkikat*) of incidences with little information, and finding and tracking down evidence throughout their investigations. Therefore, policemen who were educated in modern policing techniques in the police schools were valued over uneducated ones as illustrated in the analysis of the punishment strategies of the organization. Those who graduated from police schools were protected from punishment by removal from the profession due to inept policing since they were considered to have already demonstrated professional knowledge by earning a diploma from a police school.

Beyond knowledge gained through formal education in police schools, experience was also considered a valuable quality that was appreciated by the organization since policemen with many years of service on the force contributed significantly to the running of the organization due to their institutional knowledge and expertise in policing tasks such as patrolling a beat, writing and sending reports, and preparing correspondence and police records. More importantly, these experienced policemen were able to convey the organizational culture to newcomers.

In this respect, as revealed in the previous chapter which provided the institutional discourse of the Ottoman police through an analysis of

in-house journals, the Ottoman police force as a professional organization was not just composed of colleagues with technical expertise. It could also be defined as a brotherhood composed of men-at-arms. Therefore, the organizational culture was based on the reproduction of a hierarchical bond between superiors and subordinates - as fathers and sons or as elder and younger brothers - and also a horizontal bond among colleagues as brothers. Policemen acting in accordance with this organizational culture of brotherhood and who sacrificed themselves for their team members or put their lives in danger as a result of following the orders of superiors were honored with rewards.

In addition, even if they do not exhibit excellent performance in policing job or on the promotion exams, policemen could succeed in the institution and rise up the institutional hierarchy to a degree by just obeying the routine orders of superiors and not breaching institutional norms in general. Hence, those who were able to maintain untainted records were appreciated with rewards for their docile, disciplined behavior.

Certain behaviors and attitudes such as sacrifice, excellence in job performance, discipline, and continuity have been explicitly described as worthy of gratification in the institution's reward system. However, according to the system reflected in Table 4.9, details about which acts or attitudes of police officers deserved gratification were not disclosed, even though it was stated in the article that “police officers whose acts, work, and effort are approved by their superiors” would be awarded with certificates of appreciation or commendation.[86] Indeed, police superiors were given a degree of initiative for determining the attitudes and acts which were worthy of being rewarded.

In addition, first line of Table 4.9 indicates that all officers, displaying appreciated, selfsacrificing, conscientious acts for the first time were rewarded with cash prizes of varying amounts. However, no explanation was offered in terms of a description of such an appreciated, selfsacrific-

86 Ibid.

ing, and conscientious behavior. In this respect, since the gratification system was not presented in detail as was the penal system in the police code, gratification practices were not applied in as standard a pattern as punishment practices. Hence, similar kinds of behavior were awarded with different rewards or with the same reward but in varying degrees by various police superiors and offices. For instance, one officer may be gratified with a cash prize amounting to six months' salary for solving a crime, while another would be paid only two or be given a certificate for similar behavior.

In fact, superiors were delegated more authority to determine the modes of gratification in comparison to the degree of their authority to mete out punishments. Such rationality was prescribed in the code since superiors could use their authority over subordinates and behave unfairly in the distribution of penalties among the men under their command. Allocating greater rewards to some than others would not cause as detrimental an effect as the uneven distribution of punishment.

Moreover, this kind of thinking is related to the modern rationality embraced by the police institution for the normalization of police officers by means of disciplinary techniques. As stated at the beginning of this section, Foucault underlines the significance of gratification as a disciplinary technique to be employed more than punishment. In his analysis of modern school systems, he explains that teachers avoid the use of punishment and make frequent use of rewards in order to motivate lazy students to become like diligent ones.[87] Like Foucault's teacher, the police superior was given the same advice by İbrahim Feridun, say, by the police institution. Police officers should be complimented and rewarded by their superiors for their skills and performance.[88] Therefore, police superiors were provided with greater authority to distribute rewards to men under their command as a disciplinary strategy to engender the desire for normalization - that is to to say, for acting in accordance with the norms offered by the force.

87 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 180.

88 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 27-28.

§ 4.6 Practices of Normalization

This section provides information on the actual functioning of the modern rationality of the police organization - that is to say, the normalization or correction of police officers in terms of a specific mode of thinking and conduct. It is explored whether the system of penalties and rewards as codified in the police codes was actually administered as envisioned in order to attain police subjects embodied with the desired qualities and characteristics and displaying certain attitudes and conduct. In this respect, the actual practices of gratification and punishment held by the police organization for the normalization of police thinking and behavior in line with the normative system established in the police codes is explained and exemplified in detail. Rewards and penalties not indicated in the codes but applied in practice are also explored.

4.6.1 *Practices of Gratification*

In the previous section, the analysis of the reward system specified in the 1913 police order is provided to illustrate the norms of gratification to be applied in the police organization in order to correct and transform police behaviors in the desired fashion. However, practices of gratification had frequently been used in the organization before the codification of the reward system in 1913. It is necessary to analyze what attitudes and behaviors were actually subject to reward both before and after the codification as well as to find out if there were other modes of gratification appropriated by the force apart from the ones indicated in the code. All in all, the actual functioning of the gratification system is explained in this section, and it will be demonstrated that modes of gratification more or less operated both before and after the 1913 code in order to inculcate the institutional norms in police officers.

The analyses of the practices of gratification are provided in two sections concerning two phases of the police force. There are differences between these phases with respect to the kinds of rewards granted to

policemen, the reasons for their gratification, and the organizational functioning of the gratification process. The first phase is the early period after the establishment of the force under the Ministry of Police in 1881 up until the foundation of the Department of Public Security in 1909 under the Ministry of the Interior. The second, later phase is the period between 1909-1918, which is differentiated from the former due to the scope of gratification practices and the systematic functioning and registration of these practices throughout the empire.

4.6.1.1 Practices and Principles of Gratification between 1879-1908

The Ottoman police force achieved the systematic distribution and registration of rewards to policemen only in 1911 following the establishment of the Department of Public Security and its new regulations for rationalization of institutional practices. The great number of regular registers concerning punishment and gratification practices compiled between 1911 and 1916 - that is to say, the monthly punishment-gratification registers (*aylık tecziye-taltif defterleri*) kept and sent to the center by provincial police directorates and sanjaks testifies this point.

However, prior to 1911 the police force had appropriated gratification practices, though minor in scope and different in kind from practices in the latter phase. The records of 496 policemen are analyzed with respect to rewards registered in the early phase of the police organization.[89] This analysis illustrates that the institution applied more or less similar principles to those executed in the latter period after 1909 in terms of the gratification of police behavior and attitudes. A closer look at the examples of such practices better explains these principles and the kinds of rewards distributed.

The rewards distributed in the early period were all provided by the office of the sultanate (*padişahlık makamınca*) and consisted of medals mostly made of silver as well as decorations (*nişan*) and ranks (*rütbe*)

89 Transcribed full records of 496 policemen in various ranks were published by the General Directorship of Public Security. See, Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1, 2, 3, 4, 5.*

that were regular practices of clarifying Ottoman state officials throughout the reign of Abdulhamit II. Our analyses found that most rewards were distributed to policemen in the capital of the empire especially in the first two decades after the establishment of the force under the ministry, but this was not a deliberate policy of the administration. As the police force enlarged its organizational branches to provincial centers in the 1890s, police officers and superiors serving in the provinces started to be granted rewards as much as their colleagues in the center.

In the earlier period, a common phrase was frequently repeated in the personal records of police officers and superiors who were gratified with rewards: "gratified due to his good service, excellent performance, and effort in the delivery of policing duties" *(kendisine tevdi edilen vazife-i zabtiyyenin ifasında ibraz ettiği hüsn-i hizmet, fevkalade say ü gayretinden dolayı taltif edilmiştir*). The phrase "policing duty" is not clearly defined; thus, the exact behaviors and attitudes deemed worthy of gratification is not revealed in the records. However, a description of the police profession, and the duties, responsibilities, and ideal behavior of policeman were taught in the first police course (*polis dershanesi*) established in 1891 to train police commissars who would be appointed to provincial police centers.[90] The definition of policing duty can be understood by analyzing the curriculum and contents of lessons of this course.

Manyasizade Refik Bey, one of the famous lawyers who were the first teacher of the first police course, collected the notes of three years of courses he taught in his book Police Regulations or Duties of Police (*Nizamat-ı Zabtiye yahud Vezif-i Zabıta*) in 1893. Instruction of policemen continued after the departure of Refik Bey under the new coordinator of the course, Mehmed Celaleddin Bey from 1895-1908. Training of police officers for sixteen years (except five months in 1894) was carried out in this course and the book was used in the course from 1891 to 1908

90 Demirel, *"Osmanlı Dönemi Polis Eğitiminden Bir Sayfa,"* 379.

until the establishment of Police School in Salonika *(Vilayet-i Şahane polis mektebi)* in 1907.[91] Thus, the analysis of the contents of Refik Bey's lessons and other lessons held in the course provides the definitions of ideal police behavior that were subject to gratification in this period.

The diploma given on May 23, 1892, provides a list of the lessons given in the course. According to this document, the curriculum was mostly composed of courses in the field of law and included the three courses indicated in the imperial decree for the foundation of the class, Criminal Court Procedures (*Usul-ü Muhakemat-ı Cezaiye*), the Ottoman Penal Code (*Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayunu*), Preliminary Investigation (*Tahkikat-ı Evvelîye*). In addition, Refik Bey's course Duties of Police (*Vezaif-i Zabıta*) was also indicated on the diploma.[92]

The three law lessons held in the course were exactly the same lessons given in the Laws and Regulations Course (*Kavanin ve Nizamat dershanesi*) founded for the education of the employees of the Ministry of Justice in 1870.[93] In 1879, the Ministry of Justice was formally established and in the same year the laws and procedures to be used in criminal and administrative branches of the courts were determined in the publications, the Procedure of Criminal Courts (*Usul-ü Muhakemat-ı Cezaiye*) and Procedure of Civil Courts (*Usul-ı Muhakemat-ı Hukukiye*).[94] According to these, police officers were included among the state officials responsible for criminal policing (*adli zabıta*), and they were assgined judicial services such as conducting criminal investigations (*adli tahkikat*), referring suspects to the court, and implementing court verdicts.[95] Therefore, beyond the aforementioned theoretical courses on law, the actual judicial and administrative tasks of the police were

91 Demirel, *"Osmanlı Dönemi Polis Eğitiminden Bir Sayfa,"* 379-383.

92 Ibid., 379-380.

93 Demirel, *Adliye Nezareti*, 100.

94 Ibid., 32, 142.

95 Ibid., 249.

taught in lessons such as the Preliminary Investigation and the Duties of the Police.

A small part of the book Police Regulations or Duties of Police (*Nizamat-ı Zabtiye yahud Vezif-i Zabıta*) consisted of preventive policing measures.[96] These were mostly tasks of surveillance and supervision of the people and communities such as the supervision of the meetings of community meetings and congregations (of formal communities such as religious communities, and informal communities such as charities, popular gatherings for weddings or religious ceromonies, and illegal and harmful communities of political opposition groups); inspection of announcements; inspections of those illegally possessing and carrying guns; supervision of travel permit (*mürur tezkeresi*)and passports; investigation of imported goods prohibited by law; the supervision of the burials; the fulfillment of orders of administrative officers who are the superiors of police; and assistance to the special police forces such as the municipal police and *Regie*[97] officers. [98]

In addition, there were several other preventive policing duties that provided public order and security and also protected the lives, property, and honor of the people - tasks regarded as those of a father for the protection of his sons.[99] First, policemen were responsible for secret investigations and surveillance of suspicious persons such as former prisoners, those who had been released by court, and persons of ill repute. Second, policemen gathered information from local craftsmen with respect to people who had ordered or purchased weapons, tools, and goods to be employed in crimes and also inquired into suspicious situations and took precautions against the dangerous initiatives of such suspects. Third, the police were responsible for preventing the en-

96 Manyasizade, *"Nizamat-ı Zabtiye,"* 17-29.

97 *Regie* was the short name of the private German-French company which was given the Tobacco monopoly in the country in 1883 by the Public Debt Commission. *Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 233.

98 Manyasizade, *"Nizamat-ı Zabtiye,"* 17-23.

99 Ibid., 24-29.

trance of dangerous, prohibited, or stolen items into the country and regularly inspected sea vessels, crews, passengers, and cargo. Fourth, the police controlled residential areas in general, checking whether individuals who check-in and check-out of hotels are recorded in the guest books, and supervising potential crime areas within his jurisdiction, such as coffeehouses, nightclubs (*gazino*), and taverns. Fifth, another duty of the police was to save lives and properties during catastrophes such as earthquakes, floods, and fires, and to help them as required. Sixth, the police were to provide the necessary help to those individuals among the public who called for help (by yelling, for instance) and to prevent the occurrence of a crime if there were such a risk. Seventh, the police were to prevent any danger that might befall the public, that is, to catch a madman or savage animal that might damage society, so to speak. Eighth, the police were to protect children who had been abandoned or have lost their way or families. If the child in question were not Muslim, then the police officer was to take the child to his or her own community, to a patriarchate or rabbinate. If the child was Muslim, then the police should take him or her to a hospice (*darulaceze*). If the child had a family, then he or she should be taken to the police station and then handed over to his or her family. Nineth, the police were to take care of sick or injured people on the street and take them to a hospital or their homes, depending on the situation. Tenth, the police were to protect people's property, check for houses or stores whose doors had been left ajar or whoselocks were broken, and warn owners accordingly. Eleventh, the police were to preserve lost items and belongings, meaning that they were to find the owner of unclaimed and unattended belongings, animals, boats and goods or keep them at the police station if there was no owner. Twelfth, they were to make inquiries regarding items or goods sold in any manner that raised suspicions. The police were to supervise the shopping district and bazaar and pay attention to the items sold; they were to look into whether any goods were sold illegally or had been stolen. Thirteenth, they were to provide security wherever people gathered. They were to check public spaces such as mosques, churches, ports, and theaters and disallow any dan-

gerous situation such as fire or pickpocketing from taking place. Fourteenth, they were to inform the citizens upon receiving any questions. Fifteenth, they were to notify the municipal officials if as required. Police officers were to notify the municipality in cases of unstable buildings, walls, or anything else that might present a threat to the people such as pits, rubbles, debris, or open wells, and by doing so they were to eliminate the potential threat. Sixteenth, guarding the general moral rules of society was also among police officers' duties. They were to prevent those individuals who were dressed inappropriately - that is, whose private parts could be seen – and were to intervene when individuals yelled, shouted or made a commotion for no reason in public spaces or on the street. Seventeenth, police officers were also responsible for preventing prostitution. If it was discovered that a certain house harbored inappropriate behavior, the owner was to be advised in a discrete manner and the police were not to shame the women living in that house. If advice proved ineffective, then the owner was to be warned again by the *imam*, watchman, and headman (*muhtar*) of the neighborhood, but the police were still not to raid the house. If the owner of the house continued to ignore the warnings, then the police were to enter the house accompanied by the *imam*, watchman, and headman and the foreigner who was caught in the house was to be sent to the police station so as to start procedural act.[100]

The paragraph above defines the preventive duties of police officers. However, as can be understood from the makeup of the courses in the police course, police education mostly consisted of theoretical and practical information regarding criminal policing. In parallel, the bulk of Manyasize's book, provided detailed information on criminal investigation, correspondence and reporting that the police have to carry out as criminal police. In this regard, every step from the moment when police intervenes to a criminal incident, how the criminal investigation is carried out, and how the documents and reports to be presented to the

100 Ibid.

prosecutor's office or the court are prepared were being taught to police officers in a detailed manner.

The duties for which police officers were responsible as criminal police were as follows: All police officers were responsible for intervening when criminals were caught in the act (*cürm-i meşhud*) or in cases of similar crimes (*şibh-i cürm-i meşhud*). This meant that police officers were to go to the scene of the crime and initiate a criminal investigation upon receiving a request for help, an invitation, a denunciation, or upon hearing the cry of a victim of a crime. First, if the officer found that a crime had been committed by a police officer or sergeant, he was to notify his superior or the commissar of the nearest police station whose jurisdiction was closest to the crime scene. Until the arrival of the commissar, public prosecutor, or interrogator (*mustantik*), the officer was to preserve the existing state of the scene of the crime, and if an offender or accomplice was caught, he was to take them in his custody as well. If a commissar found out about a crime, then he were to add as many officers or gendarmerie to his entourage as he saw fit in accordance with the type and importance of the matter at hand so as to help him during the process. Second, the commissar was to try to arrest the real offender and suspected accomplices. Third, the officer would write a concise letter of notice (*ihbar mektubu*), if time allowed, describing the way the crime had been committed, its type, and the scene of the crime; if he did not have time, he were to verbally inform the public prosecutor about the crime. Fourth, he were to make sure that individuals who were considered prime suspects could not utter a word to each other - nor to anyone outside, for that matter. Fifth, he would secure all weapons that might have played a role in the crime – as well as all the equipment, gear, documents and other items at the crime of the scene so as not to lose any. Sixth, he were to politely ask people at the scene of the crime not to leave before their testimonies were taken; if this did not work, he would prepare a warrant of arrest, arrest them, and refer them to the interrogator. Seventh, he was to identify and bring in experts that were useful for the investigation of the crime. Until the investigation by the expert was finished and as long as the procedures continued, he would

preserve the scene of the crime as is without changing anything. Eighth, if the public prosecutor and interrogator were not present, he would start the investigation and the organization of police records by arranging the documents of registration. Lastly, if the crime required an explanation by the expert, as in cases of physical injury, homicide, or poisoning, the police officer were to invite an expert doctor of the police, and upon the doctor's arrival the commissar was to perform the required procedures.[101]

The aforementioned criminal investigation and the duty of arranging police records were explained in detail in the book.[102] In addition, information as regards to how the police officers were to arrange the page that they would use for the police record, as well as, how the pages were to be numbered and signed were provided. On the first page of the record, the nature of the crime, the way it occurred, the scene of the crime, and how the crime was committed would be recorded and written down in detail in a summary manner so as to allow the reader to picture the details. At the bottom of each page, there should be appeared the signature of the commissar, the clerk (*zabıt katibi*) if there was one, and the person who provided the statement. The documents that were to be added to the records included records of the questioning, denunciation and witnessing. The records of interrogations were kept in the following order; the offender of the crime if caught, the victim of the crime, witnesses that witnessed the occurrence of the crime, individuals who had information regarding the offender or the circumstances surrounding the crime, and lastly the record of the relevant expert. Prior to the interrogations, the offender was depicted in great detail; his appearance (a general description of his face, body, height, and size), clothes, marks that could be plainly seen on his body, and marks that could not be seen (that were under his clothes as well as wounds, moles, and abscesses). Then questions were to be asked in order. Various questions were asked to collect personal information with regard to his name, reputation,

101 Manyasizade, *"Nizamat-ı Zabtiye,"* 111.

102 Ibid., 121-8.

origin, age, craft and livelihood, residence (whether he was a tenant or owner), his place of birth and when he came the place of crime, whether he had a family or not (whether married or single), his children (their gender and age), whether he had a source of revenue (assets, income, or property), his level of education (whether he was literate, the schools he attended, and the languages he knew), his closest friends and colleagues, and whether he had received any punishment for prior crimes. Then, certain questions deemed proper for the type and nature of the crime were to be posed. The officer was to pay attention to contradictions in the testimony. The offender was to be asked accusatory questions and his attitude in answering those questions was observed and his defense of those matters was recorded. If the offender, of a sudden confessed to the crime, it was considered improper to simply say that he had admitted to the crime and to give up further inquiries; on the contrary, the officer was to make further inquiries and pay close attention whether the circumstances and existing evidence support the confession or not. A mere admission was not to be accepted by the judge.[103]

Following the offender, the victim of the crime was questioned in the same way and his testimony was recorded. This person was also asked who he thought would benefit from the crime, whom he suspected, whether he had any evidence. His answers and the subjects upon which he touched were to be inquired and the offender was shown to him. He was asked whether the person he had seen was the one who committed the crime. The weapons, the equipments and items related to the crime were shown to him while asking the necessary questions and making inquiries. Following this, witnesses were to be questioned one by one in accordance with the degree to which they witnessed. The witness was to be asked whether he had any intimacy with or kinship or relation to the offender or victim. The answers given by the offender and victim were to be compared to the testimonies of witnesses. The witnesses were also shown the offender and the victim and asked to identify them.

103 Ibid., 121-124.

At the end of all this questioning, the answers were recorded. Lastly, experts were to be called to the scene of the crime by writing a note of invitation (*davet tezkeresi*). The police officer could resort to the expertise of a police doctor - or, if not available, a doctor of the municipality or any other doctor - in cases of homicide or physical injury; a mint officer in cases of forgery; a locksmith in cases of theft or safe cracking or chemist in cases of the alteration or manipulation of documents or bills. If there was no doctor to be found in a given location, then the headman, *imam*, or a respected individual from among the notables of the village or neighborhood were to be called instead of experts. Hence, the officer was to describe the crime as it appeared to him and to arrange a police record in accordance with all the testimonies. At the end, this police report was to be read aloud and the signatures of the witnesses present, the offender, the victim, the criminal police and the experts were to be collected.[104]

As explained above, police officers and superiors were educated in preventive and criminal policing throughout the police course held between 1891 and 1908. The lessons offered also continued to be held with similar names in the curricula of the police schools established after 1907. The lessons listed on the diploma of a third-class commissar, Kazım Efendi from among the staff of the Police Directorate of Thessaloniki Province, exhibits the similarity of the lessons taught in the police course with those of the police school. The lessons registered on the diplomas given by the first Ottoman police school founded Thessaloniki on May 31, 1908 were as follows:[105]

- Police Regulations or Duties of the Police (*Polis Nizamnamesi ve Vezaif-i Zabıta*)
- Ottoman Penal Code (*Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayunu*)
- Criminal Court Procedure (*Usul-ı Muhakemat-ı Cezaiyye*)

104 Ibid., 125-128.

105 Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, *Diploma, Sertifika ve Üniformalı Resimler*, 22-23.

- Administrative Law and General Principles (*Hukuk-i İdare ve Kavaid-i Esasiye ve Külliye*)
- Introduction to the Science of Law (*Mukaddime-i İlm-i Hukuk*)
- Capitulations, as they concern the police (*Uhud-i Atikanın Zabıtaya Müteallik Kısmı*)
- Official Correspondence (*Kitabet-i Resmiye*)
- Judicial Correspondence (*Muharrerat-ı Adliye*)
- Good Conduct and Performance (*Hüsn-i Hal ve Hareket*)
- Hygene and First Aid (*Hıfzısıhha ve Müdavat-ı Evveliye*)
- Gymnastics and Military posture (*Jimnastik ve Vaziyet-i Askeriye*)

This list of lessons illustrates that the first three lessons offered in the police course – those on law – were maintained held in the police school with almost the same names. Three further lessons on law were added: Administrative Law and General Principles, Introduction to the Science of Law and Capitulations, as they concern the police. Moreover, Official and Judicial Correspondence lessons were added to the curriculum in order to teach policemen to write official and judicial texts such as police records (*zabıt varakası*) and reports to higher police offices (t*ahrir*).[106]

The diplomas granted by the Dersaadet Police School on September 12, 1910, also reveal that lessons on law and regulations dominated the curriculum of the capital's new police school.[107] Four lessons on law were indicated on the diplomas under the heading Regulations (*Kavanin*). In ensuing years, courses on law were merged under this heading rather than remaining separate classes. The lessons indicated on the diplomas of the Dersaadet Police School were as follows:

- Penal Code (*Kanun-ı Ceza*)
- Criminal Court Procedure (*Usul-ı Muhakemat-ı Cezaiyye*)
- International Law and Administrative Law (*Hukuk-ı Düvel ve İdare*)
- Introduction to the Science of Law (*Mukaddime-i İlm-i Hukuk*)

106 Ibid., 22-23.

107 Ibid., 24-25.

- Field exercises and Correspondence (*Tatbikat ve Kitabet*)
- Police Regulations (*Polis Nizamnamesi*)
- Hygiene and First Aid (*Hıfzısıhha ve Müdavat-ı Evveliye*)
- Professional Discipline and Physical Education (*Terbiye-yi Meslekiye ve Bedeniye*)
- Cartography (*Kroki*)
- Photography (*Fotoğraf*)
- Telegraphy (*Telgraf*)

Throughout the second constitutional period, the lessons on law - including theoretical ones such as Penal Code and Administrative Law - and practical courses such as criminal investigation and correspondence continued to comprise the significant part of the curricula of police schools. Moreover, many new lessons were added to the curricula in order to develop the professional skills of policemen, such as the abilities to take photographs, draw sketches, use the telegraph, know French, shoot guns, drive, take and analyze fingerprints (dactiloscopy).[108]

In the early years of the institution officers were mostly trained in the field of law and accumulated knowledge with respect to the functioning of judicial structure, the judicial actors, and types of crimes and criminals. Hence, they became able to conduct preliminary investigations and prepare police records and thus enhanced their capabilities to conduct judicial and official correspondences. In other words, they became able to conduct the state mechanism through the operationalization of the administrative and judicial systems.

Police superiors and officers were frequently granted rewards in this early period for their successes in terms of solving crimes; that is to say, they were rewarded for identifying and immediately apprehending the criminal offenders, for detecting the instruments of crime and for finding the stolen goods. Several examples from among police biographies testify to this point.

108 Ibid., 26-40.

After a murder, Mehmet Rahmi Efendi, a third-class police commissar in the sixteenth central reserve troop (*merkez ihtiyat polis bölüğü*) of the Dersaadet Police Directorate managed to detect the instrument of crime and acquire firm evidence upon identifying and tracking offenders. Hence, he was awarded with Silver Medal of Merit by the office of sultanate on April 23, 1886.[109]

Similarly, Mehmet Tevfik Bey, a police soldier (*nefer*) among the staff of the police directorate of the Niğde Sanjak of the province of Konya, was honored with a certificate of commendation in 1893 due to his extraordinary effort and dedication in detecting the large amount of money stolen from the provident bank (*mal sandığı*) of the *kaza* of Bor.[110]

İsmail Hakkı Efendi, a police officer in the nahiye of Lündik of Merzifon, was awarded with a certificate of approval on October 29, 1903, after having identified the certain unknown perpetrators of thefts that had taken place in various times, and also for having succeeded in detecting the stolen goods.[111]

While he was serving as a police soldier among the staff of the Konya Province police directorate, Mehmet Bahri Efendi's extraordinary effort and good service in investigating an incident of theft, apprehending the suspects, and acquiring the stolen goods was rewarded with a Silver Medal of Honor on August 16, 1906, by the sultanate.[112]

The rewards given for excellent fulfillment of policing services exceeded those given for the successful investigation of crime in this period. Excellence in the fulfilment of police services is a general category which corresponded to a number of preventive policing measures such as regularly patrolling a beat and maintaining order in the streets. However, this term also refers to office work, such as maintaining the police registers in police stations, preparing the patrol lists, regulating the paper work in police stations and centers, and writing correspondence to

109 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.4.,* 127.

110 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1.*, 41.

111 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1.,* 188.

112 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.2*, 41-42.

other state and police offices. Roger Deal illustrates the types of police work tin the Abdulhamit era and mentions that the significant part of the job of policing was processing and generating documents.

> One of the major duties of every police officer, of course, was dealing with paperwork. This is clearly attested to by the sheer volume of such paperwork that survives in the archives. The requirement that prospective police officers be literate in Turkish is also a result of and testament to this requirement. Writing reports was the major part of this, but not the totality. Each incident and arrest, the results of each part of each investigation, including such things as medical examinations of victims, were reported *ba jurnal* (through a written report). Bonnin Efendi, the French policeman who oversaw the reorganization of the Ottoman police, wanted each officer to report his daily activities in great detail. This was not the end of the paperwork, though. A large part of the police documents which survive in the Ottoman archives are simply cover notes indicating that the documents in such and such a case have been forwarded to one authority or another. *Generating documents, processing documents, and generating more documents in the course of processing documents were a major part of the duties of the police*.[113]

Many policemen and police superiors were rewarded for their efforts to fulfill obligatory police services in the office. Ali Rıza Efendi who served as a police officer in Dersaadet Police Directorate, was awarded with the Silver Medal of Merit by the Sultanate in 1886 for this reason.[114] In the early period of the police organization in 1886, the awarding of such a valuable prize to a police officer testifies to the existence of an institutional policy to correct police behavior. Moreover, a third commissar serving in the twelfth naval troop of the Dersaadet Police Directorate, İsmail Hakkı Efendi was rewarded for his extraordinary effort, perfor-

113 Emphases are mine. Deal, *"A Policeman's Life in Hamidian Istanbul,"* 281.

114 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.4*, 141.

mance, and good service with the Silver Medal of Honor on June 28, 1893, and a few years later, on July 22, 1896, he was also rewarded for the same reason with a Mecidi Decoration of Honor from Fifth Rank (*Beşinci Rütbeden Mecidi Nişanı Zi-şanı*) by the sultanate.[115] A police superior, Mehmet Tevfik Bey was also awarded with a Third Rank in 1903 when he was working as a chief commissar in the Istanbul Police Directorate.[116]

Data testifies to the fact that in the early period, police officers in lower classes were also awarded with valuable, honorary rewards such as medals and decorations, like their superiors. For instance, Ali Efendi from the Dersaadet Police Directorate received a Mecidi Decoration of Honor from Fifth Rank (*Beşinci Rütbeden Mecidi Nişanı Zi-şanı*) due to good service on August 21, 1898, by the sultanate. The same officer was awarded for the same reason with an Osmani Decoration from Fourth Rank while serving as police soldier (*polis neferi*) in the Dersaadet Police Directorate.[117] In another example, a police soldier in the Istanbul Police Directorate's Şehzadebaşı Police Troop, Mehmet Akif Sertyalçın, was rewarded for his good service with the Silver Medal of Honor in 1901 and with Silver Medal of Merit in 1905 by the sultanate.[118]

In the early period, police cadres in the capital of the empire were granted the most rewards. However, the gratification of police superiors and officers serving in provinces and smaller provincial centers was also an ordinary phenomenon. As the organizational structure expanded to the provinces by the 1890s, the institutional practices of normalization took place in those police centers established on the periphery.

A third-class commissar from the kaza of Giresun of Trabzon Province, Mehmet Fehmi Tuğrul, received the Osmani Decoration from Fourth Rank in 1899 due to his extraordinary effort and good service in

115 Ibid., 131.

116 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1*, 41.

117 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.4*, 52.

118 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.3*, 180.

fulfilling policing duties.[119] Similarly, second-class commissar, Hüseyin Ruhi Efendi, from the Bitlis Province Police Directorate was awarded with Third Rank in 1899 for the same reason. While working as chief commissar in the Trabzon Province Police Directorate, Hüseyin Ruhi Efendi received the Osmani Decoration from Fourth Rank in 1903 and the Third Rank in 1904.[120]

Gratification was a practice executed on personal basis throughout both the early and latter periods. However, there is an example of gratification that diverged from the standard procedures of the institution and illustrates the gratification of a group of policemen with a single reward. Hafız Hüseyin Hoşgör, who served as police soldier under the direction of the Istanbul Police Directorate, was awarded with the Silver Medal of Merit by the sultanate in 1896 due to the fact that he and his friends carried out tasks assigned to them with utmost care (*dikkat*), diligence (*itina*), extraordinary effort, and goodwill (*hüsn-i niyet*). This reward was granted to him in the name of all his colleagues working together with him in the police station.[121]

Throughout this period, preventive policing services for sustaining safety and the order of society were especially rewarded by the police force. For instance, Hüseyin Ruhi Efendi, a chief commissar in the Trabzon Province Police Directorate was granted the Mecidi Decoration of Honor in 1904 for his effort and dedication to the fulfillment of policing tasks and also for the maintaining of policing services that established public order and security.[122]

Hacı Mehmet Kaşif Taşdemir, a police sergeant (*polis çavuşu*) in the thirty-third troop of the Istanbul Police Directorate, received the Osmani Decoration of Honor from Fourth Rank on November 10, 1907, due to extraordinary effort, sacrifice, and goodwill that he showed for the

119 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1*,

120 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.2*, 118.

121 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.3*, 12.

122 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.2*, 118.

maintenance of public security and order in the highest degree.[123] In another example, Ali Efendi from seventeenth troop of the Dersaadet Police Directorate was awarded with the Medal of Merit by the sultanate in 1905. Besides fulfilling tasks assigned to him for the maintenance of public order and security with extraordinary effort and good service, it was observed that he was taking care to maintain comfort and trust of society.[124] Chief commissar Hasan Rıfat, head of the Beyoğlu Police (*meclis reisi*) was granted a Silver Medal of Honor for good service and effort that he provided throughout the struggle against cholera.[125]

Third commissar Mustafa Asım Efendi, from the Uskudar district of the Istanbul Police Directorate was awarded with the Silver Medal of Merit in 1905 due to his extraordinary useful services in terms of taking precautions to prevent probable incidents that would have disturbed public order and security and also due to his services in investigation and surveillance of criminal incidents.[126]

Throughout this early period another police behavior or attitude that was subject to frequent gratification was obedience of the orders of superiors both in the police force and the administrative structure as well as loyal service to the sultanate. Policemen and superiors were gratified for fulfilling certain services assigned to them by superior authorities. In addition to this, they were also rewarded for being loyal to the sultan in general. These kinds of rewards were granted for sustaining the motivation and loyalty of policemen even if they did not show any significant success in the policing tasks. This practice should be considered in relation to a broader policy of Sultan Abdulhamit II who made use of honorary gratification practices such as medals, decorations, and gifts in order to sustain the allegiance of state officials as well as tribal and provincial leaders.

123 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.3*, 17.

124 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.4*, 52.

125 Ibid., 268.

126 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1*, 315.

Ahmet Muhtar Efendi, a third-class commissar in Dersaadet, was rewarded due to the fulfillment of his services with the Mecidi Decoration of Honor from Fifth Rank on September 6, 1888. Two years later he was again awarded with the Mecidi Decoration of Honor from Fourth Rank - on August 2, 1890 - due to his loyalty and successes achieved in his service. Again, while serving in the same rank and police center, he was granted for the same reason with the Third Rank in 1892; with the Medal of Merit in 1893 and with the First Rank Third Class in 1894. In 1896 while serving as third-commissar in the province of Syria, he was rewarded with Second Rank and later on again in Syria, he was granted Special Decoration of Ottoman Sultanate Silver Medal (*İmtiyaz Nişan-ı Aliye Gümüş Madalyası*) in 1898.[127]

Even a policeman in a minor position such as a police officer in a small provincial center could be granted such a medal for special service and loyalty to the sultan. For instance, a police officer in Çorum called Mustafa Zühtü Efendi was awarded with the Silver Medal of Honor on April 9, 1907, due to the fulfillment of a special service, the effort he put in his service, and his well-known loyalty.[128]

4.6.1.2 Practices and Principles of Gratification between 1909-1918

Following the 1908 revolution, the reorganization of police forces in the center and provinces was a major objective for the new government. Therefore, in 1909, the Ministry of Police was abolished, and the organizational structure of the police force would be changed two times; in 1909 and in 1911. In 1909, the police force was divided into two bodies: the Police Directorate of Istanbul (*İstanbul Polis Müdüriyeti*) under the authority of the Istanbul governor, which was mainly responsible for the Istanbul police, and the Department of Public Security (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti*) which was in charge of police organizations in the provinces and responsible to the Ministry of the Interior.[129] In 1911,

127 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.4*, 221.

128 Ibid., 201.

129 Tongur, *Türkiye'de Genel Kolluk*, 239-242.

the two bodies were made branches under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior with the names General Police Directorate of Istanbul (*İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi*) and Department of Public Security (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti*).[130] Therefore, the two years are significant turning points with respect to the overall regulation of the police institution in the second constitutional period and indicate turning points in the police force in terms of rising organizational rationalization of the police.

The Ottoman archives consist of a number of monthly punishment and gratification registers (*aylık tecziye-taltif defterleri*) maintained by the police directorates of provinces and sanjaks between 1911-1916 revealing that whether in the center or in the provinces, rewards and punishments were distributed in parallel with the system given in the police codes. The regulation of the gratification and punishment system started in 1907 following a proposition of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Police with respect to the keeping of statistics on policemen that could be used for the specification of rewards and penalties.[131] It was decided in 1910 that records of rewards and punishments of policemen in the provinces and sanjaks were to be prepared at the beginning of each month and sent to center.[132]

These registers not only involve rewards and punishments but also reveal significant, detailed data on personnel matters (*özlük işleri*) such as information on permissions taken by policemen (the number of days as well as the types and reasons of permissions, such as sick leave, annual vacation, weekly permission, or permission to travel to the appointed place of work) and the movements of policemen within the institutional hierarchy (promotions, the motions, changes with respect to seniority, removals from office, appointments to or from an office, and exchanges between offices [*becayiş*]).

130 Alyot, *Türkiye'de Zabıta*, 487-494.

131 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 144.

132 Ibid., 125.

The provincial police directorates were continuously sent official warnings concerning their delay of the monthly registers which caused problems in the registration of the personal records (*sicil kayıtları*) and approval of the paychecks (*maaş bordrosu*). Despite interruptions, the great number of monthly registers of policemen sent from the provinces between 1911 and 1916 reveals that this administrative practice functioned somewhat regularly.[133]

In addition to monthly punishment-gratification registers in the Ottoman archives, personal records of policemen reveal a significant amount of data with respect to gratification practices in this period. Records of 496 policemen have been scanned and categorized for the analysis of gratification practices in this period.[134] Moreover, data revealing the gratification practices of policemen is also found in issues of the journal *Polis* published throughout the years 1911 and 1912 as well as those of the journal *Polis Mecmuası* published after 1913. These journals were also scanned, and the data was subjected to analysis in terms of gratification practices.

As revealed in the previous section, throughout the earlier period policemen were granted rewards mostly for four types of behavior. The first was the ability to execute criminal investigations and to detect crimes; the second was the ability to manage police tasks mostly undertaken in the office - keeping registers and preparing police records, cover letters, and various kinds of correspondence with other offices - the third was the successful fulfillment of preventive policing duties that maintain public order and security; and the fourth was loyalty to the sultan and obedience of superiors. The analyses of the data with respect to gratification practices in the latter period reveal that policemen and superiors were continued to be rewarded mostly with similar reasons. However, the reasons for gratification were explained in a much more

133 Van, 124-5.

134 Transcribed full records of 496 policemen in various ranks were published by the General Directorship of the Public Security. See, Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1, 2, 3, 4, 5.*

detailed way; moreover, new skills and qualities were added to the list of those to be rewarded.

Throughout this period, like in the earlier period, the most frequently repeated phrase used for the gratification of policemen was extraordinary effort and good service in the fulfilment of policing tasks. These terms refer to disciplined, obedient behavior while fulfilling orders and assigned obligations. Therefore, those who consistently carried out their tasks and obligations were gratified by the police organization in both periods.

In addition, policemen who displayed good manners towards the people while fulfilling their duties were commended for their kindness. For instance, Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi, a police officer of the Salonika Province Police Directorate, was granted certificate of appreciation on April 10, 1911, for successfully fulfilling his duty of humanity together with the execution of his official duty (*insanlık vazifesini göreviyle birlikte uygulama başarısından dolayı*). It was noted that he carried out his duties with extraordinary effort and excellence, moreover, he behaved gently and kindly to the people during the course of the police tasks assigned to him.[135]

Dedication to duty was another component of ideal police behavior, and this was also asserted in the gratification practices in the early period. However, in the latter period dedication to duty was defined and explained as a certain behavior - that is to say, policemen's sacrifice of their lives for the sake of their duty, and thus, the display of courageous conduct. As an example, police officers from the Şehremini police center in Istanbul called Murteza, Mezid, Necib, and Ömer were granted certificates of appreciation due for displaying devoted effort in performing their duty having risked their lives upon the order to arrest a suspect named Osman who had injured his elder brother, Süleyman, with a revolver.[136]

---

135 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1*, 180.

136 "Mevlevihanede Muammar Acem Mahallesinde sakin Köstenceli İzzeddin oğlu Süleyman'ı revolverle cerh eden küçük biraderi osmanın dersti emrinde şehremini

Ali Fehmi Efendi, a police officer from Aydın Province, was also awarded with a certificate of appreciation due to his success and courage (*şecaat*) as he risked his life in 1914.[137] Similarly, in 1913, Emin and Mehmet Hayri two police officers from the Trabzon Province police, were granted cash prizes due to their service with self-sacrificial service during the arrest of the murderer of a *Regie* police.[138]

Another type of behavior that was appreciated by the police institution was acting seriously in the course of duty. According to Manyasizade Refik Ekrem, gravity (*vakar*) was a significant characteristic of the ideal policeman. The policeman should not be informal with the people around him such as citizens and colleagues, and he should not allow himself to fall into a situation that would result in people's humiliation or that would cause others to mock him. He should avoid disgraceful, unserious manners and acts that would damage professional or personal dignity. On contrary, a policeman should make a habit of displaying manners and behaviors that generate respect among the people so that they listen to him and obey his orders.[139]

An example of the gratification of a police officer for his seriousness is that of Mehmet Santıroğlu, an officer from the Syria Police Directorate. He was awarded with a certificate of commendation by the authority of the governorship on May 1, 1910, due to his seriousness together with his effort, dedication, and good service in the fulfilment of his duties.[140]

---

merkezi mürettebatından 1015 numaralı polis memuru murteza ve 563 numaralı mezid ve 1172 numarada necib ve 572 numaralı ömer Efendilerin vazifelerini istihkarı hayat edercesine bir gayret-i faaliyet-i fedakari ve vazifeperveri ile ifa eyledikleri anlaşılmasına binaen mümaileyhin işbu hizmet-i cümlelerinin vesile-i tezkari olmak üzere kendilerine takdirnameler ita kılındığı." *Polis*, 8 Kanunuevvel 1327/ 30 Zilhicce 1329 (21 December 1911), nr. 15, 116.

137 *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Teşrinisani 1330/ 9 Muharrem 1331 (28 November 1914), nr. 33, 783.

138 *Polis Mecmuası*, 16 Teşrinisani 1329, 29 Zilhicce 1331 (29 November 1913), nr. 9, 212.

139 Manyasizade, *"Nizamat-ı Zabtiye,"* 14.

140 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.2*, 350.

Policemen were also appreciated for carrying out preventive policing tasks assigned to them. They were expected to intervene in fires to save people's lives and to protect properties from being stolen during the chaos caused by a fire. Moreover, saving someone's life was almost always appreciated with the Medal for Lifesaving (*Tahlisiye Madalyası*) throughout the two periods. Police officers who saved the lives of people trapped by fire or drowning at sea were granted this medal as standard procedure. The data from the personal records is full of such gratification of policemen who saved lives and received medals.

Moreover, policemen were also required to take precaustions to prevent dangers and to intervene in social unrests to take place as a part of their preventive police duty. For instance, Mehmet Fehmi Tuğrul, a commissar in the Trabzon Province police, was able to prevent the outbreak of social unrest between the communities of two villages following the abduction of a woman. As indicated in detail in his record, the commissar was able to guess the outcomes of the conflict and took precautions against confrontations and chaos. Hence, he managed to take control of the incident and catch the suspects without causing harm. His effort and good service was appreciated and awarded with a certificate of appreciation on August 16, 1911.[141]

Similarly, Mehmet Santıroğlu, a third-commissar from the Syrian Police Directorate, was awarded with a cash prize amounting to half a lira on April 26, 1911, since he had succeeded in maintaining security during religious ceremonies held for the previous Easter with the participation of the Greek Orthodox, Catholic, Syriac (*Süryani*), and Maruni communities. He was able to ensure safety among crowd comprised of members of various communities by preventing the firing of guns and the explosion of flammable chemicals.[142]

Hürrem Sukuti Bey, a sergeant in the Tokat sanjak, was appreciated for his discipline (*nizam*) and orderliness (*intizam*) in terms of regulating patrol duties and regularly keeping the registers of the police center.

141 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1*, 253.

142 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.2*, 351.

Hence, he was granted a certificate of appreciation upon receipt of correspondence from the officers division (*Memurin Kalemi*) of the Department of Public Security on December 22, 1912.[143]

Similarly, Abdullah Agah Efendi, a sergeant of the Çengelköy police center in Istanbul, was appreciated since he was able to proceed correspondence and manage patrol tasks and transactions in accordance with regulations. Therefore, his diligence (*çalışkanlık*), good service, and extraordinary effort were awarded a certificate of appreciation by the governorship on June 8, 1912.[144]

Kamil Köseoğlu, while serving as a third-class commissar in the Syria Province Police Diretorate, was appreciated by his superiors following an inspection held in the area under his authority, and he was granted a certificate of appreciation in January 1911. It was observed that all officers under his command performing their watch (*nokta nöbeti*) in the police districts (*mevki*) linked to the center were standing in discipline and displaying a scene of discipline and order.[145]

Mehmet Levhi Akın, a superintendent (*merkez memuru*) of the Eyüp police center under the General Police Directorate of Istanbul, was appreciated due to the fact that the the uniforms of the policemen and overall situation of the police center were pleasant. Thus, he was awarded a certificate of appreciation on August 25, 1919.[146]

Mehmet Levhi Akın, a second-class commissar in Beyoğlu Police Directorate was awarded a certificate of appreciation on March 2, 1914, for preparing a map of the Beyoğlu district that was useful to the police.[147] As he was working in the same cadre, he was granted another certificate of appreciation on July 21, 1914, due to his extraordinary effort and service in the preparation and constitution of plans and sketches of the main and auxiliary buildings of the Dersaadet police

143 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1*, 133.

144 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.2*, 395.

145 Ibid., 254.

146 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1*, 65.

147 Ibid., 65.

school. He was also awarded with a cash prize amounting to one and a half salaries on August 27, 1914, due to the effort and assiduity displayed in the constitution and painting of an illustrative map of the area under the jurisdiction of the Beyoğlu Police Directorate.[148]

Mustafa Kırca, a police officer of the Beyoğlu Police Directorate, was granted a cash prize of a half lira on June 27, 1911, for his good service and dedication in the fulfilment of investigation procedures (*tahkik muamelesi*) and the writing tasks (*yazım hizmetleri*).[149] Similarly, Abdullah Agah Efendi, a sergeant of the Çengelköy police center in Istanbul, was appreciated for hard work and good service in terms of processing correspondence and was rewarded with a certificate of appreciation on June 8, 1912.[150] Another police officer working in the Istanbul province police directorate, Hüseyin Burhanettin Güvenel, was appreciated for good service and diligence in terms of proper registration of required judicial and administrative proceedings and was thus awarded with a certificate of appreciation on August 12, 1912.[151]

Abdullah Agah Efendi, a sergeant in the Hasköy police center in Istanbul, was able to arrest a suspect called Mansur - with the instrument of crime- who had escaped after injuring Cellat Bekir Fehmi and his wife. In addition to successfully cathching the suspect, the extraordinary effort he put forward in fulfilling the judicial and administrative proceedings in the police center was awarded with a certificate of appreciation on July 1, 1912.[152]

The photos of three police officers in Istanbul were published in the police journal in April 1914. The caption stated that the officers were awarded with cash prizes due to the work and effort displayed in gathering and joining (*cem ve telfik*) evidence of crime and due to their successful arrest of the murderers of a former police officer called Boşnak

148 Ibid., 65.

149 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.2*, 194.

150 Ibid., 395.

151 Ibid., 386.

152 Ibid., 395.

Ali Efendi, who had been stabbed and killed in the lavatory adjacent the mosque in Şehzadebaşı.[153] Mehmet Yaver Efendi, a third-class investigation officer (*taharri memuru*), was appreciated in June 1914 due to the effort displayed to arrest a murderer named Ali, son of Eyüp, who had been a fugitive for almost four months. It was also underscored that his operation had not depended on intelligence or evidence, just on his innate talent (*hiçbir istihbar ve emare elde etmeksizin mahza-i mahsusat-ı fitriyyesi olarak gösterdiği faaliyet ve gayret*).[154]

Ahmet Asım Efendi, a chief commissar in the Aydın province police directorate, was granted a certificate of appreciation on August 1, 1914, for the arrest of a forger (*sahte evrak düzenleyen*) called Yorgaki Estimpari who was blackmailing Nikolaki Galice. It was indicated that the chief commissar had employed ingenious methods (*mahirane usuller*) to track and catch the forger.[155]

İhsan Bey, chief commissar of the Salonika Police Directorate was awarded many times with certificates of appreciation and once with a certificate of commendation in 1909-1910 for successfully discovering the identities of thieves and finding stolen goods and money. For instance, he was appreciated due to diligence and effort in the arrest of Kosti who had been investigated for seizing the money of Hayim, a tobacco trader and jeweler in the İki Çeşme district. He was granted a certificate of appreciation for this on December 28, 1909.[156]

Mehmet Santıroğlu, a police officer in the Syria Police Directorate, arrested İbrahim, son of Abdurrahman, who was from Western Algiers and lived in the Bayar-ı İslam neighborhood of Damascus, with coins and instruments for counterfeiting. Hence, he was awarded a certificate of appreciation by the governorship on April 3, 1910.[157]

153 *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 April 1330 /2 Cemaziyülahir 1332 (28 April 1914) , nr. 19, 447.

154 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 June 1330/ 20 Recep 1332 (14 June 1914), nr. 22, 512.

155 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.1*, 7.

156 Şahin, *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler vol.2*, 210-212.

157 Ibid., 350.

While serving as second commissar in the Syria Police Directorate, Mehmet Santıroğlu was awarded on July 21, 1914 with cash prize of one month's salary due to the fact that he determined the identities of the offenders in a murder and also recovered the stolen goods in a number of incidents of theft.[158] He was again rewarded on January 14, 1915, with a cash prize amounting to one third of a month's salary due to effort and hard work in determining the identities of the offenders in a murder, catching them together with weapons of crime.[159]

İhsan Bey, a chief commissar of the Salonika Police Directorate, was awarded with a certificate of appreciation on February 3, 1910, due to his success in determining the detailed identities of suspects who had stolen goods from Osman, son of Kadri, from the village of Sefer, catching them following a pursuit (*sıkı takip*).[160] İhsan Bey, a chief commissar of the Salonika Police Directorate, received a certificate of appreciation on November 23, 1909, due to his effort and hard work in catching Hani from Salonika, who was suspected of a murder, together with weapons of crime following stringent surveillance and pursuit (*sıkı takip ve tarassut*).[161]

Mehmet Santıroğlu, a sergeant of the Syria Police Directorate, was appreciated for effort and hard work in determining the identity of the unknown offender (*meçhul sanık*) of a murder and seizing him along with the weapon used for the crime as a result of stringent pursuit. Thus, he received a certificate of appreciation on June 14, 1914.[162] A police officer, Fikri Efendi of Diyarbakır, immediately arrested Ohannis, a butcher who had shot and killed a man known for stealing sheep with revolver in the market square. Thus, the officer was awarded with a cer-

158 Ibid., 352.
159 Ibid., 352.
160 Ibid., 210-12.
161 Ibid., 210-12.
162 Ibid., 352.

tificate of appreciation in March 1914 due to his successful arrest of the murderer following the crime.[163]

Ali Rıza Efendi, a police officer of the Aydın Province Police Directorate, was awarded with a certificate of appreciation due to his operation and dedicated service to arrest a famous thief named Yorgi Papadopulu from Izmir with stolen money immediately after his crime (*der-akab-ı vuku*).[164]

4.6.1.3 Other Kinds of Rewards

PHOTOGRAPHS OF SUCCESSFUL POLICEMEN IN THE POLICE JOURNAL

Photographs of policemen who succeeded in policing tasks, especially in criminal investigation were demonstrated in police journals. This was both a gratification practice and an educational strategy. In addition to the achievements and rewards of policemen, the narratives under the photographs and the photographs themselves provided information with respect to crimes, criminals, criminal investigation procedures, evidence, and weapons.

For instance, in February 1915 three commissars and eight policemen successfully caught three men as they were running away after having cracked the safe of the pious foundations office in Bursa and stealing the contents amounting to 135,000 piasters. In the journal, *Polis Mecmuası*, photographs of the tools and devices used to crack the safe and of the three thieves -named Tifuli, son of Diyanis Yorgi, Andiriya, son of Tanaş, and Yani, son of Vasil, were published in addition to photographs of the police team consisted of Chief Commissar Hasan Fehmi Efendi, Second Commissar Mehran Efendi, Sergeant Yusuf Ziya Efendi and the officers Osman Nuri Efendi, Hasan Avni Efendi, Talat Efendi, Ziya Efendi, Hüsnü Efendi, Mehmed Ali Efendi, Mehmed Emin

163 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 March 1330/ 16 Rabiülahir 1332 (14 March 1914), nr. 16, 364.

164 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 June 1330/ 20 Recep 1332 (14 June 1914), nr. 22, 513.

Efendi, and Niyazi Efendi. It was also stated that all of these officers and their superiors were awarded with certificates of appreciation.[165]

In another incident, police officers Hasan Efendi, Hacı Aziz Efendi and Abdülrezzak Efendi from the Bagdad police were awarded with certificates of appreciation due to their good service and dedicated work in arresting thieves, and their photographs were published in the journal *Polis Mecmuası*.[166]

Ahmet Tarhan Efendi who was working as a police officer in the cadre of the Kayseri sanjak, was appreciated for his success in arresting the murderer Zekeriya who had killed Mustafa from the village of Zirve and escaped. Hence, photographs of both the murderer and the successful police officer were published in the *Polis Mecmuası* on February 14, 1915.[167]

Third Commissar İbrahim Ahmed Efendi and Senior Sergeant Raşid Efendi from the police department of Izmit sanjak were granted cash prize of half of a month's salary due to his extraordinary service in catching a bandit from the Armenian nation who was disturbing public order and security around Adapazarı. Thus, the pictures of these policemen were published in the journal on February 14, 1914.[168]

RETIREMENT CEREMONY

The photograph of a retirement ceremony published in *Polis Mecmuası* on November 29, 1913, reveals significant data about these ceremonies. Under the photograph it was indicated that Ali Fahri Efendi from Beyşehir, in Konya Province who was serving in the İzmir province police cadre as commissar, retired from police duty after thirty years of flawless service (*bila-vukuat hizmet*). Thus, as a valuable reminiscence

165 *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 February 1330/ 13 Rabiulahir 1333 (28 February 1915), nr. 39, 918-24.

166 *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 April 1331/ 13 Cemazeyilahir 1333 (28 April 1915), nr. 43, 85.

167 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 February 1330/ 29 Rabiulevvel 1333 (14 February 1915), nr. 38, 900.

168 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 February 1329/ 19 Rabiulevvel 1332 (15 February 1914), nr. 14.

for his service on the police force, he was granted a gold pocket watch paid for by the relief fund of the Aydın Province police commission (*polis heyetine mahsus teshilat sandığı*). The photograph was taken as he was presented the gift in front of the police commission at Fasulye police station. The journal indicated that the gift was presented in an extraordinary ceremony.[169]

The lack of data on retirement ceremonies in the police journals and the statement with respect to the extraordinariness of such a retirement ceremony illustrate that retirement ceremonies were not frequent in the police organization. However, this could be because the number of policemen who served thirty years was small. The police force under the Ministry of Police was established only in 1881; thus, the force was just starting to have policemen fulfill thirty years of service in the 1910s. Moreover, policemen retiring in the 1910s would have been recruited during Sultan Abdulhamit's reign. Many early recruits were dismissed from office either by resignations or by the re-organization (*Tensikat*) measures of the force by governments after the revolution.

FUNERAL AND MEMORIAL CEREMONIES

In the journal *Polis Mecmuası*, photographs of the funerals of state officials in high positions appeared frequently. For instance, the photograph of the funeral of Said Pasha (*sadr-ı esbak ve ayan reisi*) in which the council of ministers and foreign ambassadors were participated was published in the journal on March 14, 1914.[170] Another photograph showed the funeral ceremony of Nuri bey, commander of the First Army, who had died as the result of an accident.[171]

These photographs of high-level state officials' funerals reveal that these funeral ceremonies were considered an honorary ceremony that was held for those statemen who had provided significant service to the

169 *Polis Mecmuası*, 16 Teşrinisani 1329/ 29 Zilhicce 1331 (29 November 1913). Nr. 9, 201.

170 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 March 1330/ 16 Rabiulevvel 1332 (14 March 1914), nr. 16, 361.

171 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 April 1330/ 18 Cemazeyilevvel 1332, nr. 18, 513.

state. Therefore, policemen who lost their lives while on duty were also honored with funeral ceremonies or religious ceremonies such as communal prayers in cemetery (*mezarı başında mevlit okunması*). Hence, funerals and religious ceremonies for deceased policemen were pictured in journals. Thus, through the execution of such ceremonies, the significance of police duty and the sacrifice made by policemen were commended by the state. In this respect, policemen were given the message that self-sacrifice was an ideal police behavior expected by the force and the state.

For instance, a funeral ceremony for the police officer, Yusuf Kenan Efendi from the Aydın Province police, who was injured by Mustafa Karapınagi from Girit and later died from his wounds. The funeral was described under the photograph as the last respects to the deceased by his colleagues.[172]

Adil Efendi from the Adana police was on the trail of an ex-convict, but was killed by the man when he opened fire with a revolver. The man had broken into a house at night and murdered a woman. The photographs of the police officer and his funeral ceremony were published in the journal, *Police Mecmuası* on June 14, 1914.[173]

4.6.2 *Practices of Punishment*

Although the norms of gratification and punishment mentioned above were fully codified and systematized by the 1913 Police Regulation, the police institution had already adopted a modern form of punishment for the correction of police behavior in terms of certain principles even before then.

The first effort to establish a modern penal system in the police institution took place in 1896. Upon the decree (*irade*) which commanded the re-ordering of the police organization, Celestine Bonnin, who was

172 *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Kanunisani 1329/1 Rabiulevvel 1332 (28 January 1914), nr. 13, 296-97.

173 *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 June 1330/ 20 Recep 1332 (14 June 1914), nr. 22, 509.

serving as the General Inspector of Police (*Polis Umumi Müfettişi*), proposed a draft of police regulation (*layiha*) consisting of twelve articles on November 11, 1896.[174] The first seven clauses were accepted as proposed and the rest were accepted with certain changes by the Ministry of the Interior. Two clauses of the draft concerned the regulation of police behavior by police superiors through surveillance and punishment practices. According to the first clause, chief commissars were to be assigned to significant police centers and stations and were in charge of the inspection and surveillance of second- and third-class commissars. They were to check whether the commissars under their command were carrying out orders well and also control whether they were conforming with the dress code and had clean, proper uniforms. They would also punish police sergeants (*çavuş*) who did not report the incorrect behaviors of police officers. The second clause concerned punishments to be employed for misbehaving policemen. Police officers were to be punished with a reprimand for the first instance of deviance from rule, with a cut of three days' salary upon the second instance, with a cut of ten days' salary in the third time. If their deviance was serious, they would be dismissed from office. It was also noted that all the police stations would be informed about this system of punishment.[175]

By this draft issued in 1896, police superiors who had been trained since 1891 in the first police course were provided with a preliminary penal code to employ for the correction of police behavior. Moreover, they were ordered to intervene with respect to the attitudes and behaviors of policemen and commissars under their command. Therefore, this draft can be considered the initiation of a modern penal system in the Ottoman police force. Before this date, policemen who violated norms such as exerting criminal behavior, disturbing public order and security by being drunk and displaying improper behavior and undisciplined manners were mostly dismissed from office. The archives and newspapers are filled with examples of dismissed police officers.

174 Van, *"Osmanlı Polis Teşkilatının Modernleşme Süreci,"* 302-3.

175 Ibid., 302.

However, despite the fact that police superiors were granted a preliminary penal code for their executions on policemen under their command, there is no systematic register illustrating the punishment practices employed by police superiors in this early period, that is before 1911. As previously stated in the analysis of gratification practices, the monthly registers of gratification and punishment started to be in 1911 following the regulation of the organizational structure of the force under the Ministry of the Interior. Hence, the Department of public security, which was a branch under the Ministry of the Interior, was responsible for the recruitment, appointment, and other employee affairs of policemen throughout the empire and thus gathered these monthly registers from the provinces. Moreover, the first detailed regulation, called the Special Regulation for the Professional Education of Policemen (*Polisin Terbiyeyi Meslekiyesine Müteallik Talimat-ı Mahsusa*) which was prepared for the use of police superiors with respect to the correction of policemen, dates back to 1912.[176] Therefore, any meaningful analysis in terms of systematic punishment practices of policemen should focus on practices took place after the 1907 police regulation due to the fact that both the normative principles for punishment and the penalty system were established together in this regulation. Therefore, police superiors were able to use the punishment system by following the instructions given in the regulation.

In this section, punishment practices took place in the force following the promulgation of the two police regulations are presented. Analysis with respect to the actual functioning of the punishment system is provided. All in all, it is analyzed whether the principles and modes of punishment established by the codes were actually carried out in the punishment practices employed by the police force.

176 Şen, *"20. Yüzyıl Başında Türk Polis Teşkilatı,"* 53-59.

4.6.2.1 Punishment Practices Not Covered by Police Codes

The examination of penalties published in police journals provides information on punishment practices officially practiced by the institution, even though not specified in the police orders of 1907 and 1913. Thus, criminal practices not included in 1907, such as exile or displacement, fines, and deprivation of weekly leaves, were frequently used in 1911-12 for the purpose of correcting police behavior.

Monetary penalties, which were not mentioned in 1907 but are known to have been levied before the revolution, were one type of punishment to which the punishment system often resorted. In addition, despite the fact that the displacement of policemen was indicated in the 1913 regulation, it was not mentioned as a punishment practice in the punishment section.

PUNISHMENT OF FINE

In the 1907 police regulation, as discussed earlier, a three-stage punishment system was envisioned, but it was not mentioned that the system contained fines. However, in the journal *Polis*, most of the punishment practices that took place in 1911-12 included daily wage cuts. The rest were dismissals from the profession and of displacements. Archival records testify that the penalty of fines in the form of cutting wages had been applied since the establishment of the Department of Public Security, and there were examples of police officers sentenced to pay cuts of one month's or one day's salary in 1909 and 1910. Official correspondence sent from the Aydın governorship to the Department of Public Security in 1910 exemplifies this case since it clearly indicated that it was common to use wage cut as a punishment.[177]

As previously stated, a preliminary code of punishment was established for the police force upon the draft of regulation provided by the police inspector Celestine Bonnin. In 1896, the draft was presented to the Ministry of the Interior by Bonnin, and instructions were given to

177 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 137.

announce it to police stations.[178] In other words, the existence of the draft and its announcement in the organization indicate that the punishment of wage cuts may have been applied before 1909. The aforementioned examples of wage cuts in 1909 and 1910 testify to the fact that cutting of wages was a common mode of punishment frequently practiced in the institution by 1909.

DEPRIVAL OF ONE'S WEEKLY LEAVE

In addition to the types of penalties specified in the 1907 and 1913 Police Regulations, deprival of one's weekly leave was another punishment practice. Under subsections titled "From the General Directorate of Police" (*Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesinden*), or "From the Istanbul General Directorate of Police" (*İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesinden*), and "Conclusion" (*Hitam*), the journal *Polis* included information about police personnel who received either awards or penalties between 1911 and 1912 at various police headquarters in Istanbul.

As illustrated in these sections, depriving a police officer of his weekly leave was a lighter penalty than that of a wage cut, but stronger than a reprimand. According to an article published in the journal *Polis* on January 11, 1912, İsmail Zühdü Efendi, who was stationed at the Beyoğlu headquarters, was given a penalty of two days' wage cut for leaving his patrol without notifying his superior, not being present at his point duty a few days later even though he was woken up, being twenty minutes late to his post as his superior officer woke him up, and deserting his morning patrol duty fifteen minutes early when he took off with his patrol partner Nikogos Efendi. However, Nikogos Efendi was deprived of his weekly leave for leaving the police station after deserting his post earlier than he should have. Despite the fact that these two officers violated the same rule while on duty, Zühdü Efendi was given a harsher penalty -a fine - since he had repeatedly showed up late for duty or deserted his post early; Nikogos Efendi was given a lighter penalty

178 Van, *"Osmanlı Polis Teşkilatının Modernleşme Süreci,"* 302-3.

- deprivation of his weekly leave - since this was his first recorded violation.[179]

No other documents mention the penalty of being deprived of one's weekly leave, but it is possible that this penalty was exercised until the standardization of punishment practices by the 1913 Police Regulation. According to the 1907 regulation, approval of a police officer's weekly leave was to be given by the commissar of the headquarters where he was stationed. Article 67 of this regulation clearly stated that: ''commissars, sergeants and police officers could take their weekly leave - for a maximum of twenty-four hours period of time- only with a note provided by the commissar of the police center so that they could go back to their houses and take care of their private matters. Other than these hours, police officers should be present at their posts day and night.''[180] As is clear, superiors were given full authority with distribution of weekly leave to the men under their command.

Prior to the publication of this penalty in 1912, document from 1910 mentions the frequent requests by police officers to take a leave. The same document requested the standardization of leave-taking in terms of a regulation. This document is significant since it testifies to the fact that superiors had full authorization to approving or reject police offic-

179 "Beyoğlu merkezinde müstahdem 1846 numaralı polis ismail zühdü Efendinin usulen mafevkinden ruhsat istihsal etmeksizin yirmi dakika kadar mevki-i hizmetinden gaybibet eylediği ve birkaç gün sonar da memur olduğu nokta-I mahaline azimet etmek üzere uyandırıldığı halde kalkmadığı ve bi-l-ahire (sonra) mevki muavini tarafından bizzat kaldırılarak yirmi dakika sonra vazifesine azimat eylediği ve aynı gece sabah devriyesine memur olduğu refiki 1849 numarada mukayyed nikogos effendi ile birlikte on beş dakika evvel karakola gelerek terk-I vazife eylediği anlaşılmasına mebni mümaileyhe zühdü Efendinin iki günlük maaşının kati ve nikogos Efendinin hafta izninden mahrumiyeti ve 2042 numarada mukayyed selahaddin ve 1795 numarada mukayyed ismail Efendilerin memur oldukları vazife-I devriyeyi terk ile sinematoğraf tiyatrosunda oturdukları görüldüğünden üçer günlük maaşlarının kati suretiyle tecziye olundukları beyoğlu polis müdüriyetinden işar olunmağla tamimen beyan-I keyfiyete ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 29 Kanunievvel 1327/ 21 muharrem 1330 (11 January 1912), nr. 18, 144.

180 *Düstur,* Tertib-i Evvel, VIII, 677.

ers' requests for leave. In the same document, the Department of Public Security declared that this legal shortcoming would be done away with in upcoming regulations, and until then, employees were allowed to take their leaves as long as they well performed their duties.[181]

As illustrated above, superiors who had the authority to distribute leaves were able to use them as practices of gratification and punishment for supervising the conducts of subordinate officers. Ali Rıza Öge's memoirs also testify to this point. He indicated that throughout his service in the Istanbul and Selanik police, superiors allowed him to take leaves as a reward for his accomplishments. After working many days and nights to fulfill his duty to follow certain figures or criminals, his superiors rewarded him with a few days leave.[182]

EXILE AND REAPPOINTMENT

Other punishment methods were put in practice although they were not clearly stated in the 1913 Regulation. From time to time, police officers were relocated to other posts - a punishment practice also known as exile. Exiling high-ranking officials was a common practice by the Ottoman state in order to keep them away from the center. For example, Abdulhamit Kırmızı's work on the governors of the Abdulhamit era mentions the practices of exile or reappointment as a punishment practice exercised on governors.[183] Musa Çadırcı also talks about many examples following *Tanzimat*, in which various officers or officials were relocated to other provinces or sanjaks as an explicit punishment for crimes and violations of authority. [184]

Reassigning police officers to other posts was mentioned in the 1913 regulation, but it was not defined as a punishment. However, reassignment of police officers to other posts actually functioned as a punishment practice. The earliest documentation regarding this as a pun-

181 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 129.

182 Öge, *Cumhuriyet*, 28 Kanunievvel 1934, 6 Şubat 1935.

183 Kırmızı, *Abdülhamit'in Valileri,* 62-3.

184 Çadırcı, *Tanzimat sürecinde Türkiye,* 219, 236-41.

ishment practice was in the issue of *Polis* published on December 21, 1911, under a section about the Istanbul General Directorate of Police. According to this document: ''Police officer İbrahim Efendi, registered no. 495, from the Fener headquarters crew was penalized with a day's wage cut and reassigned to another for sneaking off from the police station rather than delivering two envelopes given to him.'' Reassigning İbrahim Efendi to another post, in addition to the cut of his wage, was clearly stated as a punishment practice in this document.[185]

In addition, it is evident from personnel records of the autonomous liva of Karesi that in 1914 that a police officer was reassigned to different police headquarters of the province by his superiors because of his quarrelsome behavior.[186]

In the Article 91 of the 1913 Regulation, it was stated that police officers could be reassigned to other posts within the province in which they were stationed as necessary.[187] This practice of reassignment could be interpreted as a method through which superiors coped with police officers who were undisciplined and unruly within the order of a police station, but whose petty offenses did not require a severe punishment such as being firing. In his textbook, İbrahim Feridun argues that reassigning a police officer to a new post would be ineffective for correcting their behavior and as an immoral policeman would still be immoral in his new assignment and continue to engage in wrongful acts. Feridun suggests an inspection mechanism be put in place for the correction of these kinds of officers or for the dismissal of them from the police.[188] Ali Rıza Öge's memoirs also testify to the fact that during second constitu-

185 "Fener merkezi mürettebatından 495 polis İbrahim Efendinin posta vazifesiyle mükellef halde mahallerine isal ve teslim olunmak üzere kendisine tevdi edilen iki kutu mazrufu götürmeyib karakoldan savuştuğu anlaşılmasına mebni bir günlük maaşının kati ve mevkinin tebdili." *Polis*, 8 Kanunuevvel 1327/ 30 Zilhicce 1329 (21 December 1911), nr. 15, 116.

186 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 51/10. 1332 N. 16 Ramazan 1332/8 August 1914.

187 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 400.

188 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 66.

tional era, police officers were explicitly punished with exile.[189] Therefore, it could be argued that such punishment practice was frequently exercised within the police force before 1911 and probably even earlier than 1909.

4.6.2.2 Punishment Practices Exercised after the 1907 Regulation

In this section, the question of whether the punishment system as defined in the 1907 Regulation was implemented or not will be answered by providing relevant historical evidence. Punishment practices aimed at correcting police officers' behavior and attitudes were covered in multiple issues of the journal *Polis* in 1911 and 1912.

Information about police officers who were rewarded or punished were mostly included under a section titled "From the Istanbul General Directorate of Police" or occasionally under the section titled "Conclusion." Such information was also published in newspapers in 1911 and 1912. Under such titles, the conduct of tens of police officers that were worthy of reward or found to require punishment were covered in narratives wherein the conduct of these officers subject to punishment and gratification were depicted in detail. In that respect, these narratives served a pedagogical purpose and conveyed moral messages to journal readers -that is to say, the police officers of the force - explaining in detail which conduct would be rewarded and which would be punished.

Conduct subject to punishment was coherent with the categories specified in the 1907 regulation. It is observed that the wrongful conduct clearly stated in the 1907 police regulation was penalized by the police force, and the system of punishment started to function regularly. However, due to the fact that the 1907 regulation did not clearly and definitively mention which particular wrongful conduct would be penalized with which particular penalties in a systematic fashion, some punishment practices were being distributed in an unbalanced manner compared to the period after the 1913 regulation.

189 Öge, *Cumhuriyet,* 28 Şubat 1935; 6 Şubat 1935.

The punishment practices in 1911-1912 were not always exercised in an orderly fashion. For example, disciplinary offenses such as deserting one's post or being late for duty were penalized with severe wage cuts in 1912. On the other hand, conduct that could be considered criminal offences, such as causing an escorted criminal to escape or accepting bribes were also treated as disciplinary offences; these police officers were similarly penalized with wage cuts.

However, Article 153 of the 1907 police regulation in the section titled "The Trial and Punishment of Police" clearly states that "police officers, commissars, sergeants, and police inspectors who showed sloppiness or laziness while on duty and repeatedly act in contradiction with professional codes and manners were to be immediately be dismissed.''[190] Such personnel were to be referred to the court so as to be put on trial. In this respect, Article 153 clearly reveals that conduct such as intentionally or unintentionally causing or condoning an escorted criminal to escape or accepting bribes was to be punished with the dismissal of said police officer. However, as the examples below illustrate, police officers committing similar actions were not fired but treated as undisciplined personnel and penalized with wage cuts.

Police officer Fahri Efendi stationed in the Beşiktaş headquarters was penalized with a day's wage cut due to negligent actions that caused a person he was to deliver to the Beyoğlu Police Directorate Prison to escape.[191] Moreover, the officer Mahmut Ali Efendi from the Beyoğlu headquarters crew, allowing an incident at his guard point which he did not report to his superior, was later determined to have

190 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, VIII, 690.

191 "Beşiktaş merkezi mürettebatından 1775 numarada mukayyed polis memuru fahri Efendiye beyoğlu polis müdüriyeti müteferrikasına teslim edilmek üzere bilmezkure terfik edilen Ibrahim oğlu hüseyin namında bir sarfı o suret ve sıfatla müteferrika dairesine teslim etmeyerek mücerred vazifesinde gösterdiği meyyalsizliği mebni merkumun firarına sebeb …merkezlerinden mevrud evrak-ı tahkikiye mündericatından anlaşılarak birer günlük maaşlarının kati suretiyle tecziye olundukları müdüriyet-I mümaileyhden işar olunmağla beyan-I keyfiyete ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 29 Kanunuevvel 1327/ 21 Muharrem 1330 (11 January 1912), nr. 18, 144.

accepted bribe during a follow-up investigation requesting a formal report of the incident. Consequently, he was penalized with a day's wage cut due to charges of hiding an incident from his superiors, providing misleading information about the incident, and accepting a bribe.[192] In another case, a police officer was penalized with a three days' worth of wage cut because of careless actions that allowed a convict to escape while on the way to the hospital accompanied by the said police officer for a medical examination. As is evident, the two officers who caused a convict or an escorted person to escape did not receive the same penalty for committing similar offenses; the former received a day's worth of wage cut and the latter three days' worth of wage cut.[193]

In a similar example, two officers who attempted to hide the offenses of their superiors and provided misleading information were penalized with a day's worth of wage cut. Two police officers who were on duty as watchmen (*daire nöbetçileri*) at Hisar district within the boundaries of Arnavutköy misinformed the sergeants calling from the headquarters and Kuruçeşme sergeants regarding the whereabouts of the site sergeant Ziya Efendi. They told them that Ziya Efendi had left for an inspection and also went for a bath (*hamam*) rather than telling them that he was not on duty at the police station. In conclusion, as

192 "Beyoğlu merkezi mürettebatından 1812 numarada mukayyed Mahmud ali Efendinin memur olduğu noktada zuhur eden bir vukuyu derakib amirine ihbar etmemekle beraber beş gün sonra bu madde hakkında kendisinden taleb edilen rapora ve * tanzim edilmiş zan u * hasıl olmak üzere yanlış * * suretiyle irtikab kesb ettiği merkezlerinden mevrud evrak-ı tahkikiye mündericatından anlaşılarak birer günlük maaşlarının kati suretiyle tecziye olundukları müdüriyet-I mümaileyhden işar olunmağla beyan-I keyfiyete ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 29 Kanunuevvel 1327/ 21 Muharrem 1330 (11 January 1912), nr. 18, 144.

193 "Müteferrika Merkezi'nde müstahdem 1012 numerolı polis me'murı Hüseyin Efendi'nin bir meseleden dolayı Müteferrika merkezinde mahbus olan Petro Çanpoviç namında bir şahsın beray-ı muayene Gülhane …. Hastahanesi'ne esna-yı sevkinde adem-i dikkati neticesi olarak firarına sebebiyyet virdiği anlaşılmasına mebni üç günlik yevmiyyesinin cezaen kat'i tensib idilerek icabı icra kılınmış olmağla husul-i intibah zımnında ta'mimen beyan-ı keyfiyyet olunur." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

mentioned above, the punishment system established in the 1907 police regulation did not fully develop until the promulgation of the 1913 Regulation.[194]

Among all the police officers who committed crimes or behaved inappropriately, the ones who drank on a regular basis and frequented brothels were considered to be incorrigible and were thus fired from the force. The ones who were seriously punished were those who did not follow the disciplinary rules and fulfill the obligations of duty - such as exceeding the period of time given as permission, objecting to the commands of a superior, behaving disrespectfully, and leaving the guard points or one's duty.

It was a serious problem to get policemen to fulfill their duty; therefore, disciplining policemen was the primary concern of the police organization in the period 1911-12 as it was in the previous period of Abdulhamit II. Police officers constantly tried to run away from work eieither by taking leave or deserting their guard points. The organization did not severely punish those policemen who failed to fulfill their duty unless they behaved disobediently.

As these examples demonstrate, only penalties given to police officers were included in the journal *Polis*; the punishment practices exercised on high-ranking superiors were not encountered within its scope. As the aforementioned example illustrates, superiors also violated certain rules and conceivably even encouraged subordinates to be complicit in their wrongful conducts. The abovementioned example could be

194 "Arnavudköy Merkezi'ne merbut Hisar Mevki'nde müstahdem 1969 numerolı polis Salim ve 2085 numerolı Ali Haydar Efendilerin daire nöbetciliği vazifesinde bulundukları bir günde ve mevki'-i mezkur muavini Ziya Efendi'nin sıfat-ı me'zuniyyetini tecavüz itdirerek karagolda gayr-i mevcud esnada bazı hususat içün merkez ve Kurıçeşme muavinleri tarafından telefonla vuku' bulan suale karşı teftişata çıkdığını ve hamama gitdiğini beyan itmek suretiyle Ziya Efendi'nin kusurını setr içün ihtiyar-ı kizb itdikleri anlaşılmasına mebni muma-ileyhumanın birer günlik maaşlarının kat'i suretiyle tecziye idildikleri Beyoğlı polis müdiriyetinden bildirilmekle husul-i intibah zımnında keyfiyyetin ta'mimen tebliğine ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

interpreted as Ziya Efendi asking subordinates to withhold the truth about his absence from his post. He may have been penalized for his actions, too. We can venture a guess that the reason his punishment was not covered in the journal was a result of deliberate editorial choice. It is possible that penalties given to superiors were not covered in the journal because such cases could distort the image of the police commissar to be presented to low-ranking officers.

In the ''Norms of Punishment'' section of this chapter, it is pointed out that the punishment system in the 1907 regulation encompassed mostly the disciplinary offenses. In accordance with the norms set in the 1907 Regulations, disobeying the dress code, not complying with superior's orders and warnings, absenteeism, being late for work, not performing one's duties, neglecting one's duty, loitering in inappropriate places, going to brothels, and drinking and becoming intoxicated were the disciplinary offenses to be penalized.

Disobeying the dress code and persistently defying a superior's orders in this regard were disciplinary offenses that were also seriously penalized. Police officer Mehmed Rıza, registered no. 475, stationed at Fatih headquarters was penalized with a day's worth of wage cut in 1912 for ignoring several written notices and warnings given to him regarding his disobedience of the professional dress code.[195] Several warnings were given to offenders during the punitive process, and only if the officer in question ignored these warnings, he received a wage cut. In this respect, a modern punishment logic was followed with a range of mild to severe penalties being implemented in accordance with the degree of the offense in question. In a similar fashion, police officer Avadis Efendi, identification number 1214, stationed at Kadırga police station in the jurisdiction of the Kumkapı police was penalized with a day's

195 "Fatih Merkezi mürettebatından 475 numerolı polis Mehmed Rıza Efendi'nin bunca tebligat ve vesayaya rağmen emr-i telebbüsde (giyinme) intizama riayet itmediği bizzat görülmesine mebni bir günlük maaşının kat'i suretiyle tecziye idildiğinin husul-i intibah zımnında ta'mimen tebligine ibtidar olundı." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

worth of wage cut for ignoring several warnings for not putting his gloves on.[196]

Another example indicates that police officers that committed the same disciplinary offenses were treated differently according to their personal distinctions. Police officers who kept on committing the same disciplinary offense or police officers whose personal records were annotated for previous disciplinary offenses were penalized more severely compared to first offenders. For example, Mustafa Hilmi Efendi stationed at the Kumkapı headquarters kept on wearing buskins (*potin*) rather than boots despite several warnings; Seyyid Ali Efendi, identification number 1183, objected to his superior's orders to put on his gloves while on duty; Muhtar Efendi, identification number 1304, stationed at the Müteferrika headquarters walked around without his gloves on; and Mehmed Efendi, identification number 923, did not put on gloves, and his cloak was ripped apart from behind. Thereupon, Hilmi and Ahmed Muhtar Efendi were each penalized with a day's worth of wage cut due to previous offenses in their personal records, while Sayyid Ali and Mehmet Efendi were penalized with a warning since they had no previous record of offenses.[197]

196 "Kumkapu Merkezi'ne merbut Kadırga Mevki'nde müstahdem 1214 numerolı polis Avadis Efendi'nin ihtarat-ı vaka'sına rağmen eldivensiz gezdiğü anlaşılmasından dolayı bir günlik maaşının kat'i suretiyle tecziye idildiğinin husul-i intibah zımnında ta'mimen tebliğine ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

197 "Kumkapı merkezi mürettebatından 422 numerolı Mustafa Hilmi Efendi'nin çizme giymesi hakkında mükerreren icra kılınan tenbihata rağmen potin giydiği ve 1183 numerolı Seyyid Ali Efendi'nin eldivensiz ifa-yı vazife itmekde iken ma-fevki tarafından vuku' bulan ihtar üzerine eldiven giymeyeceğini söyleyerek serkeşlik itdiği ve müteferrika merkezi mürettebatından 1304 numerolı Muhtar Efendi'nin eldivensiz gezdiği ve 923 numerolı Mehmed Efendi'nin keza eldivensiz ve kaputunın arkası sökük olarak görüldüğü anlaşılmağla muma-ileyhümden Hilmi ve Ahmed Muhtar Efendilerin künyeleri meşruhatı sebeb-i şiddet ad idilerek birer günlük maaşlarının cezaen kat'i ve Seyyid Ali ve Mehmed Efendilerin de ilk defa olmak hasebiyle ihtarat icrası bi-t-tensib icabı icra idildiği bera-yı intibah ta'mimen tebliğ olunur." *Polis*, 22 March 1328, 16 Rabiulahir 1330 (4 nisan 1912), nr. 30, 240.

A further example demonstrates that police officers were punished in accordance with their records and their personal distinctions as required by the modern rationality. İsmail Zühdü and Nikogos Efendi, two police officers stationed at Beyoğlu headquarters, were penalized for leaving their patrol early and returning to the police station; in other words, they were both penalized for deserting their duties. Whereas Nikogos Efendi was penalized with the deprival of his weekly leave, İsmail Zühdü Efendi was penalized with two days' worth of wage cut due to his previous record of improper behavior and poor attitude. İsmail Zühdü Efendi had previously abandoned his patrol without notifying his superior; a few days later he did not attend his guard duty even though he was woken up. And on another occasion, he was twenty minutes late for his post after his superior officer woke him up. Among his previous offense, were deserting his post, disobeying his superiors' orders, and being late for duty. Lastly, he deserted his patrolling duty with Nikogos Efendi and was fined as a consequence of unfavorable reports written about the previous offenses.[198]

Police officers returning late from their allocated leaves were also subject to penalties according to Article 47 of the 1907 regulation.[199] Officers who did not show up for work without having asked for per-

198 "Beyoğlu merkezinde müstahdem 1846 numaralı polis İsmail Zühdü Efendinin usulen mafevkinden ruhsat istihsal etmeksizin yirmi dakika kadar mevki-i hizmetinden gaybibet eylediği ve birkaç gün sonar da memur olduğu nokta-i mahaline azimet etmek üzere uyandırıldığı halde kalkmadığı ve bi-l-ahire (sonra) mevki muavini tarafından bizzat kaldırılarak yirmi dakika sonra vazifesine azimat eylediği ve aynı gece sabah devriyesine memur olduğu refiki 1849 numarada mukayyed nikogos effendi ile birlikte on beş dakika evvel karakola gelerek terk-I vazife eylediği anlaşılmasına mebni mümaileyhe zühdü Efendinin iki günlük maaşının kati ve nikogos Efendinin hafta izninden mahrumiyeti ve 2042 numarada mukayyed selahaddin ve 1795 numarada mukayyed ismail Efendilerin memur oldukları vazife-I devriyeyi terk ile sinematoğraf tiyatrosunda oturdukları görüldüğünden üçer günlük maaşlarının kati suretiyle tecziye olundukları beyoğlu polis müdüriyetinden işar olunmağla tamimen beyan-ı keyfiyete ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 29 Kanunuevvel 1327, 21 Muharrem 1330 (11 January 1912), nr. 18, 144.

199 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, VIII, 673.

mission were considered to have resigned from their posts. However, officers who could provide a legitimate reason or official documents were treated as exceptional. Nevertheless, they would not receive the wages allocated for the duration of time that they were absent. This practice was not defined as a penalty per se in the regulation, but these officers were still penalized with a wage cut.

Issues of the journal *Polis* published in 1912 include explicit remarks about police officers penalized with wage cuts due to exceeding their allocated time for leave. For example, Mustafa Efendi, registered no. 829, stationed at the Kapan-ı Dakik headquarters, was penalized with four days' worth of wage cut for exceeding his weekly leave an additional four days; Halil İbrahim Efendi, registered no. 737, was penalized for two days' worth of wage cut for exceeding his weekly leave for two days after he had sent a telegram requesting to stay at his place longer because of a woman's wedding contract and his request had been declined; Süleyman Efendi, registered no. 878, was penalized with three days' worth of wage cut for exceeding his weekly leave for three days after he made up an false excuse saying that he was sick.[200]

Similarly, the Recruitment Commission penalized police officer Mehmet Efendi, registered no. 982, stationed at the Fatih headquarters, with ten days' worth of wage cut because Mehmet Efendi took leave to go back to his hometown and exceeded his allocated leave ten days.[201]

---

200 "Kapan-ı Dakik merkezi mürettebatından 829 numerolı Mustafa Efendi'nin hastalığı bahanesiyle hafta me'zuniyetini dört gün tecavüz itdirdikden vazifesi başına avdet itdiği cihetle dört ve 737 numerolı Halil İbrahim Efendi'nin yevm-i me'zuniyetinde hanesinde bir kadının akdi icra olunacağı bahanesiyle müsaade talebini havi telgraf çekdiği halde müsaade idilmemişken me'zuniyetini kırksekiz saat tecavüz itdirmesine mebni iki ve 878 numerolı Süleyman Efendi'nin dahi hastalığı bahanesiyle hafta me'zuniyetini üç gün tecavüz itdirdiği ve bu halin tekrar idildiği anlaşılmasından üç günlük maaşlarının kat'i suretiyle tecziyeleri bi-t-tensib icabı icra idildiği husul-i intibah zımnen ta'mimen tebliğ olunur." *Polis*, 22 March 1328, 16 Rabiulahir 1330 (4 April 1912), nr. 30, 240.

201 "Fatih Merkezi'nde müstahdem 982 numerolı polis Mehmed Efendi geçende vuku' bulan isti'dası üzerine memlekete terhis idilüb bu kere müddet-i me'zuniyetini on gün

As the abovementioned examples show, if a police officer exceeded his allocated time for leave, his wage was cut in accordance with the relevant article of the regulation and the number of days he was absent. But the specific case below indicates that these penalties varied in relation to the personal distinctions of an officer. Police officer Süleyman Sıtkı Efendi, stationed at the Ayasofya headquarters exceeded the one-month long leave he spent at Kuleli Hospital by eleven days. Because he could not validate those eleven days via official documentation, Süleyman Sıtkı Efendi was penalized with three days' worth of wage cut.[202] This particular police officer's medical leave status was put into consideration, and the prescribed penalty of eleven days' worth of wage cut was decreased to three days.

Article 71 of the 1907 police regulation stated that ''police officers who behave unceremoniously and violate their professional reputation'' were to be penalized, but the specifics of the penalties were not clearly stated in the mentioned article.[203] As was laid out in the section about punishment norms, police superiors were authorized to supervise conduct improper for professional discipline and were given the initiative to detect such conducts. For example, police officer Levon Efendi, stationed in Bostanbaşı under the jurisdiction of Beyoğlu police center was penalized with a day's worth of wage cut for talking unceremoniously

tecavüz itdirerek avdet iylediği anlaşılmasına mebni mezkur on günlik maaşının adem-i ita'sına heyet-i intibahıyyece karar virilmekle husul-i intibah zımnında ta'mimen beyan olunur." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

202 "Ayasofya Merkezi mürettebatından 908 numerolı polis Süleyman Sıdkı Efendi'nin hastalanmasından naşi Kuleli Hastanesi'nde tedavi olundukdan sonra bir ay istirahat virilen me'zuniyyeti onbir gün tecavüz itdirdiği ve bunun içün sard itdiği ma'zereti vesaik-i resmiyye ile isbat idemediği anlaşılmış olmağla üç günlik maaşının cezaen kat'i bi-t-tensib icabı icra idildiği beray-ı intibah ta'mimen beyan olunur." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

203 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, VIII, 677.

with the watchman on site.[204] Probably this unceremonious talk was considered inappropriate by Levon Efendi's superior and was reported by him.

In another case, a police officer chatting with a civilian friend while sitting on a chair with crossed legs in front of his post was considered an act of disobedience against the professional discipline of the profession. Police officer Ahmet Bekir Efendi, registered no. 737, stationed at the Hasanpaşa detention center, was penalized with a day's worth of wage cut because he did not salute his superior while he and his civilian friend were sitting in front of the detention center on chairs with legs crossed, moreover, he was insistent on hiding the true identity of his friend.[205]

A particular punishment principle in the exercise of penalties was defined in the 1907 Regulations including the set of offenses that would require punishment. Yet, as we have touched upon, there were no standards with respect to penalty decisions and there was no well-defined correspondence between a particular penalty and a particular offense, as would be the case in the 1913 regulation. Officers' receiving different wage cuts for the same offense was not uncommon. An officer leaving his post without permission would be penalized with a three days' worth of wage cut, but the penalty might vary and be one or two

204 "Beyoğlı Merkezi'ne merbut Bostanbaşı Mevki'nde müstahdem 1662 numerolı polis Levon Efendi'nin ..mahall-i mezkur nöbetcisi ile laubaliyane bir suretde konuşduğı anlaşılmasına mebni bir günlik maaşının kat'i suretiyle tecziye idildiği Beyoğlı polis müdiriyetinden keyfiyyetin husul-i intibah zımnında ta'mimen tebliğine ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

205 "Hasanpaşa Tevkifhanesi'nde me'mur 737 numerolı Ahmed Bekir Efendi'nin bir refikiyle mezkur tevkifhane kapusı önünde sıfat-ı resmiyyeler ile sandalye üzerinde ayak ayak üzerine atarak terbiye-i meslekiyeye muhalif bir vaz'iyetde oturmakdalar iken oradan geçen ma-fevkine resm-i selamı ifa itmedikleri ve refikinin kim olduğını ketminde de muma-ileyhin ısrar iylediği anlaşılmasına mebni bir günlik maaşının kat'i suretiyle tecziyesi heyet-i intibahıyyece takarrür iderek icabı icra idildiği bera-yı intibah beyan olunur." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

days' worth of wage cut in other cases. For example, Mukayyed Selahaddin Efendi, registered no. 2042, and Mukayyed İsmail Efendi, registered no. 1795, who were both employed at Beyoğlu headquarters, were penalized for three days' worth of wage cut due to deserting their posts at the police station fand being seen at a movie theater.[206]

However, during an inspection, police employee Ahmed Efendi, who was stationed at the Eminönü headquarters, was determined to have left his assigned location at the Sirkeci crossroads, and to have sat and smoked in front of the stove of a train station and chatted with the office watchman, and he was therefore penalized with a day's worth of wage cut.[207] Police officer Raşid Efendi, registered no. 1009, stationed in Kiremid under the jurisdiction of the Fener headquarters, was found absent from his point duty and was penalized with a day's worth of wage cut.[208] Another example is an officer who was penalized with two days' worth of wage cut for disobeying his superior's orders and deserting his guard point duty. This officer was Hafız Hasan Efendi, registered no. 971, and the inspector's report mentions that he left his guard point,

206 "Beyoğlu merkezinde müstahdem...2042 numarada mukayyed selahaddin ve 1795 numarada mukayyed ismail Efendilerin memur oldukları vazife-I devriyeyi terk ile sinematoğraf tiyatrosunda oturdukları görüldüğünden üçer günlük maaşlarının kati suretiyle tecziye olundukları beyoğlu polis müdüriyetinden işar olunmağla tamimen beyan-ı keyfiyete ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 29 Kanunuevvel 1327, 21 Muharrem 1330 (11 January 1912), nr. 18, 144.

207 "Eminöni Merkezi mürettebatından 887 numerolı polis Ahmed Efendi'nin şehr-i halin onsekizinci Cuma irtesi gicesi saat dörtden sekize kadar me'mur olduğı Sirkeci'de dört yol ağzı nokta-i mahallini terk ile istasyon mevki'i kalem odasında soba başında oturub sigara içdiği ve daire nöbetcisi ile sohbet itdiği ind-el-teftiş anlaşılmağla bir günlik maaşının cezaen kat'i bi-t-tensib icabı icra idildiği husul-i intibah zımnında ta'mimen beyan olunur." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

208 "Fener merkezine merbut Kiremid mevkiinde müstahdem 1009 numerolı polis Raşid Efendi'nin mah-ı carinin üçünci güni me'mur olduğı nokta vazifesine gitmediği anlaşılmasından dolayı bir günlük maaşının kat'i suretiyle tecziye idildiğinin husul-i intibah zımnında ta'mimen tebliğine ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 22 March 1328, 16 Rabiulahir 1330 (4 April 1912), nr. 30, 240.

went to another officer's guard point, and acted in a bullheaded and disrespectful manner toward his superior, and he was therefore penalized with two days' worth of wage cut.[209]

In addition to criminal acts, going to brothels, showing up for work intoxicated, drinking, making a scene, and disrupting public order were considered inappropriate acts unfit for the profession and would be accordingly penalized with dismissal. Police officer Mehmed Efendi stationed at Firuz Ağa under the jurisdiction of Beyoğlu was fired upon the decision of the Recruitment Commission due to the fact he had spent his weekly leave day at the Bülbüldere brothels and had come to work the following day intoxicated and unable to perform his duties properly.[210]

Police officer Beşar Efendi stationed at the Taksim headquarters was fired upon the decision of the Recruitment Commission due to inappropriate actions on his weekly leave day. He forced a brothel - located within his police district - to be opened and broke its windows while off-duty and intoxicated, and he attacked two officers that were passing by with a dagger.[211] Police officer Nureddin Efendi stationed in Üsküdar

209 "Sirkeci İstasyonu'nda müstahdem 971 numerolı polis Hafız Hasan Efendi'nin mah-ı carinin onuncı gicesi me'mur olduğı nokta-i mahalli terk ile o civardaki diğer nokta me'murının yanına gitdiği ve bundan dolayı kendisine ihtaratda bulunan ma-fevkine karşı muamele-i serkeşane de bulunduğı anlaşılmasına mebni iki günlik maaşının kat'i suretiyle tecziye idildiğinin husul-i intibah zımnında ta'mimen tebliğine ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

210 "Beyoğlı Mürettebatı'ndan Firuz Ağa Mevki'nde müstahdem 2091 numerolı polis Mehmed Efendi'nin hafta me'zuniyetine müsadif olan mah-ı carinin beşinci güni Bülbüldere umumhanelerinde geçirdiği ve ferdası güni son derece sarhoş olarak karagola gelüb vazife-i muayyenesini ifa idemediği anlaşılmasına mebni idareten azline heyet-i intibahiyyece karar virilimekle husul-i intibah zımnında ta'mimen tebliğ-i keyfiyyete ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

211 "Taksim Merkezi'nde 742 numeroda polis me'murı Beşar Efendi'nin yevm-i me'zuniyeti olan Şubat'ın beşinci Pazar gicesi sivil ve sarhoş olduğı halde mıntıkası dahilinde bir umumhaneyi cebren açdırmağa kıyam ve pencere camlarını şikest ve oradan geçmekde olan iki zabite kama ile hücum itmek gibi ahval ve harekat-ı nalayıkaya mücaseret itdiği anlaşılmasına mebni idareten azline heyet-i intibahiyyece

was fired upon the decision of Recruitment Commission as a consequence of his actions. He had pounded at the door of Temürcü Istrati - who resided in Yel Değirmeni, Kadıköy and was a member of the Russian community – along with his civilian friend Nureddin Efendi, and he had been beaten by Istrati.[212]

4.6.2.3 Punishment Practices Exercised after the 1913 Regulation

As previously mentioned, the monthly punishment and gratification-registers (aylık tecziye-taltif defterleri) maintained by the police forces of the provinces and Istanbul testify to the regular functioning of the punishment system as defined in the 1913 police regulation.

Moreover, from 1913 onwards in the issued of *Polis Mecmuası*, tables revealing data concerning policemen dismissed from office started to be published on a regular basis. These tables, titled "punishments via dismissal from force" (*cezayı kayd-ı terkin cetvelleri*), included data on dismissed policemen: their names, ranks, places of work, and the acts that resulted in their dismissal. Unlike the narratives of the punishment practices of small numbers of policemen working mainly in Istanbul in the journal *Polis* that were published in 1911-1912, these issues provided a greater amount of data with respect to policemen subjected to punishment and also revealed information about policemen outside Istanbul – those of Aydın Province and Izmir sanjak - between the years 1913 and 1916.

There are seventeen tables provided in the issues from 1913 to 1916. However, only six provide detailed information with respect to the wrongful behaviors of policemen subjected to the punishment of

karar virilerek icabı icra idildiği bera-yı intibah ta'mimen beyan olunur." *Polis*, 1 March 1328/ 25 Rabiulevvel 1330 (14 March 1912), nr. 27, 215-16.

212 "Üsküdar mürettebatından polis Nureddin Efendi'nin refiki Haydarpaşa'da kain İkmal Mektebi talebesinden Şinasi Efendi ile birlikde Kadıköyi'nde Yel Değirmeni'nde sakin Rusya tebaasından Temürci Istrati Teudusik'in hanesi kapusını çalmalarından dolayı merkum Istrati tarafından darb olundukları anlaşılmasına mebni azline heyet-i intibahiyyece karar virilerek icabı ifa kılındığının bera-yı intibah ta'mimen tebliğine ibtidar kılındı." *Polis*, 22 March 1328, 16 Rabiulahir 1330 (4 April 1912), nr. 30, 240.

dismissal. These six include data about 303 policemen, only four of whom were sergeants, one of whom was a cavalry officer, and the rest of whom were police officers. The remaining eleven tables published between 1914 and 1916 do not detail the causes for dismissal and repeat a single phrase as the reason for the punishment of all policemen: "dismissal due to the conduct against police regulation."[213]

The tables also reveal data about the previous personal records of policemen and illustrate that some were punished with dismissal as a result of the accumulation of conduct against police regulations. The existence of the gratification and punishment registers already in this period since 1911 reveals the fact that these policemen were probably subjected to less severe punishments before being dismissed. Moreover, in some cases, the data reveal that policemen had frequently repeated their improper behaviors, and due to the fact that they had not changed their false habit, they were dismissed. Such cases illustrate that policemen were subjected to smaller punishments in accordance with the punishment system and were dismissed from office only as a last resort. All in all the personal records of policemen were taken into consideration, and thus it was targeted to correct the improper behavior with punishments of various degrees and kinds in accordance with modern punishment system established by the 1913 police regulation as explained in the previous section on norms of punishment.

In this section, the six tables of punishment practices executed in the years 1913 and 1914 in Istanbul and Aydın are analyzed and the conduct corresponding to given punishments are categorized.[214] Hence, it is

213 *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Kanunisani 1331, 22 Rebiulevvel 1334 (18 Ocak 1916) , nr 61, 527.

214 For the tables used in our analysis, see, *Polis Mecmuası*, 3 Teşrinisani 1329/14 Zilhicce 1331 (14 Kasım 1913), nr 8, 189-193; *Polis Mecmuası*,1 Kanunisani 1329, 16 Safer 1332 (14 ocak 1914), nr 12, 287-289; *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Şubat 1329, 4 Rebiülahir 1332 (2 Mart 1914), nr 15, 360; *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 Mart 1330, 16 Rebiülahir 1332 (14 Mart 1914), nr 16, 383; *Polis Mecmuası*, 1 Nisan 1330, 18 Cemaziyülevvel 1332 (14 Nisan 1914), nr 18, 432; *Polis Mecmuası*, 15 Şubat 1330, 13 Rebiülahir 1333 (28 Şubat 1915), nr 39, 935.

questioned whether these categories of punishment practices were similar to the normative categories given in our analyses of the punishment system. Our findings reveal that punishment practices did actually follow the principles defined in the 1913 police regulation. Moreover, the content analysis of punishment practices also provide us detailed information on the scope of the normative categories of punishment - meaning that it provides information on the actual conduct corresponding to given punishments. For instance, in the regulation, normative categories are indicated as general phrases such as disobedience of the superior. However, in our analyses of punishment practices, it is observed that that a number of conducts by policemen were defined under the category of disobedience. While one policeman did not obey the legitimate order of his superior to go to a guard point, another policeman got into a fight and pulled his gun against his superior. In this respect, the actual functioning of the punishment system and the scope of the normative categories of punishment are provided through an exploration of the punishment practices held in the police force.

Normative categories were as follows:

- Criminal acts
- Disobedience of superiors and orders
- Drinking
- Incompetence in the police profession
- Disciplinary infractions
- Financial self-sufficiency
- Ill-naturedness

CRIMINAL ACTS

Police officers were dismissed from the force for committing criminal offenses outlined in detail in the police regulation. Cases of murder and attempted murder were subject to dismissal. Three policemen were dismissed due to murder offenses. A police officer, Salih, killed a prostitute and injured himself trying to commit suicide afterwards. Mehmed used his gun to kill someone. Mehmet Ali killed his wife and injured himself trying to kill himself. Two policemen were dismissed for having

been convicted to a six-month sentence. In addition to being sentenced to six months by the court, Hayreddin Efendi was dismissed for his drinking and making an indecent woman wear men's clothes and dance while in his police uniform. Mustafa Asım was also dismissed due to his six-month sentence by the military court (*divan-ı harbi-i örfi*).

There were four incidents of theft. Only one person, Hüseyin Avni, was punished with dismissal for theft; he had stolen his colleague's boots. The other three embezzled money or goods from the state. Mehmet Nuri conveyed money by distorting formal documents and İbrahim Hakkı withheld a certain amount of money without the notice of his superior and later returned only some of it. Hakkı Efendi was convicted to three months sentence for embezzling state goods.

Three officers were charged with fraud and dismissed from office. Yusuf Ziya deceived a woman, while Mustafa Efendi raped a woman and took her money by fraud. Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault was correlated to the punishment of dismissal. Two officers were dismissed for raping women. Mehmet Emin Efendi was charged with both breaking into a house and sexual assault (*haysiyetşikenanede bulunmak*). There were three cases of sexual assualt of children. Muhammed Ahmed, Mustafa, and İsmail Behçet Efendis were dismissed for sexual assault to children. Muhammed Ahmed Efendi was in charge of escorting the child but took him to his house to carry out the assault. Thus, he violated his formal authority besides committing sexual assault. Verbal harassment (*harfendazlık*) was also considered sexual assault and immoral behavior and was subjected to the penalty of dismissal. Five cases included verbal harassment of women. In two cases the officers were immediately dismissed due to this offense. Hasan Hilmi passed words to women coming to the fountain (*çeşme*) for getting water, and Mehmed Hilmi was passing words to Muslim women. And they were discharged. However, in the remaining three cases, the police officers were charged with other offenses in addition to verbal harassment. For instance, İhsan came late from his period of permission and also left his duty. Mustafa was sitting in a coffeehouse while in uniform and passed words to a decent woman when he was drunk. Finally, Mehmed was conveyed to

the police center upon his sexual assault and verbal harassment of a decent Muslim woman and lying to hide reveal his place of work. Sexual offenses also included committing and attempting adultery (*harekat/muamele-i iffetşikenanede bulunmak; münasebat-ı gayrimeşru'da bulunmak suretiyle iffetşikenaneye ictisar eylemek*). In thirteen cases, the police officers were dismissed as a result of these offenses. Similar to other cases, several officers were simultaneously charged with other crimes or acts such as abusing their authority or leaving their duty. For instance, in addition to adultery, Ziyaddin Efendi committed conduct disparaging his personal dignity and formal title; İsmail Hakkı Efendi left his guard point; and Ömer Lütfü Efendi abused his authority as did Ali Rıza Efendi who deceived an indecent woman by saying that he was taking her to the police center but taking her to his house, instead. Moreover, Süleyman Şevket Efendi committed adultery by having a relationship with a married woman.

Going to brothels and having intercourse with prostitutes were the most common criminal offenses among policemen. Thirty-one cases of dismissal noted in the tables include such acts. Policemen frequented brothels together with their fellow officers. Data indicate that there were three distinct groups of policemen who worked in the same police center or station and were punished with dismissal due to going to brothels with their colleagues. Four policemen from Fatih police center of Istanbul - İsmail Hakkı, Halil İbrahim, Mehmet Vehbi, and Hüseyin Hüsnü were charged as a group for the same offense and dismissed from office, four having relationships and contacts with several immoral women and thus infringing professional dignity (*haysiyet-i meslekiyeye münhal olarak bazı iffetsiz kadınlarla peyday-ı münasebet ve irtibat eylediklerinden*). Similarly, four police officers named Kemal, Hasan, Sami, and Rıfat were serving in the Tepecik district of the Aydın Province police force were having relations with prostitutes in some brothels and thus removed from the profession. In another case, Cemal and Osman Nuri Efendis, two fellow policemen working in the police center of Saruhan sanjak of the Aydın Province were dismissed since they went to a brothel and conducted themselves disgracefully. In addition to visit-

ing brothels and having relations with prostitutes, policemen were sometimes charged with other offenses. Ali Rıza Efendi was dismissed for forcing an indecent woman to stay in his house though he had been assigned the duty of conveying the woman elsewhere. Moreover, Nuri Efendi was discharged for disobeying the order that he did not carry his revolver while on leave. In only one case was a police sergeant removed from office. He had accepted the invitation of a brothel owner on New Year's Eve and drank together with the prostitutes. It was stated that this situation revealed that the sergeant was bereft of a sense of duty and personal dignity.

There are ten cases of bribery in the lists of dismissed officers. In most of these cases, police officers took bribes from convicts or detainees in police custody, thus also abusing their authority. Sometimes they committed the offense together with fellow officers, such as in the case of Ali Kazım and Mehmet Tevfik who worked in the Karşıyaka police center of the Aydın Province and were charged with taking bribe from a person who had been sentenced to exile by the military court (*divan-ı harb-i örfi*). In another incident, Naci Efendi abused his authority since he had deceived a person under the pretext of making an inquiry about him without permission and information of his superior. Moreover, as they got into a car, he demanded a bribe amounting to ten liras in order to save this person from a false accusation, and took five paper liras and two mecidiyes subsequently.

Most of the criminal offenses of police officers were abuse of authority or conduct against the law. However, the tables indicate eigthteen cases in which policemen were dismissed for misusing their legal authority or duty (*salahiyet-i kanuniyesini /vazifesini suistimal*) and acting against the law. In only two cases were the offenses defined in detail: an instance of taking a bribe and one of the beating of a person. No information other than abuse of authority or duty was revealed for the remainder of the cases. There were three cases which indicated that policemen had conduct against the law. When the scope of police authority is considered, there are a number of types of conduct that could be classified under this category. In following sections it is illustrated

that there were policemen who testified in court contrary to the police records they had prepared. Such examples of police behavior lead us think that policemen had significant authority in terms of criminal policing and could abuse this authority by preparing false testimony, hiding evidence, letting suspects escape police custody, and taking bribes from offenders. Such conduct by policemen may not have been noted in the tables published in the journals; that is, certain cencorship may have been executed by the force while preparing the tables.

Policemen were banned from using their guns for personal reasons, and in eleven cases, officers were dismissed from office due to the use or attempted use of their guns. In four cases, policemen fired their guns due to the influence of alcohol. In other cases, they used their guns when fighting their opponents. As he was intervening in an incident, Mustafa Lütfi Efendi could not manage to arrest a person who attacked him and fired his weapon for no reason because of his excitement. Sometimes those against whom police officers pulled their guns were their superiors or other officials, such as gendarmes. Esad Efendi was removed from office for breaking into a house and also attempted to use his gun against his superior. In another incident, Mehmed Münir Efendi threatened a gendarme with his gun. Abdurrahman Efendi fired his gun on his brother-in-law after displaying it. Sometimes policemen could not suppress their anger and fired their guns. In his case, Hikmet Efendi was dismissed for using his gun due out of anger.

Three police officers, Hikmet, Esad, and Mehmet, were dismissed for breaking into houses. Policemen were also involved in tobacco smuggling and sometimes colleagues acted as accomplices. For instance, Ahmet Raşit and Ali Rıza from the Buca district in Aydın Province were dismissed for tobacco smuggling. In another incident, Salih from Izmir police force was also dismissed for tobacco smuggling. He committed conduct that he was obliged to prevent, having brought thirteen *kıyye* smuggled tobacco in the bottom of a basket upon his arrival from Izmir. Slander was also an offense that corresponded to the penalty of removal in the regulation, and there were three such cases. In one case, an officer named Ivan was removed for his immoral remarks about decent fami-

lies. In two cases, policemen made false accusations against their superiors.

DISOBEDIENCE OF SUPERIORS AND ORDERS

Disobedience of superiors' orders corresponded to a three-level punishment system in the 1913 regulation. Disobedient manners and acts would be punished with a reprimand for the first offense and a cut of salary for the second. If it was not expected that the officer could be corrected, then he would be dismissed in the end. There were sixteen cases in which policemen were punished for disobedience to their superiors. In most cases, the officers were removed due to the accumulation of the improper conduct in their personal records, such as displaying undisciplined behavior by leaving their duty, wandering around while on duty, drinking while in uniform, and having relations with prostitutes in addition to disobedience to the superior. In all cases, other than one, policemen were dismissed from office not only due to disobedience to their superiors but also as a result of a combination of improper conduct contrary to the principles set by the regulation. For instance, six police officers, Cemal, Muhammed Ali, Fuat, İsmail, Abbas Rıfat, and Mustafa Tahir, were dismissed due to undisciplined conduct such as leaving their duties in the police centers or points of patrol without the permission of their superiors. Similarly, in another case, İhsan Efendi displayed undisciplined behavior by refraining from fulfilling his duty. In some cases, police officers who made a habit of disobeying orders were removed in accordance to the punishment system established in the regulation. For instance, Ohannes Efendi was removed for abandoning his duty and also continuously disobeying his superior. As established in the regulation, the ones who were not expected to correct their habits were to be punished with removal. The policemen Nuri, Mehmet Hilmi, and Rüştü were dismissed due to relations with prostitutes. Indeed, controversies between superiors and subordinates could turn into serious confrontations. For instance, in addition to having had relations with prostitutes, Mehmet Hilmi and Rüştü were dismissed for attempting to slander their superiors. Moreover, policemen confronted their superiors as a result of

coming to the police center while drunk. The policeman Halit was dismissed for coming to the police station drunk and in uniform. Moreover, he replied his superior with defamatory answers (*hakaretamiz cevaplar*). In a similar case, Abdülkadir was charged with removal since he had been drunk in uniform and insulted his superior. Confrontations with superiors could result in the attempt by subordinates to use their guns. Esad was dismissed for attempting to use his gun against his superior. He was subjected to this punishment due to the fact that he had previously endeavored to break into a house. In another case, Hasan Rıfat was dismissed since it was observed that he was incapable of fulfilling the duties of his class.

As illustrated in the examples above, policemen were removed from office mostly as a result of accumulated false conducts in their personal records. Hence, punishment procedures were operated in line with the norms and rules set by the regulation. In only one case was a policeman immediately dismissed from office due to a disobedient act against his superior's orders. Şinasi Efendi had acted against the absolute orders of his superior and was thus dismissed. Such a behavior was evaluated as serious to warrant punishment by removal. As mentioned in the norms of punishment section, the 1917 clause on the punishment for disobedience of superiors was amended by an adjunct article in the 1913 police regulation. It was indicated in summary that officers of any rank who did not obey superior's orders either by criticism or in open confrontation would be subjected to punishments due to the seriousness of their actions. In this respect, even before the initiation of this clause in 1917, this norm was actually operated in 1913 meaning that the refusal to the superior's commands was to be subjected to dismissal when it was evaluated as a serious offense by the superior before 1917. According to the 1913 regulation, disobedience was only correlated with removal immediately if serious harm was done to the state. However, in this case, even though there was no serious harm to state the policeman was nevertheless subjected to removal immediately following his deed.

DISCIPLINARY INFRACTIONS

Violation of the permissions was strictly regulated in the 1913 regulation. There were thirteen cases of dismissal related to the violation of rules regulating weekly leaves and other kinds of leaves. In five of these cases, policemen İbrahim Hakkı, İbrahim Edhem, Mahmud Sezai, Ahmet Hamdi, and Şerafeddin were dismissed due to making a habit of returning late from their weekly leaves (*tecavüz-i mezuniyeti itiyad etmesinden*). There was sufficient reason for these men to be dismissed according to the regulation. However, other misdemeanors committed by these officers were also recorded in detail in the table among the causes for dismissal. This testifies to the fact that policemen's personal records were observed and meticulously recorded by their superiors and reported to higher offices which would in general contribute to the hierarchical surveillance of individual policemen through the collection of accumulated information on each officer by the central administration - that is to say, the personnel department (*Memurin ve Levazım Müdüriyeti/Memurin Müdüriyeti*) under the Department of Public Security in Istanbul which was under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior after 1911.[215] For instance, İbrahim Hakkı forged a signature in the guard notebook (*bekçi defteri*) on behalf of his fellow officer. Mahmud Sezai left patrol duty early and also caused a detainee to escape. Ahmet Hamdi spent more than his income allowed.

In addition to them, three policemen were dismissed in accordance with the regulation since they did not come back to duty once for three or more days after the end of their leaves. In the remaining five cases, the cause for removal from office was stated with a standard phrase- returning late from their leaves - and details were not indicated with respect to the the act. Moreover, there were other causes accompanying this phrase. İhsan was passing words to women and also left his duty. In his case, just leaving duty was sufficient reason for dismissal. Sadık was wandering around places that were inappropriate to his official position

215 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 67.

and thus behaving contrary to professional discipline. According to the regulation, this conduct would be charged with dismissal only if it was not expected that he would correct himself after being subjected to primary punishments such as reprimands and wage cuts. In this respect, the officer committed two types of disciplinary offense, one being the violation of the permission and the other being the infringement of professional discipline. It can be argued that these two offenses contributed to the decision to remove him. In another, similar case the policeman Ali also committed several offenses such as drinking, exceeding the permission period, and firing his gun. In his case, the use of his gun without legitimate cause was defined as a criminal offense in the regulation and would have been a reason for immediate removal. However, his various other misconducts were disciplinary offenses that were clearly registered in his record and contributed to the decision to remove him.

Among the cases of dismissal, police officers deserting their duty outnumbered those ones removed for other causes. Seventy-three police officers were dismissed from office due to the fact that they left their positions without the consent and knowledge of superiors or left the guard points without handing them over to their successors. The examples vary in terms of the duties that were deserted and the reasons for which policemen left their duties. Policemen mostly deserted guard points and beats. They also left the watchman duty in the police stations. The ones who left police stations where they were obliged to stay day and night other than their weekly leaves were also considered to have deserted and were subjected to the same punishment of removal due to desertion of duty.

Almost all the cases testify to the fact that those who quit their duty without notice were punished with removal in accordance with the regulation. However, four cases illustrate that policemen were not always instantly subjected to this punishment as the regulation commanded; their misdemeanors were ignored, covered up or tolerated several times by their superiors and not registered in their records. These four examples demonstrate that policemen were subjected to warnings by their superiors many times and reported only when superiors consid-

ered it impossible to correct their habits. It was clearly stated in these cases that Mehmet Ali, Abdülkadir, Ahmet Şaban Efendi, and Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi were all dismissed due to the fact that they made a habit of deserting their guard points or duties. It was underlined that Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi had left the guard point many times and turned this conduct into a habit. It was also added that he sang loudly (bülendavaz) in the police center. As seen in this example, various other misdemeanors of policemen were also mentioned among the causes for dismissal.

In twenty-three cases the tables give information with respect to the destinations and activities of policemen after they deserted their duties. The most popular pursuit instead of duty was drinking. Indeed, the act of drinking is analysed in a separate section. In this category, only policemen who quit their duties without notice are subject to analysis. Thus, ones who were dismissed due to drinking while on duty or while in uniform are not included.

In nine of the twenty-three cases, the policemen left their patrol duties or guard points in order to drink. They sometimes came back to their headquarters drunk, meaning that they had been drinking somewhere by themselves or with friends or that they simply went to taverns or night clubs. For instance, İbrahim came back to the police center after leaving his guard point duty and disturbed the serenity of the office with his inappropriate language (*elfaz-ı serkeşane*). Mahmut and Yusuf Kenan also arrived drunk from their patrol duties. Abdullah who became drunk during his duty went to a theatre and slept there. Cemal broke the windows of a night club (*gazino*) after getting drunk on patrol duty. Remzi and Mehmed Faik were stone drunk after drinking in a tavern.

The other cases provide significant knowledge with respect to the activities policemen performed instead of their duty. They were visiting the shops or public places around their duty zones such as taverns, nightclubs, brothels, coffehouses, and markets. For instance, Mümtaz was dismissed due to the fact that he left his patrol duty and went to a tavern where he put on the fez and jacket of the tavern owner. Mehmet Tevfik was reported due to leaving his guard point and playing cards in

a coffeehouse. Cevdet Efendi went to the theatre in the course of duty. Osman Süreyya and Muhammed Ali were wandering around without notifying their superiors. Often, policemen left their duties in order to fulfill personal errands. For instance, Ramazan repeatedly left his guard point duty in order to go here and there to accomplish personal matters. Similarly, Halil Zühdü from the Hasköy police force left his guard point unnoticed to go to Istanbul to repair his velospit. Hasan Basri flirted with an indecent woman during his patrol duty. He grabbed the woman's hand and made her touch his face, and he also had his fur cap snatched by the woman. Moreover, Abdüllatif and Bekir Sıtkı had been to brothels. Sometimes policemen committed these violations of duty together with fellow officers. For instance, Galib and Kamil Sıddıki, two fellow policemen from the police center in the Beyazıd-Vefa district, abandoned their duties to sleep in the police station.

ABSCONDING THE FORCE

Policemen were also dismissed from the force due to their total abandonment of their profession. According to the Articles 37 and 86 of the 1907 and 1913 regulations, respectively, policemen were obliged to serve for a period of two years upon their recruitment.[216] The resignations of those who had not served two years and had no legitimate health or other problems would not be accepted according to the 1907 regulation.[217] The 1913 regulation had a similar policy of two years of compulsory service (*hizmet-i mecbure*). Additionally, police candidates were also disallowed from resigning before the fulfillment of one year of service after their registration in a police school. Records of those who resigned or left their office without completing the compulsory service were expunged and they would no longer be accepted on the force and on another state service. The ones who resigned after completing the

216 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, VIII, 672; Tertib-i Sani, V, 400.

217 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, VIII, 672.

compulsory period were accepted if they were appropriate in terms of physical efficiency and age.[218]

In the tables, there are nineteen cases of dismissal due to desertion from the force with or without a resignation. Only eight people handed in resignations before deserting, and it was stated that three did not wait for the resignations to be answered by authorities. The remaining eleven officers deserted the force without any notice. They would even sometimes leave their belongings and weapons behind, whether in the police center or somewhere else. For instance, the police officer Hasan had left his belongings and gun in a gambling den (*batakhane*) where he had most probably gambled them away. Another, Ahmet Nuri, tried to sell his possessions which were in the police center upon his desertion. Mahmud left without taking any of his issue weapons. Moreover, seven of nineteen cases were of police officers who did not fulfill the compulsory service, and they therefore were dismissed in accordance with the regulation. Finally, in line with the 1913 regulation, İhsan was dismissed since he did not arrive at the place of service to which he was appointed.

As another disciplinary offense, indifference towards duty was also subject to punishment in three levels. There were six cases which can be considered within the scope of this category of punishment practice. In two cases, it was stated that police officers displayed indifference or laxity (*lakaydı, meyyalesizlik*) while carrying out their duties. In the remaining cases, policemen refused or abstained from going to their duty, and this conduct of refusing to fulfill their duty was categorized under the title of indifference to duty. In one case, a police officer named Mehmed Mehdi failed to carry out his duty due to indifference since he had lost a court decision that had been delivered to him.

As stated in the disciplinary offenses section, police officers who displayed behavior that impeded employment in the police profession or violated personal dignity and one's official title were to be immediately subjected to the punishment of removal. There are thirty-three

218 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Sani, V, 400.

cases treated under this punishment category. In twenty-two cases, the phrase "violation of personal dignity and/or official title" (*haysiyet-i şahsiyye ve meslekiyesini/sıfat-ı resmiyesini muhill/münhal harekat*) was designated as the cause of dismissal. In nine of twenty-two cases, the cause of violation was explained in detail and it was stated that policemen violated professional dignity due to their contact and relationships with indecent women or prostitutes. In one case, the officer was charged with this violation for having taken a child to his house to attempt sexual assault. In nine cases, the offenses of the policemen dismissed due to this act were not explained. In remaining three of twenty-two cases, policemen were subjected to punishment both due to the violation of professional dignity and also professional discipline. As seen, almost half – nine - of the twenty-two cases were related to adultery. In the remaining eleven of the thirty-three cases in general, policemen who were dismissed were considered to have demonstrated conduct inappropriate for employment in the police profession. In this category, it is observed that the causes of dismissal mostly included statements with respect to the inferiority of the personal characteristics of policemen. For instance, the police officer Mustafa Şükrü was considered to have an inferior degree of character (*ahlaken dun bir mertebede*) that violated both his personal dignity and official title. In another case, Ali Rıza was dismissed due to shameless and immoral conducts (*mugayir-i ar ve namus harekatından*). Yusuf Kenan was dismissed when it was understood that he had concealed his true identity in order not to reveal the quality of his character and situations in his past that were improper for someone entering the police profession. In another case, three policemen, two of whom were sergeants, were dismissed due to their lack of any sense of police duty and personal dignity. The two sergeants, Evseb and Ahmet, and the police officer Şerafeddin from the Galata police center had accepted the dinner invitation of a certain brothel owner on New Year's Eve and spent the night drinking with prostitutes in the brothel.

INCOMPETENCE AND INABILITY TO FULFILL THE DUTIES OF ONE'S RANK

In line with the 1913 regulation, police officers were dismissed when it was discovered that they were incapable of fulfilling the duties assigned to them. There are seventeen cases of removal in this respect. The analysis of these cases provides information in terms of the definition of the incompetent or incapable policeman. In most cases, eleven of them, the causes behind the dismissal due to incapability or incompetence were revealed.

First, policemen who failed to intervene in criminal affairs in their patrol zone would be charged with incompetence since police officers were held responsible for such interventions as the agents of criminal police. The duties and responsibilities of the criminal police had been taught to policemen since the first police class, as mentioned in the section above on the gratification practices of the police force. Six policemen, all from the Taksim-Firuzağa police force, were dismissed in accordance with the incompetence clause of the punishment regulation. It was indicated that the police officers Mehmet, Cemil, Cemal, Raşit, Naci, and Hafız Hüseyin remained indifferent vis-a-vis a significant criminal affair; thus, their incompetence in the fulfillment of offical duties was evident. In addition, those who were incapable due to indifference, policemen who could not handle policing tasks were also subject to this label and punishment practice. For instance, a police officer whose actions resulted in the escape of the suspect in a theft incident was charged with being bereft of competence. In another case, Mustafa Lütfi Efendi was dismissed since he failed to arrest a man who had attacked him; he had also fired his gun without cause in the course of this event due to his excitement.

Moreover, as discussed in detail in the gratification section, police officers were expected to prepare documents especially in terms of their criminal policing duties because documents processed by police immediately after the occurrence of a criminal affair provided the basis of the documentations of evidence, and the testimonies of witnesses and experts that would be used throughout the court process. Therefore, policemen were responsible for carrying on the proper registration of all

necessary papers and also for proceeding the documents correctly and on time to relevant agents such as the public prosecutor, interrogator, and the court, especially in provinces which lacked judicial agents other than the police. In two cases, fellow policemen Yusuf and Heybetullah working in the Taksim police force were dismissed due to the fact that their incompetent policing was discovered when they went to court as witnesses to a criminal incident about which they had prepared and signed a police record, but then testified against this police record. Similarly, Ali Rıza Efendi was removed from the force due to his testimony contrary to the police record he had organized and signed.

In the remaining six cases, the causes of the dismissal were not clearly identified. The same phrase was repeated for almost all the cases - that the incapability of the policeman to fulfill the duties of his class was evident. In one case though, slightly different wording was used. Latifullah Müştak Efendi did not have the competence to fulfill the duties of his class due to the fact that he displayed incapability and laziness (*aciz ve meskenet*). In this respect, the causes in these cases may be similar to the ones above. Policemen who deliberately did not or failed to immediately and properly intervene were defined as incompetent since they could not fulfill their duties of preventive and criminal policing. Moreover, those who did not or could not accomplish the judicial policing tasks such as preparing and proceeding documents relevant to criminal incidents were also labelled incompetent and incapable of police duty. For instance, in the school text-book *Polis Rehberi* published in 1912 the author, Ahmet Faik (Erener) who was then the director of the Dersaadet Police School, gives examples of various kinds of police records to be organized by officers, and it is seen that policemen were responsible for preparing records about all the incidents they faced in addition to criminal offenses.[219] For instance, an example was provided about the preparation of a record by policemen patrolling a beat who took a drunk man –who was disturbing the public order by

219 Şen, *"20. Yüzyıl Başında Türk Polis Teşkilatı,"* 91-98.

shouting loudly in the streets - to the police station.[220] Moreover, as previously explained, policemen were more than detectives or patrol officers. They were usually demanded to carry out the responsibilities and duties of the criminal police - that is to say, the public prosecutor and interrogator - especially in the provinces. This point is elaborated in Chapter 5, as also explained in detail in the gratification section, police officers and superiors were expected to fulfill the paperwork of the state bureaucracy, especially to prepare and proceed the documentation of the judicial policing which was vital for the running of the judicial mechanism.

ILL-NATUREDNESS (INCOMPATIBILITY WITH COLLEAGUES AND ILL- TREATMENT OF CITIZENS)

Policemen were expected to display pleasant manners towards citizens who resorted to police centers or official buildings such as government buildings in the countryside. Moreover, police officers were commanded to have friendly relations with their colleagues - or at least to have positive relations based on mutual respect. In this regard, the relationships of policemen with citizens and their colleagues would be under the surveillance of their superiors according to the police regulation of 1913. There are twelve cases which refer to policemen dismissed due to lack of harmony with people around them.

In three cases, policemen were subjected to punishment due to their ill-treatment of people who had come to the police centers (*eshab-ı mesalih*) in order to fulfill their official procedures. This treatment varied in degree from verbal disparage to physical violence. While İsmail Hakkı beat a citizen coming to the center, Eşref and Sülayman were dismissed for insulting and beating citizen.

The rest of the cases illustrate the dismissal of policemen due to their negative conduct and manner against fellow officers and superiors. The cases indicate that being incompatible referred to using abu-

220 Ibid., 97.

sive language against the colleagues or superiors, having verbal quarrels (*lisanen münazaa*) or even physical fights with them, and even attempting to pull a gun on them. For instance, Mehmed Hilmi insulted his colleagues; Halil quarreled with his fellow officer in the course of duty and also used abusive language; Mehmed Enver used abusive language against colleagues as did İsmail against both fellow officers and his superior. Abdülkadir insulted his superior and Esad threated to pull his gun on his superior. Saaddettin had a habit of starting verbal quarrels. Mahmud Hilmi had a quarrel with his colleague on the ferry while there were people all around and he threw the postal bag in his hand to the inside of the ferry. Thus, it was stated that he had humiliated both his profession and his friend. These cases illustrate that policemen were expected to behave properly, especially in public, and to have good manners since they represented the force in general. Moreover, they were not even permitted to have verbal quarrels with friends. Thus, it could be said that an easy-going or harmonious character was more appreciated on the force. Policemen were expected to display obedience towards their superiors while behaving harmoniously among their colleagues rather than being too much critical or quarrelsome.

FINANCIAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY

In accordance with the regulation, police officers who extracted money or income from citizens were punished with removal if they did not correct their conduct immediately upon the warnings of superiors. There are three cases of this punishment practice. Şevket and Şerafeddin Efendis were dismissed since they had been spending more than their incomes. Additionally, they had other misconducts that also corresponded to the removal penalty. Şevket Efendi left duty without notice; Şerafeddin Efendi had a habit of exceeding his periods of permissions and also demonstrated immoral conduct infringing on his personal dignity. Finally, Nazmi Efendi was dismissed when it was discovered that he received money from several coffeehouse owners and had relations with prostitutes.

PROFESSIONAL DISCIPLINE

Most of the conduct revealed in the dismissal tables can also be evaluated as conduct contrary to professional discipline. However, there are only four cases were this phrase is specifically given as the cause for the dismissal of policemen. In three, it was stated that the person displayed conduct against both professional discipline and dignity. In the last, the behavior that was defined as a transgression of professional discipline was indicated exactly. Sadık Efendi acted against professional discipline since he was found wandering around places inappropriate for an officer. As mentioned in the norms of punishment section, there was a separate clause for policemen wandering around and sitting in places inappropriate for their title. However, in this example, the two clauses of punishment were inscribed and indeed merged as one to indicate the cause of dismissal. In this respect, it can be argued that due to its generality, the clause "behaving contrary to professional discipline" could be used in other cases of punishing disciplinary offenses since it refers to various offenses that violate the professional mode of behavior reproduced in the police force. Therefore, several cases not associated with any other punishment clauses in the regulation could be categorized under this clause. There are five such cases. Policemen acting indecently and frequenting improper places even when not in uniforms were subject to punishment by dismissal in terms of this clause. For instance, İsmail Hakkı was arrested by his superior for gambling and smoking hashish in a casino. In another case, Hamdi was handed over to patrol police by a group of firemen in Galata who thought that he would probably make a scene as he had been drinking in a tavern. They also took his official weapons. It was stated that his employment in the police profession was considered unacceptable because of this incident. In another case, the police officer Mehmet Remzi was determined to drink, make the orchestra play and sing publicly with several people in a nightclub. Finally, two fellow officers were dismissed since they had participated.

§ 4.7 Disciplinary Gaze of the Commissar

Throughout this chapter the modern disciplinary structure of the Ottoman police force is explained through analyses of the corrective sanctions employed by the force such as the norms and practices of gratification and punishment. However, the success of this disciplinary mechanism was based on the existence of supervisors or middlemen– that is to say, the middle management - acccording to Foucault. The ones who carried out the sanctions established by modern institutions and who were thus able to operate the corrective function of the disciplines by means of evaluation and supervision were the personnel working in the middle ranks of any institution.[221] In a school, this was the teacher or chaplain, in a factory, the director or supervisor, and in prisons, the guards occupied this position, and without them, the normalization or correction of the targeted subjects would not be possible.

> Supervisors, a prison governor, a chaplain or an instructor are more capable of exercising this corrective function than those who hold the penal power. It is their judgement (understood as observation, diagnosis, characterization, information, differential classification) and not a verdict in the form of an attribution of guilt, that must serve as a support for this internal modulation of the penalty-for its mitigation or even its interruption.[222]

The middlemen had the authority to determine the boundaries or definition of the normative distinctions put forward by disciplinary power. Therefore, their judgments were fundamental for distinguishing between normal and abnormal behavior since they were in charge of indicating that a certain manner or mode of behavior was abnormal by marking it as a deviation from the norm via corresponding it with a certain punishment, observation or diagnosis. Therefore, an analysis of middlemen in the Ottoman police force, which functioned as a modern

221 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 175-6, 246.

222 Ibid., 246.

institution of power, is necessary. Such an analysis would encompass the exploration of middlemen's judgment or conduct employed in terms of the normalization or subjectification of the recruits. It would better explain the scope of the ideal subjectivity sought by the police force.

Since the beginning of the rationalization of the institutional structure and education of the police force via police classes, schools, regulations, and inhouse journals, commissars served as the middlemen of the Ottoman police institution.

İbrahim Feridun, the author of the police school text book underscored in 1910 the significant role of superiors in terms of transforming the policemen's behavior and mentality. He indicated that superiors were responsible for constantly surveilling police officers under their command and could only succeed in correcting the behavior of those men by making the right decisions in terms of distributing rewards and especially punishments.

> A subordinate officer receives a warning after his first offense and if he acknowledges his wrongdoing then he will not do it again. But if he observes that his wrongdoing is ignored, then he will be encouraged to commit a much bigger offense - an offense that is unpardonable and impossible to hide - and thereby his record was to be expunged. Furthermore, while the country wants to benefit from its son's service and work, it would be deprived of his presence for days and months! As you can see, a small mistake that is tolerated in an illogical manner can lead to grave situations as a consequence.
>
> However, once a superior notices a subordinates' wrongdoing, he should carefully consider what kind of intervention - advice, a warning, or a penalty - is required so as prevent this wrongdoing from recurring, but without insulting his subordinate. For this reason, if a severe punishment is given to the subordinate, he will become accustomed to receiving such penalties and become indifferent to tasks given to him; he will be unaffected by the penalties given him and turn into an undignified officer. Sometimes an untimely penalty given to an officer makes him

> sad - and even though he does not lose his moral integrity - he starts performing his tasks in a desperate manner, and there is no benefit to be reaped from such unenthusiastic job performance. Therefore, one needs to act farsightedly, cautiously, and fairly while deciding upon and distributing punishments so that the police profession will not be deprived of a loyal servant and a son of the country will not be deprived of his livelihood and happiness.
>
> Superiors should also compliment and reward subordinates upon witnessing their devotion to duty, moral integrity, strife and rightful services even as they are obliged to decide upon and distribute penalties with nuanced thinking and careful conduct. On certain occasions, Ottomans consider a simple compliment uttered at the right place and time as a reward worthy of an achievement that one acquires at the risk of one's own life, and this is sufficient reason for the officer to continue performing his duties with eagerness and diligence as before.[223]

Moreover, since 1896 commissars and other officers in superior positions at lower ranks such as sergeants (*polis çavuşu*) were responsible for surveilling policemen and preparing reports on misbehaviors displayed by them according to the draft provided by the police inspector, Celestine Bonnin.[224] Moreover, a 1912 ordinance was provided to both police officers and superiors with respect to their duties and responsibilities. In this "Special ordinance concerning the professional ethics of policemen" (*Polisin terbiye-i meslekiyesine müteallik talimat-ı mahsusa*), the duties of police officers were outlined in eleven points. The closing paragraph stated that police superiors were charged with the supervision, inspection and fulfilment of these points revealed with

223 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 27-28.

224 Van, *"Osmanlı Polis Teşkilatının Modernleşme Süreci,"* 302-3.

respect to professional ethic.[225] Moreover, superiors were provided with an ordinance that included detailed information about the subtleties on the distribution of rewards and punishments.

The "new" police commissar was probably the most significant actor for the constitution and reproduction of the normative discourse to which police recruits were subjected through its operationalization via disciplinary practices. All the articles written in the journals, the lectures given in police schools, and the textbooks prepared for the schools were the product of police superiors sharing a similar mentality or subjectivity – that of the new police commissar. The authors of the articles published in the journals were authored by lawyers, public prosecutors, and commissars. The lessons on law in the police schools were taught by law school graduates, and all others were conducted by police commissars. Moreover, there were "internal commissars" (*dahil/dahiliye komiserleri*) responsible for the surveillance of the manner and conduct of the police candidates studying in the police schools.[226] These were also responsible for the provision of reports to the high-ranking internal officers (*dahiliye zabitanı*) who were in charge of general discipline and order in the schools.[227] Finally, the three influential textbooks of İbrahim Feridun, Manyasizade Refik Baha Bey and Ahmet Faik (Erener) –that have been analysed in detail – which were appropriated for the education of police candidates in the schools were all written by commissars who had also served as police school directors.

Therefore, the new commissar subjectivity was the basis for the generation of a certain kind of thinking and behavior among policemen recruited and educated in the police class and schools after 1891. These men were the agents who both reproduced the institutional discourse

225 "Terbiye-i meslekiyeye müteallik olan mevaad-ı salifenin ve işbu mevadda ait füruaat-ı sairenin tatbik ve ifa edilip edilmediğini polis zabıtanı Efendilerin mütemadiyen ta'kib ve tetkik etmeleri vazifeleri mukteziyatındandır." Şen, *"20. Yüzyıl Başında Türk Polis Teşkilatı,"* 53.

226 Çebitürk, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e "Polis" Mevzuatı, 109.

227 Ibid., 107-8.

of the police force and also inculcated a certain mode of behavior and mentality derived from this discourse into the policemen under their commands throughout the education in the schools and also the training and supervision conducted in police centers or stations.

The service records of policemen (*künye defteri*) working in the autonomous liva of Karesi dated August 8, 1914, testify to the fact that police commissars functioned as middlemen who observed the policemen under their command, engendered personnel records, and identified, marked, and distinguished policemen with certain characteristics and labels.[228]

The Karesi registers are unique among service records from other police centers due to the fact that they are the only ones that report on the individual characteristics of policemen. All other service records contain objective data about policemen such as their date and place of birth, and their education, as well as also data on personnel matters like the date of recruitment, their previous appointments, their changes of place, and their resignation. There may be similar reports locally held in other police centers, but this is the only one we have been able to discover in our search of the archives.

The Karesi registers illustrate that policemen were subjected to the disciplinary gaze of their superiors in police centers. According to these registers, certain values and attitudes were appreciated and others were disappreciated. Hence, various behaviors were stigmatized as immoral and were disapproved of, while others were valued, approved of, and desired in line with our analyses of the institutional discourse revealed in police regulations and educational materials. In this respect, policemen were subjected to practices that divided them within themselves and amongst their colleagues. They were evaluated and compared to one another by the commissar with respect to their possession or lack of certain skills and characteristics in accordance with the normative discourse of the institution. Using this strategy, certain modes of

228 BOA. DH. EUM. MEM. 51/10. 1332 N. 16 Ramazan 1332/8 August 1914.

behavior and attitudes were imposed on them, such as being eager to rise up in the police hierarchy and being harmonious, rule-bound, hardworking, devoted to the job, selfsacrificing, and ambitious but not selfish.

The Karesi police center was composed of twenty policemen, two of them were second-class commissars, four were sergeants and fourteen were police officers. Commissar Salih who prepared the registers was second-class commissar and thirty-three years old in 1914. He had been serving in the force since September 6, 1908, that is to say he had six years of service in the force. He was born in Balıkesir and had been recruited after the July revolution.

The other commissar of the second-class rank in the police station was Ahmet Fuat Efendi who was forty-eight years old at the time. Like Commissar Salih, he was recruited after the revolution and had been working in the force for almost six years. Interestingly, though, he was recruited at a rather old age. His age upon entering the force was forty-two, and he was born in Asitane (Istanbul). In his report, Commissar Salih commented on all of the men under his command other than Commissar Ahmet Fuat Efendi. Probably, he did not have the authority to evaluate this colleague who was of the same rank, or they prepared the registers together as superiors in the police station. Moreover, their recruitment after the July revolution can be related to their political allegiance to the CUP since police cadres were subjected to reform (*tensikat*) by the CUP following the July revolution, and most new recruits were from among members or at the east sympathizers of the CUP.

The other four superiors in the police station were all sergeants. The first sergeant noted in the registers, Mehmet Kadri Efendi, was born in Balıkesir. He was fifty years old at the time and had been recruited in 1896. Despite the fact that he had served in the force throughout the eighteen years of Abdulhamit II's reign, he was assigned to the position of Deputy of the Reform Commission (*Tensikat Komisyonu Muavinliği*) on August 14, 1909. He was promoted to chief commissar in 1912, but later, in 1913, he was demoted almost three ranks to the rank of sergeant. Career moves of Mehmet Kadri Efendi suggest that he was not

associated with Abdulhamit's circle by the new government after the July revolution; thus, he was even able to be assigned to the Reform Commission in 1909. Commissar Salih noted that throughout Mehmet Kadri Efendi's service in Balıkesir, he witnessed that Mehmet Kadri Efendi was bereft of any competence and experience with respect to the profession and the procedures of the police. Given Commissar Salih's remarks, the reduction of Mehmet Kadri Efendi's rank was likely the result of the fact that he was found unqualified to fulfill the duties of his rank.

Mehmet Şükrü Efendi was also a sergeant who had been recruited under the old regime, in 1895. He was forty-five years old and had nineteen years of service on the police force. Unlike the previously mentioned sergeant, Commissar Salih approved of this one due to his diligence, discipline in duty, and courage. However, colleagues mentioned that while Mehmet Efendi had a moderate drinking habit, he was trying to correct his conduct. Thus, Commissar Salih noted in the end that he was his improvement was expected.

The remaining two sergeants were younger than the other superior officers and had been recruited by the new regime after the revolution. Mustafa Efendi was born in Edremid, was thirty-one years old, and had five years of service on the force. Commissar Salih did not have a positive opinion of the comportment of this young sergeant due to the fact that the sergeant's colleagues were not pleased with the services and procedures he carried out. Previously, Mustafa Efendi had been assigned to three police stations in the *kaza*s of Edremid, Ayvalık, and one another, but he was reported due to disobedience of superiors and ill-treatment of colleagues. Hence, he was sent back to the Karesi center in the end giving his dissonant character. Moreover, Commissar Salih pointed out that Mustafa Efendi was not bestowed with several qualities demanded by the police profession, namely as courage, good service, and seriousness (*cesaret, hüsn-i vazife ve ciddiyet*).

The last sergeant was Mustafa Raşid Efendi, thirty-two years old, who had served for five years on the force. While serving on the police forces of five kazas - Edremid, Balya, Gönen, Bandırma, and Erdek - the

district governorships (*kaimmakamlıklar*) moved him to other districts due to complaints about his incapability. Commissar Salih indicated that there was little hope that over time he would gain merit with the accumulation of work experience.

The rest of the personnel was composed of fourteen policemen who were almost all born in Balıkesir or in other kazas at Balıkesir's periphery. Policemen were mostly in their thirties or in their late twenties. Only one was forty years old. Most of them had three to five years of service on the force, and only one had eleven years of service. Two were had just been recruited. In this respect, the composition of the police could be defined as young men in their thirties from the local neighborhood with a few years of experience on the job. Indeed, superiors in this police center also carried similar characteristics. Second Commissar Salih and the two younger of his sergeants were also in their thirties, have been recruited from the local neighborhood and had been serving on the force for five years. Only two superiors, Second-Class Commissar Mehmet Kadri and Sergeant Mehmet Şükrü were differentiated from the rest of the personnel in terms of their relatively older age and almost twenty years of service. In addition, except for one of police officers, all the personnel were Muslim. Kirkor Efedi was the only non-Muslim, but otherwise he had similar qualities as the rest of the police officers. He was thirty, born in Balıkesir, and had three and a half years of service on the force.

The personal records kept in the registers of the Karesi police center provide significant insight with respect to the normative divisions and discursive system to which policemen were subjected in their daily lives in the police center. The definitions and evaluations of the superior in charge of the center, Commissar Salih, corresponds to the discursive strategies for the correction and normalization of behavior - that is to say, binary division and branding as well as coercive assignment and differential distribution. According to Foucault, all authorities exercising

individual control appropriate this double mode of normalization.[229] In binary division and branding, individuals are classified and thus labelled in terms of binary categories such as mad/sane, dangerous/harmless, and normal/abnormal. Thus, each individual's character is essentialized and labelled in terms of these two categories. Moreover, individuals are also differentiated among themselves with respect to their labels. Thus, a person is divided both in himself and among his fellow friends in the group. Moreover, individuals branded with differential definitions are subjected to coercive assignment and differential distribution, meaning that they are positioned in the institutional structure in accordance with their classified characteristics, skills, and labels. They are thus subjected to certain normalizing measures as required, such as rewards, punishments, and assignments.

As supervisors or the middle management executives, the police commissars were the ones who were responsible for the immediate observation and evaluation of policemen in the stations; therefore, the practices of punishment and gratification or the appointments that were to be imposed or provided to policemen were offered with respect to the commissars' analyses. Therefore, commisars in the stations were significant functionaries of the disciplinary power of the police organization. Their definition or analyses of the moral characters of policemen were vital to the disciplinary measures to be taken for the correction of the men under their command.

The police records of the Karesi center illustrate that the modes of behavior and comportments of policemen were described in terms of certain binary divisions. Their characters were associated with several labels such as:

- Competent vs. incompetent
- Experienced vs. inexperienced
- Hardworking vs. lazy
- Strenuous (*azimli*), willing to develop vs. resistant to correction

229 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 199.

- Dedicated to duty, serious, proper vs. ignorant, indifferent to duty, improper
- Obedient to superior and order vs. Disobedient
- Self-sacrificial vs. self-seeking
- Cunning (*kurnaz*) vs. guileless (*saf*)
- Brave vs. cowardly
- Good-tempered, harmonious with colleagues vs. ill-tempered

Since these binary divisions correspond to normal/abnormal categories, the normative categories appropriated in the correction of policemen through discursive and disciplinary practices are revealed. When compared with normative categories repeated in the institutional discourse - that is to say, the discourses reproduced in the institution's educational materials and regulations - it is clear that the binary divisions and labels derived from them are almost identical.

First, policemen were expected to have accumulated knowledge of the modern policing profession and to execute certain skills and abilities in order to carry out police tasks. The commissar of Karesi center frequently used the binary division of competent/incompetent in his evaluations of policemen. The archival materials used in our analyses of punishment and gratification practices helps to reflect on the kinds of knowledge, skills, and the attributes associated with these categories of competent and incompetent. In this respect, policemen were expected to fulfill policing tasks assigned to them in the police centers which mostly consisted of writing correspondence, preparing police reports, and processing and forwarding documents to the relevant offices. These kinds of office work and paper-work required policemen to have an advanced aptitude reading and writing, the ability to use modern communications devices such as the telephone and telegraph, and an accumulation of knowledge on the preparation and procession of official documents. In addition to these bureaucratic capabilities, policemen were also demanded to rightfully intervene in criminal affairs and execute criminal investigations that necessitated meticulous examination of crime scenes. This involved using fingerprinting techniques, taking photographs of crime scenes and finding evidence through cross-

interrogation of witnesses and suspects as well as detailed documentation of crimes including the preparation of testimonies of witnesses and experts. The policemen and superiors who were defined as competent were those who had gained these skills and this expertise either through formal education provided in police schools and course or through experience. Therefore, Commissar Salih appropriated the binary division of experinced and inexperienced to refer to this accumulation of knowledge on policing as a profession. As revealed in the memoirs of a police commissar, Ali Rıza Öge, experimental knowledge was sometimes more significant for succeeding in the police profession. Moreover, as explained in the section on institutional discourse, the significance of experience was emphasized throughout the police journals. Therefore, those lacking any formal training were evaluated in terms of their experiential knowledge and expertise. If they could not fulfill the tasks required despite having spent many years in the police organization, they were also labelled incompetent.

Other recurrent binary divisions were those of hardworking/lazy and strenuous/resistant to correction. Policemen who were unwilling or even resistant to change themselves in line with the required characteristics enforced by the normative discourse of the organization were described as lazy or as ircorrigible. As previously indicated in our anaylsis of the institutional discourse, both in textbooks and journal articles policemen were advised to enhance their knowledge of the laws and regulations as well as their expertise in policing tasks in order to rise up through the institutional hierarchy. Moreover, those who exerted their policing capabilities and skills were subjected to gratification practices, though those who failed to fulfill their duties were punished. Indeed, those who demonstrated their competence through exams or their achievements in the course of fulfilling their duties were guaranteed promotion to the higher ranks that they deserved. In this respect, policemen were advised to develop their capabilities and move to higher offices through their personal efforts. Thus, a liberal discourse of work was reproduced that described the police organization as a rational bureacratic mechanism run by individuals in fair competition with each

other on the basis of acquired skills and knowledge. Therefore, policemen who failed to develop their capabilities were labelled as lazy or unwilling to correct themselves. Indeed, the police organization had many members who had been recruited in earlier period without any formal schooling. With the flow of educated policemen and commissars into the police centers - especially after the establishment of police schools – these uneducated police were faced with a certain loss of prestige within the organization. Hence, experience became a less valuable asset than formal education. Eexperienced and older policemen were expected to fill the gaps in their expertise and were sent to schools to acquire modern policing capabilities, their long years of service in the organization notwithstanding. Those who resisted change or could not keep the pace with younger, educated policemen were faced with the criticism of fellow policemen and superiors, and they were labelled as lazy or resistant to change. In this respect, adaptation was a repressive requirement for older policemen who could not keep up with the rest. As the author of the police textbook, İbrahim Feridun suggested, policemen found themselves in a situation where their efforts were useless and unappreciated. Those who wanted to stay on the police force despite their incompetence were subject to labels such as useless, lazy, and even immoral since they were paid a salary though they did not provide any useful service to the organization. Feridun described those who did not try to develop their capabilities but just performed inferior services such as cleaning and preparing dinner as indecent - even as thieves stealing the people's money.[230]

The commissar of Karesi center also differentiated policemen on the basis of the binary category of good-tempered /ill-tempered. As outlined in the analysis of punishment practices, policemen were expected to have good relations both with their colleagues and with citizens who come to the police centers. Those who transgressed this norm were subject to punishment in line with the police regulation of 1913. Po-

230 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 48.

licemen were also evaluated with respect to certain personal characteristics such as bravery, cunning, and self-sacrifice. These were considered vital qualities for fulfilling the duty of policing and those exhibiting these characteristics were rewarded as outlined in the section on gratification practices.

Finally, even though they had no significant achievements, policemen who displayed the right kinds of behavior - meaning disciplined conduct in line with the general rules and regulations set by the institution - were appreciated and considered proper, serious officers dedicated to their duty. In this respect, the categories of obedient/disobedient, proper/improper, serious/ignorant were among the most appropriated by Commissar Salih in his analyses of the comportments of his policemen. In the gratification and punishment practices revealed in the previous section, it was stated that the disciplinary offenses were mostly regulated field of punishment in the police regulation of 1913. Moreover, most policemen subjected to dismissal were those who did not abide by disciplinary rules; abandoned their duty, overstayed their dates of leave, drank, or disobeyed to their superior's commands.

5

Running the Policing Machine: Differences and Deviances in the Institution

This chapter questions the story narrated throughout the thesis which conceptualized the Ottoman police force as a modern institution of power that turns average citizens into professionals having a certain mode of thinking and behavior. In this respect, it is illustrated that this modern institution of power designed to build police professionals did not function as perfectly as suggested in previous chapters. The mechanism was established, but there were always human conditions leading to divergences and anomalies that must be taken into consideration.

Therefore, in this chapter the deviations of policemen from the normalizing practices of this disciplinary, normalizing mechanism will be illustrated by making use of archival data. On this basis, it is questioned whether the ideal police station or ideal commissars, both of which were significant parts of the police force for the surveillance and normalization of police officers, actually existed - especially in the provinces far away from the supervision of the center. Hence, through analyses of actual-functioning of police forces stationed in provincial areas, the arguments on the modern operationalization of the Ottoman police force are subjected to examination. Moreover, analyses of the provincial police forces provide a better comprehension with respect to the quali-

ties and composition of police cadres in the countryside. Finally, it is demonstrated that police superiors and even officers in the countryside were assigned many other official duties in addition to their policing responsibilities. This means that in the provinces, the definition of police duty differentiated from the one introduced by the institutional discourse of the police force. As it will be outlined in detail, additional duties were assigned to police cadres, such as the workloads of other state officials like public prosecutors, interrogators, teachers, and or administrative officials. In this regard, the Great War was the reason for the deterioration of the proper operationalization of the institutional mechanism due to the fact that wars required pulling forces from the countryside to the center and assigning them to the war fronts. The Ottoman state, which had already been suffering from a shortage of qualified state officials (*kaht-ı rical*) for the new administrative and judicial branches of the state in the provinces, found it much harder to make police run properly and in accordance with established rules and regulations.[1] Hence, supplementary forces were added to the composition of police forces in the countryside, which deteriorated the situation for police officers and the overall organizational structure.

Overall, it is considered that the Ottoman police organization tried to stick to principles and rules designed for the establishment and maintenance of a modern institution of power. Despite this effort by the center, deviations from institutional norms and regulations were responses to worsening conditions faced by the state throughout this historical period in general.

1 Abdülhamit Kırmızı offers an analysis of the governors of the provinces in the Abdulhamit II era where he also mentions a discussion on the issue of shortage of qualified state officials (Kırmızı, *Abdülhamit'in Valileri*, 45-46). For a detailed discussion on this issue of *kaht-ı rical,* see Oğuz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Devlet Adamı Kıtlığı."

§ 5.1 Police Centers or Stations in the Provinces

The institutional structure of police stations in provincial areas did not provide suitable conditions for the inculcation of discipline in policemen, the establishment of hierarchy among superiors and officers, and the reproduction of an ideal police identity. Due to a lack of allowances and personnel, these provincial police stations, especially those located in small towns, did not correspond exactly to the ideal police station described in the previous section. In most cases in the provinces – in both city and town centers - police officials lived and worked in a few rooms located within the courthouses rather than in separate police stations. In the previous section, ideal police stations or centers were identified as indispensable spaces for the making and training processes of police superiors and officials. In this section, the actual existence of the ideal police station or its proximate versions in different degrees will be examined.

Improving the police stations of the police organization in provincial areas in both quantitative and qualitative terms was a persistent issue until the end of the Ottoman Empire. Often, the allowance requests made by provincial police directorates could not be afforded. These allowance requests increased throughout the second constitutional era, especially since the Balkan Wars and World War I. Therefore, the construction costs of police stations paid raised locally - donations made by the members of the community and its notables - and these payments were overseen by provincial administrative officials or the police superiors commanding the police centers who were also leading the processes of the construction of the buildings. In the issues of the journal *Polis Mecmuası* published between 1913 and 1918, photographs of police stations constructed through the collaborative effort of locals and administrative officials appeared along with detailed information on the construction processes of these buildings including the names of the commissars and district governors (*kaymakam*) overseeing them. Particular emphasis was placed on the financial support and labor power given by members of the community and notables.

As parts of the police organization in provincial areas, police stations were mostly established in provincial centers, sanjak, liva, and nahiye and in kazas that were considered to be strategic as they were connected to important commerce routes via ports, ferries or train stations or locations that played a key role for maintaining public order in a particular region. However, police stations in provincial centers were built near the seat of government, around administrative centers with a nearby hospital, mosque, bazaar, or train station. For example, an official report written about the Kastamonu Police Directorate mentions the absence of a separate police station in the center of Çankırı liva and the necessity of building two buildings with three rooms adjacent to the government center.[2]

Police stations located in provincial areas, especially those in small-scale centers, did not have the infrastructure and resources that an ideal police station would need. This situation was an impediment for the reproduction of the superior-officer hierarchy and of the disciplined and professional mode of work that were the basis for the transformation of the police officers into the professionalized, well-disciplined cadres. In provincial and kaza centers, even police directorates were located in a few rooms within a government complex rather than in separate police stations, and it was not uncommon for police officers and superiors to work and sleep in these confined spaces. For example, in 1913, four rooms and a dormitory were allocated for the Konya Police Directorate on a lower floor of the government building (*valilik binası*). However, the police officers lived in unhealthy conditions, lacked proper sanitation, and the walls of their dormitory space on the lower floor were wet due to seeping sewage. In addition, two or three additional rooms were needed for criminal and administrative departments (*kısm-ı adli ve idari*) that had been newly founded following the changed administrative regulation of the institution. Even though the office of the governor was notified with respect to the impossibility of compelling

2 Kılıçarslan, *"Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı,"* 46.

policemen to stay in the dormitory and provide their public services from these places and thus requested additional rooms for police dormitories and offices in the government building, there were no extra rooms to be allocated for meeting such needs. Therefore, renting a separate space for a police station was considered an urgent matter. Since there were available buildings for rent in the city, a memorandum was sent to the Department of Public Security and 1000 kuruş was demanded to be spared from the 1914 budget. A room was rented in the Ertuğrul Hotel for police officers because the dormitories in the government building did not have enough space for accommodating all the personnel.[3]

As exemplified above, police headquarters in Konya did not have a public service building, and the police stations were not government property but rented from private citizens. Official correspondence written on August 8, 1914, included the monthly rent fees of the police station buildings of the Konya Police Directorate located in the city center and in the kazas on the periphery.[4] A money transfer receipt regarding the increased rent of the Alaaddin police station in the Konya Province, on April 19, 1919, is another example to this matter.[5]

A similar situation was evident for the Police Directorate of Kastamonu Province. An official report written on March 16, 1913 regarding the Police Directorate of Kastamonu and sent to the Department of Public Security mentions that some officers working at the Police Directorate of Kastamonu were stationed in six offices in the main government building - that is to say, in one four-room office and five single-room offices. Some policemen served in two old police stations in city center. A significant proportion of personnel resided in rooms originally spared for the government office. Reports demonstrate that these rooms did not meet the needs of these police officers, and the police

3 Yılmaz, *"Konya Polis Teşkilatı,"* 53-54.

4 Ibid., 54.

5 Ibid.

station buildings needed to be renovated lest they crumble down.[6] Adding another unit to the Police Directorate of Kastamonu - already composed of fifteen rooms- adding three rooms each to the two police stations and adding two rooms each to the five single-room police centers was planned for 1913 so that the Police Directorate could serve its purposes. Therefore, a budget of 66,000 kuruş was needed for this restructuring. If the amount of the fund could not be met, it was decided to allocate 900 kuruş to rent new buildings.''[7]

In summary, the infrastructure and resources needed for provincial police forces were not being met throughout the second constitutional era, and police officers resided and worked in government buildings, or separate but ineffective police stations. Members of the community and notables were asked for donations to cover the costs of the renovation and construction of police stations; when such contributions were insufficient, renting buildings, rooms, or hotel rooms as spaces for police officers to reside or work was an alternative approach to be considered. In many instances, even paying the rents of buildings was a financial challenge. Still, while government inspectors frequently identified the insufficient cadres and buildings and notified the Department of Public Security, necessary improvements were rarely made.

In provinces, police directorates or commissariats (*komiserlikler*) were either located in government houses or in separate buildings. Police stations within administrative centers were in better condition compared to those in smaller town centers in both qualitative and quantitative terms, and some of them could qualify as ideal police stations. However, the financial and human resources needed for the construction, maintenance, and sustainability of these stations were an enduring problem.

Following the directions of the 1913 regulation, police stations operating under the Konya police center employed one superior officer

6 Kılıçarslan, *"Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı,"* 31.

7 Ibid., 32.

and six policemen on average. These numbers correspond to the criteria for an ideal police station.[8]

Table 5.1 The names of police stations, number of neighborhoods in jurisdiction of each, number of personnel, and additional number of personnel requested for stations located in the center of Konya Province in 1913.[9]

Name of the police station	Number of neighborhoods in its jurisdiction	Personnel			Additional personnel required		
		Commissars	Sergeants	Police officers	Commissars	Sergeants	Police officers
Government office	25	2	6	15		2	2
İstasyon			1	2	1		4
Feridiye	15		1	5	1		4
Larende	15		1	6			2
Sarı Yakup	16		1	6	1		2
Sarı Hasan	14		1	4	1		2
Köprübaşı	28		1	6	1		2
Topraklık	19		1	5			2
Total	148	2	13	49	5	2	20

As indicated in Table 5.1, most police cadres in Konya were concentrated in the government office and consisted of two commissars, two sergeants, and fifteen officers. Sufficient numbers of police officers and superiors for an ideal police station - one sergeant and five to six police officers - were present at the stations under the authority of the provincial centers. At these stations, sergeants were assigned as mid-ranking commissars and two higher-ranking commissars were stationed only at the government office. Only in İstasyon police station was there one sergeant and two officers. Therefore, police stations within the bounda-

8 Yılmaz, *"Konya Polis Teşkilatı,"* 37.

9 Ibid.

ries of Konya province center met the criteria for being ideal considering the composition of their cadres. Even though these stations did not fully meet the standards established in the police regulation – they did not each have a high-ranking commissar – they still had a staff comprised of a sergeant and five to six police officers.

Table 5.2 below provides information about the population and characteristics of police crews in the countryside of Konya province as well as additional recruits requested. There is a decreasing trend in the numbers and ranks of superior officers towards the peripheral areas of the province. The same is true for the number of police stations and their infrastructural characteristics.

Table 5.2 The number and ranks of personnel of Konya province and additional personnel requested on June 23, 1913.[10]

City or Town	Population	Number of personnel together with the personnel arriving from combat zones				Additional personnel requested			Explanations
		Commissars	Senior Sergeants	Sergeants	Police Officers	Commissar class	Sergeants	Police Officers	
Konya Central Town	55648	3	1	13	49	5	6	53	
Akşehir Town (Kasaba)	11082		1		2			7	Town is large, has a station and needs additional personnel.
Ilgın Town	3745		1		1			3	Town has a station, needs additional personnel.
Beyşehir Town	2241				1		1	2	Additional number is enough.
Seydişehir Town	4896				1		1	2	Additional number is enough.

10 Ibid., 35-36.

City or Town	Population	Number of personnel together with the personnel arriving from combat zones				Additional personnel requested			Explanations
Bozkır Town	1601				1		1	1	Additional number is enough.
Ermenek Town	7073				1		1	2	Needs additions.
Karaman Town	8848			1	2			2	Has station and significance, needs additional personnel.
Ereğli Town	5337		1	2				2	Has station and significance, needs additional personnel.
Sultaniye Town	4135		1				1	1	Has station and significance, needs additional personnel.
Ş.Koçhisar Town	2065		1				1	1	Has station and significance, needs additional personnel.
Isparta Liva Center	22816		2	1	7	1	1	9	Is a liva center, needs to be added up.
Eğirdir Town	5461				1		1	1	Has significance, needs to be added up.
Antalya Liva Center	22401	1	2	2	14		1	17	Is a liva center on the coast, needs to be added up.
Alanya Town	7077		1		1			7	Is a *kaza* center on the coast.
Elmalı Town	5577						1	4	Additional number is enough.

City or Town	Population	Number of personnel together with the personnel arriving from combat zones				Additional personnel requested			Explanations
Akseki Town	3435				1		1	2	One policeman will be assigned to the İbradı *nahiye*, needs to be added up.
Kaş Town	374						1	2	Additional number is enough.
Niğde Liva Center	12143			1	6		1	6	Is a liva center, needs to be added up.
Nevşehir Town	22888			1	2			9	Is a town center with a large population, needs to be added up.
Ürgüp Town	9865			1	1			3	Additional number is enough.
Arapsun Town	3391				1		1	1	Additional number is enough.
Aksaray Town	6944			1	1			3	Additional number is enough.
Bor Town	10325		1		1			5	Additional number is enough.
Ulukışla Town	19015		1		1			2	Additional number is enough.
Total	274856	4	9	25	108	7	25	164	

Kastamonu province is similar in comparison to Konya. The organizational structure was mostly concentrated at the center of the province, and police stations located in sanjaks and kazas met the criteria of ideal ones. The police force of Kastamonu was structured in a similar fashion to other provinces. The head of the police force in a province was the highest-ranking administrative official - either a governor or district governor. A police director or chief commissar would be the head officers in sanjaks and kazas, followed by police offices such as the chairman of the criminal department (*kısm-ı adli reisliği*), the board of recruit-

ment (*heyet-i intihabiye*), and the office of the government doctor (*tabiblik*).[11]

The central organization in provinces was comprised of four units. The chairmanship of the criminal department (*kısm-ı adli reisliği*) was in charge of fighting crime and criminals. Providing armed protection and security measures for the courts were also part of this unit's tasks. The chairmanship of the administrative department (*kısm-ı idari reisliği*) facilitated between the central organization and the directorate with regard to administrative tasks. The board of recruitment was responsible for processing correspondence and provisioning personnel rights and duties. And the office of the government doctor was in charge of the health-related issues.[12]

The administrative structure of the police in the provinces was established in the 1907 regulation. The superior officers of the police force were the governors in the provinces, mutasarrıf in self-governing livas (*gayri mülhak liva*), and administrative chiefs called *kaymakam* in kaza. Police directorates were established in provinces and in self-governing livas. In dependent (*mülhak*) livas and districts *(ilçe*), chief commissariats (*serkomiserlik*) and commissariats (*komiserlik*) were established.[13]

As mentioned, the Police Directorate of Kastamonu was located in Kastamonu sanjak center in 1913 was operating at the main government building in six offices – there were four rooms in one office and another set of five offices with one room in each. A significant number of the personnel resided in rooms spared for the government office and some police officers were put on duty in two old police stations in the city center. Reports written about the police force stated that the space allocated for police officers in the provincial center was insufficient and

11 Kılıçarslan, *"Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı,"* 29-30.

12 Ibid., 29.

13 Düstur, Tertib-i evvel, VIII, 666-667.

that police stations were physically in bad shape and in need of urgent maintenance.[14]

Headquarter police forces in 1913 were comprised of fifty-eight people in total: one second-class commissar, four third-class commissars, six sergeants, forty-five police officers, and two police candidates. As these numbers illustrate, the Police Directorate of Kastamonu province in 1913 was not supervised by a chief commissar, but by a second-class one. A report written and sent to the Department of Public Security on March 16, 1913, stated that the Police Directorate of Kastamonu was comprised of fifty-eight police officers and seven patrol zones (*inzibat mıntıkası*) and that more recruits were needed. In order to properly maintain public order, the report asked for the construction of two new police stations, one in the provincial center and another in front of the hospital. Both of these police stations needed five additional recruits - ten people in total.[15] The report also mentioned the need to recruit forty police officers at the directorate headquarters to improve the efficiency of public services. The absence of an ideal police station even in sanjak headquarters and the insufficient state of police stations both in terms of the physical situation of the buildings and the working conditions of personnel were also matters that were emphasized.

Between 1913 and 1918, there was a slight improvement in these police stations in Kastamonu, as the number of police officers increased from fifity-eight to sixty-five. In 1918, a total of sixty-five people were employed: one chief commissar, two second-class commissars, four sergeants, and fifty-three police officers.[16] The reason for this change concerned the ongoing war and the relocation of police cadres from the peripheries of provincial organizations to more central sanjaks and kazas. This point will be analyzed in detail later.

There was a police commissariat at İnebolu - which was the biggest kaza of the central sanjak of Kastamonu province - and its police station

14 Ibid., 31.

15 Kılıçarslan, *"Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı,"* 31.

16 Ibid., 33.

could be considered an ideal one. An inspection report written on March 16, 1913, mentions that one police station was located adjacent the government headquarters of İnebolu and that there were two old police stations that were in bad shape and had with limited space - only one room in each. Hence, these two stations were declared to be out of operation as of that moment and in urgent need of renovation. Eleven thousand piasters were requested for the construction of two new police stations, and if this amount could not be delivered, 4,000 liras were requested for the reparation of these old stations.

At this time, İnebolu had a population of 78,757 and was an important kaza due to its population and its large, busy ferry terminal on the Black Sea. Even though İnebolu did not have a port, it had a ferry terminal of significant value where the dispatch of passengers and goods was carried out frequently. The ferry terminal was always busy; ships loaded with Ottomans and foreigners arrived in Inebolu each week and at least a hundred foreigners would be present in the town on any given day.

In addition, the need for recruiting more people - twenty-five police officers, three sergeants, and one third-class commissar - was stated by local authorities since İnebolu was spreading out over a wider area and it was difficult to maintain public order. A police boat for the surveillance of new arrivals at the ferry terminal and the recruitment of a person to be in charge of this boat - or alternatively the purchase of a rowboat rather than a motorized one and the recruitment of two rowers - were also budgeted by local authorities.[17]

Other kazas within the boundaries of Kastamonu sanjak headquarter had police force units that were smaller in scale. Table 5.3 provides detailed information about the distribution of the police force in Kastamonu province in 1913. As these figures show, in Kastamonu province the sanjak headquarters and a set of kazas within its boundaries -namely, İnebolu, Cide, Safranbolu, Tosya, Araç, Daday and Taşköprü

17 Ibid., 34-35.

- the sanjak of Sinop and kazas of Boyabat and Ayancık, and the sanjak of Çankırı and kaza of Çerkeş were under the supervision of the police force. Below, the police stations and workforce in these places will be described in detail, and the differing scales of the organizational structure of the police force will be analyzed from the smallest *nahiye*s and to the biggest sanjak headquarters.

Table 5.3 The population of police cadres serving in Kastamonu province's center and towns (*kaza*) in the years 1913 and 1918.[18]

	1913						1918					
	1st class commissar	2nd class commissar	3rd class commissar	Sergeant	Police officer	Police candidate	1st class commissar	2nd class commissar	3rd class commissar	Sergeant	Police officer	Police Candidate
Kastamonu center		1	4	6	45	2						
İnebolu Kaza				1	8			1		1	6	
Cide Kaza				1	1							
Safranbolu Kaza				1	2					1	2	
Tosya Kaza				1	2					1	2	
Araç Kaza				1	1							
Daday Kaza				1	1							
Taşköprü Kaza				1	1					1	2	
Çankırı Sanjak			1	1	7			1		1	7	
Çerkeş Kaza					2					1	2	
Sinop Sanjak			1	1	6			1		1	13	
Boyabat Kaza				1	1					1	2	
Ayancık Kaza				1	1						1	
Total		1	6	17	78	2		3		8	37	

18 This table is constituted for both years by the data gathered from the tables and thesis data. Kılıçarslan, *"Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı,"* 60.

As Table 5.3 lays out, the organizational structure of the police force in sanjak and kaza centers of Kastamonu province in 1913, other than the larger places such as Kastamonu sanjak headquarters, kaza of İnebolu, sanjak of Çankırı and sanjak of Sinop, nine of the smaller scale kazas had one sergeant and one or two police officers on average. Further out, the kaza of Çerkeş, which was connected to sanjak of Çankırı, had no ranking officers, only two ordinary police officers.

By 1913, it was common that one or two police officers were assigned to not only kaza headquarters but to nahiye headquarters connected to sanjaks; moreover, these places were asking for new recruits from the center. The report written about the Police Directorate of Kastamonu in 1913 states that one third-class commissar, one sergeant, and seven police officers were on duty at Çankırı liva headquarters, and these police forces were operating under a police precinct (*mıntıka*). In this report, one additional second-class commissar and two additional police officers were demanded in order to establish another police precinct. Recruitment of two police officers for each nahiye within the boundaries of Çankırı -Şabanözü, Koçhisar and Karacivan- and the recruitment of one police officer for the nahiye headquarters of Tuht were requested.[19]

Hence, at least one or two police officers were employed in nahiyes which were small-scale settlements within the boundaries of sanjaks. When necessary, police officers employed at sanjak or kaza headquarters were assigned duty in the nahiyes. For example, the nahiye of Gerze connected to the sanjak of Sinop in Kastamonu province employed one police officer until 1918. Though this nahiye was far from headquarters, it was an important commerce center for the timber trade.[20]

The inspection report prepared about the Sinop Commissariat in 1913 states that one third-class commissar, one sergeant, and five police officers were employed in the sanjak of Sinop. The report asked for the construction of a new police station or the lease of new buildings near

19 Ibid., 46.

20 Ibid., 42.

the government buildings since the two old police stations - each with only one room- did not fulfill the necessities of the police force.[21] One sergeant and one police officer were on duty at the kaza of Boyabat within the boundaries of Sinop sanjak, and these officers were stationed at a specific patrol point.[22] Further out, one sergeant and an officer served in the police precinct in the kaza of Ayancık within the boundaries of Sinop. By 1918, only one police officer remained at this kaza after the sergeant had left.[23]

At the kaza of Çerkeş within the boundaries of the Çankırı sanjak, two police officers were on duty throughout the second constitutional era. In 1918, one sergeant was added to this force.[24] In 1913, the kazas of Cide, Araç, and Daday within the boundaries of Kastamonu had small-scale police forces; one sergeant and one police officer each. In these three kazas, the police forces were totally abolished in 1914.[25] However, one sergeant enlisted under the cadres of Kastamonu was on duty either at the kaza of Araç or of Daday in 1916. Archival records show that a police officer rather than a commissar was in charge at the kazas of Araç and Daday.[26]

Within the borders of the Commissariat of Cide, under the jurisdiction of Kastamonu sanjak headquarters, there were no separate police stations even though Cide had a strategically important ferry terminal. Therefore, the inspection report sent to the Department of Public Security demanded an allowance for the construction of a police station with three rooms or for renting a place if construction was not feasible.[27] By 1918, the police force in Cide was abolished. In 1914, the police force in many kazas of Kastamonu province were abolished and the policing

21 Ibid., 42-3.
22 Ibid., 44.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., 47.
25 Ibid., 41.
26 Ibid., 55.
27 Ibid., 36-37.

tasks were handed over to the gendarmerie. After World War I broke out, the Ministry of the Interior withdrew police forces from some kazas in Kastamonu province and handed over their duties to the gendarmerie as suggested by the Police Directorate of Kastamonu province and the Command of the Gendarmerie Regiments (*Jandarma Alay Komutanlığı*).[28]

Between 1913 and 1918, one sergeant and two police officers were employed in the kaza of Safranbolu within the boundaries of Kastamonu sanjak. In addition, a military police precinct was in effect to maintain public order in the center.[29] For this kaza center, the construction of three three-room police stations was requested. If not possible, an allowance was demanded to rent buildings for use as police stations. Also, it was stated that just for the kaza of Safranbolu, three additional cavalry police officers were required to the police force of Kastamonu province. In the kaza of Tosya within the boundaries of Kastamonu sanjak, one sergeant and two police officers were employed between 1913 and 1918.[30]

In 1914, one sergeant and six police officers were on duty at the liva headquarters of Menteşe sanjak, which had previously separeted from Aydın province.[31] The building of the police unit was one dark room. This police unit was located in the back yard of the government house on a lower floor where the postal and telegraph offices were also located. It had two windows facing the street, and one door opening to the back yard of the government house. The interior space of this police unit was divided into a dormitory space where four people could sleep and a smaller area where medical examinations took place. Since administrative duties were carried out in such a confined space, the policemen in the crew, which consisted of a senior sergeant and six officers were in close contact with each other. Therefore, instead of the

28 Ibid., 47.

29 Ibid., 37.

30 Ibid., 38.

31 Arslan, *"Aydın Vilayeti'nde Güvenlik,"* 122.

development of a professional hierarchy among the superiors and officers, the environmental conditions would result in relaxed and too-friendly relationships among policemen. The police unit was not appropriate in terms of physical space, so the police commissars spent their times at coffeehouses and other random places. There was significant arbitrary behavior among police superiors and officers since they shared such a limited working space all the time.

The disciplinary mechanism was so challenged due to these physical conditions that officers did not fulfill their duties; even night patrols were sometimes suspended.[32] Due to the lack of discipline and the deterioration of hierarchical relations between superiors and officers, the construction of a new police station was formally requested from higher authorities. It was demanded that a building be constructed in an appropriate part of the yard of the government house which would be large enough to accommodate a commissar, a sergeant, and a sufficient number of police officers and would include a dormitory for the crew.

§ 5.2 Composition of Police Personnel in the Provinces

Particularly following the second constitutional era, improvement of the police force in provincial areas gained speed. While there were 5-10 employed on the police force in various ranks at a typical provincial center in the 1890s, the numbers rose to 80-100 by the 1910s. Previously, it was stated that significant amount of formal correspondence took place between the Ministry of the Interior and the Office of the Grand Vizier (*sadaret makamı*) including the formal request for the recruitment of eleven police officers to be stationed in Konya province in 1892. At that time, there were only seven police officers on duty including a commissar, and insufficient to sustain ordinary police tasks considering the size

32 Arslan, 119-120.

of the province's territory and population, as was emphasized on in that formal correspondence.[33]

The Konya Police Directorate was founded in 1901/1902.[34] On October 25, 1910, its personnel consisted of eighty-three people: one chief commissar, four second-class commissars, six third-class commissars, eight sergeants, and sixty-four officers. The number of people employed at the Konya Police Directorate was steadily rising but still did not fulfill the necessities of a province comprised of five sanjaks and twenty-eight kazas.[35] By 1913, the population of the province had reached 274,856 people and the number on the police force had increased to four commissars, nine senior sergeants, twenty-five sergeants, and 108 police officers.[36] Compared to other provinces, the number of both superior and low-ranking officers in Konya was high. Some personnel was recruited from among police officers who moved from warzones in Tripoli and the Balkans to Konya. Police force used to work in Ottoman territories lost during the Tripolitanian (1911/1912) and Balkan Wars (1912/1913) were reassigned to places within the empire's domain, and many were reassigned to the Konya Police Directorate in particular.[37]

As explained in detail in the section about the hometowns of police in Chapter 2, many police commissars and officers who used to live and work in the Balkan provinces were re-recruited in Anatolia. A document written on September 21, 1913 includes a table that shows the previous ranks and work places of forty officers reassigned to Konya, and also the names of the police officers they replaced.[38] The table indicates that these commissars and officers were relocated from the provinces of Kosova, Manastır, Salonika, Edirne, Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid, and Benghazi.

33 Yılmaz, *"Konya Polis Teşkilatı,"* 33.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid., 34.
36 Ibid., 35.
37 Ibid., 41.
38 Ibid., 42-44.

Thirty-two were officers and eight were police superiors, five were senior commissars, and three were junior (kıdemsiz) sergeants. Their arrival caused a concrete improvement in Konya police force, however temporary, and the eight police superiors contributed to the higher qualifications of cadres already present in the region.

Table 5.2 prepared on June 23, 1913 shows the number of police superiors and officers in Konya province, including their numerical distribution and requested new personnel in Konya headquarters and the *kazas* within its boundaries.[39] This table demonstrates the insufficient number of police superiors and officers in towns other than the province and *liva* headquarters. Strikingly, the police forces in most of the *kazas* were comprised of just two people: one superior and one ordinary officer. The superiors were either senior sergeants or, in most cases, sergeants.

The number of police in the stations at the Konya province center was not significantly different. Other than the police station located adjacent the government office, all seven police stations had one sergeant supervising five or six police officers. The police station by the train station had one superior and two police officers.[40]

§ 5.3 Consolidating Police Cadres in the Provinces

The detailed data regarding the composition of the police force in the provinces of Konya, Kastamonu and Aydın demonstrate that the sporadic, low presence of police officers in provincial areas was a major problem for the police to maintain public order. In relation to this situation, official correspondence and inspection reports emphasized the insufficiency of the number of people on duty and requested new recruit and specific allowances for the construction or renovation of police stations.

39 Ibid., 35-6.

40 Ibid., 37.

Furthermore, the conditions of World War I forced the government to consolidate some of these police forces in central places with higher strategic importance and to transfer the duty of maintaining security on the provinces' peripheries to the gendarmerie.

5.3.1 *Supporting Police Cadres with Unqualified Recruits*

During World War I, there was a sharp decrease in the number of police in provincial areas. Due to the limited capacities of the existing police cadres to maintain public order and security, a new group of people were recruited called police reinforcement squads or individuals (takviye kıtaları/efradı), but such recruits were not sufficient.

By 1916, the stations of the Konya police force were in decline and police patrols were almost halted. On January 27, 1916, the Department of Public Security attempted to improve this situation and remobilized one hundred people from among gendarmerie personnel as new recruits to the police force. They were called police reinforcement squads (*polis takviye kıtaları* or *ikmal efradı*). Even though these new recruits were distributed equally among the police stations, they did not meet their needs due to the fact that the recruits did not have the proper training. It was noted that these new recruits were comprised of people who lacked training and discipline (*talim ve terbiye görmemiş bir takım kesaneden*) and some were of no use even for post office and night patrol duties. Moreover, a police officer and a reinforcement soldier (*takviye neferi*) were assigned to do patrol duty together even though the police were often not aware of incidents taking place at certain neighborhoods due to the limited number of officers available to patrol the widespread quarters of the city. As a consequence, the police could not intervene in many of these incidents. In addition, records mention that police officers were deserted by reinforcement soldiers in certain incidents or that the reinforcement soldiers worsened the situation for the police officers. It was stated that reinforcement soldiers dropped their rifles from their hands due to the stress they experienced in course of the incidents (*sikletten bizar kaldıklarından*). This limited limit the police officer's capacity to intervene in a criminal incident as he was addi-

tionally trying to protect the reinforcement soldier. In conclusion, it is evident that these reinforcement soldiers who were expected to ease the tasks of the police were more of a burden for the few remaining police officers.[41]

According to Table 5.4 of the number of police officers and reinforcement soldiers in Konya province in June 1917, eighty-two of ninety-nine police officers and seventy-five of ninety-three reinforcement soldiers were stationed at Konya liva headquarters and the rest were distributed among four other kazas.[42] The table shows that the number of police officers and reinforcement soldiers on duty in these kazas were probably the same. For example, in the kaza of Akşehir there were four police officers and three reinforcement soldiers. Similarly, the kaza of Karaman had two police officers accompanied by two reinforcement soldiers. In short, police officers and reinforcement soldiers were employed in more or less equal numbers.

Table 5.4 The population of the police officers and reinforcement officers serving in Konya province center in June 1917

	Konya central liva	Akşehir kaza	Karaman kaza	Ereğli kaza	Koçhisar kaza	Isparta sanjak	Burdur sanjak	Total
Police officers	75	4	2	3	2	7	6	99
Reinforcement officers	82	3	2	4	2	-	-	93

Table 5.5 shows the distribution of personnel employed in the sanjak of Kastamonu in 1916. According to this table, twenty-three gendarmes were put on duty as reinforcement soldiers in Kastamonu province in addition to the fourteen sergeants, three second-class commissars, one chief commissar, and fifty-six police officers stationed there. Eighteen of twenty-three reinforcement soldiers were stationed in the province

41 Ibid., 40.

42 Ibid., 46.

center; two in Tosya, two in Araç and one in Daday.[43] Archival records show that the commissariats of Araç and Daday also occasionally had a substitute (*vekaleten*) police officer.[44] Probably, the two reinforcement soldiers at Araç were supervised by a sergeant, and the one reinforcement soldier at Daday was supervised by a police officer. In addition to public-security-related tasks, reinforcement soldiers were responsible for keeping the police station secure, cleaning the building, preparing food and drinks, and fulfilling other tasks given to them.[45]

43 Kılıçarslan, *"Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı,"* 57.

44 Ibid., 55.

45 Ibid.

Table 5.5 Distribution of duties among the police force in Kastamonu Sanjak in 1916[46]

Liva	Police officers	Reinforcement officers	Places of service of personnel in Kastamonu central sanjak and adjunct kaza centers
Kastamonu Central Sanjak	1		The chief commissar served in the Chairmanship of the Criminal Department (*Kısm-ı Adli Reisliği*).
	3		Second commissars, one in the Chairmanship of Administrative Department, one in the correspondence office (*tahrir*), one in the İnebolu commissariat.
	14		Sergeants, one in the secretariat (*kalem*), thirteen in Kastamonu center and its *liva*s.
	56		Eight served in the offices of the Directorate and Religious Affairs (*Meşihat*) and the prison of the directorate; forty-seven were under the authority of the center of the province and the Kastamonu liva.
	-	23	Eighteen police reinforcement officers served in the provincial center, two men each served in Tosya and Araç, and one served in Daday.
Total	74	23	

One second-class commissar, two sergeants, and nine police officers were on duty at the sanjak of Çankırı within the boundaries of Kastamonu province according to the Table 5.6 of the distribution of personnel and their tasks in 1916. In addition, two reinforcement soldiers were described as "accompanying the police force on for patrol-

46 Ibid., 57.

ling tasks in the liva of Çankırı headquarters and in possession of two *Şınaydır* brand pistols issued to them."[47]

Table 5.6 Distribution of duties of the personnel serving in the commissariat of the Çankırı Sanjak in 1916.[48]

Liva	Police officers	Reinforcement officers	Type of Gun Issued: Şınaydır	Distribution of duties of the personnel serving in the Çankırı Sanjak
Çankırı Sanjak	1			Second commissar of Çankırı Liva.
	2			Sergeants. One served in central kaza and the other in the Çerkeş Kaza.
	9			Police officers serving in the command and patrolling the Çerkeş Kaza.
		2	2	Reinforcement officers of the Çankırı Liva center served on patrols with policemen.
Total	12	2	2	

In conclusion, it is evident that police cadres in 1916 were being filled with untrained personnel called reinforcement soldiers rather than with professional police. Police superiors had to work with personnel that were ignorant of the police profession rather than with more qualified personnel consisting of candidates with some level of education; either the graduates of police schools or easily-trained former military officers.

Meanwhile, police officers had to spend their time managing reinforcement soldiers rather than improving their professional skills and knowledge by working under the supervision of qualified superiors. For example, in the kaza of Daday within the boundaries of Kastamonu a

47 Ibid., 59.

48 Ibid.

police officer was supervising a reinforcement soldier recruited there. .[49]

During World War I, unqualified personnel were recruited for the task of securing provincial areas, and in addition to reinforcement soldiers, neighborhood watchmen (*mahalle bekçileri*) were used to support small-scale police forces. These armed forces were integrated into the police organization, and given uniforms, and police officers were assigned as their superiors.

Due to changes in the administrative organization of the provinces, the number of police stationed in the Konya Province significantly decreased in 1915 and 1916. After the liva of Niğde was segregated from the administrative domain of Konya, one second-class commissar, three sergeants, and eleven police officers were discharged from the Konya police force to be employed in Niğde on April 14, 1915. Moreover, on January 24, 1916, two police officers were reassigned to the recently-founded Mersin police headquarters, and the number of police in Konya decreased to 112.[50]

5.3.2 *Watchmen*

Given the decreasing number of police in Konya, market and neighborhood watchman units (*çarşı ve mahalle bekçilikleri*) were established in an order issued on March 1, 1917. These two institutions were part of the police force in many provinces including Konya, and records show that their salaries were not paid from the budget of the police force but by the local population of the region rationed to the number of buildings the people lived in. Therefore, the buildings were put on register individually and a commission for revenue collection (*tahsilat komisyonu*) was established in order to facilitate this procedure.[51] An inspection report written on the status and development of the police organi-

49 Ibid., 57.

50 Yılmaz, *"Konya Polis Teşkilatı,"* 39.

51 Ibid., 41-2.

zation between the years 1915 and 1917 states that the number of market and neighborhood watchmen in Konya were few compared to other provinces: only ten to fifteen watchmen and two watchmen as supervisors patrolling the Konya market. The same report mentions that this dire situation was improved following the passing of a bill (*talimatname*) by the Administrative Council of Province (*Meclis-i İdarei-i Vilayet*) on March 1, 1917, which ordered the recruitment of forty watchmen, five sergeants, five revenue collectors (*tahsildar*), and one revenue clerk (*tahsilat memuru*). According to the same report, watchmen were to be equipped with proper uniforms, fur caps, shoes, ammunition belts (*palaska*) and a baton. These new recruits were useful for meeting the needs of Konya province headquarters.[52]

5.3.3 *Cavalry Policemen*

Previously, problems frequently encountered in the police force because of the recruitment of unqualified workforce composed of watchmen and gendarmes were described in detail. In addition, the recruitment of cavalry police officers was needed in order to maintain the security of remote provincial areas and to inspect the police stations in these remote locations. However, the recruitment of these cavalry officers was not based on merit; most of the time, people who owned horses or who were able to purchase, feed, and take care of horses were recruited. This situation was controversial since cavalry personnel, rather than being recruited for their qualifications, were merely among the horse owners.

Cemal Bey worked as the Bursa police director and as an inspector for the Department of Public Security before being assigned to the province of Aydın as the police director for fourteen months in 1911-12. In 1913, upon request he prepared a detailed inspection report about the status of the police force there and its lacks and needs. [53] Cemal Bey mentioned the various, widespread places to visit around Izmir - sum-

52 Ibid., 41.

53 Arslan, *"Aydın Vilayeti'nde Güvenlik,"* 112.

mertime vacation spots and neighborhoods inhabited by foreigners in his report. According to his report, forming a cavalry unit and the recruitment of a commissar, sergeant, and thirty cavalrymen were needed in these neighborhoods on the peripheries of Izmir. Such cavalries had been chosen from among those who could afford their own horses. Cemal Bey, in his report, suggested reform and to start recruiting people only in accordance with their merits and loyalties. His suggestion included the purchase of thirty-two horses, the allocation of 800 lire (25 lire per cavalry unit), 50 lire for two horses that would be wasted every year and 190 to 200 thousand piasters for horse feed per month.[54]

Recruitment of cavalry police in Konya was also a matter of necessity like in Aydın. On December 29, 1912, a letter was sent from the Konya Police Directorate to the Ministry of the Interior asking for the formation of a cavalry unit there. In this letter, Konya's urban sprawl was mentioned, and it was indicated that most of the times police stations in peripheral neighborhoods would telephone upon incidents caused by disagreements over debauchery (*çapkınlık yüzünden çıkan anlaşmazlık*) that resulted in injuries. However, due to the vastness of the area, it was impossible to intervene in such incidents on time. Therefore, the report suggested to preemptively prevent such incidents from escalating and that catching the perpetuators of such crimes would be easier if the police force had cavalry officers in addition to those officers patrolling on foot. Unfortunately, this request was declined by the Department of Public Security due to insufficient financial resources.

However, there were cavalry officers in Konya by 1916-17. In one particular police station, seven cavalry officers were supervised by a sergeant. This force was responsible for maintaining order in the neighborhoods assigned to it. The same year, a commission of commissars decided to redistribute these cavalrymen to neighboring police stations and to restructure that particular station into a detention center (*müteferrika*). The reason behind this decision was based on the commis-

54 Ibid., 116-7.

sion's inspection report indicating that Konya did not need such a large cavalry squad and these cavalries need only be used for general patrolling (*umumi devriye*), during official ceremonies (*merasim-i intifal*), and for extraordinary incidents.[55]

5.3.4 *Unqualified and Inappropriate Police Recruits*

Provincial police forces faced difficulties integrating qualified people into their personnel for three main reasons: recruitment was not based on merit; orders given by higher authorities concerning recruitment, assignment, and promotions were not followed; and local power dynamics were prioritized in recruitment considerations. Due to such irrational recruitment practices, new people joining the police force collaborated with local crime networks or frequently committed crimes themselves. In this context, the presence of the ideal commissar – mentioned in the previous chapter- in provincial areas needs to be questioned. Examples below illustrate that an ideal commissar who trained and disciplined officers in terms of proper policing practices and institutional culture did not always exist in provincial police stations.

There is much formal correspondence in the archives referring to the fact that recruitment processes were not based on merit and tat the institutional regulations of the force concerning recruitment were not followed by provincial authorities.

The police organization was becoming increasingly flexible with respect to recruitment criteria in order to compensate the deficiency in police cadres due to conditions of war.

On May 27, 1915, a new article was added to the 1913 police regulation that allowed the temporary recruitment of people who did not conform to the previously established characteristics. Those who were older or shorter than the specified height could serve if they met the other requirements for recruitment. This article put an emphasis on the tem-

55 Yılmaz, *"Konya Polis Teşkilatı,"* 26.

porariness of these recruits and assured that these new recruits would be disbanded from the police force when new job applicants with the desired characteristics were available.[56]

It was common to see recruits who did not conform to the regulation's criteria. The criterion to speak Turkish was abided most of the time. For example, Tunisian refugees in Tripoli were not recruited because they did not know Turkish, even though they were fluent in French and Italian.[57] Still, there were many recruitment practices that were contrary to the criteria set in the regulation. For example, a document sent from the police school of Beirut mentions the recruitment of people who could not speak Turkish but also illiterate in Arabic. Furthermore, even though the school commission prepared and sent a list of names of those who failed the application examination, this list was ignored and some on the list were still accepted onto the police force.

The document sent by the commission was even changed; it was written that these individuals were literate in Arabic even though that was not the case. Moreover, some candidates were accepted without having been forwarded to the school for examination. To make things worse, it was decided that those recruits who were literate in Turkish and Arabic would receive a 200 piaster salary, while those recruited by false means received 400 piasters.[58]

Despite the fact that both regulations emphasized the requirement to investigate the criminal records of candidates, recruitment of ex-convicts was common. For example, Ahmet Efendi bin Kadir from the kaza of Karakilise was admitted to the Erzurum Police School with the aid of a certificate of good conduct (*iyi hal kağıdı*) issued by the police assembly despite the fact that he had previously been sentenced to three-years of forced labor (*kürek cezası*) for breaking into Karslı Ağa Bey's store through the wall in order to rob it. Later, when bin Kadir's previous criminal record was discovered, he was discharged from the

56 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 118.

57 Ibid., 118.

58 Ibid., 118.

police force and a circular (*genelge*) was sent to Erzurum, Mamuratülaziz, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, and Sivas Provinces in order to prevent the recurrence of similar problems in the future.[59]

Furthermore, the police regulation required that the documentation of the competitive exams be sent to the center regularly, but in some places, this rule was not followed. As a consequence, problems in appointments occurred since it was not possible to check whether policemen were the right choice for the position to which they were assigned. In addition, policemen suffered from these improper appointments. Therefore, an official notification was sent out to the relevant institutions all across the empire, reminding them of the rules of the regulation.[60]

In 1914, malpractices of recruitment to the police force in provincial areas were still common. In order to curtail the widespread disobedience of the rules and recruitment criteria in the police regulations, additional preventive measures were taken by authorities. The Director of the Istanbul Police School complained about provincial centers where regulations were not followed and that the age and skills of new students being sent to the school did not correspond to established criteria. According to the director, the police school could not properly train new recruits due to such circumstances. The rules and criteria for recruitment were being properly followed only in Konya province and the sanjaks of İzmir and Kayseri.[61] The Director of the Department of Public Security took the director's formal complaints seriously and sent a circular to all provinces requiring relevant institutions to follow the rules and criteria set in the police regulation regarding recruitment, admissions, assignments and promotions.[62]

59 Ibid., 119.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., 120.
62 Ibid., 121.

§ 5.4 Police Officer as a Substitute for State Bureaucracy

One major obstacle for the professionalization of police superiors and officers in provincial areas was that many members of the police force also held down other jobs. Policemen of various ranks - even police officers of the lowest class - were being assigned temporarily to vacant positions in administrative or judicial units such as mayoralty, administrative governorships (*mutasarrıf, kaymakam, nahiye müdürü*), public prosecutor (*müdde-i umumi*) and interrogator (*mustantik*). [63] In addition, some of these police superiors and officers worked as teachers in various levels of the education system. The data in police biographies testify to this point and provide a number of examples.

Previously, it was discussed that there were no distinct police stations in some provincial centers and that in stations located on provincial peripheries, police officers were working and in many cases residing in rooms located inside the buildings of administrative centers. Police officers working under these conditions were being assigned tasks outside their professional duties by administrative chiefs and officers such as district governors (*kaymakam*), mutasarrıf and nahiye directors. Administrative officers kept these police officers busy with tasks such as serving tea, coffee, and cigarettes, they asked these officers to accompany their family members in fulfilling their private affairs. Such situations harmed the professional and personal dignity of these police officers and generated an additional burden on officers who were already overwhelmed with policing tasks.[64] Such inappropriate job assignments by their superiors in the police organization or by other administrative officers were also mentioned and criticized in the textbook written by İbrahim Feridun in 1910.[65]

In addition, due to lack of low-ranking personnel such as servants or janitors in government offices, police officers were employed for these

63 Ibid., 114.

64 Ibid.

65 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 61.

positions in some cases. The Department of Public Security advised toleration for such replacements of janitorial positions by police officers until sufficient financial and human resources were available for such jobs, but police officers were not content with the situation.[66] İbrahim Feridun was also critical of this situation in his textbook. He also commented on police officers who went on accepting such inferior duties in order to stay on the force despite their lack of professional skills and knowledge; he denigrated these officers for such choices as they caused stagnation in the police organization which was lacking professional and well-educated cadres across the board.[67]

As is evident in archival records, the organizational structure of the police was enhanced throughout the second constitutional era; However, after World War I broke out, there was lack of personnel in many government offices; accordingly, police cadres could not be kept separate from civilian administrations as the former's working space and job definitions became entangled with the latter's in provincial areas. Police officers were treated as low-ranking state officials in many provincial government centers or offices, and they were assigned tasks outside their professional job definitions.

Unless the kaza in question was in a place with a strategically important ferry or train station along on a trade route, police teams employed in provincial peripheries were comprised of one, two, or in rare rare cases, three officers. The explanation on the establishment of such small police teams in the countryside provides an apprehension with respect to functioning of the Ottoman state in general and the police institution in particular in the provinces. Moreover, this provides us an understanding in terms of the positioning of the police cadres by the state rationality among all the other state officials.

Various police biographies and documentation of official correspondence testify to the fact that police cadres functioned as public prosecutors or interrogators who carried out the procedures for crimi-

66 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 114.

67 Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus*, 70-2.

nal investigation, prepared and proceeded necessary documents, and sent suspects to the relevant courts in addition to general policing duties outlined previously.

The Ministry of the Interior ordered the consolidation of police forces comprised of one or two officers in provincial kazas in order that they be relocated to strategically more important liva and kaza centers in an official letter issued on May 4, 1914.[68] According to this order, police forces in provincial Konya were to be regrouped in the Karaman, Ilgın, Akşehir, and Ereğli districts. If some kazas were left without a police force, police duties were to be taken over by gendarmes. However, problems that could arise as a consequence of this order were mentioned in a response written by the Konya Province's Gendarmerie Regimental Command (*vilayet jandarma komutanlığı*).

The Konya Gendarmerie Regimental Command stated that in kazas lacking a judicial establishment, prosecution tasks would be handed over to gendarmerie sergeants by their lieutenants who themselves were too busy working on administrative and inspection tasks. Such realignments would cause further problems in the judicial processes. Therefore, the Ministry of the Interior declared that in kazas where a court system had not been established, the tasks of prosecution should be conducted by police officers as they had been in the past.

As this document issued by the Ministry of the Interior indicates, the prosecution tasks to be taken over by the police force – which were outside their professional job definitions- was a common practice in police stations comprised of one or two personnel. The same document states that officers could not fulfill their duties due to the fact that the additional burden of judicial tasks occupied their working hours, and therefore, police officers were neither working neither effectively as security forces nor as prosecutors. It is interesting that police forces' effectiveness as prosecutors is emphasized. Moreover, it was stated that a police officer would be no different than a gendarmerie sergeant in terms of

68 Yılmaz, *"Konya Polis Teşkilatı,"* 50-51.

skills and achievements for carrying out a prosecutor's duties. Thus, it was considered of no use to leave a single policeman in each kaza where gendarmerie forces were already stationed.[69]

In Aydın province, in 1914, some kazas had sufficient number of police officers, while in some others only one officer was stationed for duty. Due to the fact that in most of these kazas a court system had not yet been established, these officers were busy with judicial tasks during the day and with police matters at night.[70] The decree sent by the Ministry of the Interior ordering the consolidation of police forces comprised of one or two officers in order that they be sent to more strategic liva and kaza centers was considered a negative outcome for gendarmerie forces. The gendarmes spent most of their time in the countryside, constantly alarmed for any possible incidents to happen. However, the departure of these few police forces would increase the workload of the gendarmes who would be unable to properly fulfill their tasks. Increasing the number of gendarmers along the coast would be more functional in order to assure the security of these areas and prevent smuggling. Leaving these kazas without any police force would jeopardize the security of residential neighborhoods. Also, since criminal policing was carried out by the police in these places, their absence would complicate the fulfillment of these tasks as that the gendarmerie would be responsible for pursuing these judicial procedures in addition to their own tasks.[71]

Similarly, a document written by the Kastamonu governorship to the Department of Public Security asked for the relocation of police forces stationed in provincial areas -excluding İnebolu - to provincial and liva headquarters and to hand over their tasks to the gendarmerie.[72] In the same document, it was demanded that police forces continue to carry

69 Ibid., 50.

70 Arslan, *"Aydın Vilayeti'nde Güvenlik,"* 129.

71 Ibid., 260.

72 Kılıçarslan, *"Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı,"* 37.

on the duties of public prosecutors in places where they were stationed when necessary.

In sum, in provincial areas where few police superiors and officers were stationed, these officers were considered the least qualified but most useful workforce in the state bureaucracy. They were employed as proxies for various state officials such as teachers, prosecutors, nahiye directors, mutasarrıfs, kaymakams and even governors.

Cases of substitutions among state cadres were not exclusive to the police force. Other state officials could also substitute for state bueaucracy when deemed necessary. For example, Yasin Beyzade Mehmet Bey, who was the police director in Aydın Province had been reassigned to this job on August 28, 1912, and until his arrival at his post on October 30, 1912, Gendarmerie Commander Nuri Bey acted as his proxy for two months. In another case, Cemal Bey from the Police Directorate of Üsküdar was assigned to the Police Directorate in Aydın in January 1913, and until his arrival in Aydın in February 1913, the prison director Ahmet Efendi was employed as his proxy for a month.[73] If there was no commissar in a police station, it was possible to assign a police officer as a substitute temporarily. Archival documents show that this was the case in the Araç and Daday kazas of Kastamonu in 1916.[74]

§ 5.5 In Search of the Ideal Commissar

In the previous chapter, the ideal commissar was discussed as a figure who would help police officers be disciplined and correct them so that the police organization would achieve its institutional aims. These ideal commissars were described as vehicles for the dissemination of the normative discourses of the police institution and for the inculcation of such discourses in officers. As an example, Commissar Salih, who was in charge of the police center in Karesi sanjak, kept records with respect to

73 Arslan, *"Aydın Vilayeti'nde Güvenlik,"* 123-4.

74 Kılıçarslan, *"Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı,"* 55.

the skills and comportment of police officers and commissars under his command and evaluated policemen via his judgment as a superior in terms of the ideal police characteristics and behaviors.

In this section, we delve into this issue further more to see if most commissars in the police force acted like Commissar Salih - an ideal police superior who followed the orders of higher authorities, internalized the normative discourses of the police organization, and supervised the men under his authority.

By conducting an in depth analysis of the varying, characteristic features of police superiors, who were considered crucial actors through which police organization achieved its ideals standards, it will be demonstrated that these superiors did not have common approaches to their duties at all times and in all places. The analysis of the conducts of police superiors with differing subject positions also provides a better comprehension of the actual functioning of the police organization.

First, many police superiors who were supposed to make sure that the rules of the police organization were being followed were, on the contrary, acting as disruptive forces of these rules by either ignoring the deviant behaviors of policemen under their command or sometimes even by encouraging them. In this respect, the existence of police superiors with improper conducts such as the infringement of the norms of conduct given by the organization, abuse of authority, and commission of criminal acts was not unusual.

Often, the superiors working in provincial police centers would not follow the procedures declared in the police regulations in terms of job assignments and promotions, and they would act contrary to orders coming from higher authorities.

In the 1907 police regulation, it was declared that unless there were vacancies in the cadres, promotions, and reassignments were not to be allowed.[75] Still, many police officers were promoted to commissar or chief commissar positions. As a consequence, there were problems with

75 *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, VIII, 672.

the distribution of uniforms and salaries.[76] In 1912, the number of people employed in the police force was actually more than needed, and some job reassignments and promotions did not take this situation into consideration. For this reason, it was declared that police officers who were suspended from their posts and waiting to be reassigned to a new station would continue to receive salaries, but that there would be no new recruitment.[77] Otherwise, the treasury would lose even more of its financial resources, and these officers waiting for new job posts would be treated unlawfully.[78]

As previously mentioned, some police who had to leave territories lost in the following the Tripolitanian and Balkan Wars were sent to the remaining provinces of the empire. Some of these police officers were provided subsistence salaries so that they could afford basic necessities. Other groups were sent to places that they had demanded and desired, and these people were not paid allowances. However, it was not possible to employ all the police officers coming from these territories. In order to solve this problem, it was decided to send some officers who had the merits to be employed as instructors or officials to the police schools.[79]

In addition, it was ordered that there would be no new recruitment or promotions until these newly arrived police officers were employed in a post.[80] However, there were inappropriate and abusive practices in the execution of these orders. For example, some officers moving from war zones were employed in a province or a sanjak the Department of Public Security notified. Subsequent investigations showed that some police officers had long resigned from their jobs. Others stopped in Istanbul, received their allowance, but then moved to a post where they wanted to be rather than the one assigned to them by the center. In or-

76 Van, *"İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi,"* 123.

77 Ibid., 123.

78 Ibid., 124.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

der to prevent such incidents, a new official notification was sent to the provinces and sanjaks, and it was requested that such improper reassignment cases be reported to the center immediately.[81]

Keeping personnel records straight and organized was necessary for job assignment and promotion procedures to function properly. Therefore, the Department of Public Security asked its employees to fill out an information form that would be kept in the institution's archives.[82] Even though providing information about new recruits was mandatory, these forms about the recently assigned and relocated personnel were not completed. Furthermore, some provinces and sanjaks sent the required information about their personnel up to a year after the fact.[83] On the other hand, collecting the resumes of the staff was no smooth task, either. The salaries of employees were withheld until they sent in their resumes as specified in the Personnel Records Regulation (*Sicil-i Ahval-i Memurin Nizamnamesi*). [84] This measure was not effective, either, and it was declared that unless superior officers posted the completed forms of their personnel on time, they would face certain penalties and even salary cuts as defined in the police regulations.[85]

As laid out in detail above, between 1910 and 1915 there was an effort to compile documentation about police employees such as their resumes, records of rewards and penalties, and appointment schedules (*tayin çizelgeleri*). However, these efforts at the center were not corresponded with immediate and proper responses from the provinces.

It can be argued that local and personal relations of solidarity played an important role in some improper recruitment and promotion decisions in the provinces. Recruitment of influential figures or the relatives of notables was a common pattern in the provincial areas. As local power relations negatively impacted the rational decision-making process to

81 Ibid.
82 Ibid., 124-5.
83 Ibid., 125.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.

be used for recruitment, these employed people were known to commit criminal acts such as banditry, and bribery and to contribute to the negative public image of the police force.

Cemal Bey, one of the prominent inspectors of the Department of Public Security, prepared an inspection report upon request of the departmant in 1910 after several complaints were made about ongoing disagreements between police and gendarmerie and also about the existence of many corrupt, incapable police commissars in Aydın Province.[86]

In his report, Cemal Bey discussed the irrational recruitment taking place in Aydın province. He criticized the recruitment of illiterate and undisciplined people with criminal pasts, reemployment of people who had been dismissed from their posts due to immoral acts, a commissar who had committed bribery, and other police superiors and officers with multiple criminal conducts. Cemal Bey's report included specific cases such as that of: İbrahim Cevad Efendi, who was employed as a police officer despite his criminal background, undisciplined behavior, and illiteracy; of İsmail Efendi, who had been dismissed from his post because of his long-term relationship with a prostitute in Beirut, but was then brought back on the police force; and of Commissar Şehidli Hilmi Efendi, who was involved in bribery using the authority of Governor Kamil Paşazade and who also stirred up feuds and trouble between the police and gendarmerie. The report also included the improper recruitment cases of Kıbrıslı Mustafa Efendi, who was sentenced to jail for three months for of a crime he committed while working as the forestry officer of Ödemiş (*orman memuru*), and of people like Commissar Karşıyakalı Ahmed, İstanbullu Cemil, and the third-class commissar, Fırıldakçı Ahmed Efendi, all of whom were previously involved in illegal activities.[87]

People who were promoted to commissar by using their local connections with influential figures were also mentioned in Cemal Bey's

86 Arslan, *"Aydın Vilayeti'nde Güvenlik,"* 124.

87 Ibid., 124-5.

report. Two months after the declaration of the second constitution, Sami and Eşref Efendis were promoted to third-class commissar upon the intervention of their father, Kuşçubaşı Mustafa, even though they were known to be fugitives because of acts of banditry in Yemen. In addition, it was stated that these two commissars collaborated with certain bandit groups, including Greek bandits, and especially with the one called Çakırcalı and thus misused their authority.[88]

In the previous chapter, the registers of dismissed personnel (*kaydı terkin cetvelleri*), which included penalties given to police officers, were examined, and it was demonstrated that these officers were systematically punished in compliance with the police regulation. Similarly, police superiors who committed crimes or did not follow disciplinary rules were also subject to punishment.

For example, the registers illustrating the awards and punishments given to police commissars, sergeants, and officers on duty in Konya Province, between August and November 1913 included four sergeants punished for undisciplined behavior. Two were punished with a daily wage cut (*yevmiye kati*) for having slept during their shifts at the police station. One of the others was also punished with a daily wage cut due to his maladjusted, unprofessional behavior toward his coworkers, and the last was penalized with a two-day wage cut for having being absent during an inspection of the police station.[89]

Another case also examplifies improper and even criminal conduct of the police superiors. A commissar on duty in Aydın in 1910 became a fugitive after being involved in the criminal acts of murder, injury of a person with a gun, and illegal shooting. The report written by the police inspector Cemal Bey in 1910 provides more details about this commissar's criminal conduct. While sitting in a coffeehouse and drinking with several friends, the commissar in question started quarrelling with the owner of the place, called Stelyano. Even though people managed to calm them both down, the quarrel escalated into a shooting incident

88 Ibid., 125.

89 Kılıçarslan, *"Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı,"* 46.

later in the day. Commissar Sadık saw the owner of the coffeehouse in the market in the evening, and both reached for their revolvers, Stelyano received a wound to his chest. However, things were not resolved, and Sadık Efendi started randomly shooting people passing by on the street and a person was shot in the face. Sadık Efendi escaped from the crime scene and both of the injured passed away.[90]

As the aforementioned examples illustrate, unqualified people were recruited not only as officers but also as superiors in provincial forces in defiance of the constant warnings of the Department of Public Security about following the employment criteria set in the Police Regulation. Moreover, it was more than possible to find police superiors displaying improper and even criminal behaviors rather than coming across an ideal commissar discussed in the previous chapter - a police superior who disciplined and trained the officers that he supervised - in provincial forces stationed far from the supervision of the center.

90 Arslan, *"Aydın Vilayeti'nde Güvenlik,"* 127.

6

Conclusion

The problematics held in the studies of European police historiography has moved from the history of crime to the history of administration or the machinery of justice by 1990s.[1] Hence, the studies of police history started to inquire into the operationalization of the criminal justice institutions; the norms, institutional discourses and identities reproduced in these institutions; and the practices and mentalities of the members of the police organizations at stake.

Parallel to this shift in terms of the objects of research in the European police historiography, in our study the Ottoman police is also studied both as an institution, with its docrines, regulations, institutional procedures and structure and also as a labor force. Therefore, the study provides the social history of the Ottoman policemen by delving into their lives, working conditions, mentalities, professional identities, practices and relationships. Moreover, the organizational culture and institutional identity which was imposed on the policemen by the Ottoman police organization was explored through the analyses of the discursive formation of the institution- that is, the official discourse of the police, the normalization practices such as the practices of punishment, gratifi-

1 Emsley, "Albion's Felonious Attractions," 75.

cation, surveillance, and examinations- by making use of the Foucauldian discourse analysis. In this respect, with this study the Foucauldian discourse analysis has been introduced for the first time to the historical analysis of a police organization in the world.

Although the Foucauldian discourse analysis was incorporated for our analyses of the norms, discourses, doctrines, professional identity and organizational culture generated and reproduced by the Ottoman police institution for the constitution of a certain police subjectivity; the limits of the Foucauldian framework – that is, providing an understanding of the institutions as totally omnipotent over the individuals and leaving no space for agency- were also acknowledged and therefore, the actual practices and differential responses of the policemen to the institutional norms and regulations were also taken into consideration. The differential responses of the policemen to the normative discourses and normalization practices of the police organization were also indicated through the analyses of the police records which illustrate that a great number of policemen had been subjected to various punishments due to their deviances from the institutional norms.

In Chapter 2, titled "The Social Profile of Ottoman Policemen," the social profile of the Ottoman police population is provided through the statistical analyses of the service records of policemen. In our analysis, the populations in two different periods are taken into account: first, the Ottoman police force during the reign of Abdulhamit II, and second, that in the era of CUP governments.

The population of Ottoman police in the first period predominantly involved young men with few qualifications and little interest in police work. Moreover, the Ottoman police administration continuously struggled to keep these men on the force even though they were not the institution's ideal recruits. Recruits were subjected to never-ending disciplinary techniques of the force and often tried to escape the duty. The police institution managed greater discipline and stability in the latter years of the CUP (Committee of Union and Progress) government. However, high turnover and poor discipline among policemen continued to create serious distress for the police until the end of the empire.

Throughout the two periods, Ottoman police forces in both the capital city and the provinces steadily increased in numbers. Since its establishment, the Ottoman police force was dominated by a population of young men in their twenties and thirties. Adult males were usually preferred over adolescent and elderly candidates. The force applied the recruitment qualifications of zaptiye forces for almost two decades. In the first police regulation of 1907, the qualifications for recruitment significantly changed. Hence, as the institutional development of the Ottoman police neared completion, the force started to be made up of adult males rather than adolescent and older policemen.

The policemen in the force predominantly worked in the provinces which were their hometowns. Most of the time, newly recruited policemen were immediately appointed to their places of birth or hometowns. Moreover, many ended up serving in their hometowns after having served in other provinces for varying periods of time. Hence, the populations of policemen in any province given were mostly made up of locals. The service records of policemen testify to the fact that this circumstance remained the same throughout various periods of the development of the police force.

The Ottoman police force included non-Muslims since its establishment in 1879. Despite the fact that police positions were open to non-Muslims, they rarely applied for police work. The basic reason for their lack of motivation was the low wages they offered for an excessively demanding job.

Policemen of the Ottoman police force were mostly recruited from among the urban casual poor which at the turn of the century was mostly comprised of migrants. The low wages which were only relatively improved with the advent of the CUP government were the basic reason for the recruitment of low-profile men onto the force. Especially in the first period of the development of the Ottoman police, the organization could not attract educated or trained men from any profession other than those who had served in the army or gendarmerie.

In the second period of the force, after 1908, the social status of policemen in the urban milieu had improved as the institutional organiza-

tion of the police developed and they provided their employees with various forms of economic and social capital. By 1910s, policemen earned relatively more than in the former period and they were formally educated in the police schools that had been founded in provincial centers.

By the beginning of the First World War, the Ottoman police force was composed of two kinds of policemen - one older, experienced, but relatively uneducated, and the other young, inexperienced, but with formal training. Due to the reorganization by the CUP government 1909 onwards, the young, educated policemen started to dominate the force both in terms of number and rank.

In the first period of the Ottoman police, being single was an informal recruitment qualification. Being married caused problems of inefficiency in police work. Being single was an informal qualification for recruits throughout both the first and second periods of the development of the police, but the organization included many policemen who were married and had children.

In Chapter 3, titled "Construction of the Ideal Policeman in the Institutional Discourse of the Police," the institutional discourse of the police under the second constitutional regime is analyzed in order to find out the discursive limits of the police identity.

It is demonstrated in detail that the police organization constantly reproduced a certain normative discourse to be imposed on police officers and superiors alike. Thus, policemen were expected to appropriate a certain subjectivity which required the adoption of a number of personal characteristics, skills, qualities, and modes of behavior. In this respect, the Ottoman police organization in late nineteenth century had turned into a modern machine targeting the constitution of police professionals with a definite subject position and organizational culture shared by all its members. In this respect, the police force imposed a normative discourse that generated the constitution of new norms and mandated that policemen acquire various capabilities, manners, and characteristics while excluding certain other kinds of behaviors and mentalities.

It is also indicated that the "commissar" was considered the embodiment of this ideal police subjectivity, and this commissar subjectivity was promoted as a "moral" model for policemen throughout this discursive formation. The official discourse of the police institution is interpreted through the printed materials of the institution, such as education programs, textbooks, and inhouse journals.

In Chapter 4, it is illustrated that the Ottoman police organization functioned as a modern institution of power which aimed at turning its officers, who were mostly ordinary citizens with no specific professional training or titles, into police professionals via the execution of certain disciplinary and discursive strategies such as the distribution of rewards and punishments and the employment of surveillance techniques- that is, the use of personal records and examinations.

Chapter 5 shows that the workings of the Ottoman police force as a modern institution of power were not flawless. Indeed, especially forces stationed in the provinces far from the central administration functioned in ways contrary to the established rules and regulations that were vital in terms of the rational functioning of the organization, such as rules and regulations concerning recruitment, appointment, gratification, and punishment practices. Moreover, commissars and superiors who were positioned as middle management executives for the surveillance and supervision of policemen in police centers did not resemble the ideal commissar continuously depicted in the institutional discourse and reproduced in inhouse journals and school text books. Indeed, in various provincial settings there were no commissars at all in charge of correcting the manners and comportment of police officers. Policemen were even sometimes left alone or positioned as part of or as substitutes for the administrative offices rather than working as police professionals. In this respect, the Ottoman police force was not able to engender the police professionals that it aspired to - especially in the provinces - due to the necessities of state administration throughout the First World War.

Despite the challenges of time and geography, it should be underscored that the Ottoman police force did manage to establish the basic

elements of a modern institution of power - that is to say, a normative discourse for engendering a certain subject position in police officers and disciplinary techniques clearly designed and put into effect by the police regulations of 1907 and especially that of 1913. In this respect, since the infrastructure was in place, it was a matter of time before the machine ran properly. Therefore, the Turkish police organization continued to function on the premises, norms, and practices established by the Ottoman police force up until 1937.

The contemporary police studies in Europe illustrates that although the police job had similar connotations in the modern Western states in the turn of the century such as the preventive and judicial policing, the definition of the police profession varies in terms of different national settings. Parallel to these studies, our research on the official discourses and functioning of the Ottoman police also testified to the fact that the definition of policing in the Ottoman historical and political setting had various other connotations in addition to the definition of police job held in other countries in the same period.

As it is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, throughout the official discourse of the Ottoman police it was indicated that the policing job included certain responsibilities with respect to the preventive policing and judicial policing in order to maintain the security, rule of law and order in the society. Moreover, it is also illustrated that the police profession in the Ottoman context was not confined to this global definition of the profession that was shared in the Western police organizations. Indeed, both in the Ottoman police's institutional discourse and also in the actual practices of the provincial police, it is observed that the Ottoman policemen were expected to function as a member of the state bureacracy. In the official discourse of the Ottoman police, Ottoman policemen were differed from the ordinary citizens and the gendarme soldiers due to their modern education and thus, discursively positioned vis-a-vis the people and the gendarmes but on the side of the state bureacracy. Hence the police subjectivity represented the moral model for the society similar to the other state officials of the Ottoman bureacracy

and the policemen were discursively positioned as equivalent to them, that is the teachers, administrative and judicial officials.

Moreover, the actual operations of the policemen which are given in the analyses of the provincial police in Chapter 5 also reveal the similar information with respect to the definition of the police profession in the Ottoman setting. Accordingly, it is indicated that both the police superiors and officers were assigned many other official duties in addition to their responsibilities as policemen and mostly functioned as the substitutes of the positions left vacant in state bureacracy.

This means that especially in the provinces, the definition of police duty included much more than the responsibilities introduced by the police regulations. Additional duties were assigned to police cadres, such as the workloads of other state officials like public prosecutors, interrogators, teachers, and other administrative officials. Indeed, the data testifies to the fact that the shortage of qualified state officials (kaht-ı rical) for the new administrative and judicial branches of the state in the provinces was the reason for such a requirement. In addition, the Great War was also another dimension which resulted in the deterioration of the proper functioning of the police organization since wars necessitated pulling forces from the countryside to the center and assigning them to the war fronts. Hence, the professional identity of the police was juxtaposed with identity of the state official both in the institutional discourse and the actual functioning of the Ottoman police.

In addition, the definition of police profession in the Ottoman setting differed from those in other countries with respect to the responsibilities and statuses of the policemen in the Ottoman state bureacracy. As policemen were functioning mostly as the substitutes of the state bureacracy, the policing job denoted not just the preventive and judicial policing of the society but meant the lowest functionary in the hierarchical ladder of the state bureacracy assisting the superior officials when needed. Such a definition and function of the policemen was a significant impediment to the institutionalization and professional development of the organization in the Ottoman context.

Despite the fact that this thesis has provided significant information with respect to the Ottoman police based on archival investigation and statistical analysis of police records, and has introduced new analytical frameworks by making use of the Foucauldian theory on modern institution and subjectivity, it has its own limits and inabilities and thus underlines the necessity of bringing certain further discussions and research objects to the study of the Ottoman police.

Throughout the thesis, the organizational culture and institutional identity of the Ottoman police was tried to be explored through the analyses of the discursive formation which was reproduced and imposed on the police officers by the police administration. In this respect, it was considered that the discursive formation of the Ottoman police institution - which means the official discourse of the Ottoman police given in the police in-house journals and other education materials; the normative framework set in the police regulations; the normalization practices such as the punishments, rewards, exams, surveillance practices which aimed at shaping the mentalities and the behaviors of the policemen in terms of the normative discourses of the police organization – had the priority and power in constituting and changing the subjectivity of the Ottoman police officer in terms of a professional and organizational identity. However, the subcultures and the individual identities of the police officers already existing in the police organization either in confrontation or in harmony with the organizational culture and institutional identity given by the Ottoman police remain to be explored in the further studies of the Ottoman police. As such, our study has been the result of an assidious effort to provide a detailed analysis of the Ottoman police in terms of its organizational culture; institutional identity; general functioning; policemen's characteristics, mentalities and practices through the appropriation of a great number of archival data with statistical and discursive analyses. In this respect, our study has paved the way for further and complicated analyses of the Ottoman police in terms of the subcultures existing in the organization, such as the political cliques, ethnic and religious groups, differential alignments of the officers with respect to their education, age and hometowns.

In our study, although certain points with respect to the effects of the subcultures or the personal affiliations/identities of the police officers had been mentioned especially in Chapters 2 and 5. In Chapter 2, according to the statistical analyses of the police records it was indicated that the police population was divided into two in terms of their ages and education levels by 1910s. The Ottoman police force was composed of two kinds of policemen - one older, experienced, but relatively uneducated, and the other young, inexperienced, but with formal training. Moreover, as an effect of the political reorganization of the state administration held by the CUP government 1909 onwards; the young, educated policemen started to dominate the force both in terms of number and rank. As it was stated in Chapter 3, the discursive analysis of the official discourse of the police designated that there was a confrontation between these two groups of police populations. It was indicated that the young and educated police officers distinguished themselves from the experienced but elder police officers in terms of their better professional skills and capabilities based on age. In this respect, in our study such confrontations among the differential subcultures were indicated but not taken into consideration in depth. The memoirs of the police officers and superiors indicate that such a confrontation was also fueled by the political setting after the 1908 revolution and the reorganization of the state 1909 onwards which resulted in the foundation of political cliques in the police organization. Hence, the governments after the 1908 revolution and especially the CUP had serious effects in engendering such subcultures and identities among the policemen.

Moreover, the existence of the ethnic and religious subcultures and identities and the interactions of them with the organizational culture and identity need to be handled in further studies on the Ottoman police. For instance, the questions with respect to the mentalities and practices of the non-Muslim police officers are waiting to be answered, however the limited number of memoirs written by the non-Muslim policemen is the basic impediment against recovering these subcultures and identities. In addition, various special groups within the police organization, such as the police detectives, political police and police su-

periors, are also taken into consideration as the objects of researches in the contemporary European police historiography. Hence, these groups are considered as a subgroup with a certain mindset and practice which make them stand distinguished from the rest of the police population due to their educational backgrounds and relationships with other professional groups such as the journalists, the political leaders or parties and government.

Bibliography

BAŞBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARŞIVI (PRIME MINISTRY OTTOMAN ARCHIVES)

DH. EUM. MEM. Dahiliye Emniyet-i Umumiye Memurin Kalemi Evrakı

DH.EUM.MH. Dahiliye Emniyet-i Umumiye Muhasebe Kalemi Evrakı

DH. MKT. Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi

DH. MUİ. Dâhiliye Nezareti Muhaberat-ı Umumiye İdaresi Evrakı

DH. TMIK. Dahiliye Nezareti Tesri-i Muamelat ve Islahat Komisyonu

İ. DH. İrade Dahiliye

Y. PRK. UM. Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Umumi

ZB. Zaptiye Nezareti Evrakı

PERIODICALS

Düstur, Tertib-i Evvel, VIII

Düstur, Tertib-i Sânî, I, V, IX

Cumhuriyet

Polis

Polis Mecmuası

Ağanoğlu, H. Yıldırım. *1896 (Hicri 1314) Kosova Vilayeti Salnamesi (Üsküp, Priştine, Prizren, Yenipazar, Taşlıca)*. İstanbul: Rumeli Türkleri Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği, 2000.

Alexander, Jeffrey. "The Dialectic of Individuation and Domination: Weber's Rationalization Theory and Beyond." In *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity*, edited by Sam Whimster and Scott Lash. London: Allen and Unwin, 1987.

Alkan, Mehmet Ö. *Gönüllü Sürgünden Zorunlu Sürgüne: Prens Sabahaddin Bütün Eserleri*. İstanbul: YKY,2007.

Alyot, Halim. *Türkiye'de Zabıta: Tarihî Gelişim ve Bugünkü Durum.* Ankara: Kozan Ofset, 2008.

Arslan, Bahar. "II.Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Aydın Vilayeti'nde Güvenlik." M.A. Thesis. Ege University, 2008.

Ascoli, David. *The Queen's Peace The Origins and Development of The Metropolitan Police 1829-1979*. London: H. Hamilton. 1979.

Bayley, David. "The Police and The Political Development in Europe." In *The Formation of National States in Western Europe,* edited by Charles Tilly. Princeton: Princeton Uni Press. 1975.

————. *Police and Society*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications. 1977.

————. *Patterns of Policing*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1985.

Berlière, Jean-Marc. *La Police Des Mœurs Sous La IIIe République*. Paris: Seuil. 1992.

————. *Le Préfet Lépine: Vers La Naissance De La Police Moderne*. Paris: Denoël. 1993.

————. *Le Monde Des Polices En France Xıxe-Xxe Siècles*. Bruxelles: Éditions Complexe. 1996.

————. *Naissance De La Police Moderne*. Paris: Perrin. 2011.

Berlière, Jean-Marc, and Denis Peschanski. *Pouvoirs et Police Au Xxe Siecle, Europe, Etats-Unis, Japon*. Bruxelles: Complexe. 1997.

Bessel, Richard, and Clive Emsley. *Patterns of Provocation: Police and Public Disorder*. New York [u.a.]: Berghahn. 2000.

Brunet, Jean-Paul. *La Police De L'ombre: Indicateurs et Provocateurs Dans La France Contemporaine*. Paris: Seuil. 1990.

Canım, Rıdvan, and Remzi Yavaş Kıncal, eds. *Ismail Hakkı: Talim ve Terbiyede Inkılab.* İstanbul : Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1995.

Carrot, Georges. *Histoire de la Police Française: Tableaux, Chronologie, Iconographie*. Paris: J. Tallandier. 1992.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012.

Chauvaud, Frédéric. *De Pierre Rivière à Landru: La Violence Apprivoisée au Xıxe Siècle*. Paris: Brepols. 1991.

Corbin, Alain. *Les Filles De Noce: Misère Sexuelle et Prostitution : (19e siècle)*. Paris: Flammarion. 1982.

Cremonesi, Laura. *Foucault and The Making of Subjects*. Lanham : Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016.

Critchley, Thomas Alan. *A History of Police in England and Wales, 1900-1966*. Constable: London. 1967.

Çadırcı, Musa; Tulay Ercoşkun. 2007. *Tanzimat sürecinde Türkiye ülke yönetimi*. Kızılay, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Çebitürk, Hasan. "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e 'Polis' Mevzuatı." M. A. Thesis, Sakarya University, 2009.

Deal, Roger A. *Crimes of honor, drunken brawls and murder : Violence in Istanbul under Abdülhamid II.* İstanbul : Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2010.

————. "A Policeman's Life in Hamidian Istanbul, " Türk Polis Tarihinin Kökenleri, ed. Doç. Dr. Yücel Yiğit, Polis Akademisi yayınları, Ankara: 2017.

Demirel, Fatmagül. "Osmanlı Polis Teşkilatının Hafıza Mekanı: Polis Müzesi," Türk Polis Tarihinin Kökenleri, ed. Doç. Dr. Yücel Yiğit, Polis Akademisi yayınları, Ankara: 2017.

————. Adliye Nezareti: Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri (1876-1914). Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, İstanbul: 2008.

Demirel, Yurdal. "Osmanlı Dönemi Polis Eğitiminden Bir Sayfa: Polis Dershanesi," Türk Polis Tarihinin Kökenleri, ed. Doç. Dr. Yücel Yiğit, Polis Akademisi yayınları, Ankara: 2017.

Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. *Osmanlı Devletinin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı 1897*. Ankara:Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası,1997.

Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi. *Diyarbakır Salnameleri 1286-1323*. Diyarbakır: Diyarbakır Büyük Şehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1999.

Doğan, Atila. *Osmanlı Aydınları ve Sosyal Darwinizm*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006.

————. " Liberalizmin İlk İzleri: Ulum-ı İktisadiye ve İçtimaiye Mecmuası'nda Liberal Anlayış." In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Liberalizm,* edited by Tanıl Bora, 75-83, vol.7.İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları. 2005.

Dülmen, Richard van. *Theatre of Horror: Crime and Punishment In Early Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Polity. 1990.

Emiroğlu, Kudret. *Ankara Vilayeti Salname-i Resmisi 1325 (1907)*. Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı,1995.

Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü. *Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü Arşiv Belgeleriyle Gerçekler: Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Emniyet Mensuplarının Özlük Dosyalarındaki Diploma, Sertifika ve Üniformalı Resimler.*Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2002.

————. *Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü Arşiv Belgeleriyle Gerçekler: Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Polisin Özlük Dosyaları: Atık - Cedit - Cumhuriyet Dönemleri.* Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü,2002.

Emsley, Clive. *Policing and Its Context: 1750-1870*. London: Macmillan. 1983.

————. "Policing The Streets of Early Nineteenth-Century Paris." *French History,* (1987), 1 (2): 257-282.

————. "The French Police: Ubiquitous And Faceless." *French History*, (1989), 3 (2): 222-227.

————. *The English Police: A Political and Social History*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf. 1991.

————. "Albion's Felonious Attractions: Reflections upon the History of Crime in England." In *Crime History and Histories of Crime: Studies in The Historiography of Crime and Criminal Justice in Modern History*, edited by Clive Emsley and Louis A. Knafla, 67-85. Westport, Conn: Greenwood. 1996.

————. *Gendarmes and The State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1999.

————. "A Typology Of Nineteenth-Century Police." *Crime History And Societies*, (1999), 3 (1): 29-44.

————. "The Policeman as Worker: A Comparative Survey c. 1800–1940." *International Review of Social History*. (2000), 45 (1): 89-110.

Emsley, Clive, and Barbara Weinberger. *Policing Western Europe: Politics, Professionalism, and Public Order, 1850-1940*. New York: Greenwood Press. 1992.

Emsley, Clive, and Mark Clapson. "Recruiting the English Policeman C. 1840–1940." *Policing and Society.* (1994), 3 (4): 269-285.

Emsley, Clive, and Louis A. Knafla. *Crime History and Histories of Crime: Studies in The Historiography of Crime and Criminal Justice in Modern History*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood. 1996.

Emsley, Clive and Barbara Weinberger. *Policing Western Europe: Politics, Professionalism, and Public Order,1850-1940*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.

Emsley, Clive, and Haia Shpayer-Makov. *Police Detectives In History, 1750-1950*. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate. 2006.

Ergut, Ferdan. *Modern Devlet ve Polis*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

————. "Polis Çalışmaları için Kavramsal Bir Çerçeve." In *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransız ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğine Çapraz Bakışlar*, 38-63, edited by Noémi Levy, Nadir Özbek, and Alexandre Toumarkine. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay. 2009.

Ergün, Mustafa. "Prens Sabahattin Bey'in Eğitim Üzerine Düşünceleri." *Kuramsal Eğitimbilim*, 2(2008):1-9.

Eroğlu, Cengiz; Murat Babuçoğlu, and Mehmet Köçer. *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde Halep*. Ankara: Global Strateji Enstitüsü, YİKV,2007.

Eroğlu, Cengiz; Murat Babuçoğlu, and Orhan Özdil. *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde Musul*. Ankara: Global Strateji Enstitüsü, YİKV,2008.

Fahmy, Khaled. *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt*. New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Findley, Carter Vaughn. *Kalemiyeden Mülkiyeye Osmanlı Memurlarının Toplumsal Tarihi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996.

Forrest, Alan I. *Conscripts and Deserters: The Army and French Society During the Revolution and Empire*. Oxford University Press. 1989.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of The Prison*. London: Penguin Books, 1991.

————. "Governmentality." In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, 87-104. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

————. *Özne ve İktidar*. Ayrıntı yayınları, 2011.

————. "Panopticism." In *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow, ----. London: Penguin Books, 1984.

————. "The Subject and Power." In *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited by Hubert L. Dreyfus, Paul Rabinow---. New York; London; Toronto; Sydney; Tokyo: Harvester Wheeatsheaf, 1982.

————. "The Birth of the Asylum." In *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow---, London: Penguin Books, 1984.

————. "The Right of Death and Power over Life." In *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow---, London: Penguin Books, 1984.

————. "Truth and Power." *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow,--- .London: Penguin Books, 1984.

Gatrell, Vic. *The Hanging Tree: Execution and The English People, 1770-1868*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1994.

Gillis, A. R. "Crime and State Surveillance in Nineteenth-Century France." *American Journal of Sociology,* (Sep., 1989) 95, no. 2: 307-341.

Godfrey, Barry, Clive Emsley, and Graeme Dunstall. *Comparative Histories of Crime*. 2013.

Goffman, Erving. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. London : Taylor and Francis. 2017.

Gordon, Colin. "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction." In The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, 1-51. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Guillais, Joëlle. *La Chair de L'autre: Le Crime Passionnel au XIX. Siècle*. Paris: Orban. 1986.

Gün, Taner. "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde 'Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdürlüğünün' Kuruluşu ve Gelişimi (1909-1918)"; M. A. Thesis, Harran University, 2012.

Hall, Stuart. "The West and the rest: Discourse and Power." In *Formations of Modernity* edited by Stuart Hall, Bram Gieben---. Cambridge : Polity Press, 1992.

Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. *The Young Turks in Opposition*. New York: Oxford University Press,1995.

Harris, Ruth. *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law, and Society in The Fin De Siecle*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1989.

Harsin, Jill. *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Paris*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press. 1986.

İbrahim Feridun. *Polis Efendilere Mahsus Terbiye ve Malumat-ı Meslekiye,* Ankara : Polis Akademisi Yayınları, 2010.

İnan, U. H. "1311 (1893) Tarihli Kastamonu Vilayeti Salnamesi'nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi." MA Thesis, Kayseri, Erciyes Üniversity, 2005.

İzgöer, Ahmet Zeki. *Salname-i Diyarbekir 1*. Diyarbakır : Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1999.

————. Salname-i Diyarbekir 2 . Diyarbakır : Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1999.

————. *Salname-i Diyarbekir 3* . Diyarbakır : Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1999.

————. *Salname-i Diyarbekir 4* .Diyarbakır : Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1999.

————. *Salname-i Diyarbekir 5* .Diyarbakır : Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1999.

Kafadar, Osman and Faruk Öztürk, eds. *M. Sâtı Bey: Eğitim ve Toplumsal Sorunlar Üzerine Konferanslar.* Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002.

Kaynar, Süleyman. "Tarihi Süreç İçerisinde Türk Polis Teşkilatı'nın Kuruluşu, Organizasyonu, Fiziksel Yapılanması, Aday Seçme Şekli, Eğitim Programları ve Eğitim Süreçleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma." MA Thesis, Niğde University, 2002.

Kılıçarslan, "II.Meşrutiyet Dönemi Kastamonu Emniyet Teşkilatı (1908-1918)." M. A. Thesis, Kastamonu University, 2010.

Kırlı, Cengiz. "Yolsuzluğun İcadı: 1840 Ceza Kanunu, İktidar ve Bürokrasi." *Tarih ve Toplum* 4 (2006): 45-119.

Kırmızı, Abdülhamit. *Abdülhamid'in Valileri: Osmanlı Vilayet İdaresi 1895-1908*. İstanbul:Klasik Yayınları, 2007.

————. "Meşrutiyette İstibdat Kadroları: 1908 İhtilali'nin Bürokraside Tasfiye ve İkame Kabiliyeti", *100. Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi,* İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yay., 2010, 332-355.

Knafla, Louis A. "Structure, Conjuncture, and Event in the Historiography of Modern Criminal Justice History." In *Crime History and Histories of Crime: Studies in The Historiography of Crime and Criminal Justice in Modern History*, edited by Clive Emsley and Louis A. Knafla, 33-44. Westport, Conn: Greenwood. 1996.

Lebigre, Arlette. *Histoire de la Police*. Paris. 1989.

————. *La Police: Une Histoire Sous Influence*. Paris: Gallimard. 1993.

Levy, Noemi, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş 1879 – 1909*. İstanbul: İletişim. 2017.

————. "L'ordre Dans La Ville: Istanbul a l'epoque d'Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)". MA Thesis, EHESS Paris,Ecole doctoralle Histoire et Civilisations, 2005.

————. "Modalites et Enjeux de la Circulation des Savoirs Policiers : Un Modele Français Pour la Police Ottomane ?" *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines*, 19:(2008)11-27.

————, "La Police Ottomane au Tournant des XIX e et XX e Siecles : Les Memoires D'un Commissaire D'Izmir ," 54-2(2007):140-160.

Levy, Noemi, Nadir Özbek and Alexandre Toumarkine, eds. *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransa ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğinde Çapraz Bakışlar.* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009.

————. *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza, 18.-20.Yüzyıllar.* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007.

Levy, Rene. "Crime, the Judicial System, and Punishment in Modern France." In *Crime History and Histories of Crime: Studies in The Historiography of Crime and Criminal Justice in Modern History*, edited by Clive Emsley and Louis A. Knafla, 87-108. Westport, Conn: Greenwood. 1996.

Manyasizade Refik Bey. *Nizamat-ı Zabtiye Yahud Vezaif-i Zabıta*, Polis Akademisi Yayınları, Ankara: 2013.

Martin, Benjamin F. *Crime and Criminal Justice Under The Third Republic: The Shame of Marianne*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1990.

Martinage, Renee. *Punir le Crime:La Repression Judiciaire Depuis Le Code Penal*. Villeneuve-d' Ascq: L'Espace juridique. 1989.

McKinley, Alan, and Ken Starkey. *Foucault, management and organization theory: From panopticon to technologies of self*. London: Sage Publications. 1997.

Milliot, Vincent. “Bir Tarihyazım Denemesi: Yeni Bir Polis Tarihine Doğru mu?” In *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransız ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğine Çapraz Bakışlar*, 85-116, edited by Noémi Levy, Nadir Özbek, and Alexandre Toumarkine. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay. 2009.

Monjardet, Dominique. *Ce Que Fait La Police: Sociologie De La Force Publique*. Paris: La Découverte. 1996.

O’Brien, Patricia. *The Promise of Punishment: Prisons in Nineteenth-Century France*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1982.

Oğuz, Mustafa. “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Devlet Adamı Kıtlığı (Kaht-I Rical) Hakkında II. Abdülhamid’e Sunulan Bir Rapor.” *Türklük Bilimi Araştırmaları*, 2008 Güz, *24*: 99-134.

Okçabol, Derviş. *Türk Zabıta Tarihi ve Teşkilat Tarihçesi*. Ankara: Ankara Polis Enstitüsü, 1940.

Osborne, Thomas, “Questioning Enlightenment: Ethics of Truth in Foucault and Weber,” In *Aspects of Enlightenment: Social Theory and the Ethics of Truth*, London: UCL Press, 1998.

Özbek, Nadir. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda İç Güvenlik, Siyaset ve Devlet, 1876-1909." *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 16(2004):59-65.

————. "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, no. 40 (2008): 47-67.

————. "Tarihyazıcılığında Güvenlik Kurum ve Pratiklerine İlişkin Bir Değerlendirme." In *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransa ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğinde Çapraz Bakışlar*, edited by Nadir Özbek and Noemi Levy, 1-19. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009.

Özman, Aylin, “İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu.” In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, edited by Uğur Kocabaşoğlu,74-77. İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları,2005.

Öztürk, Faruk, ed. *Ethem Nejat: Türklük Nedir ve Terbiye Yolları*. İstanbul: Kızılelma Yayıncılık, 2001.

Petit, Jacques-Guy. *Ces Peines Obscures: La Prison Pénale en France (1780-1875)*. Paris: Fayard. 1990.

Pisciotta, Alexander W. *Benevolent Repression Social Control and the American Reformatory-Prison Movement*. New York; London: NYU Press. 1994.

Philips, David, and Robert D. Storch. *Policing Provincial England: 1829 - 1856; the Politics of Reform*. London [u.a.]: Leicester Univ. Press. 1999.

Pratt, John. 1992. *Punishment in A Perfect Society: The New Zealand Penal System, 1840-1939*. Wellington [N.Z.]: Victoria University Press.

Reiner, Robert. *The Politics of the Police.* New York: St Martin's Press. 1985.

Reith, Charles Edward Williams. *The Police Idea: Its History and Evolution in England in The Eighteenth Century and After*. London: Oxford University Press. 1938.

Reith, Charles. *British Police and The Democratic Ideal*. London: Oxford University Press. 1943.

————. *The Blind Eye of History: A Study of The Origins of The Present Police Era*. Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith. 1975.

Rossi, Andrea. "Foucault, Critique, Subjectivity." *Journal for Cultural Research*, (December 2017), Vol. 21, Issue 4: 337-350.

Santucci, Marie-Renée. *Délinquance et Répression au XIXe siècle: L'exemple de l'Hérault*. Paris: Economica. 1986.

Scott, Susie. *Total Institutions and Reinvented Identities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011.

Shaw, Stanford J., and Ezel Kural Shaw. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*. Cambridge, GBR: Cambridge University Press. 2002.

Shpayer-Makov, Haia. *The Making of A Policeman: The Social History of A Labour Force in Metropolitan London, 1829-1914*. 2001.

————. *The Ascent of The Detective: Police Sleuths in Victorian and Edwardian England*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press. 2011.

Simons, Jon. "The Analysis of Limits." In *Foucault & the Political*, 24-35. London, New York, Routledge. 2016.

Sönmez, Ali. "Zaptiye Teşkilatının Kuruluşu ve Gelişimi". PhD Diss., Ankara University, 2005.

Spierenburg, Pieter. *The Emergence of Carceral Institutions: Prisons Galleys and Lunatic Asylums 1550-1900*. Rotterdam: Centrum Voor Maatschappij Geschiedenis, Erasmus University. 1984.

————. *The Spectacle of Suffering. Executions and The Evolution of Repression : From A Preindustrial Metropolis to The European Experience, 1984.* Cambridge. 1984.

————. *The Prison experience: disciplinary institutions and their inmates in early modern Europe*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1991.

Stead, Philip John. *The Police of Paris*. London: Staples Pr. 1957.

————. *The Police of France*. New York: Macmillan Pub. Co. 1983.

Storch, Robert D. " 'The Plague of The Blue Locusts': Police Reform and Popular Resistance in Northern England, 1840-1857." *International Review of Social History*, (1975), 20: 61-90.

————. "The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England, 1850-1880." *Journal of Social History,* (1976), 9 (4): 481-509.

————. "Features - The Old English Constabulary - Robert D Storch Argues That The State of Policing Before Peel Was Not Always As Bad As Reformers Liked To Claim." *History Today*,(1999), 49: 43.

Şahin, Eyüp. *1907'den 2000'e Polis Okulları*. Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2001.

————. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türk Polis Teşkilatında İlk Kadın Görevliler*. Ankara : Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010.

————. *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler* vol.1. Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012.

————.*Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler* vol.2. Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012.

————.*Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler* vol.3. Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012.

————. *Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler* vol.4. Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012.

————.*Türk Polisinden Seçkin Biyografiler* vol.5. Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012.

————. *Türk Polis Teşkilatının Şanlı Geçmişinde ve Cumhuriyete Giden Yolda İz Bırakan Polisler*. Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2004.

Şahin, Eyüp, ed. *Belgelerle Türk Polis Tarihi* vol.1,2.Ankara : Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012.

————. *Türk Polis Teşkilatının Kuruluşunun 166. yılında 166 Belge*. Ankara: Arşiv ve Dokümantasyon Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011.

————. *Türk Polis Tarihinden Belge ve Fotoğraflar.* Ankara: Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012.

Şen, Sebahattin. "20. Yüzyıl Başında Türk Polis Teşkilatı," M. A. Thesis, Atatürk University, 1990.

Tanışık, Gökhan. “Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Kayıtlarına Göre Polis Teşkilatı Kadro Hareketleri (1909-1918).” M. A. Thesis, Ondokuz Mayıs University, 2009.

Tilly, Charles. “Reflections on the History of European State-Making.” In his *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, 3-83. Princeton. 1975.

————. *Coercion, Capital and European States, A.D.990-1992*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell. 1992.

Tilly, Charles, Louise Tilly and Richard Tilly. *The Rebellious Century 1830-1930*. London. 1975.

Tongur, Hikmet. *Türkiye’de İlk Zaptiyeler : Kolluk Tarihimizden Vesikalar*. Ankara : Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T.A.O., 1948.

————. *Türkiye’de Genel Kolluk Teşkil ve Görevleri*. Ankara : Kanat Basımevi, 1946.

Toprak, Zafer. “From Liberalism to Solidarism: The Ottoman Economic Mind in the Age of the Nation State (1820-1920).” In *Studies in Ottoman social and economic life = Studien zu Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Osmanischen Reich*, eds. Raoul Motika, Christoph Herzog, Michael Ursinus. Heidelberg [Germany] : Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1999.

————. *Türkiye'de "Millî İktisat,"1908-1918*. Ankara: Yurt Yayınları,1982.

Tozlu, Necmettin. *Ismayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu'nun Eğitim Sistemi Üzerine Bir Araştırma.* İstanbul : M.E.B., 1989.

Tural, Erkan. “II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Devletin Restorasyonu Bağlamında 1909 Teşkilat ve Tensikat Kanunu.” PhD Diss., Dokuz Eylül University, 2006.

Van, Nureddin. "İstanbul Polis Müdüriyet-i Umumiyyesi; Kuruluşu, Teşkilatı ve Faaliyetleri (1909-1918)." PhD Diss., Marmara University, 2012.

————. "Osmanlı Polis Teşkilatının Modernleşme Sürecinde Celestin Bonnin'in Rolü," *Türk Polis Tarihinin Kökenleri*, ed. Doç. Dr. Yücel Yiğit, Polis Akademisi yayınları, Ankara: 2017.

Vigier, Philippe. *Maintien De L'ordre et Polices: En France et En Europe au 19e Siècle*. Paris: Créaphis. 1987.

————. *Repression et Prison Politiques: En France et En Europe au 19e Siècle*. Paris: Créaphis. 1990.

Weber, Max. "Bureaucracy." In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited by H.H. Gerth, C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Yılmaz, İbrahim. "20. Yüzyıl Başında Konya Polis Teşkilatı." M.A. Thesis. Kafkas University, 2011.

————. "Osmanlı Polis Okulları: Eğitim," *SÜTAD,* Güz 2015, *(38):* 103-130.

Yılmaz, Murat, ed. Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Liberalizm, vol.7. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2005.

Yücel, Ebubekir S. *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas H. 1325 (Sivas Vilayet Yıllığı 1907)* Sivas: Buruciye Yayınları, 2007.

————. *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas H. 1287 (Sivas Vilayet Yıllığı 1870)* Sivas: Buruciye Yayınları, 2008.

————. *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas H. 1288-1289-1292-1293-1298 (Sivas Vilayet Yıllığı 1871-1872-1875-1876-1880)* Sivas: Buruciye Yayınları,2008.

————. *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas H. 1300-1301-1302-1304-1306-1308-1321) (Sivas Vilayet Yıllığı 1882-1883-1884-1886-1888-1890-1903)* Sivas: Buruciye Yayınları, 2008.