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THE IMAGE OF THE POLICE IN TURKISH AND AMERICAN CINEMA^{*}

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to reveal how Turkish and American cinema present police characters to their audience. In this context, ten Turkish-made and ten American-made films, which were determined as the research universe and at least one of the main characters of which was a policeman, were selected by the 'purposeful sampling' method, the selected films were examined using qualitative content analysis within the scope of the categories and subcategories created, and the findings were evaluated. The importance of the study is that although there are many factors affecting the image of the police in the society, there are not many studies on how cinema as a mass media makes a police presentation to the society and it contributes to the literature in terms of this deficiency.

As a result of the findings, it was seen that the image of a skilled and generally disciplined police was presented to the audience in the films. Again, in these films, it was understood that the police mostly showed respect to the citizens but showed harsh behavior towards the criminals, the main characters in the roles of the police in the films were mostly civilian policemen, some of the characters were rank and some were police officers, and at the end of the movie, the criminals were mostly caught or killed, so the police fulfilled their duty.

Keywords: Image, Police Image, Cinema

TÜRK VE AMERİKA SİNEMASINDA POLİS İMAJI

Öz

İmaj kavramı kişiler açısından olduğu kadar kurumlar için de büyük bir öneme sahiptir ve kurumlar hem başarıya ulaşmada hem de başarılarının devamında olumlu bir imaja ihtiyaç duyarlar. Bu durum kâr amacı gütmeyen ve toplumun güvenliğini sağlayan emniyet teşkilatı için de geçerlidir. Konuyla ilgili yapılan çalışmalar incelendiğinde ise toplumdaki polis imajını etkileyen çok sayıda faktörün olduğu ancak kitle iletişim aracı olarak sinemanın topluma nasıl bir

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polis sunumu yaptığına dair çok fazla araştırma olmadığı görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmanın önemi bahse konu eksiklik yönünden literatüre katkı sağlamasıdır.

Çalışmanın amacı ise Türk ve Amerikan sinemasında polisin izleyiciye nasıl sunulduğunu ortaya koymaktır. Bu kapsamda araştırma evreni olarak belirlenen ve ana karakterlerinden en az birinin polis olduğu on Türk yapımı ve on Amerikan yapımı film 'amaçlı örneklem' yöntemiyle seçilmiş, seçilen filmler oluşturulan kategoriler ve alt kategoriler kapsamında nitel içerik analizi kullanılarak incelenmiş ve bulgular değerlendirilmiştir.

Elde edilen bulgular sonucunda filmlerde, becerikli ve genellikle de disiplinli bir polis imajının izleyiciye sunulduğu görülmüştür. Yine bu filmlerde polislerin çoğunlukla vatandaşlara karşılı saygılı ancak suçlulara karşı sert davranışlar gösterdikleri, filmlerde polis rolündeki ana karakterlerin çoğunlukla sivil polislerden oluştuğu, bazı karakterlerin rütbeli bazılarının ise polis memuru olduğu ve filmin sonunda çoğunlukla suçluların yakalandığı veya öldürüldüğü dolayısıyla polisin görevini yerine getirdiği anlaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İmaj, Polis İmajı, Sinema

Introduction

In today's modern societies, the concept of image has become a very important value for individuals and institutions, and it has become a necessity for companies and even non-profit institutions to have a positive image as well as individuals. For this reason, institutions carry out various activities in order to explain and introduce themselves to the society, to raise awareness of people about their activities and to have a positive image in this way.

The image of an institution is the picture that occurs in people's minds through the products, services or indicators of the institution (Bulduklu, 2015, p. 133). Therefore, how this picture is perceived by individuals is closely related to the success of the institution. If the picture in question is not positive, it is not possible for the institution to continue this success even if success is achieved in the short term. Despite this, the police who meet the "security need", which is expressed as the second most important need after physiological needs in Maslow's pyramid of needs, and which people see as a vital need as much as air and water (Kula and Çakar, 2015), have only focused on their work until recently and did not pay attention to what citizens think about the activities carried out. However, society pays attention to how this is done as well as what is done to ensure security. Therefore, how the police do this is as important as what they do to ensure security. In addition, although the police mostly deal with problematic individuals of the society due to the nature of their work, they are constantly in public and in communication with the public. This communication relationship makes it imperative for the police to gain public support and reassure the public. For this, it is imperative for the police to have a positive image in society.

Regardless of its field of activity, every institution carries out various activities in order to improve its perception in the society or to make this perception more positive. It is a controversial issue to what extent the work of the police units affects the formation of the police image in the society. Because when we look at the results of the researches conducted in many parts of the world and in Turkey, it is understood that the socio-cultural characteristics of the individuals, the region they live in, the race, the attitudes of the individual and the information they receive from their environment have very serious effects on the formation of the police image. In addition to these, some studies argue that mass media is also effective in shaping the

image of the police and that the police profile presented by the media to the society affects people's thoughts about the police.

This study focuses on cinema as a mass media and focuses on how Turkish cinema and American cinema present a police image to their audiences. In this context, research questions will be answered through the categories and sub-categories created, and in this way, a comparison will be made between the images of the Turkish police and the American police, who are very different from each other in terms of social, cultural and organization, but try to meet the same expectations of the society.

1. Conceptual Framework

Rapid developments and changes in the fields of communication, technology, economy and politics have made the concept of image indispensable for individuals and institutions, but despite this importance, a common explanation for the definition of the concept of image has not yet been reached. For example, Lippmann used the concept of image to describe political prejudices and thoughts, while Gardner and Levy limited it to the presentation of product and service activities (Okay, 2013, p. 219). Similarly, it is possible to find different definitions in various sources regarding the definition and scope of the image. The reason for this is that the word image can mean different meanings from person to person. While some approach the subject positively, others argue that the image is created by engaging in unnatural features or behaviors that are false and far from reality (Özüpek, 2013, p. 99).

To consider some of today's definitions of the concept of image, which is derived from the Latin word 'imagos (imaginary or deceptive appearance)' (Ulağlı, 2018, p. 13), which has passed into our language without change from the French word 'image' and can be used synonymously with the word image (Tikveş, 2003, p. 35), image; "It is the thoughts of people about an object, institution or another person, and these thoughts may not always correspond to reality" (Okay, 2013, p. 219). The image of Karaköse (2012, p. 17); He expressed it as the impressions that people have acquired positively or negatively as a result of certain experiences. According to other definitions, image; "the whole of the positive or negative ideas, understandings and impressions left by the person, brand or institution in the minds of individuals or institutions outside (Öztürk and Tatlı, 2014), the sum of all opinions about any person, institution or situation (Peltekoğlu, 2016, p. 559), are the images formed in people's minds and shaped by interactions such as information, judgments and relationships (Çakır, 2013, p. 19). While Minister (2005, p. 11) defines image as the evaluation and interpretation of information and data obtained by individuals through different channels, Deneçli (2014) defined image as the impressions that a person has about a person or institution as a result of learning or perception processes. If we need to summarize all these explanations about the definition of image in a single definition, we can express the image as the interpretation of the messages that people receive and the information they obtain, albeit limited, with the effect of their existing opinions and the evaluations they make as a result.

When national and international studies on image are examined, it is seen that different classifications are made regarding the types of image, but the image of the institution is definitely included in each classification. The image of the institution, which is defined as the outwardly reflected image of the institution (Peltekoğlu, 2016, p. 563), the associations it creates in its internal environment and external stakeholders (Bulduklu, 2015, p. 25), consists of the sum of corporate appearance, corporate communication and corporate behaviors (Bakan, 2005, p. 39), and it also fulfills a task such as creating a credible and reliable environment on the internal and external target audience and maintaining this environment (Solmaz, 2011, p. 33). In this

context, image is both the cause and the result of an institution's success. Namely, while a good image is formed as a result of the successful and effective work of the institution, a positive image can play a decisive role in the success of the institution in the future (Yonca, 2011, p. 16).

One of the institutions that attaches importance to, or in other words needs, having a positive image is the police department. Although the word polis, which is derived from the Greek words "politeia" and the Latin word "politia", etymologically means the administration of a site or city or political administrations, it means peace and security for people in today's society. In order to create these feelings of peace and trust, the society must trust the state institutions, especially the police units, in all matters. At this point, individuals' perspective on the police and the perception of the police in the society are key concepts. In addition to personal factors, there are opinions that the organizational structure of the police, the principles of practice in their work, and attitudes and behaviors towards individuals are also effective in shaping the perception of the society towards the police.

Since its establishment, that is, for about 150 years, the Turkish Police Organization has been organized with a strict and centralized understanding and has been an organization where hierarchy is felt very much (Cevik et al., 2008, p. 125). As a result of the changes it has undergone over the years, it has taken its current form and the central organization has been organized as units directly affiliated to the general director of security, departments affiliated to deputy general directors and units affiliated to the center and actually organized in the provinces, while the provincial organization has been structured as provincial police directorates and district police directorates/supervisors. Within this organization, police stations, police stations and points constitute the lowest unit (Geleri, 2003). The American police force, on the other hand, has been shaped in accordance with the political and social structure of the country, and the foundations of the modern police system have been taken from England and adapted to the country (Uchida, 1997). In the American police system, where there is a high level of 'localism', each unit largely avoids violating the other's jurisdictions, but cooperation, information and solidarity between units continue at a very high level (Geleri, 2003). From a general perspective, it is seen that there are a total of three types of police officers throughout the country: federal, state and local. Of these, the federal police, unlike the local police units that fight against all types of crime in the country, only deals with the types of crimes authorized by the congress and involving special situations (Demirci and Ülkemen, 2005), they are responsible for collecting evidence, investigating the crime and referring the criminals to the court within the scope of their duties (Delice, 2015). The main police units operating at the federal level are the FBI, DEA, Secret Service, US Marshals and FINCEN (Geleri, 2003). When the duties of the state police are examined, it is understood that they perform general police services such as patrolling the areas they are responsible for, traffic services, emergency assistance and conducting criminal investigations (Ratcliffe and Guidetti, 2008). Local police units, which constitute the most important and comprehensive part of the police services in the United States, consist of Municipal Police, Sheriffs and Officers (Geleri, 2003).

No matter how different the organizational structures are, the police profession is first and foremost a social activity, in other words, a humanitarian service. Both the tool and the purpose of this profession are people. Therefore, it is essential to establish a balance between the police and the public while performing such a service (Durmaz, 2000). However, police officers are not accepted equally by all segments of society. While some groups support the police, others are anti-police (Bahar, 1998, p. 140). While some of the people state that the duty of the police is to ensure peace, order and order, some people state that the police take bribes,

discriminate and humiliate people, and that the police do not do any work or work for show (Aksit and Demirtas, 2003). Again, from the surveys conducted by different organizations in our country, it is understood that the most common complaint of the society about the police is the rudeness and behavioral disorder of the police (Kuyaksil, 2017, p. 92). Therefore, although police units carry out different activities in order to make the perception and image of the police in the society more positive, they will not be able to shape their image in the society as they wish unless they meet the expectations of the public. The expectation of the society from the police is to be honest, fair, harmonious and sensitive, to make the presence of the police felt and to have merit (Gallagher et al., 2001, p. 18). In addition, the fact that the police deal with the most problematic segments of the society and that the presence of negative jobs on the basis of their duties is the most negative factor in the formation of the image of the police (Gölge, 2009, p. 12). Police officers are constantly confronted with murder, rape, child abuse and many similar bad events that people read about in newspapers or watch on television, and they see the worst face of society every day (Caplan, 2003). For this reason, policing has become a professional business line that cannot be performed by people who do not have some basic characteristics and cannot cope with the difficulties brought by policing (Yıldız et al., 2008).

The most reliable way to understand the society's perspective on the police, that is, the image of the police in people's minds and how it is formed, is through surveys or interviews to measure people's attitudes and behaviors. Thus, in addition to understanding the perception of the police in individuals, issues such as how this occurs, what and to what extent it is affected during and after its formation will be understood more clearly. For example, in the research conducted by Maxson et al. (2003, p. 4) to determine the public's perception of the police and the factors affecting this perception; that the person's perception of the crime rate and disorder in the region of residence significantly affects their thoughts about the police, that people who are in informal communication with the police have more positive perceptions of the police than those who only interact with the police, that race or ethnicity is not a significant variable in the thoughts of people in areas where disorder and turmoil are intense, and finally, in the media's perception of the police. It has been determined that it does not have as significant an effect as it is thought.

In the early studies on people's attitudes towards the police, it was found that the experiences of the individual with the police were more effective than the person's own characteristics in their attitudes towards the police. For example, in a study conducted in the United States; It was determined that positive or negative contacts with the police were effective by 20% and demographic characteristics were only 2% effective in the attitudes of the people participating in the study towards the police (Skogan, 2005), and it was understood from the information obtained as a result of the research that the person's experiences with the police were more effective than the demographic characteristics. However, in another study conducted in the USA; It has been understood that personal factors such as race, age, gender and income level are the main determinants of people's attitudes towards the police (Johnson, 1993, p. 34). In some other studies aimed at understanding the society's perspective on the police and the factors affecting the public's perception of the police; It has also been obtained that people who are older in age, people with high socio-economic status or welfare level, people living in rural areas and people who have a positive opinion about the place they live have a more positive perception and perspective about the police (Gallagher et al., 2001, p. 9-10).

As mentioned above, many factors can be effective in the formation of the police image in the society, the strengthening or weakening of the image, or the positive/negative direction. Studies aimed at determining these factors, on the other hand, generally focused on factors other than the police, that is, individuals and society, and focused on the characteristics of individuals, so the factors originating from the police that affected the formation of the image remained in the background. However, factors related to the police and law enforcement can be effective as well as individual or social factors in the formation of the police image. In this context, it is possible to say that the structural dimension and heterogeneity of the police units, the availability of resources and equipment, the quality understanding of the management, the recruitment conditions, training and supervision, the functioning of the internal control mechanism and the rules arising from the police culture (lvkovic, 2008) are the main factors related to the police that affect the image of the police.

As a result, it is not possible to attribute the factors that make up or affect the image of the police to a single cause. Many factors, from a person's political views to his interpretation of the world, from his characteristics to the geography he lives in, can play an important role in that person's perception of the police and therefore in shaping the image of the police in his mind. In addition to these, the attitudes and behaviors of the police, their activities in the society, their physical appearance and many other factors related to the police themselves are also very important in the perception of the police and the formation of the police image. And of course, the public's expectation of the police and how the police respond to this expectation is another important factor. In addition, the way the media presents the police to the society, and artificial characters such as police figures in movies and TV series can be effective in the formation of the police image.

Cinema, which is accepted to be an important tool in the formation of the police image and which millions of people today watch on television or in movie theaters and see as a means of entertainment, is an important mass media and art branch that has emerged as a result of many years of discoveries. The extent to which mass media affects people and how decisive it is in perceiving and interpreting the world and events is a controversial issue. However, how accurate and impartial it is in the content it offers to people is another aspect of the mass media that is discussed. Considering that cinema, which is described as the seventh art from this perspective, is a mass communication tool that can reach millions of people, the content it offers to the film industry and society is an important phenomenon.

Researchers who deal with the mass media with a Marxist approach have mostly described them as ideological apparatuses acting in line with the interests of the ruling powers. While Althusser categorizes these concepts, which he refers to as the ideological apparatus of the state, the press, broadcasting and television as the 'ideological apparatus of communication'; He also classified literature, fine arts, and sports as a 'cultural ideological apparatus' (Althusser, 2014, p. 50). In this context, since cinema is an important mass communication tool as well as an artistic activity, it is possible to say that it falls into the classes of both 'communication ideological apparatus' and 'cultural ideological apparatus' according to Althusser's classification. According to Köprü (2010), the reason why mass media is called an ideological apparatus is that it causes very serious costs during its activities and therefore has to get the support of the ruling powers. In Kazancı (1980, p. 129), he drew attention to the possibility that films capture people in their most natural state and convey some messages to them without them noticing, however, due to the cost of the film industry, they can be realized

with the support of large organizations, and therefore films can be prepared in line with the ideologies of the ruling powers.

All artistic activities aim to impress their readers, viewers or listeners, to activate their perception from different angles, and to create works that will enable people to react in the desired way. Likewise, the art of cinema is a method of presenting emotions, thoughts or events to the audience through images, supported by sound effects when necessary (Özön, 2008, p. 10). In parallel with this, the perception system beyond the threshold is used in all communication channels based on images, from television to cinema. According to this system, the indicators placed in the images are perceived without the person being aware of them, and in this way, some messages are given to the subconscious of the people without them noticing (Kutay, 2011, p. 36), and these messages received unconsciously help the person to shape their attitudes and behaviors. So much so that a movie that a person watches for a short time can cause him to build new value judgments and even create new social ties or interests based on these values (Clarke, 2012, p. 18).

2. Methodology of the Research

In this study, it has been focused on how the police are represented in Turkish and American cinema, so how American cinema presents Hollywood's American police and Turkish cinema's presentation of Turkish police to its audience has been the subject of this study. The aim of the research is to make a comparison between the image of the police in American cinema and the image of the police in Turkish cinema. For this purpose, research questions will be tried to be answered through the categories and sub-categories; In this way, a comparison will be made between the representations of the Turkish police and the American police in cinema, which perform the same task and try to meet the same expectations of the society, although they are very different from each other in terms of social, cultural and organization.

The perception of the police in the society, the image of the police and the factors affecting the formation of this image have been the subject of many studies both in our country and abroad. In these studies, it has been tried to determine what kind of police image people have and to explain various factors affecting this image. Research conducted abroad; Examples include "The public image of the police" by Gallagher et al., "A comparative study of public support for the police" by lvković, "Factors that influence public opinion of the police" by Maxson et al., and "Citizen satisfaction with police encounters" by Skogan. To the studies carried out in our country; Draft and Akin's "A research on the factors affecting the image of the organization: The case of Yozgat Provincial Police Directorate", Arslan and Olgun's "Perceptions of university lecturers and students about the police and police profession, Erciyes University sample", Yüksel et al.'s "The main factors affecting the satisfaction of the police with traffic services", Yonca's "Police image in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Regions and the factors affecting this image", Kıvrak's doctoral dissertations titled "Comparative analysis of the image of the Turkish police in television series and the perception of the police's own self-image, the case of the series Arka Sokaklar" and Gölge's master's study titled "A study on the perception of the image of the police in television series: A study on the presentation of fictional police in detective series broadcast on Turkish television" can be given as examples.

When the subject is considered within the scope of the studies on the perception and image of the police in the society and some examples of which are given above, it is seen that the studies are generally aimed at understanding the perception/image of the police in the society and determining the personal and social factors affecting the formation of this perception, however, in some academic studies, the image of the police in television series is also investigated. This study, on the other hand, focuses on police characters in Turkish and American cinema, and in this context, it is investigated how the Turkish police are represented in Turkish cinema and the American police in American cinema. For this purpose, in order to determine how the police are represented in Turkish and American cinema;

I: What kind of police image is presented in Turkish and American films after the year 2000?

II: In Turkish and American detective films shot after 2000, who is the real winner at the end of the movie?

III: Are the heroes of detective films plainclothes cops or uniformed cops?

IV: Are the heroes in detective films police officers or high-ranking police officers? Answers to four research questions will be sought.

In order to answer the research questions, the films determined as a sample were made using Beris Artan's *master's thesis titled* "Cinema and Image Production: A Comparison on the Images of the American Army and the Turkish Army in Post-2000 Films";

1- The genre of the film,

2- Presentation of the police,

- Good Cop/Bad Cop,

- Resourceful/Trained/Disciplined or Helpless/Incompetent,

- Police Uniform (Civilian/Uniformed) Rank (Police Officer/Supervisor),
- Unity and Integrity within the Organization,
- Desired or Undesirable Institution to Be a Part of,
- Justice and Human Rights Defender Police,
- Intervention of External (Political or Bureaucratic) Factors to the Police,
- Citizen's Perspective and Assistance to the Police,
- Attitudes and Behaviors of the Police Towards Citizens,

Nationalist rhetoric/dying for duty,

3- The situation of conflict between the police and criminals,

4- The end of the film will be examined within the scope of the categories and subcategories created in the form of research questions and research questions will be answered.

While examining the films under the title of "Good Cop/Bad Cop", which is one of the subcategories, since the concepts of good and bad are relative expressions, police officers who fight crime and criminals by doing their duty within the framework of the law and do not get involved in crime are good cops; Police officers who use their profession for their own interests, go outside the law during their duty, or are involved in crime or cooperate with criminals are considered bad cops.

In addition, due to the fact that the Turkish and American police are organized in different ways, only two groups of policemen, police officer and supervisor class, are seen in Turkish films, while it is possible to see different classifications such as police officer, sheriff, deputy sheriff, lieutenant, captain, federal agent in American films. For this reason, in *the sub-category created as "Police Rank (Police Officer/Supervisor)"* while examining the films, those other than deputy commissioner, commissioner, chief commissioner, police chief in Turkish-made films, and those

who use titles indicating rank such as lieutenant and captain in American films are considered as police officers.

The universe of the research consists of Turkish and American films in the detective genre that were released after the year 2000 or in which at least one of the leading actors played the role of a policeman. The reason for choosing the films released after 2000 in the study is to investigate how the police are represented in recent movies. In addition, the reason why American-made, that is, Hollywood films, were chosen to make comparisons with Turkish films in the research is that American cinema dominates the world cinema industry and American lifestyle and institutions are tried to be imposed on the world through cinema.

The sample of the study was selected from Turkish and American films by the 'purposeful sampling' method. The reason why the purposeful sampling method is used in sample selection is that it provides the researcher with an in-depth study opportunity in cases that are thought to contain rich information (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 1999, p. 69). In addition, thanks to purposive sampling, the researcher can determine the most suitable units for his study and select them for his sample (Atabek and Atabek, 2007, p. 121). In this context, www.imdb.com address was used for Hollywood films, www.imdb.com, www.beyazperde.com, www.sinemalar.com, www.sinematürk.com and www.antraktsinema.com addresses were used for Turkish films . First of all, detective film genres were searched in the specified internet addresses, then the subjects of the films were read and their trailers were watched, and then a total of twenty films were selected, ten Turkish productions and ten Hollywood productions, which were released after 2000, in the detective genre or in which at least one of the leading actors played the role of a policeman, with an IMDB score of five and above. While making this selection, movies in which police characters who can reveal the image of the police in the movie were at the forefront were taken into consideration rather than the plot of the movie. In this direction Traning Day (2001), Red Dragon (2002), The Departed (2006), 16 Blocks (2006), American Gangster (2007), Public Enemies (2009), Sherlock Holmes: A Game Of Shadows (2011), Robocop (2014), Sicario (2015) and Wind River (2017) were produced in America; Komser Şekspir (2001), Beyza'nın Kadınları (2006), Polis (2007), Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu (2007), Ejder Kapanı (2010), Av Mevsimi (2010), New York'ta Beş Minare (2010), Behzat Ç. Seni Kalbime Gömdüm (2011), Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da (2011) and Cingöz Recai–Bir Efsanenin Dönüşü (2017) were selected as samples.

The sample determined within the scope of the study was examined by 'qualitative content analysis' method. The fact that there is a whole set of methodological tools and methods that can be used in the examination of different genres (Bilgin, 2006, p. 1), and that the field of study is not limited to written texts, but can also be used in the examination of genres such as songs, paintings and films (Flick et al., 2004, p. 266) are the reasons for using the qualitative content analysis method in this study. In addition, the communication paradigm is explained as "who says whom, to whom, what, how, and what is its influence". One of the best methods that can be used to find answers to any of these questions is content analysis (Öğülmuş, 1991). However, content analysis is a type of method that can also be used to investigate the hidden meanings and intentions in the content sent by the source to the recipient audience (Tavşancıl and Aslan, 2001, p. 33). For these reasons, in this study, the representations of Turkish and American police in cinema will be compared with a qualitative research on the question of 'how'. Although many different disciplines are used in research problems and have not yet reached a common definition, it is imperative to apply a 'systematic' and 'impartial' method in content analysis (Koçak and Arun, 2006). Therefore, in order to be systematic and impartial in the study, the sample determined within the scope of four categories and ten subcategories will be

examined, so that the research questions will be answered by comparing the police presentation in Turkish and American films.

3. Findings

The films examined within the scope of the study were examined under four headings: the genre of the film, the presentation of the police, the conflict situation between the police and the criminals, and the end of the film with the qualitative content analysis method. As a result of the examination, it has been seen that Turkish and American cinema present police characters that are very similar to each other in some respects but have very different characteristics in some respects.

The films selected as a sample were first analyzed under the title of "film genre" and it was understood that there were similarities as well as differences between them. Namely, in the American-made films analyzed, the drama genre ranked first, while the action/adventure genre ranked second. For example, Training Day, The Departed, American Gangster, Public Enemies and Wind River are in the drama genre, while Sherlock Holmes: A Game Of Shadows is an action/adventure, 16 Blocks and Sicario are both action/adventure and drama. In Turkish films, on the contrary, the action/adventure genre is at the forefront, followed by drama. For example, the films Ejder Kapanı, Behzat Ç. Seni Kalbime Gömdüm, Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da and Cingöz Recai (Bir Efsanenin Dönüşü) are action/adventure; Komser Şekspir and Av Mevsimi are drama; Polis, Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu and New York'ta Beş Minare are both action/adventure and drama films. Despite this difference, it was observed that the thriller genre was widely used in the detective films of both countries. For example, the American films Red Dragon and The Departed, and the Turkish films Beyza'nın Kadınları, Ejder Kapanı, Av Mevsimi and Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da are examples of this. In addition, while there was no comedy genre in the Americanmade films analyzed, it was determined that the Turkish-made films Komser Şekspir and Cingöz Recai (Bir Efsanenin Dönüşü) included comedy genres. Again, in terms of differences, American Gangster and Public Enemies included biography and Robocop included science fiction, while Turkish-made films did not include biography and science fiction genres.

Secondly, in order to understand *how the "police are presented"* in the films ; Good Cop/Bad Cop, Skilled/Trained/Disciplined or Helpless/Incompetent, Police Outfit (Civilian/Uniformed) – Rank (Police Officer/Supervisor), Unity and Integrity within the Institution, Desired or Undesirable Institution to Be a Part of, Justice and Human Rights Defender Police, Intervention of External (Political or Bureaucratic) Factors to the Police, Citizen's Perspective on the Police and Assistance, Ten sub-headings such as Attitudes and Behaviors of the Police Towards Citizens, Nationalist Discourses/Dying for Duty, were examined.

When the films are examined within the scope of the "Good Cop/Bad Cop" *distinction, which is the first sub-category of the second title of the* study as "*Presentation of the Police*"; In American-made detective films, it has been seen that bad cops usually appear in the movies along with the good cop. These police officers, who abuse their duties, sometimes ignore criminals in exchange for money, while others are involved in the crime themselves. However, at the end of the movie, it is understood that the good cops decipher the bad cops and catch them along with the criminals they are fighting. For example, in the movie 'First Day', rookie police officer Jake Hoyt revealed the dirty work of deputy commissioner Alonzo Harris, who was involved in many crimes, at the end of the movie, and in the movie 'Mole', bad cop Colin Sullivan paid with his life for what he did.

In the Turkish films examined, it was seen that the bad cop character was not given much space, and the bad cops in the few films, unlike the American films, did not engage in any crime

during their duties, and did some bad things outside of their duties. For example, in the movie 'Polis', the only reason why Musa Rami buys a gun without a license or hires a hitman is because he is helpless to fight the mafia trying to kill his family. Likewise, in the movie 'Ejder Kapanı', although the chief inspector Celal commits serial murders, his policing has no effect on his doing them. He does these things out of his duties, purely for his own personal reasons.

When the films were examined within the scope of "Skillful/Trained/Disciplined or Helpless/Incompetent", which is the second sub-category of the "Presentation of the Police", it was seen that the police were presented as skilled in all American-made films. However, most of these films do not include any information about the training of the police. Again, in these movies, good cops are mostly disciplined while doing their jobs, while bad cops are quite undisciplined. In addition, in the American-made films examined, the police officers were not very incompetent and helpless in the professional sense. In cases where they are inadequate and helpless, the reason is usually emotional problems caused by themselves or their inability to object to the instructions of the people in the higher positions they work with.

The cops in Turkish-made movies are generally competent and disciplined, just like in American-made movies. However, in the detective films that are made with the comedy genre, incompetent or undisciplined police characters also stand out. In addition, in the movie 'Komser Şekspir', it is seen that the police are ignorant in terms of general culture and do not even know who William Shakespeare is. In addition, there is no information on police training in Turkish movies.

In addition, it has been observed that the policemen in Turkish-made movies are more helpless and inadequate than the policemen in American-made films. The reason for this helplessness is due to the personal problems of the police character in some films and the professional inadequacies of the police officers in some films. For example, in the movie 'Polis', Musa Rami is helpless in the face of the murder of his family by the mafia, while in the movie 'Cingöz Recai', the police are helpless and inadequate in the face of Cingöz Recai's plans. Similarly, in the movie 'Av Mevsimi', it is seen that Hasan, who has just started policing, is quite inadequate in policing and has difficulty accepting his profession.

In the American films examined under the third subcategory of the "Presentation of the Police" title, "Police Outfit (Civilian/Uniformed) – Rank (Police Officer/Superior)", police characters are usually plainclothes policemen. However, in some films, uniformed police appear alongside these characters. Again, these police officers are mostly officers who do not have any rank such as FBI agents and detectives and correspond to police officers in the system in our country. In addition to these, a small number of high-ranking police officers also appear in the films.

In Turkish-made films, on the other hand, as in American-made films, police characters are usually plainclothes policemen, and uniformed policemen are seen as side characters alongside these policemen. However, the characters of the films 'Komser Şekspir' and 'Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da' consist of uniformed police officers and there are no civilian police in these films. Again, in the vast majority of Turkish-made films examined, the main characters are high-ranking police officers, and police officers are also seen in the movie in supporting roles.

While some of the American-made films examined within the scope of "Unity and Integrity within the Institution", which is the fourth subcategory of the "Presentation of the Police" title, there is an emphasis on internal unity and integrity, while no such emphasis was found in some films. For example, after the murder of deputy commissioner Alonzo Harris by the Russian mafia in the movie 'The First Day', the authorities emphasized that the police department was in

solidarity with itself by making speeches about protecting Alonzo Haris' family. However, although there is no general emphasis on in-house integrity, it has been seen that the police officers working together in a small number of films are in unity and integrity with the team logic. For example, in the movie 'Red Dragon', FBI agent Will Graham, despite his retirement and his wife's objections, returns to policing to help his friends find the killer.

In the vast majority of Turkish films examined, there is no emphasis on internal unity and integrity. However, in some films, it has been seen that the police officers working together act in unity and integrity as a team. For example, in the movie 'Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu', as a result of political pressure, Attila was assigned to another branch, but the branch manager prevented this and made him work in narcotics. And he even said that they would be exiled to Hakkari together if necessary.

In the American films examined within the scope of "The Institution That You Want to Be a Part of or Not to Be a Part of", which is the fifth subcategory of the "Presentation of the Police", there was no clear emphasis on whether you wanted to be a part of the law enforcement agency. It was only in the movie 'First Day' that rookie police officer Jake Hoyt was seen wanting to be part of the police force, a successful narcotics detective or even a deputy commissioner.

Similarly, in the Turkish-made films examined, there was no clear statement about whether the police characters wanted to be a part of the police force, but in the majority of the films, it was understood that the characters were happy to be a police officer. However, in the movie 'Komser Şekspir', it was seen that Commissioner Cemil felt unhappy and lonely in general, and in the movie 'Av Mevsimi', it was seen that police officer Hasan could not adapt to policing and that he would quit policing.

In the vast majority of American-made films examined within the scope of "Police Defending Justice and Human Rights", which is the sixth subcategory of the "Presentation of the Police" title, the police officers try to ensure justice by doing their duties in the best way possible, and sometimes they even have to fight with the bad people (policemen) among themselves. For example, in the movies 'The Mole' and '16 Blocks', good cops had to fight not only with criminals, but also with police officers who committed crimes or cooperated with criminals in order to ensure justice, sometimes they got into armed conflicts, and even in the movie 'Mole', Billy Costigan was killed by Colin Sullivan, a policeman who collaborated with the mafia. However, in the American-made films, there is no emphasis on the police being human rights defenders.

In the Turkish-made films examined, police officers are people who try to ensure justice within the scope of their duties. For example, in the movie 'Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu', Ertuğrul did not get a desk job despite his wife's insistence and continued to fight drug dealers on the streets, and was eventually killed by a drug dealer. Similarly, in the movie 'Av Mevsimi', the policeman Ferman did not let go of the businessman despite the pressures put on him to solve the murder and find justice and finally proved that he was the murderer. And in the Turkish-made films, as in the American-made films, there is no emphasis on the police being human rights defenders.

There was no political or bureaucratic pressure on the police in the American-made films examined within the scope of "Intervention of External (Political or Bureaucratic) Factors in the Police", which is the seventh subcategory of the "Presentation of the Police" title.

Although there was no political or bureaucratic pressure on the police in the majority of the Turkish films examined, it was observed that in a small number of films such as 'Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu' and 'Av Mevsimi', the police were partially exposed to political pressures because they started investigating wealthy businesspeople on suspicion of crime.

In the majority of the American-made films examined within the scope of "Citizen's Perspective and Assistance to the Police", which is the eighth subcategory of the "Presentation of the Police", there were no clear scenes that would reflect people's perspective on the police, but in some films, criminals addressed the police as "pigs, scum", saw the police as bribers and tried to stay away from the police, however, in a small number of films, people had positive feelings towards the police. Again, in some of the American-made films examined, people tell what they know to the police who ask them about a crime, and in this way, they try to help the police, albeit partially.

In Turkish-made films, there are generally no clear scenes to reflect people's perspective on the police. In a small number of films, certain people respect or admire the police, but these views do not express a general acceptance, but only reflect the opinions of certain characters. In addition, some people tried to help the police, albeit partially, by telling the police officers who asked them questions what they knew.

In the American-made films examined within the scope of "Attitudes and Behaviors of the Police Towards Citizens", which is the ninth subcategory of the "Presentation of the Police" title, it is seen that some police officers behave respectfully and politely towards people within the framework of the law, while some police officers are disrespectful. Especially bad cop characters in movies are harsh and rude to people, while good cops are polite and respectful. In addition, in the majority of the films examined, it was observed that the police treated the suspects differently than normal citizens. For example, in the movie 'Enemies of the People', while the police treated ordinary citizens with respect, they tried to make an injured criminal talk by squeezing his throat, while not allowing the doctor who wanted to give the criminal a sedative injection for his wounds and threatening to arrest him if he helped.

In the Turkish films examined, it was determined that while some of the policemen communicated respectfully with the citizens, some of the policemen behaved harshly and rudely. Some policemen even beat or swear at people arbitrarily. For example, in the movie 'Komser Şekspir', Commissioner Cemil even beat the tea seller who came to take the empty tea cups in his room. In addition, as in the American films, in some of the Turkish films, the police treat the suspects very harshly and beat them by swearing, and even in the movie 'Behzat Ç. Seni Kalbime Gömdüm', the police put the criminals in a coffin and buried them in the grave in order to make them talk. In some films, the police are harsh and inconsistent with their own family members. For example, in the movie 'Polis', it is seen that Musa Rami's son Nihat, who is also a police officer and works in the Children's Branch Directorate, threatens to beat his own daughter with the but of his pistol. It is an interesting irony that a policeman both serves in the juvenile unit of the police and threatens to beat his own daughter with the hilt of his gun, which carries negativities for the image of the Turkish police organization.

In the American-made films examined within the scope of "Nationalist Discourses / Dying for Duty", which is the tenth subcategory of the "Presentation of the Police" title, no nationalist discourse or emphasis on dying for duty was found, except for the movie "Robocop". In the movie 'Robocop', it was seen that there were often nationalist discourses, and even in the movie, it was emphasized that the Americans invaded Iran and that America was the largest country in the world.

Similar to American films, Turkish films do not show any nationalist rhetoric or emphasis on dying for duty. However, in some films, the police continued their duties despite all the risks and were killed by criminals because they were police officers. For example, in the movie 'Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu', Ertuğrul, the chief inspector, was killed as a result of his struggle with drug dealers by not working at a desk job, and in the movie 'New York'ta Beş Minare', a policeman who had infiltrated the terrorist organization was exposed by the members of the organization and then killed by beheading.

As the third title of the study, when the films were examined within the scope of "the conflict situation between the police and the criminals", it was seen that there were scenes of armed conflict in all of the American films, and some of these conflicts took place between the police and the criminals, and some between the good cops and the bad cops. For example, in the movie 'The Mole', conflicts are sometimes between the police and criminals, sometimes between good cops and bad cops, and in the movie '16 Blocks', all of the conflicts take place between good cops and bad cops. It also appears that a large number of police officers and criminals have been killed or injured in these clashes.

In some of the Turkish films examined, there was a conflict between the police and the criminals, while in some of the films it was understood that there was no conflict scene. In addition, unlike American-made films, the police did not clash with each other in any of the Turkish films examined. Again, in Turkish films, it has been seen that many police officers and suspects were killed or injured as a result of the clashes. For example, in the movie 'New York'ta Beş Minare', six policemen lost their lives, two policemen were injured and 18 terrorists were killed in a clash with terrorists.

When the films were examined in terms of "the endings of the films", *which is the fourth title of the research, the* criminals were either caught or killed at the end of all the American-made films. Along with the criminals, the bad cops who collaborated with them were uncovered and arrested. For example, at the end of the movie 'American Gangster', mafia leader Frank Lucas was caught with his men, and as a result of the information he gave, three-quarters of the police officers working in the drug unit of the New York police department were arrested. In addition, at the end of some of the American-made films, there have been deaths from good cops trying to catch criminals.

When the Turkish films were examined in terms of endings, it was determined that the endings of the films differed considerably. For example, criminals were killed in the films 'Beyza'nın Kadınları' and 'Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu', criminals committed suicide in the films 'Ejder Kapanı' and 'Av Mevsimi', Musa Rami's family was killed by criminals in the movie 'Polis' and the criminals did not receive any punishment for their actions. In the movie 'Komser Şekspir', commissioner Cemil risked everything to realize his daughter's theater dream and eventually went to prison, and after being released from prison, he quit being a police officer.

Result

When a general evaluation was made by comparing Turkish and American films, it was seen that the stories in Turkish and American detective films were mostly told together with the action and drama genres. However, although it is generally expected to use action and adventure genres in detective films, as can be understood from the films examined, a dramatic content is also intensively covered in detective films. The reason for this is that murder is one of the most common subjects in the detective genre. Just as there are parties to the murder in the form of police and murderers, there is also a background in the form of the victim, that is, the murdered and his family. Therefore, the drama and pain they experience puts the detective genre and the drama genre in a close relationship. In addition, it is seen that biography and science fiction genres are used in the American films examined, and comedy elements are used in Turkish-made films.

When the films are evaluated within the scope of good cop bad cop, it is understood that American movies generally include good cops as well as bad cops, while there are no bad cops in Turkish-made movies. However, despite this difference, it has been seen that the cinema of both countries generally presents a skillful and disciplined police profile to its audience. Again, within the framework of the films examined, it was determined that there were more helpless and inadequate police characters in Turkish-made films than in American-made films.

When Turkish and American films are compared in terms of main characters, it is seen that the heroes in the movies generally consist of civilian policemen and uniformed policemen are included as side characters, but in a few Turkish-made films, the characters are uniformed policemen and there are no civilian police in the movie. In addition, in the American-made films examined, it was understood that the police officers were mostly people who did not have any rank such as FBI agents and detectives and corresponded to the police officers in the system in our country, while in the Turkish films, on the contrary, the police officers were generally highranking people and police officers were in the side role of these people. Therefore, it is possible to say that civilian police officers are the main characters in American-made movies and civilian police officers are the main characters in Turkish-made films.

It has been observed that in the Turkish and American films examined within the scope of the study, there is no emphasis on unity and integrity within the institution, but the police are generally in solidarity as a team. In addition, it has been understood that this kind of solidarity takes place more in Turkish films than in American films. Again, in the films examined, it was evaluated that there was no clear emphasis on whether they wanted to be a part of the police force, but especially the police characters in Turkish films were satisfied with being a policeman.

Again, in the Turkish and American films examined, it was seen that the police tried to help ensure justice by fulfilling their duties in the best way possible, and for this reason, they sometimes had to fight with criminals and sometimes with their own colleagues, and some police officers even lost their lives because of this, but there was no emphasis on the police being human rights defenders in Turkish and American films.

When the films were examined in terms of external pressure, it was understood that the police were not subjected to any political or bureaucratic pressure during their duties in the American films, but in a small number of Turkish films, the police officers fighting against criminals were pressured by some deputies and ministers.

In both the Turkish and American films examined, it was understood that the police did not engage in much dialogue with civilians and that people's thoughts about the police were not clearly included, therefore there were no clear scenes in the films to reflect the citizens' perspective on the police, however, in some American films, criminals addressed the police as 'pigs, scum', and in a few Turkish films, it was understood that some people were afraid of the police. Again, in the films of both countries, it has been seen that when the police ask questions, people try to help the police by telling what they know.

When the films are compared in terms of the behavior of the police towards the citizens, it is seen that in the American movies, the good cops are polite and respectful to the people, while the bad cops are harsh and rude, while in the Turkish-made movies, some policemen are respectful and some are aggressive and harsh. In addition, it has been determined that in both Turkish-made and American-made films, the police behaved very harshly towards the criminals, swearing and beating the suspects during interrogation.

While the vast majority of the American-made films examined and all of the Turkish-made films did not emphasize any nationalist discourse or dying for duty, it was understood that in some American and Turkish-made films, the police continued to fulfill their duties against all risks and therefore were killed by criminals.

When they met in terms of conflict scenes, in all American films, the cops got into armed conflicts with criminals, and even in some movies, good cops clashed with bad cops, and in these conflicts, many policemen died as well as criminals. On the other hand, it was determined that there were fewer conflict scenes in Turkish-made films than in American-made films, and some policemen lost their lives along with the criminals in these conflicts.

When the films are evaluated in terms of their endings, it is found that in all of the American-made films, the criminals were either caught or killed, and the bad cops who collaborated with the criminals were uncovered and arrested. On the other hand, Turkish-made films differed in terms of their endings; in some films the criminals were captured or killed, in some films the criminals had to commit suicide, but there were also films in which the criminals were not captured, as in the movie 'Polis'. Therefore, in all of the American-made films, criminals were punished, whereas in the Turkish-made films, it was observed that there were criminals who were not punished for what they did.

As a result, as mentioned in the previous sections of the study, in the studies on the image of the police, it has been determined that there are some segments of society who think that the police take bribes, discriminate and humiliate people, as well as people who think that the police ensure peace, order and public order, that is, that they fulfill their duties properly, so it has been determined that there is a negative image as well as a positive image of the police in society. Similarly, in the films examined within the scope of the study, it was seen that police officers with positive characteristics as well as police officers with negative qualities took part in the films, but at the end of the films, bad police officers were killed or arrested by good police officers and it was understood that the police force was cleaned of police characters that would create a negative image. Thus, it was evaluated that the movies created a positive image for the police.

As a final word, along with many other factors, cinema has the potential to affect society's perception of the police. Therefore, this should be taken into account when creating characters in movies, and when writing a movie character, help should be sought from professionals in that business, for example, from the police department for a police character. Thus, it is considered that the perception of individuals and institutions will be more positive and the films to be made will be more convincing.

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