

Prisoners' Experiences of Police Intervention in the Reality of Social Capital

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Abstract: One of the most important roles falls to the police in maintaining law and order in the face of the ever-changing forms of crime in the world. Methods and practices aimed at maintaining the relationship of trust between human rights and the state during the operation occupy a large space in the social science literature. In this context, it can be said that a transition from a reactive policing to a proactive policing model has taken place in Turkey. This transition also includes the evolution from force exercise to service delivery. Our study attempts to consider the policing experiences of convicts who define themselves as religious within the context of these discussions. All the participants identified themselves as religious, Muslim. Convicts' religiosity and feelings of guilt were examined from the perspective of social and cultural capital. From the viewpoint of this problematization, the convicts' police experiences were subjected to qualitative phenomenological analysis. As a result of the research, it was found that religious teachings, as an element of cultural capital, do not prevent the commission of crimes, but have a formative effect in the process of police intervention.

Key words: Police intervention, police, social capital, cultural capital, prisoners.

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Sosyal Sermaye Gerçekliğinde Hükümlülerin Polis Müdahalesine Yönelik Deneyimleri

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Özet: Dünyada sürekli deęişen suç biçimleri karşısında asayişin sağlanmasında en önemli rollerden biri polise düşmektedir. Suça müdahale sırasında, insan hakları ile devlet arasındaki güven ilişkisini sürdürmeye yönelik yöntem ve uygulamalar sosyal bilimler literatüründe geniş yer tutmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Türkiye’de reaktif polislikten proaktif polisliğe geçişin gerçekleştiği söylenebilir. Bu geçiş aynı zamanda güç kullanımından hizmet sunumuna evrimi de içerir. Çalışmamız, hükümlülerin polislik deneyimlerini bu tartışmalar bağlamında değerlendirmeye çalışmaktadır. Tüm katılımcılar kendilerini dindar, Müslüman olarak tanımlamıştır. Hükümlülerin dindarlıkları ve suçluluk durumları sosyal ve kültürel sermaye açısından incelenmiştir. Bu sorunsallaştırma açısından hükümlülerin polislik deneyimleri niteliksel fenomenolojik analizine tabi tutulmuştur. Araştırma sonucunda, kültürel sermayenin bir unsuru olarak dini öğretilerin suç işlenmesini engellemediği ancak polis müdahalesini anlama ve deneyimleme sürecinde biçimlendirici bir etkiye sahip olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Polis müdahalesi, polis, sosyal sermaye, kültürel sermaye, tutuklu, hükümlü.

Introduction

The definition of the police profession may vary depending on the ideological approach. Today there are those who see the police as an instrument of control by the state, and those who see them as a mediating class that imposes the capitalist order on the working class. In our study, policing is not viewed ideologically or philosophically but is evaluated as a social reality. There are many models of policing in the world. In this study, we discuss policing in the view of prisoners' experiences.

In the past, many different models of policing have been presented. However, based on these different backgrounds, two models emerge: The classical and the modern. These two different and interrelated models reflect the different relationships between the state and the citizen, as well as public policy. The first is about improving the internal management of the police, controlling crime, collecting physical evidence at the scene, and scientifically improving crime detection, responding quickly to incidents, and responding quickly to reports (Jiao, 1997). This is the model described for the adventure of policing in the modernization process around the world. In the 1964 Kitty Genovese murder case in New York, the fact that neighbors did not testify or file charges because of their distrust of the police and fear of being implicated in the case is said to have brought about the breakthrough. It is argued that with the advent of foot patrol teams in the 1970s, the relationship between police and citizens began to change. As technology developed and modern life became more self-structured, police also became aware of the reality of the community in which they live (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1998, pp. 22-26). Bayley and Shearing (1996) emphasize that the identity crisis of policing also has implications for the relationship between society and citizens. Accordingly, private security services, personal security, etc., are becoming more widespread. With the increase of alternatives, the monopoly of policing in homeland security has come to an end. It emphasizes that the police no longer only hunt a crime, but understand it, are aware of the risks in the society in which they live, and focus on a model that puts society first. In addition to this, concepts such as human rights, democracy, and security are coming to the forefront of today's policing debate. Community policing, the modern model, is the result of such a process (Bayley & Shearing, 1996). In this model of policing, a culture-based approach to security is adopted. Therefore, many community-oriented policing models can be mentioned (Bayley, 1996, pp. 101-105). In Turkey, community-oriented policing has developed along with the community-supported policing model and under the influence of international agreements. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, a model of policing that focuses on the community-citizen relationship emerged (Kara, 2021, p. 82). Today, we can speak of the concept of policing in Turkey evolving from the use of force to a service mentality (Toplum Destekli Polislik, 2020).

This study examines how policing experienced by convicts who describe themselves as religious in the realities of social capital stands in the aforementioned policing models. To find this out, the study consists of four parts. In the first part, the relationship between religiosity, crime and social capital is discussed theoretically. In the second part, the reality of convicts and prisoners in Turkey is presented in a general statistical framework. In the third part, the methodology of the research, phenomenological analysis, is presented in order to understand it from the participants' perspective. The last part consists of the findings, in which the data were coded according to the experiences.

Crime, Social Capital, and Religion

The participants in our study describe themselves as patriotic Muslim and have committed crimes against public order, such as theft, threats, extortion, homicide, and assault. These crimes are a range of phenomena in which the individual and social contexts are intertwined. While there are social and religious sanctions, the question of why the individual commits a crime is at the nexus of religious, cultural, economic, social, psychological, and myriad contexts. We can look at this node from four different theoretical perspectives: Conflict between cultural and social capital, decoupling of bonding, bridging and linking social capital, marginalization of cultural capital by social capital, the spatial dimension of capital.

Cultural capital consists of the accumulation of knowledge, skills, and related behaviors passed down or acquired by individuals' families, and the translation of that accumulation into preferences and lifestyles. Social capital, on the other hand, consists of interpersonal relationships that people build, with an emphasis on trust (Bourdieu, 1986). Tension theories explain the strain and criminality between these two types of capital that individuals possess. According to this theory, criminality is due to the inability of individuals to obtain the necessary resources from their social capital to achieve the goals constructed by their cultural capital. While, on the one hand, families set wealth as a goal for their children, individuals do not find legal educational, employment, or monetary opportunities to achieve this in their work, friend, or other trust-based relationships. Crime consists of illegal alternative ways to achieve these goals (Cohen, 1994, pp. 201-206; Merton, 1938). According to this point of view, the source of the crime committed by the convicts is socio-economic inequalities comes from strain between social capital and cultural capital, not cultural transmission or religious background.

The bonding, bridging, and linking social capital represent different levels of the individual's attachment to the society. The bonding social capital includes close relationships and trust building. The bridging social capital is the circle that connects the individual to society. The last one contains broader and professional relationships of trust. Accordingly, the linking social capital means people carrying bonding and bridging social capital to broader environment like entrepre-

neurship, etc. (Putnam, 2001, pp. 20-21,327,386). If the individual experiences a break in these connections when committing a crime, s/he will not commit a crime according to social control theories of crime (Hirschi & Stark, 1969; Reckless, 2016; Tittle, 2001). Therefore, religious people raised in religious families are not expected to commit crimes for fear that it will damage the trust relationship considering sin dimension of crime. Although all of the participants in our study described themselves and their families as religious, all of them committed crimes.

In the context of aforementioned framework, labelling theories explain crime as marginalization of cultural capital by social capital. Accordingly, individuals who are not accepted into relationships of trust in social life because of their cultural background are more likely to commit crimes for labelling theorists. This is largely due to the incompatibility of cultural and social capital. If s/he does not conform to the norms of the trust relationships in which the individual wishes to participate, s/he is defined as an outsider. This outsider identity brings him close to deviant behavior (Becker, 1997, pp. 1-8). Goffman, on the other hand, addresses these relationships by labelling the individual (Goffman, 2014, pp. 30-33). Lemert, on the other hand, explains this exclusion with primary and secondary deviance. Accordingly, with primary deviance, there is no exclusion from social trust relationships. In secondary deviance, where serious crime occurs, individuals form a new subculture by associating with other deviants who are like themselves. The crime continues here (Lemert, 1951, p. 77,325). Cloward and Ohlin point to the building of criminal trust relationships in this culture. Accordingly, they argue that there is a class and inequality situation in criminal trust relationships (Dhanagare, 1967, pp. 39-59).

Another social capital dimension of crime shows the class dimension of place. Accordingly, crime originates in transitional areas where circulation and immigration are high in the class-structural urban distribution, or in suburban areas displaced from the city (Burgess, 1967, pp. 47-63).

In this framework, the commission of a crime by a person takes place together with the social, cultural, and economic reality of which s/he is the bearer. While this reality sometimes leads to crime, it sometimes provides self-control to prevent crime. What is the role of religion in this context? Religion can be considered as one of the norms within social capital (Smidt, 2003). Considering that there are countless forms of social capital and religion, it is not possible to speak of a necessary relationship between religion and crime. There can be four different possibilities. First, religion can cause crime. Terrorist crimes can occur when trust-based social relationships are established with religious extremist groups. The main source here is not religion, but the religious interpretations of extremist groups. Second, religion can prevent crime (Brauer vd., 2013; Ellis, 1985; Pettersson, 1991). Religion provides self-control within itself. When moral norms are internalized among religious people, they prevent crime. In Islam, crimes against public order are considered sins because they violate public rights and harm pub-

lic order (Bassiouni, 1997). A third possibility is that the relationship between religion and crime is relative in nature (Albrecht vd., 1977). In other words, although religiosity may be effective in another situation, it may not be effective in preventing crime. Moreover, crimes caused by alcohol etc. may be the healing power of religion (Grant Weinandy & Grubbs, 2021; Grim & Grim, 2019). In the fourth possibility, there is no relationship between religion and crime under any circumstances (Olson, 1990).

The convicts in our study are both religious and criminal, and it appears that they do not develop a conflict or tension-oriented relationship with the state. That is, religion did not prevent crime, but it does determine the direction of post-criminal behaviors constructed on a cognitive level that accepts crime as illegal and the law as justice. Police intervention makes sense in this context. It is reasonable to assume that these participants accepted police intervention and experienced it on a harmonious basis.

Inmates in Türkiye

All prisons in Turkey are state institutions under the Ministry of Justice. There are 396 prisons, including 277 high-security prisons, 88 open prisons, 4 youth education centers, 10 high-security women's prisons, 8 open women's prisons, and 9 high security children's prisons. The capacity of these prisons is 286,787 people (*Ceza ve Tevkif Evleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2022*). These prisons are either highly protected or open prisons, depending on the level of punishment and execution (*Ceza ve Tevkif evleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2021*). Again, there are textile, automobile, leather and so on work places in each prison (*Ceza İnfaz Kurumları İle Tutukevleri İşyurtları Kurumu, 2021*). There are also education and certificate programs (*Eğitim Servisi Faaliyetleri, 2021*).

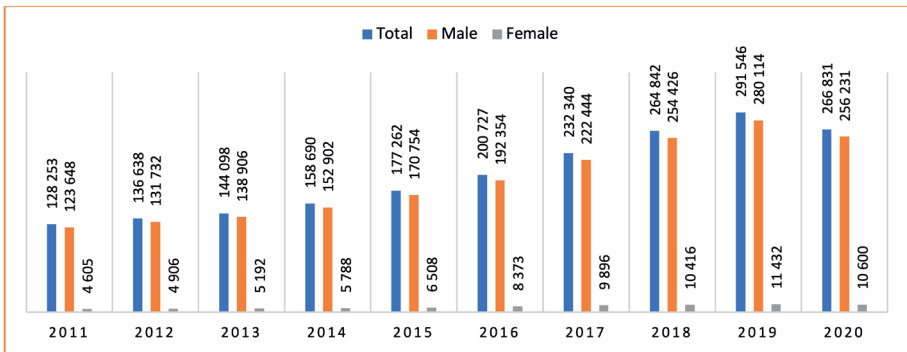


Chart 1: Number of prisoners by years and gender (Source: TÜİK, Adalet İstatistikleri)

The number of prisoners in Turkey has steadily increased until 2019. In 2020, this number has decreased. The majority of them are male prisoners (96%). The percentage of women is very low (4%) (Chart 1). The most common crime committed by convicts is assault (15.7%). It is followed by theft with 15.2%. 5.9% of convicts committed traffic offences, 5.3% of convicts defied the law on enforcement and bankruptcy, and 4.7% of convicts manufactured and trafficked drugs or stimulants (*TÜİK Kurumsal, 2021*).

The majority of inmates, 31.4%, hold a high school diploma or an equivalent vocational school qualification. This category is followed by high schools and primary schools. Furthermore, the vast majority of prisoners (119,332) are between the ages of 25 and 34. With 104,251 prisoners, the age bracket of 18 to 24 years old comes in second. The provinces with the highest number of prisoners are: Istanbul, Zmir, and Ankara (*Adalet İstatistikleri, 2019*). In short, the bulk of offenders in Turkey come from the lower socioeconomic classes. They commit crimes in large cities when they reach the age when they can work full-time.

Methodology

Design

This research aims to analyze inmates' police intervention experience through the lens of their social capital, which can be seen as the social footprint of each individual. Through the trust relationships they have established, we have sought to make visible the social, cultural, and economic realities of inmates before and during their incarceration. This context will guide our understanding of their experiences on police intervention. To explore individual experiences in this context, we have used qualitative research patterns and techniques.

Researchers are unable to spend much time with convicts in jail. To make the data intelligible in this study, the researcher will be directed by the convicts' experiences. As a result, we used a phenomenological research approach to answer our study topic (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, this study's analytic design is centered on the research question, "What are inmates' experiences with police response to them in relation to their social capital?" Our objectives in order to answer the research question are as follows:

- 1- Understanding the social capital of the convicts
- 2- Understanding the experiences of the convicts towards police response
- 3- Uncovering the codes of the social capital of the convicts' experiences towards police response they face

Participants

Semi-structured individual interviews were conducted to obtain data that shed light on the experiences of the convicts. The interview questionnaire consisted mainly of two phases: participants' trust-based social relationships (reflecting on

these relationships in their economic/social/cultural background) and experiences police intervention.

The data of the study comes from male inmates sentenced in Bursa H and E type penitentiaries between November and December 2019. The participants in the study are between 22 and 70 years old and their average age is 39. Eight of the participants have a primary school degree, three among them have a secondary school degree, four participants have a secondary school degree, and three of them have a university degree. One of the university graduates indicated that he already had a primary school diploma when he entered prison. The household size of the participants ranged from 1 to 7 persons. Prior to incarceration, participants worked as lorry drivers, recyclables collectors, bookkeepers, cashiers, furniture makers, cooks, construction workers, parking lot managers, and in marketing. In addition, one participant is a student (Table 1). All of them introduced themselves as religious and patriotic.

There are three types of crime in three different groups, namely illegal fundraising, violence and negligence. The first group involves theft and drug/stimulant trafficking, resistance to the bankruptcy law; the second group contains assault, homicide, sexual offences, threats; and violation of probation is the third group. At the time of the interview, the time Elapsed from the time the convicts entered prison to their current sentence varied from 2 months to 17 years. Twelve of the participants had previous prison experience. For 5 of them, it was their first experience; one participant did not want to provide information. Participants' names were not specified; coded as P1, P2,...P18 (Table 1).

Participant Code Number	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation Before Prison	Household	Execution /Penalty	Crime	Number of Conviction
1	42	Married	Primary	Truck Driver	5	2 m/15 m	Opposition to the Enforcement Bankruptcy Law-violation of probation	2
2	22	Single	High School	Student	5	4y/18 y	Murder	1
3	38	Married	High School	Construction Worker	5	2 m / 10 m	Drug trafficking and use	2
4	26	Single	High School	scrap-recycle	4	4 m/ 11 m	Not Specified	4
5	39	Single	University	not specified	6	13 y/ 9y	Murder	2
6	29	Single	University	accountant	3	2 m/ 8 m	Drug trafficking and use	2
7	26	Single	Primary	parking lot operator	7	19 m/not specified	Injury, attempted murder	2
8	24	Single	Primary	market staff	5	6y/15y	Murder	1
9	70	Single	Primary	Taxi Driver	3	11y/20 y	Qualified embezzlement	-
10	24	Single	Jr. High School	Furniture production, manufacturing	5	1 y/ 3 y	Theft, drug use and trafficking	2
11	53	Single	Primary	Construction Worker	Alone	9/20 y	Sexual Crime, Detention	1
12	43	Single	Primary-University	Unemployment	5	18/60 y	Theft, Skilled embezzlement	4
13	30	Single	Primary	Stadium Staff	4	1/2 y	Injury	2
14	67	Single	High School	Decoration	Alone	1/6 y	Opposition to the Enforcement Bankruptcy Law	1
15	42	Single	Primary	Recycling	2	1/5 y	Threat, insult, simple injury, escape	2
16	39	Married	Primary	Cook	5	2/5 y	Injury, attempted murder	5
17	48	Married	Primary	Cook	5	1/ 2 y	injury, theft	3
18	29	Married	Primary	Marketer	4	3/ 4 y	Drug trafficking and use	2

Table 1: Participant information

Analyze

The data obtained were subjected to a phenomenological analysis, which was carried out as a result of the exploratory coding technique using the MAXQDA program. The codes, categories and themes in which these experiences are concentrated were identified (Huberman vd., 2016; Saldana, 2011). In this context, three themes have been determined: social capital before incarceration, police

intervention experience before the prison, current perception towards polices. The first includes the participants' family, labor force participation, education, neighborhood, and preprison crime experiences. The second examines the social relationships of the convicts based on trust in prison at the time of the study. The last one is about their experiences of police officers and their perception accordingly.

Findings

Policing Experience Before Crime

Pre-crime policing experiences in social capital fall into two distinct categories: indirect and direct. These two categories interact to each other. Indirect policing experience consists of religious doctrines, neighbors/peers' narratives, and media news. Although this is an indirect phase of contact with the police, it can be said to have a direct impact by forming the basis of the police experience. Second, there are experiences based on direct encounters with police officers. The codes that form this category are police relatives/neighbors and confrontation on the street.

The conception of the police conveyed by religious teaching is shaped by the manner of religiosity of the participants' family, which is not determined by the religion itself. Therefore, the religious education they received in their family is crucial to understand their indirect experiences with the police. The sources from which the participants in the study received and reflected on their religious education can be summarized into four subcodes: Mother, father and father's relatives, school, and neighborhood mosque. Religious education by mother, memorizing short prayers, sleeping, eating, etc. This also includes fulfilling rituals in daily life, such as participants seeing the father and the father's relatives as domestic authorities in prayer and learning the Quran. They perform prayer at times and places where the father and relatives are under supervision. Similarly, encouraged by the father, the participants received their training in reading the Quran at the mosque in the neighborhood or village. The participants see the mosque in the neighborhood as a means of religious education set as a goal by the father, and in this context, they refer to their fathers as the main source of motivation for religious education. In addition, they believe that such acts of worship have a positive impact on people's worldly lives. In other words, the higher the level of religiosity, the more religious education, which includes the message that prayers are accepted, resulting in enrichment. Religious education here is not a systematic educational model that provides continuity. Here we can speak of religious education instrumentalized before prison:

My uncle is a religious teacher, also he has a field, where he raises silkworms. He lives in good [monetary] conditions. He was a well-known, reliable person, [my father] looked at him and always said, "Be like him," he does see him spiritually... He

thought that if I became a Hafız[memorizing Quran], my livelihood would open up and I would become rich. P12

As a child, I was trying worshipping, but what can you do as a child? The fear of God has always been in our hearts. Even when we had this restaurant business, we had the bitterness to sin. We went to the Quran course, to the mosque of the village, we did not learn, there was field work or something. We have completed them here[prison], we have had a chance here. I received my [basic] religious education from my grandparents, my grandfather, and my father. When I think of religious education, I think of my grandmother, I had a large family in the village, we used to sleep together, she always read before going to bed, her Rabbi yassir wala tu'assir [Arabic pray]... she had prayers before going to sleep: I will sleep, God! You wake me up. P5

The idea of policing, which is evaluated as indirect police experience, is also based on such a religious framework. In other words, it is based on ensuring comfort and order in daily life. The structure of these teachings is a mixture of religiosity, patriotism, and the pursuit of order. In this context, we have identified two codes in the transmission of idea of police through religious channels: The understanding of sin and martyrdom.

Among the types of crimes defined as sin, the police are one of the various forms for which God pays. Incurable diseases in the family of those who are rich by enriching themselves in an unjust way (P10), an accident that happens to a person who gets his right by frightening someone with violence (P7), poor people who do not pray (P4), etc., were conveyed as different types of costs for sins. The police catching the criminal, rather than the police themselves, is seen as the cost of sin:

For example, my family used to say, 'I'll give you to the police!' when I made a mistake when I was little. They taught us mistakes, it's not their fault.. I used to like cops but I was shy too... If I commit a crime, the police will think I'm a bad person. Because the police know what sin you have committed. I stole chocolate from a grocery. My mother saw it. We did it with my friends. She said to us, 'I will give you to the police, this is a big sin, you have stolen, the sinners will be revealed sooner or later.' Then I was embarrassed as if the police saw what I did, I would be disgraced to everyone. I've always shied away from the cops by justifying them because stealing is a sin, beating someone is a violation of the right of the servant, swearing is a sin, using drugs is a sin. P7

In another indirect policing approach, the religious teachings of the family are intertwined with patriotism: Martyrdom. It is both patriotic and religiously revered. Thus, the fact that police officers have died as martyrs in the line of duty gives the police a sacred significance. It is obvious, then, that the convicts in this study do not develop a culturally confrontational relationship with policing:

We are a religious family. They taught us to love our country and our nation... Among my grandfathers, there is a martyr from Çanakkale. When we hear the news about martyrs, our heart burns. When my mother sees these kinds of news, she cries, my father rails against terrorists, he cannot stand it... I have always respected the police. I have never caused them any problems, I respect. They live a clean life while we pollute the world, become a burden. They become martyrs, their sins are forgiven when they become martyrs, and... you see... we[prisoners] commit sins. P18

The third indirect policing experience is narratives from neighbors and relatives. Neighbors' police narratives revolve around two codes: Police deception and reporting. The first is about neighbors' police manipulating police during traffic stops and routine operations. There is also a subtext that they are clever in these manipulations. In other words, "evading the police" is both an adventure and a sign of intelligence.

Another code for the indirect experiences of convicts with policing is the news in the media and social media. Here, we can speak of three sub-codes: police news, martyr news, and police series. It indicates that they pay attention to the news about police intervention and related regulations. Martyr news, on the other hand, expresses that their attachment to the police is strengthened in the context of emotions, religion, and patriotism. This subcode is also related to the family teachings mentioned above. Finally, crime shows are a genre that captures the attention of participants. They report what they saw not only before the crime, but also in prison. Series mostly about hero of polices.

Relatives and neighbors are also directly involved in the policing experience. Accordingly, relatives and neighbors who are known to the police are included in this code. They report that this experience allows them to observe and understand the daily life of the police, their relationships with their families, and their habits in civilian life. There is an assessment of relative police through the lens of the crime situation:

My uncle's son is a cop. He had two children. We used to see it on the way to and from work. Sometimes he goes on a picnic with his children and wife. He has a serious position among relatives, but he is a good person. He's not that bad. My father used to set him an example. I would have a regular life, too, if such a thing had not happened to me. But when it's out, I'll set it up. P6

In the direct police relationship on the street, there is a classification according to the type of crime. Drugs, theft and murder crimes. In the first and second, there is the thought that sooner or later he will be caught if he sees the police on the street. Accordingly, participants in this group (Table 1) indicated that they began to think about what kind of treatment they would be subjected to because of the actions and style of speech of the police officers they saw on the street. Those convicted of murder indicated that they did not notice or think about anything when they saw police on the street.

Intervention Experience

It is possible to divide the participants who share their experiences with police intervention into three groups: Unplanned, Planned, and Negligent Crimes. Each of these codes is strong enough to reveal participants' social capital and experiences with police intervention. The social capital elements of each code and, accordingly, the experiences with police intervention vary.

All participants who are indicated in this research as the first groups developed unplanned stated that they were in prison for homicide or assault (P2,5,8,7,13,15,16). This group did not plan the crime, but is in a criminal social environment. The crime is the result of these social relationships. The point in which these seven participants differ from each other is the relationship of trust they have established with this environment. One participant stated that there is no trust relationship with this environment (P2). They have an environment that is prone to violent crime that results from neighborhoods and kinship relationships. Crime occurs as a result of disagreements based on these insecure relationships.

We were at enmity, our neighbors. They said, 'You go out, we will sit here', of course, there was enmity because of this. One day I was lying in bed, I looked outside, they came in front of the house, there was a fight, they attacked my father with sticks. I took the fruit knife and went downstairs. He was standing at the table. They attacked me and my father, so I shook the knife randomly and desperately, it hit someone in the vein. They came into our house, they were always so tyrannical, they came and messed with us at the end... P2

Those who have established a relationship of trust with the criminal environment are divided into two groups: Those who are outside and those who are inside the crime. There are two participants in the first group (P8,7). These participants state that they has a relationship of trust with his friend who constantly commits crimes, and that the resulting crimes are due to their way of life. In other words, they have participated in the codes of conduct provided by the social capital of which they are the bearers. Both participants have the crime weapon at the scene, they have no acquaintance with the victim. One of them expressed the situation as follows:

I'm here with my first case, we got involved in murder, because of a friend's case. I was driving around in my father's car, [my friend] was with me, debtors followed me, personal debt, we went into debt because the car had an accident. The friend next to me had a loan from the boss. We waited for him in the morning, three friends, there was a fight, I had nothing to do with it, but when the fight started, I went in to break up, I got a knife when I got scared, the knife was a market knife, it was there, my friend hit him on the head with an iron [stick], of course, I didn't mean to kill, but my friends are used to such things... My mother used to say, 'You are always so gullible'. Looking at it now, she was right. P8

Other participants have social circles in which they have criminal trust relationships, even if an immediate crime has been committed. Therefore, the crime tool, the victim, and the crime itself are seen as something possible and expected, even if the crime happens suddenly. Participants' experiences with police intervention are also meaningful in this context.

The participant (P2), who did not establish a relationship of trust with people have tendency of crime, did not run away after the crime and waited for the police. All learned from the police that the victim had died. The fact that he sees himself as the actual victim of the crime scene also affects how he understands the police intervention. He stated that he was understanding and compassionate during the police intervention:

The police arrived not long after that. Everything occurred so quickly. We were all taken to the police station by them. I had no idea the man had passed away. Even the injuries didn't seem like it would be anything major to me. Even after the police informed me that the man was dead, I still believed he had died of another cause. They apparently took pity on me after seeing my child's age. They spoke to me with tenderness. They thought, I think, anyone can experience it, including me. P2

Participants living in, but excluding themselves from, crime-prone social environments indicated that their police experiences developed in the context of "shock," "confusion," and "fear." In such crimes, they expected to overcome shock and develop in a place they knew far from their family. They indicated that the police experience was standard and professional:

When the man fell to the ground, I ran away, and then my friend came. We went to his [friend's] house. I didn't say anything to my family. I was expecting what was going to happen. I didn't understand what was going on. I tried to understand that I'd committed a crime. Then the police came to our door. He as-

ked us our name. They said we'd go to the police station, there would be a report. I found myself in a vacuum. The police told the story, they took our statement. Then I already confessed. My friend denied everything and blamed me. But they arrested him as a suspect. Fingerprints were found on the iron he was holding, and camera records were evaluated which contained a lot of evidence. They removed all the lies that the man had told. The police are uncovering everything. I thought they couldn't do it. P8

This group includes the surrender and confession to the police. The police experience also develops in this context. Another group of participants forms another subcode of this study: Those who commit planned crimes (P3,6,14, 11,10,12,17). This group primarily includes crimes such as drug dealing and theft. Participants indicated that they had a specific plan or program before committing the crime. There are two types of crimes to distinguish here. We can say that in the case of theft and sex crimes, criminal solidarity is very limited and the individual aspect of the crime is the main focus (P11,12). In the case of theft, the police is an institution that catches the guilty. In this case, there is an admission of guilt. It is also possible to evaluate the intervention of the police as correct and right. Moreover, in the case of theft, there is also a perceived rivalry with the police in terms of criminal techniques:

You know you are going to get caught one day. If you make a mistake, you are going to get caught. So you are going to get caught, that does not mean you are an idiot... I became as rich as my uncle, but I was sentenced to 60 years. That's not when you commit murder, that's what happens when you meet at home, that's extortion, the plaintiff does not say he escaped. I have been arrested, you know it will be at least 10 years. The police learned a lot of technique from me. I explained everything, how I did not get caught, how I cheated. I think they are very well informed [by me about techniques] P12

The convict who is in prison for a sexual offense denies in some sense that he has committed a crime. He thinks that it was brought to the caliper. He evaluates the intervention of the police, emphasizing the plot without blaming:

I would also say rape if I were police. You were caught in the woman's house. I called the woman, I went there. The neighbors complained. The evidence points to me [in terms of] breaking door and entering. I would think like a police officer if I were them. Finally, the court said it was rape. They took me to the police station; I had no trouble. P11

Other participants (3, 6, 14, 10, 17) of planned crimes state that they have expected the police to catch them and that the intervention experience is to accept the crime and follow the procedures. In this social context, the police are the people to consider in the criminal process. The reason for his confession during the intervention was that he was caught in the act. It was noted that the evidence-oriented nature of the police intervention also blocked the way to building personal ties with the police:

Coming is because of drugs. Here's what happened. My fiancé and I rented an apartment to spend the weekend. We used drugs, and she used them, too. I didn't get her used to it, she was already taking... But in the apartment, there was a precision scale or something. We did not use it, the blood tests etc. showed drugs, now I can't say anything. We were there to spend time together. We couldn't say anything because the police talked about everything with evidence. P6

The last code in the experience with police intervention is crimes due to negligence (P1,9). Accordingly, participants perceive the experience of police intervention as unfair and cruel. While one participant states that he missed some signatures during the probation process and was arrested as a result, he criticizes that this is a crime. Other states that he was found guilty for signing documents without reviewing them within the company. Their assessments of police intervention are shaped in these contexts:

I forgot to sign. The police also brought papers because you have a court. How cruel! To go to jail for this makes me very sad. This is so unjust. The police said to me, 'We cannot do anything, you should have signed' They could do something. They know I am not a dangerous person. My family is outside. P1

They tricked me. I signed the company's papers without checking them. It turned out that fraudulent actions were done with my signature. I told the police and said that I did not know. The police investigated and checked it. They said, 'If you made these signatures without being pressured, we cannot do anything if there is no threat or force or if you do not prove'. They sent the case to the court. The court also found me guilty. It was not my fault. P9

They do not blame the police, but the legal system, the court, caused by such crimes are recognized. This accusation is not a criticism of intervention, but is directed at the way the crime is defined. Police intervention is evaluated in this context.

Conclusion

This study examined the police experiences of convicts who identify themselves as religious. The social and cultural capital of convicts and how they interpret their experiences with policing have essential role in this context. Accordingly, the religious convicts in our study do not enter into an adversarial relationship with the state, even when they decide to commit crimes individually.

According to all participants' reports, the police arrive at the scene, confirm their identities, explain the crime, and initiate the process and investigation. The pre-crime encounter with the police is not part of the community policing program, but is realized as part of cultural and social accumulation. In the context of this social accumulation, it can be said that the sense of respect for the police is paramount because the families are religious and patriotic. Religion has no influence on the decision on crime but through the cultural capital it produces and through which it is produced, it causes them to behave respectfully toward the police. The police, then, are a profession with a religious significance. The fact that police officers die as martyrs in the line of duty and that terrorist incidents in Turkey reinforce nationalist sentiments causes the convicts not to have a confrontational relationship with the police when they commit a crime. Evkuran (2017) emphasizes that in Islamic culture, authority over the state is described as a religious obligation. Accordingly, the authority of the head of state is necessary for the continuity of religion (Evkuran, 2017). The harmony of authority between state and religion is also discussed in different religions and cultures (Ataman & Vaughan, 2017; Coleman, 1970; Fröhlich, 2017; Zuo, 1991). As a result of our research, the meaning that participants attribute to the state and the police becomes understandable in this way.

This research includes convicts who self-identify as religious and are not guilty of terrorism. Thus, there is no conflict with the identity of a Turkish citizen. This situation affects police intervention and attitudes towards the police. According to Kurttaş (2018), the functional area of the nation-state increases in times when the types and numbers of terrorists increase. Similar consequences of terrorist attacks around the world are discussed (Gupta, 2004; Juergensmeyer, 1996; McCartney, 2004; Prinz & Schetter, 2016).

Within this general framework, it can be said that national and religious codes effectively shape the relationship between police and citizens in Turkey, especially for our participants. It can be said that this is provided by the citizens in the trust relationship that should be established between the police and the citizens under the community-oriented policing model. The research of this situation should also be addressed for the police side.

Cultural and social realities must be taken into account in community-oriented policing models. In cultures where national and religious sentiments are strong, cooperation between citizens and police may increase and crime may be preven-

ted in terrorist offenses. However, the model for preventing other crimes against public order should be developed in this context. The tendency of society to compromise with the state should be developed to prevent crime types against public order such as murder, theft, drug crimes.

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