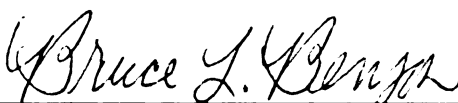This is to certify that the
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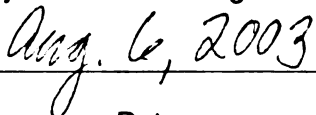
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A STUDY OF POLICE OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE DEVIANCE:
FROM AN OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION PERSPECTIVE

By

Ilhong Yun

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF POLICE OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE DEVIANCE: FROM AN OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION PERSPECTIVE

By

Ilhong Yun

During the past several decades, the focus of the research on police deviance has shifted from the individual perspective to organizational perspective focusing on occupational socialization. This study also aims to reveal the impact of police occupational socialization on their perceptions of police deviance. Specifically, this study is to examine dissimilarities in police officers' perceptions of police deviance based on four criteria: 1) length of service, 2) rank, 3) placement, and 4) community. To do that, a survey of a convenience sample of two South Korea police stations (N=321) has been conducted. Overall, this study reveals only a partial support for the hypotheses. Yet a significant relationship appears between officers' perceptions of police deviance and their placement. Since there is no research that has revealed such a relationship, this study is the first step toward such an unexplored area.

To Korean 130,000 Police Officers

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I. Magnitude of the Problem

Among many problems facing police administrators, few involve as devastating an effect as police deviance. When a scandal of police brutality, corruption or unethical behavior is publicly revealed, the potential ability of a police agency to accomplish its legitimate goals is seriously impaired. Incidents of police deviance may seriously deteriorate the police-community relationship, diminishing public confidence in the police. It compromises not only the police-community solidarity, but also the police organization itself. The morale of personnel in a police agency can be significantly influenced by the repercussions of a scandal in their agency. Due to an increased access to media, an eruption of police deviance in a remote police agency can affect police agencies nationwide.

The police are not the sole institution of the criminal justice system affected by deviance, but they are regarded as the most symbolic institution by the average citizen. To a great number of citizens, police are the first, as well as the last criminal justice agency that they encounter throughout their normal lives. As Barker and Carter (1991) noted, "what the police do and how they do it affects the perceptions of how the public views the fairness and honesty of the entire criminal justice system" (p. 3).

Police deviance is not a problem limited to happenings of recent years, rather it is as old as policing itself. Problems with police extortion and other corrupt activities are documented as early as 1844, when the city of New York created its first municipal police force (Swope, 2001, p. 80). The well- known Wickersham Commission report in

1931 documented corruption and brutality in law enforcement in America. Following the whistle blowing of Frank Serpico in the 1960s, the Knapp Commission disclosed prevalent corruption throughout the New York Police Department. The examples are far more widespread: Miami police officers charged with drug dealing and murder; findings of the Christopher Commission investigating the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) after the Rodney King beating; and the deep rooted corruption in the Rampart Division in LAPD in the late 1990s.

Considering the devastating consequences, police deviance is by no means something to be mildly dealt with. Understanding how they begin and evolve is crucial to control and minimize them. Yet a review of literature pertaining to the issue of police deviance, notwithstanding the magnitude of the problem, reveals that much of the extant literature on police deviance relies upon personal opinions and popular definitions rather than empirical studies. One of the reasons for the lack of empirical research in this area appears to be the shortage of theoretical frameworks that can guide researchers. The sensitivity of the problem and the subsequent reluctance of police agencies toward open-minded discussions on this issue could be another reason (Goldstein, 1975). Thus, compared to other issues in policing, many facets of the problem of police deviance still remain partially covered.

II. Introduction to Research Questions

Historically, the criminal justice system has been developed as a punitive style, emphasizing retribution and deterrence. Since the seemingly unquestionable effect of deterrence based on criminal sanctions has been questioned, however, a variety of non-punitive alternatives have been suggested and are being tested focusing on new concepts, such as rehabilitation, healing and restorative justice (Roach, 1999).

In terms of sanctions on deviant police officers, on the contrary, it seems that a majority of police agencies still simply adopt sanction-oriented measures. Police agencies tend to inflict even more rigorous sanctions based on the common ground that the police are the public defender of law and justice. It has been especially true in Korean police, an agency in which this researcher has served as a police officer for ten years.

A literature review relevant to the theories of police deviance reveals that researchers who have dealt with this issue classify the theories into two groups—the bad apple theory and the occupational socialization theory (Klockars et al., 1997; Barker, 1991;Lundman, 1980; O'Brien, 1991). The bad apple theory assumes that police deviance is committed by either morally defective or inherently deviant individuals. Accordingly this theory suggests a careful screening of applicants, an aggressive pursuing and elimination of deviant police officers. The conventional sanction-oriented policy stems from the bad apple theory (Haberfeld, Klockars, Ivkovic, & Pagon, 2000; Lundman, 1980; O'Brien, 1991). On the contrary, the occupational socialization theory emphasizes the impact of occupational socialization on police personnel, shifting the focus from individuals to organization itself. This theory seeks to establish and maintain a police organization whose culture is highly intolerant of police deviance, emphasizing a

variety of proactive measures to prevent and control police deviance (Haberfeld, et al., 2000; Klockars et al., 1997).

Bearing in mind the importance of the culture of police integrity, many contemporary police organizations put in more effort to establish and sustain police integrity adopting a variety of measures such as ethics classes and training programs (Hunter, 1999, p. 156 - 157). Notwithstanding such various attempts, the researcher believes that a number of worthwhile questions has yet to be dealt with or at least yet to be empirically tested. For example, it is an important issue to decide at whom the programs should be aimed. Should it embrace all police personnel or should it target specific groups? If the programs are to target specific groups, do they need to be developed based on the criterion of length of service (neophytes vs. veterans), or perhaps rank (the rank and file vs. supervisory groups)? Are officers in certain placements more susceptible to police deviance than officers in other placements? Could there be such differences from officers between urban and rural communities?

Likewise, another question is of significant importance. Should the contents of such programs be uniform for all the differing groups of police officers or should they be structured as group-specific? Are officers from specific groups more vulnerable to specific types of police deviance? If it is found that certain groups of police personnel are more susceptible to police deviance, or specific groups are more vulnerable to specific types of deviance, group-specific education and training programs are deemed to be recommendable. Such a model will be more efficient as well as effective given the limited resources available to most police agencies.

The complete answers to these queries are not to be reached in a simplistic manner and such an undertaking is beyond the purview of this study. In addition, the answers obtained in a specific context may not be generalizable to a different place and different time. Yet, an initial attempt to explore those areas is laudable, provided that it stimulates more thoughts and further researches from contemporary researchers. Such researches will be closely related to the management of police deviance and will hold a great practical applicability.

III. The Present Study

Among the theories of police deviance, the occupational socialization approach is the basis for this study. That is, in contrast to the micro-level, individualistic approach, this study focuses on the social context in which police deviance is said to be developed and maintained. The main assumption underlying this study is that deviant behaviors by police officers are socially prescribed and patterned through occupational socialization rather than as a function of individual abnormalities or personal weaknesses.

Exploring police deviance, with regards to situational dimensions and subsequent occupational socialization, is the central concern of the present study. Police deviance, however, is not an easy topic to study in a direct, quantitative and empirical way because the majority of police deviance incidents are not officially reported or handled (Klockars et al., 1997, p. 2; Haberfeld et al., 2000, p. 42). The official data of police deviance in any police agency by no means represent the actual level of deviance. Therefore, this study does not attempt any immediate measurement of police deviance; rather, it employs an indirect way of measuring the perceptions of police officers, without arousing the embarrassment that direct inquiries are likely to cause. In doing so, it will be possible to access the problem of police deviance indirectly.

Nevertheless, this study does not assert perfect causation between perceptions and manifestations of actual behavior. Yet, it does presume that perceptions favorable toward deviant behaviors will increase the likelihood of the involvement in those behaviors. Sutherland, who proposed "the differential association theory," argued that "A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law" (cited in Vold et al., 2002, p. 160). His theory

has been advocated and strengthened by other criminologists such as Akers, Anderson, Wolfgang and Ferracuti. In the same way, some contemporary police researchers maintain that "to believe that specific actions are not really serious ... significantly lowers the threshold at which an individual [police officers] will engage in that behavior" (Huon, Hesketh, Frank, McConkey, and McGrath, 1995). Thus the researcher believes this study holds its legitimacy in measuring the perceptions of police officers as a means of exploring police deviance.

This research hypothesizes that disparities exist as a result of different socialization processes in the perceptions of police officers towards deviant police behaviors according to varying situational factors: 1) length of service, 2) rank, 3) placement and 4) community. More specifically, this study attempts to test the following four hypotheses:

1. Police officers who have served longer perceive police deviance less seriously.

2. Police officers who are lower in rank perceive police deviance less seriously.

3. Police officers who serve in the Enforcement Sections perceive police deviance less seriously than officers who serve in the Non-enforcement Sections do.

4. Police officers who serve in urban communities perceive police deviance less seriously than police officers who serve in rural communities.

In order to address these questions, a survey instrument containing eight scenarios of deviant police behaviors was constructed. Police officers from two police stations— one urban station and one rural station— in South Korea were selected to complete the surveys. The data will be analyzed to determine whether the one group perceives police deviance more seriously than the other group/groups.

The hypotheses presented herein were derived not only from the related literature but also from ten years of personal experience as a middle-level police manager in Korea. Throughout the experience the researcher has surprisingly observed the subtle transformation of colleague officers, not excluding the researcher, from an ideal and honest neophyte to a veteran officer who takes gratuities without feelings of conscience, or sometimes even expects gifts from citizens whom they encounter on a daily basis.

The on-the-job experience and the review of literature of police deviance indicate a strong relationship between occupational socialization and police deviance. Yet, research on police deviance is not very numerous. After a review of related literature, only a few studies were discovered which examined the relationship between the perceptions of police deviance and the length of service and rank. Furthermore, there was no previous research which examined the possible dissimilarities of perceptions based on different placements and different communities for which officers serve.

Therefore, this study takes an initiative position in terms of exploring such rarely trodden areas. Although this explorative study is not completely exempt from blemish, this study is obviously worthwhile in the sense that it initiates an exploration over the above-mentioned area and subsequently attempts to fill the existing gaps in the literature of police deviance. The researcher believes that this study will be able to add to the minimal amount of existing literature based on empirical research, and help to gain a better understanding of the relationship between police deviance and the differing dimensions of police socialization. Hopefully, this study will provide police administrators and academicians with helpful insights for policymaking, police training, and further researches in the area of police deviance.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

I. Traditional Views of Police Deviance

As deviant behaviors by human beings are omnipresent in human society, deviant conduct by police officers seems to reside in almost all police organizations. Yet, compared to the numerous competing theories regarding the cause of human deviance, theoretical exploration on police deviance is not abundant.

Traditionally, open discussions of police deviance have not occurred actively among police administrators. Goldstein (1975) reasoned that police officials were not eager for openhearted discussions on this problem, since they believed public disclosure of such deeds would undermine public confidence in the police (p. 7). Even when a devastating scandal occurred in a police agency, a police chief tended to proclaim that the unveiled incident was a rare anomaly in their agency, and the doer of the anomaly or "the bad apple" should be thrown out of the otherwise clean barrel. This approach of the traditional explanation on police deviance is generally known as "the bad apple theory." According to Barker (1991), the bad apples are "either weak individuals who have slipped through the elaborate screening process of police departments . . . or deviant individuals who continue their deviant practices [in the police organization]." (p. 46).

This view, however, has found little support. Murphy (1973) insisted that the rotten apples are neither natural born criminals nor morally wicked people, but that corrupt police are made in the barrel—the organization. Thus, the bad apple theory of police deviance is largely understood as the way of police administrators' impression management to evade criticism against the organization itself (See Barker, 1991; Lemert,

1967; Goldstein, 1975). By applying the label of bad apple to publicly exposed deviant officers, and by either eliminating them from the organization or imposing harsh disciplinary sanctions, police administrators managed to save the organization from the stigma of the "deviant organization."

There are other explanations about the nature of police deviance. Sutherland and Cressey (1960) asserted that unqualified appointments of police officials by corrupt politicians were the origin of police deviance. They stated:

> Another consequence of the fact that police departments often are organized for the welfare of corrupt politicians, rather than of society, is inefficient and unqualified personnel. This is unquestionably linked with police dishonesty, since only police officers who are "right" can be employed by those in political control. (p. 338).

Other scholars viewed police corruption, a serious form of police deviance, as a natural consequence of societal demands for illegal services (See Korn & McCorkle, 1959; Merton, 1958). They claimed that when desired illegal services are not provided through legal structures, the services are attained through illegal means, such as police corruption. By the same token, others viewed police deviance as necessary, but also as an illegitimate means to accomplish legitimate police duties (Sutherland& Cressey, 1960; Westley, 1970). They maintained that while a police officer was responsible to protect society from criminals, the corresponding powers for carrying out this mandate were not delegated enough. Therefore, to perform designated duties, police officers must violate the very laws that they are trying to enforce. The use of illegal violence by police officers to catch vicious criminals can serve as an example.

Contrary to traditional views of police deviance as illustrated above, a unifying feature of contemporary approaches is organizational in nature. These explanations stress

the process of police occupational socialization as a means of police officers acquiring informal norms and patterns of deviant behaviors. Unlike the bad apple theory, which mainly seeks for punitive measures, the occupational socialization theory seeks to establish and maintain police agencies whose culture is highly intolerant of police deviance and supports integrity.

II. Police Occupational Socialization

Many police researchers agree upon the existence of a unique "police working personality," which differentiates police officers from the public. There exists, however, some disagreement about the etiology of the police personality. One explanation is that people who search out the law enforcement profession have a significantly different personality prior to their entry into the occupation (Rokeach, Miller & Snyder, 1971). That is, people who have unique personality traits that fit the job, become police officers. This hypothesis met much criticism regarding the flawed methodology in the research on which it was based and credibility (Bennett & Greenstein, 1975; Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969; Smith, Locke & Fenster, 1970). Another theory maintains that recruits drawn from the general public go through an occupational socialization process, by which they obtain unique attitudes and values within police subculture (Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966; Westly, 1970). Contrary to the former explanation, the bulk of supportive literature on occupational socialization testifies to the persuasiveness of the latter hypothesis.

Through socialization of the police subculture, officers develop a unique personality. Burbeck and Furnham (1985) found that the experience of becoming part of the police subculture influences individuals to become more authoritarian, prejudiced, close-minded and conservative than they were before joining the force. Skolnick (1966) also notes:

> The police, as a result of combined features of their social situation, tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves, cognitive lenses through which to see situations and events. The strength of the lenses may be weaker or stronger depending on certain conditions, but they are ground on a similar axis (p. 42).

Occupational socialization is defined as the process by which a person learns the formal and informal norms, values and expected behaviors which characterize members of the particular organization (Van Maanen, 1977). Each occupation has a socialization process in which the new employees are taught the unique norms of the occupational setting. Since socialization implies an "on-going process" over time, the process of police occupational socialization is theoretically divided into three stages by scholars (See Wheeler, 1966; Thornton & Nardi, 1975).

The first step in occupational socialization is known as the anticipatory socialization. This phase begins prior to the entry of the occupation. The prospective candidate starts to anticipate the job duties, expectations, requirements in the role and attempts to identify himself/herself with the future role. The sources transmitting the impression of the occupation could be the media, friends, relatives or members of the police organization. Although the socialization of the applicants can be often tangential, this process begins to influence their attitudes and values.

The second phase is identified as the formal stage. This is the type of training that recruits go through in the police academy. This stage supplies the recruits with sets of norms of the occupation. The recruits become to be immersed into organizational guidelines and formal expectations. In this stage, experienced police officers, as staff or visiting lecturers, play the role of reference group to the recruits.

The third step in the occupational socialization process involves the informal stage. Police rookies learn what they are really expected to do by their peers within every day work settings. The knowledge provided is often quite different from the knowledge gained during the formal training. During the third stage, reference group affiliation and

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influence by police peer group would increase, and previous formal training at the police academies may be regarded even useless or irrelevant at the street level. Leonard and More's (1974) research reported that 85 percent of American police officers have received the major portion of their occupational training through on-the-job training by fellow officers.

In sum, due to the socialization process, police recruits and officers acquire the norms, attitudes and behaviors unique in police subculture, and go through value changes which lead to different perspectives than those of citizens. One thing that merits an attention is that the socialization process disseminates not only meritorious aspects of police culture, but also detrimental ones. Police deviance is considered to be one of them. With regard to the socialization of police deviance, researchers emphasize the importance of occupational structure, peer group supports and the influence of community.

III. Occupational Socialization of Police Deviance.

Occupational structure

1) Low visibility

One could assume that the police organization is a paramilitary bureaucracy with high levels of command and control, but it is rather characterized, in reality, by a considerable discretion for the lower ranks, the alienation of street work from senior staff and low visibility from the public (Barker, 1991, p. 48; Lundman, 1980, p. 172). Theories based on occupational socialization assert that the police occupational structure provides the police officer with more than ample opportunity for a wide range of deviant behaviors.

For example, police officers who investigate burglary scenes may have the opportunity to take items while nobody is around. They are supposed to have the right to enter unsecured buildings, crime victim's residences and unlocked doors during routine security checks or investigative duties. On the pretext of investigating victimized scenes, they may have a chance to look for hidden money or valuable items under no suspicion from others.

Police officers also have opportunities to engage in a number of forms of occupational deviance, which are not directly related to material gain. Police deviance can be conducted to achieve occupational goals, that is, "to get the job done." Police officers are required to testify in court as part of their duties, and they may lie or distort the truth in order to ensure a conviction (see Barker, 1991). Some may falsify documents or plant evidence to make a case "solid." Failure to observe due process in arresting suspects could be another example. These types of occupational deviance may be more

clearly understood by adopting Merton's anomie theory (cited in Vold, Bernard & Snipes, 2002, p. 135-141). Merton maintains that deviance occurs when there is a disjunction between socially valued goals and legitimate means by which to attain these goals. Individuals respond to this disjunction between goals and means in five different ways. One of them, through which to cover the gap, is "innovation." Police deviance such as perjury, falsification, planting evidence to make a case 'solid,' or using illegitimate means to arrest suspects could be understood as "innovation."

The intrinsic nature of the police profession provides the police officer, usually working beyond supervision, with various types of other occupation-related deviance, such as lying to cover up colleagues' deviance, sleeping on duty, drinking on duty, illicit sex on duty and brutality (see Barker, 1991, p. 49). In essence, the fact that a great part of police operations occur where the scope of supervision is low or cannot reach far enough fosters or at least makes police deviance occur more easily.

2) Placements

Another consideration should be given to the fact that the characteristic of opportunity structure varies by different placement in the police organization (see Barker, 1991, p. 49). Patrol officers may have a different range of opportunities for deviance than detectives, such as traffic offenders, business burglaries or security checks. Detectives may encounter more lucrative chances under different levels of supervision. Police officers whose main tasks are related to internal administration may have rare opportunities concerning monetary gains, but have different types of deviant behaviors.

As an illustration, police officers in the area of vice crimes such as prostitution, gambling and narcotics, may be placed in a more vulnerable situation. Vice officers assume more discretionary power than other units. Under such circumstances, police officers may form a deviant relationship with those who are policed. In recent years, in South Korea, it was publicly revealed that a number of officers in vice areas in one police station have been paid money systematically by the owners of prostitution operations for quite a long period of time (Lee, 2000)

Thus, different culture of police deviance can be reasonably assumed among different placements in a police agency. Especially in a large agency, the culture of police deviance may vary among precincts, divisions, ethical groups and work groups (Klockars et al., 1997; Lundman, 1980). Yet, no researcher has attempted to empirically examine such areas so far.

3) Management structure

Another concern of the opportunity structure is related to the police management structure. Police managers in the United States as well as in many other countries usually step up to high positions through the ladder of ranks within the organization. While reaching these high ranks, they may have been socialized into the system to such an extent that they were unable to, or unwilling to, vigorously deal with the problem of police deviance. Police managers have already experienced the great part of what subordinates come across on a daily basis. They are well known to the formal as well as informal subculture, and further, they are part of the police subculture itself. This sometimes makes it hard for them to say "not anymore" to subordinates. If, in this case,

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deviant conduct committed by a subordinate is not publicly revealed yet, and if there is

any chance to hide it from the public and the media, they may conceal it through a

"cover-up" rather than fully unwrap it and use it as an impetus for reform activities. In

this regard, Haberfeld et al. argued that one of the factors that contribute to the

difficulties of controlling police deviance is the reluctance of police managers to admit

the existence of such problems (2000, p. 42).

Peer Group Support

1) Police subculture and police solidarity

To better understand the development of peer group support with regard to police

deviance, one needs to consider police subculture in the first place. The conduit through

which police peer group support is formed and maintained is police subculture. Also,

police subculture describes the setting in which police officers learn the norms and

supports that lead to police deviance. In this regard, Lundman states that the police

subculture provides officers with reasons and rationalizations for engaging in deviant

activities (1980, P. 173).

Subculture is defined by Carter (2002) as "the meanings, values and behavior

patterns that are unique to a particular group in society" (p. 191). Alpert and Dunham

(1988) further stated:

> Police develop traditions and survival skills that are unique to their vocational
> group because of their duties and responsibilities. These distinct differences in
> culture qualify them as members of police subculture (p. 80).

The police sometimes view the community as demanding too much from them. In

many cases, such demands are conflicting among different groups even in the same

community. With the obligation to fulfill the needs of the public, the police realize that they are to accomplish "the mission impossible." Moreover, it is easy for the public to make scapegoats of the police for every problem. Hence, the police tend to alienate themselves from the public and retreat to their peer group alliances, thereby forming strong "peer group consensual bonds" (see Britz, 1997, p. 129).

Moreover, police work has been traditionally regarded as unpredictable, dangerous and violent. Given the potential danger and unpredictability, police officers need dependable backup from colleagues to fulfill their job successfully without subjecting themselves to personal danger or public ridicule. Thus, from the needs of fulfilling their job, the police have developed a solid peer group relationship and view loyalty to colleague officers to be critically important. Isolation, coupled with other characteristics inherent in police work such as danger, leads to police solidarity, which Skolnick defined as "an exceptionally strong tendency to find his social identity within his occupational milieu" (1966, p. 52). Further, he found that the acquisition of police subculture and police solidarity was so powerful that individual personality differences among police newcomers did not significantly alter the socialization process (cited in Britz, 1997, p. 133).

2) Approved deviance

The alliances of peer group loyalty and solidarity may facilitate the accomplishments of organizational goals. Further, the sentiment of peer group support supplies members with emotional and ideological support. Nevertheless, at the same

time, loyalty can play a critical role for the development of deviance inside a police group.

Matza (1964) states, "persistent deviance typically is not a solitary enterprise; rather it best flourishes when it receives group support." Barker (1991) further asserts that many patterns of police deviance are forms of approved deviance by peer groups in organizational settings. Police officers conduct this type of "approved deviance" without a sanction from their peer group, rather it is supported since these behaviors are not deviant to their informal norms. This is generally true of marginally deviant behaviors such as free meals, gratuities and discounts (Haberfeld, 2000, p. 43).

What makes matters worse is that these types of activities are not only supported by peer groups but also permitted or ignored in silence by supervisors and administrators provided that they are conducted secretly and discreetly (Haberfeld, 2000, p. 43; Lundman, 1980, p. 172). Therefore, in many cases, it is no exaggeration to say that there are two policies regarding police deviance in an agency—official policy and unofficial policy.

Since such behaviors are at least secretly accepted in police peer groups and supervisors alike, they might be considered as insignificant by police administrators. Nevertheless, those behaviors may play a critical role as an impetus for more serious police deviance. The New York City's Knapp Commission emphasizes the seriousness of these approved deviance using the well-known metaphor "meat-eaters and grass-eaters":

> Although the vast majority of policemen on the take don't deal in huge amounts
>
> of graft and the meat-eaters receive the large payoffs and the newspaper coverage,

the grass-eaters are the heart of the problem because their greater numbers make corruption respectable (p. 4).

One meaningful notice should be given to the fact that, during the socialization of the approved deviance, police officers also learn the skills that are needed to neutralize the guilt of committing deviant behaviors. For neutralization, they come up with various excuses like; "Every body is doing it. Why not me?" "He had it coming." "It is part of the job" etc. These excuses imply that police officers are employing Sykes and Matza's techniques of neutralization taken by delinquents to avoid feelings of guilt (cited in Vold et al., 2002, p. 182).

3) The code of silence

Another consideration that bears emphasis is that police peer group support engenders elements of secrecy, which can easily turn into "the blue code of secrecy," which is the informal prohibition in police subculture against reporting fellow officers' deviance. "The Code of Silence" or "The Blue Curtain" is a norm that one officer should not "rat" on other officers. It is believed that the punitive orientation of the quasi-military police administration, coupled with police subculture and peer group solidarity, generate "The Code of Silence." Haberfeld et al. (2000) noted;

> Put too crudely, quasi-military police administration works by creating hundreds
> and sometimes thousands of rules and punishing deviations from those rules
> severely. It is a sociological inevitability that under such administrative and
> organizational conditions, some form of The Code will evolve (p. 44).

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Officers learn through the socialization process that they are supposed to tolerate or condone misconducts of colleague officers. They also learn that "ratting on others" will result in severe ostracism from almost all peer officers. Police peer group socializes police rookies into patterns of approved deviant behaviors and provides support in possible ways such as the code of silence. In this regard, the approval of such deviance and following support in the form of secrecy function as a "reinforcement," which is depicted in Akers' Social Learning Theory (cited in Vold et al., 2002, p. 171-174).

Almost all empirical research on police deviance has implied that the rate of committing police deviance is closely related to the perceived risk of being reported by colleague officers (see Klockars et al., 1997; Huon et al., 1995; Barker, 1978). That is, when officers believe their behavior will be covered up by the code of silence, they are more likely to conduct deviant behavior. This study also attempts to explore the extent to which the code of silence prevails with Korean police, though it is not stated in the formal hypotheses.

The definition of police deviance and the code of silence may change within different departments, or may be understood differently by officers of different length of service or rank. A recent study by Klockars et al. on 30 different police agencies within the United States revealed substantial differences in the environments of integrity among different agencies (1997). Martin (1994) also found in her research of Illinois municipal officers that certain kinds of police deviance are tolerated in some police departments but were considered deviant in others. It is the same case with foreign countries such as Croatia, Poland and Slovenia (Haberfeld et al., 2000). A study of 683 Australian police

officers shows that length of service and rank are significantly related to police officers' tolerance of police deviance (Huon et al., 1995).

<u>Community</u>

Another important dimension in understanding the socialization of police deviance is the influence of community in which police agencies operate. A police department is an integral part of a more complex community, and it reflects the values and behaviors which are accepted in that community. To iterate, the various social, economical and political factors of different communities can lead to diversities in general police subculture, subsequently resulting in different dynamics of police deviance (Klockars et al., 1997, p. 2; Lundman, 1980, p. 4).

In the same context, one may infer different culture of police deviance between a rural community and an urban community. In general, police officers in urban cities are believed to encounter crimes more frequently compared to their rural counterparts. An urban detective, who deals with a number of heinous homicides, may consider a free meal to be of little significance. It may be possible that more crimes, incidents and calls inevitably desensitize urban officers. It is deplorable, however, that there is no research which examined differences in culture of police deviance between urban police officers and rural officers.

Yet, there are several researchers who indicate possible variations between urban and rural police officers. Weisheit, Wells & Falcone state that officers in rural communities, compared to their urban counterparts, are likely to know the offenders, the victims and their families, just as the officer and his family will be known by the

community, suggesting higher visibility of police operations (1994, p. 553). Eisentein further points out that rural police have less discretion because their work is more visible to the public:

> In smaller communities the actions of police officers are known to most of the population thanks to the effectiveness of informal communication networks; there they are more highly visible. As a result, small town police enjoy less latitude in deviating from dominant community values (1982, p. 117).

> In sum, Weisheit et al. and Eisentein do indicate that officers in rural communities seem to be less deviant than urban officers due to higher visibility and subsequent lower discretion.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

I. KEY OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS IN THE STUDY

Developing operational definition of police deviance

The items listed on the 10-point scale developed for this study represent a

working definition of the phenomenon of police deviance. It should be pointed out that

the items on the scenario are far from being exhaustive and were developed as typologies

of other deviant police practices. Eight items in the scenario were chosen in accordance

with Barker and Carter's typology of police deviance (1991).

Police deviance is defined as any deviant behavior, criminal or non-criminal, of

police officers committed during the course of normal work activities. Barker and Carter

define police deviance in a two-point typology: occupational deviance and abuse of

authority. Occupational deviance consists of corruption and police misconduct. Abuse of

authority consists of physical abuse, psychological abuse and legal abuse (1991, p. 6-8).

1) Police corruption signifies any forbidden act which involves the misuse of the

officer's official position for actual or expected material reward or gain. Specifically,

corruption involves three elements: (1) forbidden acts by some law, rule, regulation or

ethical standard; (2) misuse of an officer's position; (3) actual or expected material

reward or gain. Corruption is oftentimes viewed as a more serious form of deviance and

may range from acceptance of free or discount meals to chiseling, kickbacks, bribery and

shakedowns etc. Items 4 and 6 in the survey questionnaire represent examples of

behavior that would be categorized as police corruption.

2) Police misconduct represents a police officer's violations of formally written normative rules, traditional operating procedures, regulations of the police and other public service agencies and criminal and civil laws. Item 1 and 7 in the data instrument signify police misconduct.

3) Physical abuse occurs when a police officer uses more force than is necessary to effect a lawful arrest or search, and/or the wanton use of any degree of physical force by a police officer. Item 3 represents such police behavior.

4) Psychological abuse includes circumstances wherein a police officer verbally assaults, ridicules, discriminates against, or harasses individuals and/or places a person who is under the actual or constructive dominion of the officer in a situation where the individual's esteem is threatened or diminished. Item 2 represents psychological abuse by police officers.

5) Legal abuse signifies violation of a person's constitutional, federally protected, or state-protected rights by a police officer. An improper search, stopping a person without legal grounds, or the improper release of confidential criminal history information are examples of legal abuse. Item 5 and 8 represent legal abuse.

Enforcement Sections

Among twenty sections in Korean police stations, eight of them come under this category: Criminal Affairs, Crime Investigation II, Special Investigation, Investigation of Traffic Accident, Traffic Patrol, Crime Prevention Guidance, Juvenile and Police Substation. Police officers in Enforcement Sections conduct direct law enforcement activities towards civilians, such as traffic control, crime investigation and entertainment

business regulations, thus presumably experiencing more opportunities for police deviance. They experience more citizen demands for police deviance as a result of characteristics of their work. They have more chances to conduct their daily work out of the sight of supervisors, thus enjoying more discretion.

Non-enforcement Sections

Twelve among twenty sections in Korean police stations are included in this category: Police Administration, Accounting, Communication, Internal Affairs, Service and Information, Crime Prevention, Mobile Police Unit, Crime Investigation I, Crime Affairs and Administration, Public Security, Intelligence and National Security. Non-enforcement Sections mostly carry on police administration, and coordination-related tasks such as personnel, training, equipment, intelligence and public demonstration. Police officers in these sections rarely execute direct law enforcement tasks towards citizens, thus presumably they are less exposed to opportunities for deviant police behaviors. They rarely experience citizen demands for police deviance. Basically they have less chance to conduct their daily work out of the sight of supervisors, thus exercising less discretion.

Supervisory and Non-supervisory ranks

Supervisory ranks mean Lieutenant and above in Korean police stations: Lieutenant, Captain, Superintendent and Police Chief. Non-supervisory ranks mean Policeman, Senior Policeman and Sergeant in Korean police stations.

II. RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

This study tests four hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Police officers who have served longer terms of service perceive police deviance less seriously than officers who have served shorter.

Many researchers have suggested that police recruits go through an occupational socialization process through which they acquire values, norms and behaviors necessary to become full-fledged veteran officers (Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966; Westly, 1970; Van Maanen & Schein, 1977). Occupational socialization is considered to be an on-going process which occurs throughout the entire career of a police officer. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that length of service has an impact on the level of socialization, and consequently influencing officers' perceptions of police deviance. Put simply, officers who served longer experience more incidents and chances of police deviance than officers with shorter length of service, thus desensitizing the veteran officers' perceptions towards police deviance. Such an assumption is reasonable considering the assertion of Klockars et al. that policing is an occupation that is rife with opportunities for deviance (1977). Huon et al. also admit that comparisons of officers' perceptions across the length of service (and across rank) provide one way of inferring the impact of socialization on attitudes towards police deviance (1995, p. 9).

Huon et al. (1995) also found that there is a curvilinear relationship between length of service and Australian police officers' perceptions of police deviance, officers with between 6 and 10 years of service having least serious perceptions. Given the different culture and police background, it will be a worthwhile undertaking to test the above hypothesis in the Korean police setting.

Hypothesis 2: Police officers who are in non-supervisory ranks perceive police deviance less seriously than officers who are in supervisory ranks.

In a Korean police station, the rank system is structured by 7 ranks: Policeman, Senior Policeman, Sergeant, Lieutenant, Captain, Superintendent and Police Chief. Typically, ranks from lieutenant and above are considered to be supervisory positions. It needs to be pointed out here that the rank of Sergeant in Korean police is, unlike its American counterpart, usually considered as a non-supervisory position. Since the main tasks of supervisory officers are more related to monitoring and controlling subordinates' activities, it is conceivable that they experience different types of occupational socialization processes since they entered the supervisory positions.

Martin (1994) found that rank was negatively related to the possibility of observing fellow officers' deviant behaviors in Illinois police departments. Huon et al. (1995) revealed that lower ranking officers viewed police deviance less seriously than higher ranking officers did in the Australian police. Their research results further reveal that although rank and length of service are correlated, rank relates more strongly to seriousness ratings of police deviance than does length of service.

Hypothesis 3: Police officers who work in the Enforcement Sections perceive police deviance less seriously than officers who work in the Non-enforcement Sections.

Barker asserts that the occupational opportunity structure for police deviance varies by placement in the organizational structure (1991, p. 49). According to Barker, patrol officers, plainclothes officers and detectives have different types of opportunities for police deviance. Sherman also notes that the types of police deviance an officer can

engage in are limited to a great extent by his functional and geographical assignment (1978, p. 5). The demands of citizens for police corruption vary according to different placement of officers. Klockars et al. also state that the occupational culture of integrity may differ substantially among precincts, service areas, task forces and work groups (1997, p. 2).

Most South Korean police stations are constituted of six divisions: Police Administration, Crime Prevention, Criminal Affairs, Criminal Investigation, Public Security and Traffic and Intelligence and National Security. Each Division is composed of several sections (Korean National Police Agency, 2002). Though official policies in Korean police stations encourage officers to rotate through diverse divisions during the career, there is a tendency that each officer stays in specific divisions longer than other divisions, depending on personal likings or other circumstances. For example, if an officer prefers active field work, he or she may be likely to serve longer in criminal investigative sections. On the contrary, if one has a penchant for coordination and administration, he or she may be willing to work in the police administration section. Further, if a police rookie was assigned in a crime prevention division, and invested pains and time in learning needed skills and knowledge, the officer may not be willing to transfer to other divisions.

Since different divisions and sections deal with different tasks, characteristics of opportunity structure for police deviance vary by different placements in a police organization. As a simple illustration, it is intuitively believed among Korean police officers that crime detectives are more exposed to deviant opportunities than officers who work for police administration or public security sections, whose main tasks are of either

paperwork or public security. Therefore, it will be a meaningful endeavor to test the above hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: Police officers who serve in urban communities perceive police deviance less seriously than police officers who serve in rural communities.

Berkeley contends that the police of any society are essentially a reflection of the prevailing customs of that society (1969). Further, the style of policing is influenced by the relationship between the police and the community. Given the nature of different cultural and social interactions with the police between rural and urban communities, police-community relations and police law enforcement activities will be quite different in rural and urban departments.

As noted earlier, one of the conditions in which police deviance begins and evolves is the low visibility of police actions. It is generally believed that the police in urban communities enjoy low visibility and subsequently more discretion (Eisenstein, 1982, p. 117). On the contrary, due to close informal networks in rural communities rural police officers are more visible and exercise less discretion compared to urban officers (Weisheit et al., 1994; Eisentein, 1982). Since rural officers' activities are more visible and they enjoy less latitude, rural officers may perceive police deviance more seriously than urban officers do. Moreover, urban officers deal with more crime and calls. They encounter many more anonymous persons. Under the circumstances, urban police officers may experience more opportunities for police deviance. For example, it is often believed by rural police officers in Korea that their urban counterparts are more deviant

because there are more crimes, more businesses, more chances of discretion and higher anonymity in urban cities.

There are a few researches that investigated differences in officers' perceptions on police deviance based on different departments in the United States. They reveal that officers from a department known for its low integrity have more favorable perceptions of police deviance than officers in a department known for its high integrity (Klockars et al., 1997; Martin, 994). The manifestation of different perceptions of police officers in the United States seems to arise from the characteristics of the localized and fragmented police organizations. On the contrary, Korean police typically represent a central and national police organization. Under the national system, line officers rotate around the neighboring police stations on a regular basis. Moreover police chiefs rotate around police stations on a wider geographical level at least once every two years. Consequently, Korean police become quite homogeneous, and it is presumably not an easy undertaking to distinguish more deviant police stations from less deviant ones. Considering the nature of different cultures and different relationships with the police between rural and urban communities, however, identifying disparities in officers' perceptions of police deviance between urban officers and rural officers is highly likely. In addition, such an attempt will be a worthwhile effort, since there is no previous research that examined this hypothesis before.

III. OPERATIONALIZING THE VARIABLES

Measure of Independent Variables

In this study, there are four major independent variables: Length of Service, Rank, Placement and Community. Length of Service and Rank will be measured on the basis of participants' self-identification. Length of Service will be measured at a continuous level by asking the respondents to write in the actual number of years they have served. Rank will be divided into two categories: Supervisory Groups and Non-supervisory Groups. The rank Lieutenant and above will comprise Supervisory Groups, and the rest of them Non-supervisory Groups. Community will be divided into two categories based on its geography, demographics and industry: Urban and Rural. In addition, participants will be asked about other demographic variables such as gender, education, and marital status. These demographic variables will be used as controls in multivariate analysis.

Measuring police officers' placement is comparatively a delicate undertaking, since the structure of working placement in Korea is different from that of American police organizations. Moreover, there is no official demarcation of placements that fit the goal of the present study. Yet, for the purpose of this research, placements are basically divided into two groups: Enforcement Sections and Non-enforcement Sections. This classification is largely based on the characteristics of work with which each group deals on a daily basis (Korean National Police Agency, 2002). As a matter of fact, although there is no such official classification, most police officers in South Korea admit the legitimacy of this demarcation. To further confirm this type of classification, nine officers in supervisory positions and fourteen officers in non-supervisory positions throughout the

South Korea police stations were contacted for practical advice on this issue in the fall of 2002. Except for a few trivial indecisions, they supported this grouping unanimously.

To measure Placement, after given the details of the classification, police participants will be asked in which sections they have served longer. Placement will be divided into five categories: Mostly Enforcement, Relatively Enforcement, Equal, Relatively Non-enforcement, and Mostly Non-enforcement. Table 1 displays the major independent variables.

Table 1. Measure of Independent Variables

Independent Variables	Categories
Length of Service	Scale
Rank	Supervisory, Non-supervisory
Placement	Mostly Enforcement, Relatively Enforcement, Equal, Relatively Non-enforcement, Mostly Non-enforcement
Community	Urban, Rural

Measure of Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study is police officers' perceptions of police deviance, specifically officers' perceptions of the seriousness of given deviant activities. To construct the dependent variable, the survey questionnaire presents police officers with eight hypothetical case scenarios, which they might confront in their daily work settings. Considering the sensitivity of the topic of this study, employing this form of hypothetical scenario is considered to be appropriate in a sense of avoiding the embarrassment of the participants and eliciting honest answers from them. Since the validity of this survey depends upon participants' honest responses, officers are also assured of the anonymity and confidentiality of each response. Police officers are asked only about their opinions, not about their actual behaviors or the actual behaviors of other

fellow officers. The eight scenarios will be presented in a shuffled way, not by the order

of seriousness of the behaviors, to eliminate the chance of bias in response due to the way

the questions are ordered. Table 2 presents the eight case scenarios.

Table 2. Case Scenarios

Case Scenarios	Scenario Description	Typology
1	Cover-up of police DUI	Misconduct
2	Threatening statement to an interviewee	Psychological Abuse
3	Excessive force on a car thief	Physical Abuse
4	Holiday gifts from merchants	Corruption
5	Release of confidential information	Legal Abuse
6	Auto repair shop kickback	Corruption
7	Drinking on duty	Misconduct
8	Improper Search	Legal Abuse

The eight scenarios in the questionnaire were chosen with regard to Barker and

Carter's typology of police deviance: corruption, misconduct, physical abuse,

psychological abuse and legal abuse (1991). Four of the scenarios—scenario 1, 3, 4, 6 —

were selected from the survey instrument used in the study by Klockars et al. (1997), and

the rest of them were chosen from related literature (Carter &Barker, 1991). The

scenarios cover a range of police deviance from taking holiday gifts from local merchants

to more serious activities such as the receipt of a kickback from an auto repair shop in

exchange for referrals.

The questionnaire employs a 10-point scale for responses to each item. Responses

will be indicated as follows: 'Not at all serious (1-2)' 'Not really serious (3-4)'

'Moderately serious (5-6)' 'Very serious (7-8)' and 'Extremely serious (9-10).' A high

score indicates that police participants view the activity more seriously, a low score less

seriously.

In order to better capture possible dissimilarities of police perceptions, the scores

of the responses to eight scenarios will be handled in two different ways. First of all, the

mean scores of the responses to each of the eight scenarios will be compared between different groups. By doing so, group contrasts in the perceptions of police deviance with regards to the individual scenarios will be revealed.

Secondly, the scores for the eight scenarios will be totaled and compared according to each group. This is to grasp the entire picture of the variation in police perceptions among different police groups, regardless of specific scenarios.

In addition to the perceived seriousness, participants will also be asked about how they evaluate the possibility of other officers' reporting the behavior of the given scenario. This is to examine the relationship between the perceptions of a police officer and The Code of Silence. Although this study's hypotheses do not include it, the officers' perceptions of other officers' willingness to report share an inseparable relationship with the officers' perceptions of police deviance. The more seriously an officer perceives that other officers are willing to report, the more seriously the officer perceives a given deviant behavior.

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IV. SAMPLING PROCEDURE AND DATA COLLECTION

Korean Police System

Unlike the fragmented police system in the United States, the South Korean police system is national. The National Police Agency is composed of 14 Regional Police Agencies (Korean National Police Agency, 2002). Under the 14 Regional Agencies, there are 231 police stations. In each police station, there exist seven hierarchical rank structures from Policeman at the bottom, to the Police Chief at the top. Most police stations have six different divisions, each of which consists of several sub-units named sections. In all, there are 20 sections in each police station. There is a difference in the number of police officers depending on the locality of a police station. Approximately from 300 to 600 sworn officers serve in urban police stations and from 100 to 200 in rural stations. Yet, due to the national police system, the 231 Korean police stations share the same official rules, regulations and directives, thus becoming quite homogeneous.

The Sample

The sample in this study is a convenience sample, not a representative sample. Because police departments are generally reluctant to participate in studies like this, which deals with a sensitive issue, the researcher had to resort to personal acquaintanceship to get permission to carry out the survey. The site of this study is Chungnam Province, which is located in the middle of South Korea. Since the researcher has served in this Province as a middle level police manager, the researcher requested the personnel in leadership positions in two police stations to conduct the survey, and they responded positively on the condition that the data set could only be used for academic

purposes. The two police stations among 19 police stations in this area were chosen partly due to the researcher's easier access and partly due to one being an urban police station and the other a rural.

Under Chungnam Regional Police Agency there are 19 police stations. An urban police station was chosen from five police stations located in the capitol city of Chungnam Province, Daejeon Metropolitan City. The population of Daejeon is 1,408,809 as of December 2001, and the area is 539.84 km² (Daejeon Metropolitan City, 2001). Daejeon is the fifth biggest city in South Korea in terms of population and area. The chosen police station among five police stations in the city is named as "Urban Police Station." In terms of demographics and industry, the Urban Police Station is typically considered to be the most urban agency among the five stations by police officers in this area. There are 345 sworn police officers in the Urban Police Station.

The population under the jurisdiction of the Urban Police Station is 339,510. The number of businesses that can be a direct target for law enforcement is 3,582, including bars, clubs, restaurants etc (Urban Police Station, 2001). In general, a large number of entertainment businesses are clustered in this area, and therefore, subsequently active law enforcement is being operating in this police station.

A rural police station was chosen from 14 police stations in Chungnam Province (Five other urban stations are located in the Daejeon Metropolitan area). The number of sworn police officers in the "Rural Police Station" is 147. This station is 32Km from Daejeon city. The population in this area is 64,785, and more than half of them are engaged in farming (Rural Police Station, 2001). The community in this area is in stark contrast with the community of Urban Police Station in terms of the number of

population, geography, structure of industry, and presumably different characteristics of law enforcement activities.

Data Collection

In the fall of 2002, the survey instrument used in this study was developed and tested on 34 police officers in South Korea. The survey was distributed via e-mail to police officers to which the researcher had easy accesses. Although the sample was far from being random, the findings of the pilot study indicated that there were differences in the perceptions of police officers, thus, indicating the merit of future research with a larger sample.

The survey will be carried out in the spring of 2003 at both the Urban and the Rural Police Station. The researcher will establish a relationship with the Administrative Coordinator of each police station, inducing them to work as an instructor for the survey. The survey will be conducted during the monthly meeting days of each police station. As a way of overall communication among police personnel, it is mandatory that police officers in a police station in South Korea attend the monthly meeting. At this monthly meeting police chief and division commanders convey new directives and mandates to officers. In order that every officer attends the meeting, officers are divided into two groups— Group A and Group B, and the meeting opens twice a month at one week interval. Each group takes turns to attend the meeting and all of them should attend it at least once a month.

At the first day of the monthly meeting in the spring of 2003 in each police station auditorium, when the official session is over, the instructors will explain the survey and

request that officers who are interested in participating in the survey will remain. The instructors then read the cover letter and make sure that it is understood that responses are to be voluntary. Officers are asked not to write their name on the questionnaire, and informed that the name of the police station will remain confidential. By doing so, the willingness and anonymity of police participants in this study will be guaranteed. The instructors then will distribute the questionnaire and collect them when they are finished. On the second day of the meeting, the same instructors will conduct the same procedures to another half of the personnel. In each case, officers will not be allowed to ask extra questions once the instruction is over. This will be done to prevent any possible bias that can occur due to the fact that the survey is conducted at a different time to different groups. Meticulous care will be given to administer the surveys under the same conditions in each case.

Chapter 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Methods of Analysis

This chapter consists of three parts. The first part describes the demographic characteristics of the sample. The second part is about the overall ratings of scenario seriousness. The overall seriousness ratings were conducted in order to identify which deviant incidents were perceived to be more serious, and which were less serious by Korean police officers. The test of the hypotheses constitutes the third part. First bivariate, and second multivariate analysis was conducted.

As noted earlier, eight hypothetical scenarios were constructed to measure the officers' perceptions of police deviance. Each scenario employed a 10-point scale for responses: from 'Not at all serious (1- 2)' to 'Extremely serious (9-10).' The mean score of the responses became the dependent variable of this study.

The mean scores, which constituted the dependent variable of the study, were treated in two different ways. Firstly, the mean scores of the each scenario were compared. This was done in order to capture the differences in officers' perceptions based on varying individual scenarios. In this case, the mean score could range from 1 to 10. Secondly, the scores of the eight individual scenarios are added altogether, and its mean was named as 'Totaled Seriousness Score.' The analysis of the Totaled Score was conducive to understanding the overall picture of officers' perceptions without emphasizing much on the individual scenarios. In this instance, the mean score could range from 10 to 80.

As a way of bivariate analysis, Pearson correlation was employed to determine the statistical significance of differences in officers' perceptions according to different lengths of service. For the independent variables, Rank and Community, an independent sample T-test was conducted. Finally an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was employed to determine if there were disparities in perceptions among the five categories of police officers with regard to the independent variable, Placement.

For multivariate analysis of data, an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analysis was performed. With this statistical procedure, we can determine the relative effects of each independent variable while controlling for other variables, and also measure how well the independent variables as a group explain the dependent variable. Besides the main independent variables, controls such as education, satisfaction on the job, sex, and marriage were included.

One concern should be given regarding the multivariate analysis. The ideal way of doing good regression analysis is to select independent variables that are strongly related to the dependent variable, and weakly or unrelated to one another (Bachman & Paternoster, see p. 491). On the contrary, when two or more independent variables are highly correlated with another, multicollinearity occurs, which makes it difficult to disentangle the independent effect each has on the dependent variable.

Above all, among independent variables in this study, multicollinearity appeared between the Length of Service and Rank. The correlation between the two variables was .735. It is said that multicollinearity exists when the correlation between two independent variables is .70 or higher (Bachman & Paternoster, 1997. p. 493). If the problem of multicollinearity appears between two independent variables, one of the variables should

be eliminated. Therefore the OLS regression analysis was conducted excluding the

independent variable, Rank. Yet, for further reference, an extra OLS regression analysis

was conducted including Rank, and the result is presented in the appendix.

I. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

The final sample consisted of 321 police officers from two Korean police

stations: Rural (126) and Urban station (195). The total response rate was sixty six

percent. The demographic characteristics of the sample for independent variables and

control variables are summarized in Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample for Independent Variables (N=321)

Independent Variable	Mean	Range
Length of service	12.07	32 (1—33)

Independent Variable	N	%
Rank		
Supervisory group	25	7.7
Non-supervisory group	296	92.3
Placement		
Mostly Enforcement	128	39.9
Relatively Enforcement	52	16.2
Equal	62	19.3
Relatively Non-enforcement	48	15
Mostly Non-enforcement	31	9.7
Community		
Urban	195	60.7
Rural	126	39.3

The mean length of service was 12.07 years. In terms of ranks, In fact, the

majority of the respondents were Non-supervisory officers (n=296, 92.3%): Policeman,

Senior Policeman, and Sergeant. There were only 21 Lieutenants and 4 Captains among

the respondents. No Superintendents and chiefs participated in completing the

questionnaire. The low participation rate of high ranking personnel seems to reflect the

sensitivity of the issue of this study as well as their unwillingness toward an open

discussion on the issue of police deviance.

The number of officers who had served longer in the Enforcement sections was greater than that in the Non-enforcement sections. Officers from the Urban station (195) was more than officers from the Rural station (126).

Table 4. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample for Control Variables (N=321)

Control Variable	N	%
Sex		
Male	306	95.3
Female	15	4.7
Education		
Less than high school	8	2.5
High school	156	48.6
College	145	45.2
Master and above	2	0.6
Marriage		
Unmarried	35	10.9
Married	281	87.5
Others	5	1.6
Satisfaction on the job		
Very satisfied	60	18.7
Modestly satisfied	128	39.9
Don't know	48	15
Modestly dissatisfied	66	20.6
Very dissatisfied	19	5.9

Table 4 indicates that the sample was predominantly male (95.3%), primarily consisted of high school or college graduates (93.8%), and married (87.5%). Officers in the sample tend to be more satisfied (58.6%) rather than dissatisfied (26.5%) with the job.

II. Overall Ratings of Perceptions of Scenario Seriousness

Prior to conducting the hypotheses tests, overall seriousness ratings for the individual scenarios were conducted. It revealed which deviant incidents were considered to be more serious, and which were less serious by Korean officers. In order to conduct the ratings, the mean scores for each scenario, by the whole sample, were compared.

Table 5 summarizes the overall ratings of the mean seriousness scores. The table also presents the ratings of the officers' perceptions of other officers' willingness to report. Higher score indicates that the respondents consider the given behavior more seriously. In addition, according to the mean seriousness scores, the scenarios are ranked in an ascending order. The corresponding rank orders for other officers' willingness to report are also displayed in the table.

Table 5. Police Officers' Perceptions of Scenario Seriousness and Other Officers' Willingness to Report

Scenario	Seriousness	Rank	Other officers' willingness to report	Rank
Cover-up of police DUI	6.09	1	3.80	4
Holiday gifts from merchants	7.11	2	3.62	3
Threatening statement to an interviewee	7.18	3	3.59	2
Excessive force on a car thief	7.33	4	3.42	1
Improper search	7.42	5	3.95	5
Drinking on duty	8.23	6	4.15	6
Auto repair shoo kick back	8.87	7	4.69	8
Release of confidential information	8.9	8	4.36	7

The comparison of the two column mean scores and rank orders shows that less serious scenarios also ranked low in other officers' willingness to report, whereas more serious ones ranked high. In other words, the more serious the police officers perceived a particular behavior to be, the more likely the behavior was considered to be reported by other officers. In light of the occupational socialization theory, this phenomenon could be

interpreted that police officers consider a given deviant behavior more seriously if they anticipate a less peer group support, and vice versa.

While the mean scores of seriousness for the scenarios range from 6.09 to 8.90, the mean scores for other officers' willingness to report are notably low— from 3.80 to 4.36. The obvious gap between the two scores tells that respondents believe police officers are not likely to report their colleague officer's deviant behavior. To put it differently, it implies that Korean police officers are well aware of the existence of one critical element of the occupational socialization of police deviance: the code of silence.

III. Test of the Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Police officers who have served longer terms of service perceive police deviance less seriously than officers who have served shorter.

Hypothesis 2: Police officers who are in Non-supervisory group perceive police deviance less seriously than officers who are in Supervisory group.

Hypothesis 3: Police officers who have served in the Enforcement Sections perceive police deviance less seriously than officers who have served in the Non-enforcement Sections.

Hypothesis 4: Police officers who serve in urban communities perceive police deviance less seriously than officers who serve in rural communities.

Bivariate Analysis

1) Length of service and perceptions of police deviance

The data of the Supervisory group (n = 25) were excluded in the analysis because the respondents in this group tended to have disproportionately longer terms of service, with 18.28 mean years of service. The test results of Pearson correlation are presented in table 6.

Table 6. Pearson Correlations between Perceptions of Scenarios Seriousness and Length of Service (N=296)

Scenario	Length of service
Cover-up of police DUI	.011
Holiday gifts from merchants	-.070
Threatening statement to an interviewee	-.011
Excessive force on a car thief	-.144*
Improper search	-.079
Drinking on duty	-.067
Auto repair shop kick back	-.100
Release of confidential information	-.014
Totaled seriousness score	-.024

Notes: Asterisk indicates that the coefficient is statistically significant at the .05 level (* $p < .05$)

The strength of the correlation between the totaled seriousness scores and length

of service was not significant (r = -.024). This value of correlation coefficient implies that

there is a weak negative relationship between the length of service and officers'

perceptions of police deviance. It was the same case when the correlation was tested

regarding individual scenarios. Only one scenario — Excessive force on a car thief —

appeared significant at the .05 level (r = -.144). Thus, on the surface, the socialization

hypothesis in this study did not seem to bear any credence. Nevertheless, the almost

unanimously negative values of Pearson' s r — except for Cover-up of police DUI —

indicated that there was a consistent negative relationship between the length of service

and officers' perceptions.

Therefore it was decided that a closer look should be taken by using a different

way of analysis. To do that, police officers are grouped into five categories according to

different lengths of service: 1) 1 year, 2) 2 □ 4 years, 3) 4 □ 10 years, 4) 10 □ 15 years,

and 5) over 16 years.

Figure 1 presents the ratings of totaled seriousness scores for five police groups.

The graph in Figure 1 clearly delineates the steady decrease of seriousness until

the lowest point 59.4 is reached. Officers with one year of experience showed the highest

score of 64.8. However, those neophytes manifested a conspicuous decrease after only a

couple of years of occupational experience. The mean difference between officers with

one year experience and with two to four year experience was the greatest (2.1) compared

to other groups' mean differences.

Figure 1. Seriousness Ratings by Length of Service
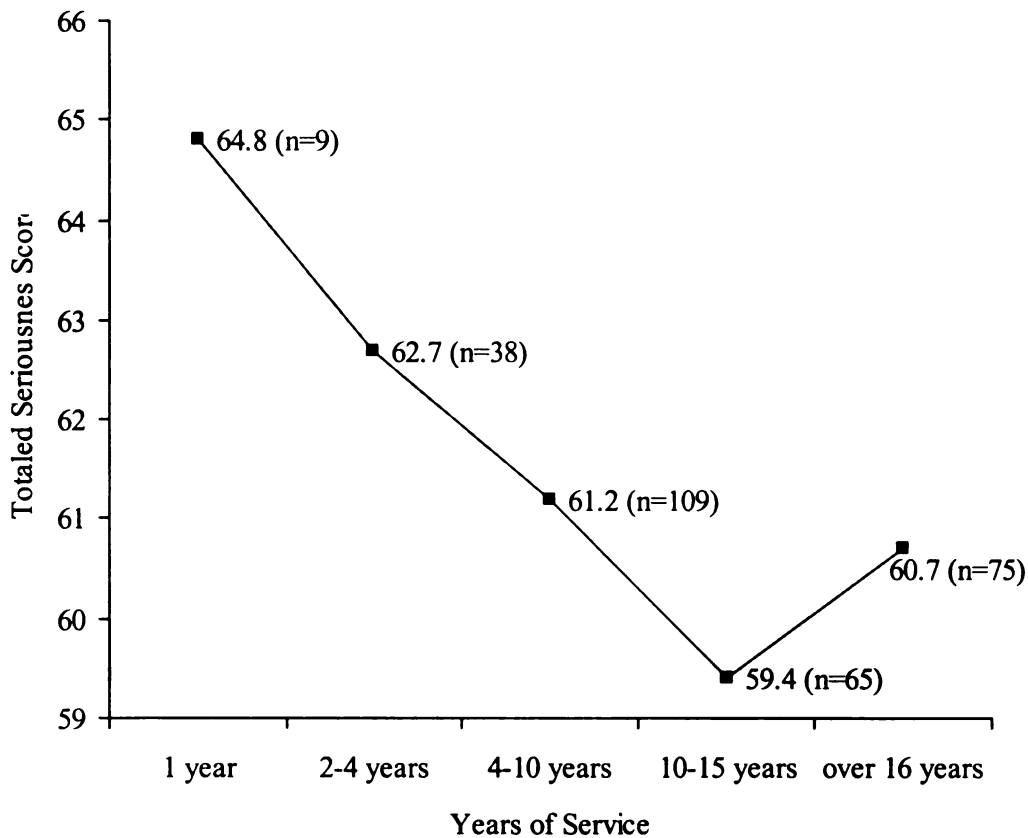
Notes: This figure tend to magnify the actual differences for maximum visual effect. A scatterplot with a fitting line, which describes the data more realistically, is presented in the appendix.

For the officers on the job from the two to ten year period, there was a continued decrease to 61.2. The seriousness score for the ten to fifteen year interval moved down to its lowest point at 59.4. After this continued decrease, there was a slight increase for the last stage of over sixteen years. When the sample means of these different groups were compared to each other, no significant statistical difference was found here again. Yet, Figure 1 indicates that the seriousness ratings are in the predicted direction of the stated hypothesis.

2). Rank and perceptions of police deviance

As noted earlier, for the purpose of testing the significance of mean difference between Supervisory group and Non-supervisory group, a t-test was conducted. In order to utilize a t-test, each sample group needs to include large enough samples. In this study, however, the obvious smaller sample size of 25 for the Supervisory group in contrast with that of 296 for the Non-supervisory group generates a problem. Thus, to address the problem, a non-parametric test— Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test— was also employed. The result of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test is presented in appendix since the result was almost the same as that of the t-test.

Table 7 shows the mean scores of each group for individual scenarios, the mean of totaled seriousness score for all the scenarios, and corresponding t-test results. The mean difference between the two groups were not statistically significant at the .05 level except for one scenario— Excessive force on a car thief. Yet, interestingly enough, the mean differences generally manifested that the Supervisory officers considered the scenarios more seriously than do the Non-supervisory officers, only with the exception of two cases; the minus (□) values in parentheses in the mean difference column show the exceptions.

Table 7. T-test for Perceptions of Scenario Seriousness (N=321): Supervisory Group vs. Non-supervisory Group

Scenario	Supervisory (n=25)	Non-supervisory (n=296)	Mean difference	t score
Cover-up of officer DUI	5.84	6.11	(-.27)	-.448
Holiday gifts from merchants	7.60	7.07	.53	1.210
Threatening statement to an interviewee	7.24	7.17	.07	.129
Excessive force on a car thief	7.48	7.32	.16	.338
Improper search	8.52	7.32	1.2	3.628*
Drinking on duty	7.52	8.29	(-.77)	-1.662
Auto repair shoo kick back	9.24	8.84	.4	1.866
Release of confidential information	9.04	8.89	.15	.432
Totaled seriousness score	62.1	61.0	1.1	.589

Notes: Asterisk indicates that the t value is statistically significant at the .05 level (* p < .05). Values in parentheses indicate that the mean difference is not in the predicted direction of the hypothesis.

Thus, a more detailed investigation was warranted in order to get a clear idea on what was going on in the data. In this case, ranks were divided into five categories following the actual ranks of Korean police. Table 8 illustrates the mean of totaled seriousness scores among Policeman, Senior Policeman, Sergeant, Lieutenant, and Captain. The general pattern in the table is that Supervisory officers perceive police deviance more seriously than Non-supervisory officers. The Captain viewed the incidents most seriously, followed by the Lieutenant.

All Non-supervisory ranks scored lower than Supervisory ranks. The lowest rank, Policeman (61.7), perceived the scenarios more seriously than Senior Policeman (60.9) and Sergeant (60.7). The reason might be attributed to the fact that the rank of Policeman largely consisted of officers who had shorter terms of service. Apart from a slight difference between Senior Policeman and Sergeant, it appeared that these two rank

groups, who constituted the majority of police personnel (82.4%), shared the lowest

seriousness scores in the organization.

Table 8. Totaled Seriousness Scores for Five Rank Categories

Rank	N (%)	Totaled Seriousness Score
Policeman	54 (16.8)	61.7
Senior Policeman	140 (40.6)	60.9
Sergeant	102 (31.8)	60.7
Lieutenant	21 (6.5)	62.3
Captain	4 (1.2)	63.2

In sum, all Non-supervisory police officers considered the incidents less

seriously than the Captains and Lieutenants. This seems to coincide with the hypothesis

that supervisory officers perceive police deviance more seriously due to the different

occupational socialization; it stems from the inherent characteristics of their work, which

is related to the controlling and monitoring of subordinates' activities. It is, however, also

possible that the supervisory officers are more likely to report what is expected for them

to do rather than what they really perceive. At present, yet, the results were in the

predicted direction of the hypothesis although it was not statistically significant.

3). Placement and perceptions of police deviance

An ANOVA test was conducted to determine the statistical significance of mean

differences among different police groups. The respondents were divided into five groups

based on their history of placements: Mostly Enforcement (n=128), Relatively

Enforcement (n=52), Equal (n=62), Relatively Non-enforcement (n=48), and Mostly

Non-enforcement (n=31). Here again, the unevenly large number of respondents for

Mostly Enforcement (128) presents a problem when conducting an ANOVA test. Thus, a

non- parametric test—Kruskal-Wallis H test— was also employed. The result of the

Kruskal-Wallis H test is presented in appendix.

Table 9. Analysis of Variance for Perceptions of Scenario Seriousness by Placement

(N=321)

Scenario	F
Cover-up of officer DUI	1.184
Holiday gifts from merchants	2.982*
Threatening statement to an interviewee	1.493
Excessive force on a car thief	1.823
Improper search	7.025***
Drinking on duty	1.725
Auto repair shop kick back	3.557**
Release of confidential information	3.736**
Totaled seriousness score	5.496**

Notes: Asterisk indicates that the F ratio is statistically significant
(* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$).

Table 9 presents the results of the ANOVA test for officers' perceptions by

Placement. The table generally indicates that there is a significant mean difference among

the perceptions of officers. Significant F ratios were found in four scenarios: Holiday

gifts from merchants, Improper search, Auto repair shop kick back, and Release of

confidential information. When all the scenario scores were totaled, a significant F ratio

(5.496) also appeared at the .001 level. Figure 2 shows the seriousness ratings of the

totaled scenario scores for five police groups.

Figure 2. Totaled Seriousness Scores for Placement
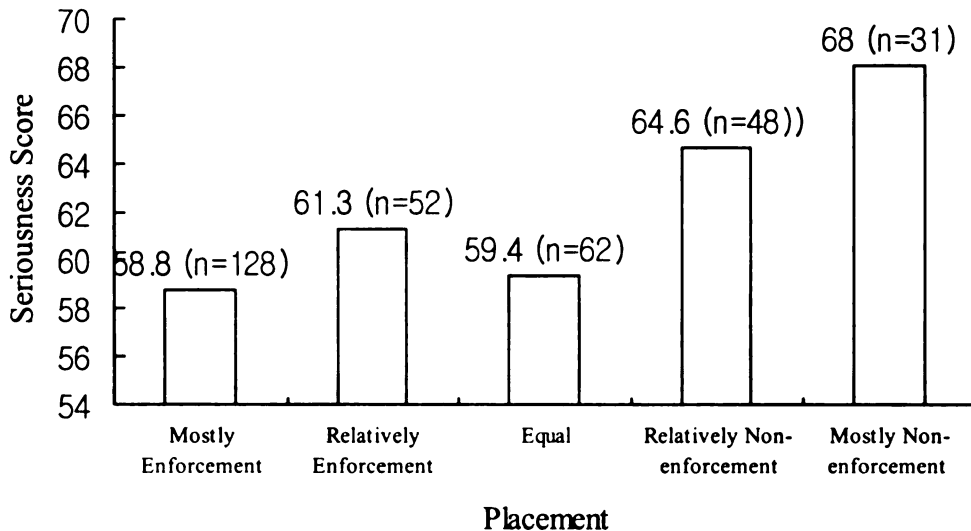
The figure indicates that the group, Mostly Enforcement, shares the lowest

seriousness scores, while officers from Relatively Non-enforcement and Mostly Non-

enforcement sections show higher seriousness scores. Except for the group, Equal, the

data were exactly in the predicted direction of the hypothesis. It seemed that hypothesis 3

was well supported. Yet, the F test alone cannot tell which specific means are

significantly different from one another. To pinpoint where the significant differences

are, Tukey's Honest Significant Difference (HSD) test was employed concerning the

totaled seriousness scores. As a result, significant differences were found at the .05 level

between the group Mostly Enforcement and Relatively Non-enforcement, and Mostly

Enforcement and Mostly Non-enforcement. Significance was also found between the

group Equal and Mostly Non-enforcement. In sum, it is statistically supported that

officers who have served longer in Enforcement sections tend to view the incidents as

less serious, while officers in Non-enforcement sections viewed them more serious.

4). Community and perceptions of police deviance

Table 10 presents the mean scores of Rural and Urban Station for the individual

scenarios, the mean of the totaled seriousness scores for all of the scenarios, and

corresponding t-test results.

Table 10. T-test for Perceptions of Scenario Seriousness (N=321): Urban Station vs.
Rural Station

Scenario	Rural (n=126)	Urban (n=195)	Mean Difference	t score
Cover-up of officer DUI	5.49	6.48	(-.99)	-2.979**
Holiday gifts from merchants	6.98	7.19	(-.21)	-0.76
Threatening statement to an interviewee	7.39	7.04	.35	1.214
Excessive force on a car thief	7.38	7.30	.08	.317
Improper search	7.50	7.36	.14	.494
Drinking on duty	8.37	8.14	.23	.961
Auto repair shop kick back	9.13	8.70	.43	2.178*
Release of confidential information	9.10	8.76	.34	1.765
Totaled seriousness score	61.3	60.9	.40	.28

Notes: Asterisk indicates that the t value is statistically significant (* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$).
Values in parentheses indicate that the mean difference is not in the predicted direction of
the hypothesis.

The mean differences between the two groups were not statistically significant

except for two scenarios. Mean scores of two scenarios— Cover-up of officer DUI,

Holiday gifts from merchants— showed that they were in the reversed direction of the

hypothesis. Furthermore, mean difference for the scenario, Cover-up of officer DUI, was

statistically significant. It means, quite opposite to the stated hypothesis, that officers

from Rural Station viewed the given behavior significantly less seriously than officers

from Urban Station.

Excluding the two incidents, nonetheless, the positive values of seven mean

differences including the totaled seriousness score imply that rural officers, in aggregate,

perceive the deviant behaviors more seriously than do urban officers. In sum, the result is

in the predicted direction of the hypothesis although it is not statistically significant.

<u>Multivariate Analysis</u>

Hypothesis 1, hypothesis 2, and hypothesis 4 have not been statistically supported at bivariate level analysis. Multivariate analysis was, in part, conducted in order to find out whether any statistical significance would appear with regards to the above three hypotheses at multivariate level. In addition, multivariate analysis would reveal whether or not hypothesis 3 could still be supported. Finding out the amount of explained variance (R square) in the model would be another important outcome.

An OLS regression was conducted as a way of multivariate analysis. In this case, as a measure of perceptions of police officers, for the sake of brevity, only the totaled seriousness scores for the scenarios were used. Controls were included for education level, satisfaction on the job, sex, and marriage. For OLS regression analysis, all categorical variables were modified to dummy variables, and were given the value of 1 or 0.

Respondents were coded according to the following groups: Those who have served longer in Enforcement sections versus those who have not, Urban versus Rural, Those who have a college or higher degree versus those who hold a lower degree, Those who are satisfied with the job versus those who are not, Male versus female, and Those who are married versus those who are not. Table 11 presents the results of ordinary least squares regression analysis.

Table 11. OLS Regression of Perceptions of Police Deviance

Independent variable	B	Standard Error	Beta	Sig.
Length of Service	-7.69E-02	.109	-.047	.703
Enforcement	-4.527**	1.367	-.187	.001
Urban	-.165	1.442	-.007	.909
College or Higher	1.882	1.465	.078	.200
Satisfied	.976	1.379	.040	.480
Male	5.033	3.381	.089	.138
Married	-5.109*	2.410	-.134	.035
Constant	68.020			
R Square	.058			

In a multiple regression analysis the value of R square reflects the amount of variance explained in the dependent variable by a set of independent variables. The small value of R square, .058, in table 11 indicates that the independent variables explain little variance in the perceptions of police officers. It suggests that there could be other variables which affect the variance in the dependent variable.

As in the bivariate analysis, independent variables, Length of service and Urban, did not significantly affect officers' perceptions. Yet, each coefficient value for those variables indicated that the predicted direction of the hypotheses was still holding: Length of service (-.0769) and Urban (-.165).

The reported significance in the relationship between Placement and officers' perceptions from the bivariate analysis was still sustained when other independent variables were being held constant. Further, the highest Beta score (-.187) appeared for the variable, Placement. It indicates that Placement has the most impact on the dependent

variable among the independent variables. Thus, hypothesis 3 was consistently supported at this level.

Concerning the control variables, a significant coefficient value appeared with regard to the variable, Married (-5.109)— that is, married officers viewed police deviance less seriously, and unmarried ones more seriously. Considering that unmarried officers are relatively young and new to the organization, it is plausible that unmarried police officers share more serious views on police deviance than married ones.

Officers who were more satisfied with the job appeared to perceive police deviance slightly more seriously than those who were less satisfied. Male officers seemed to view police deviance more seriously than female officers. Yet, this result could not be substantiated concretely since there was too small number of female officers (4.7%).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I. Summary and Discussion

This study hypothesized that there are differences in police officers' perceptions of police deviance based on four independent variables: 1) Length of service, 2) Rank, 3) Placement, and 4) Community. When statistical significance is involved, only the relationship between Placement and officers' perceptions turned out to be significant. With regard to the remaining three hypotheses, no statistical significance was found. However, the results were all in the predicted direction of each hypothesis. The outcome of this study indicated that police officers' views on police deviance are systematically related to their length of service, rank, placement, and community.

Length of Service and Perceptions of Police Deviance

Figure 1 shows that there is a continued decrease in officers' perceptions as the length of service increases. The decrease reaches its lowest point when the length of service reaches the 10 to 15 year interval. Then, there is a slight increase as the service experience goes over 16 years.

This result generally concurs with the study of Huon et al. (1995). They found that Australian officers' perceptions of police deviance decreased as the length of service increased, reaching the lowest point at the six to ten years of service period. Then, as the length of service increased above ten years, the perceptions also increased. In contrast with the Australian study, this study of officers from Korea showed that Korean officers

reached the lowest point in their perceptions about five years later than their Australian counterparts did.

The greatest decrease of perceptions among police officers who have only one or two years of occupational experience is an important finding of the study. It signifies that police neophytes become quickly socialized to view some deviant police behaviors less seriously. This phenomenon implies that new officers are very much attuned to what their fellow officers are doing or not doing, and they are quick at absorbing the existing informal values and attitudes from old timers.

The fact that officers with ten to fifteen years experience share the lowest perception of police deviance draws a special attention to the problem. Officers in this group usually have a thorough knowledge of their job and a great deal of experiences. Thus, they might be mirrored as role models and reference groups by police newcomers. If the reference group disseminates the idea that they view certain police deviance far from being serious, new police officers will exactly absorb those attitudes and values in a short period of time.

The slight increase of officers' perceptions at the last stage of their career seems to parallel one of the hypotheses of Niederhoffer's study on police cynicism (1967). Niederhoffer argued that when officers have served enough time and are approaching retirement, they encounter a limited opportunity of new employment. Thus, their appreciation and commitment to the police occupation revives, and the extent of anomie they have experienced decreases. Likewise, officers may become more attached to the police organization and formal values and regulations when they approach the end of their police career.

<u>Rank and Perceptions of Police Deviance</u>

The data manifest that officers in supervisory ranks report more serious

perceptions of police deviance than officers in non-supervisory ranks; both Lieutenant

and Captain reported higher mean scores than Policeman, Senior Policeman, and

Sergeant. It implies that officers tend to see a "them and us" situation, drawing a line

between Non-supervisory and Supervisory officers.

The lowest scores were revealed at the Sergeant group. The reason for the lowest

mean scores of Sergeant seems to stem from a unique situation in which Korean

Sergeants reside. Traditionally there has been a distinct classification between ranks

under Lieutenant and the ranks of Lieutenant or above. Officers under Lieutenant were

considered as "workers" and Lieutenant and above "management." Even the color of all

the insignia was different: silver color to the former, gold to the latter. Being promoted to

Lieutenant denoted a meaningful success in their career especially if an officer started his

career from the bottom. Due to the pyramidal hierarchy of Korean police, the probability

of rising up to Lieutenant is not ample. Under this situation Korean Sergeants who fail to

reach the rank of Lieutenant, or who simply find it requires excessive effort, may feel a

greater amount of strain than any other ranks. Drawing on Niederhoffer once more,

symptoms of strain or anomie are "loss of enthusiasm for high ideals of police work,

pride, and integrity" (1967. p. 96). Borrowing his assertion, the lowest perception of

police deviance from Korean Sergeants could be understood by the degree of strain or

anomie they experience in their occupation.

The findings show that Senior Policeman share nearly as low scores as the

Sergeant group. Figure 2 indicates that Senior Policeman's perception was only .2 lower

than Sergeant's. The fact that officers from those two ranks regarded the scenarios least serious implies a grave problem regarding police deviance. As a matter of fact, the groups of Senior Policeman and Sergeant represent the bulk of members in the Korean police force (75.4% of the sample). They are the backbone of the Korean police and are engaged in active interaction with the community. They also play a critical role in shaping and maintaining the police subculture. Under these conditions, their low perceptions of police deviance could impose a significant impact on the degree of integrity of police organization as well as the image of organization to the community.

Placement and Perceptions of Police Deviance

The result showed that hypothesis 3 was well supported by the data with statistical significance. Officers who have served longer in Enforcement sections tended to have a more lenient attitude toward police deviance. According to the result, their experience in Enforcement sections appears to change their values in the direction such that they consider police deviance less seriously. This finding well accords with the occupational socialization theory of police deviance.

Officers in Enforcement sections whose daily operation involves direct law enforcement activities out in the field such as crime investigation, traffic control, and entertainment business control, go through different types of occupational experiences than other officers. They tend to meet more of the public who are acting contrary to the law. Daily exposure to public immorality may nibble away their high integrity with which they entered the job. In order to get their job done efficiently, in many cases they need to resort to expediency rather than fairness and justice. Thus, it can be concluded

that the impact of the occupational socialization generating from their placement partly accounts for the extent to which their perceptions of police deviance change.

Community and Perceptions of Police Deviance

Although statistically significant difference was not revealed between perceptions of urban and rural officers, table 9 indicates that urban officers generally view the scenarios less seriously than do their rural counterparts. It is consistent with the specified hypothesis. Different types of occupational socialization originating from different community characteristics do affect officers' perceptions of police deviance.

One might be tempted to disregard this outcome as having little value considering the nonexistence of statistical significance. Taking into account the national system of Korean police, however, this finding is not of little significance. Due to the national system, both rural and urban stations are subject to the same regulations, code of ethics, and other directives coming down from the National headquarters. Consequently, there is a strong possibility of them becoming more homogeneous in their values and mores. Thus, the difference found in their perceptions between rural and urban officers is another manifestation of the socialization theory. It also sheds a light of support to Weisheit et al. and Eisentein's argument that the informal but effective communication networks in rural society leads police officers to higher visibility, less discretion, and finally less deviation.

An unexpected anomaly, however, appeared in the case of Cover-up of officer DUI. Quite contrary to the direction of the hypothesis, rural officers considered the behavior of an officer who covered up a colleague officer's DUI significantly less

seriously than urban officers do. This deviation from the hypothesis may be interpreted in light of presumably stronger bonds among rural officers.

Officers in urban stations in Korea are drawn from varying geographical areas. They tend to rotate through nearby stations frequently. In contrast, a large portion of rural officers are drawn from the local members of the community which the police station serves. Moreover, normally fewer officers serve in rural police stations. Thus, rural officers may share closer relationships with each other than urban officers. Consequently, stronger bonds will develop in rural stations. Thus, the loyalty manifested by the officer in the given scenario may draw more empathy from rural officers than urban officers. Therefore, it is understandable that rural officers view the given specific behavior less seriously.

II. Recommendations for Future Research and Policy Implications

<u>Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research</u>

The sample in this study is a non-random convenience sample. The sample includes only a particular region of the country, gathering data only from one section of Korean police. Further, the sample includes disproportionately small numbers of Supervisory rank respondents. Because of the above biases, the results of this study may not be generalizable to all police forces in South Korea. Future research would benefit by selecting a representative sample, and a large enough and proportionate number of each subgroup.

The total response rate was sixty six percent. Regarding the remaining forty four percent of officers who did not participate in the survey, this study does not explore the specific characteristics of the officers. It may be possible that those officers are more prone to deviance, or have anti-organization attitudes. If so, and if those officers are included in the future research, the results could be quite different from the present study.

Next, although this study is based on the occupational socialization approach, it attempts to explore only four aspects of occupational socialization: length of service, rank, placement, and community. As was revealed in the low R square value, there should be other strong variables that could affect officers' perceptions of police deviance. Further, future research, which involves the equivalent number of male and female officers, would be desirable.

Researchers have advocated the execution of longitudinal studies to examine the dynamics involved in the process of occupational socialization. Such studies can document the formation, development and resultant changes in the perceptions of police

recruits over the course of the occupational socialization process. The present study of a cross section of serving police officers lacks such merits due to practical limitations. Longitudinal study is recommended for future research in this regard.

Finally, it should be noted that this study focuses only on the dimension of police officers' occupational socialization in attempting to explain police deviance. Other functions that can possibly influence the mechanisms of police deviance are not examined in this study. Although the occupational socialization process plays a critical role in the development of police deviance, individual socialization outside of the organization and psychological baggage individuals bring to the organization should not be ignored. Due to such factors, differential responses from different individuals may appear although they are subjected to similar type of socialization process. This is the area in which more integrated future research is required.

Policy Implications

The four independent variables in this study, which represented a phase of police occupational socialization, appeared to affect police officers' perceptions. Yet the true variable is not length of service, rank, placement, or community. They are only some part of an index. The title of the index is occupational socialization.

Occupational socialization exercises significant impact on the construction of perceptions of officers at each stage of their career. In a similar vein, occupational socialization would be the most complicated question that any police administrator needs to grapple with if he/she attempts to initiate an effective management of police deviance.

The point is that police officers can be re-socialized to take a direction so that they will not tolerate police deviance.

Drawing on the results of the study and being mindful of the limitations as well, several policy recommendations can be made. As far as the length of service is concerned, during the first one or two years of occupational experience, a quick and significant change in officers' perception appeared. Also officers in the ten to fifteen year term showed the lowest seriousness scores in their perceptions. Thus, an ethics program needs to be focused on ways which can deter the negative aspects of socialization of less experienced officers and also strengthen the integrity level of veteran officers.

The different levels of perception among different rank groups suggest special attention be given to those classifications when police administrators initiate an effective management of police deviance. Police officers might need to be regularly inculcated with the code of ethics. Yet, a more special care should be given to the fundamental and institutional reasons, for example, the strain from which Korean Sergeants suffer, which have the potential to deteriorate a police officer' integrity level.

Officers who are daily engaged in active law enforcement operations need to be differently dealt with when administrators are aiming to enhance integrity. For example, detectives may easily become less subjected to formal regulations because of the unique characteristics of what they do. Referring to the freedom of detectives and their lack of concern for formal regulations, one author once described the detective division as a "mock bureaucracy" (Niederhoffer, 1967, p. 85). In contrast, officers who mainly engage in administrative or clerk type work may perceive organizational rules and regulations

more seriously. Thus, if it is possible, it would be best to develop custom-made training programs or ethics classes based on different placements.

Finally, the type of community where an officer serves warrants a consideration when dealing with police deviance issues. It appears from the result that although urban officers in general view police deviance less seriously, certain behavior was considered as significantly less serious by rural officers. It will be police administrators' duty to identify in which area their subordinates are most vulnerable, and establish appropriate programs and policies to manage the problem of police deviance.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table1. Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test (N=321): Supervisory Group vs. Non-supervisory Group

Scenario	Kolmogorov-Smirnov Z	Sig.
Cover-up of DUI	.803	.540
Holiday gifts from merchants	1.211	.107
Threatening statement to an interviewee	.426	.993
Excessive force on a car thief	.356	1.000
Improper search	1.352	.052
Drinking on duty	.937	.344
Auto repair shoo kick back	.633	.818
Release of confidential information	.392	.998
Sum of seriousness score	.552	.921

Table 2. Kruskal-Wallis H test of Scenario Seriousness by Placement

Scenario	Chi-Square	Sig.
Cover-up of DUI	5.295	.258
Holiday gifts from merchants	12.516	.014
Threatening statement to an interviewee	5.440	.245
Excessive force on a car thief	10.064	.039
Improper search	30.909	.000
Drinking on duty	8.813	.066
Auto repair shop kick back	12.120	.016
Release of confidential information	14.571	.006
Totaled seriousness score	24.040	.000

Table 3. OLS Regression of Perceptions of Police Deviance Including Rank

Independent variable	B	Standard Error	Beta	Sig.
Length of Service	-8.47E-02	.113	-.051	.455
Supervisory	.702	2.603	.016	.787
Enforcement	-4.470	1.385	-.185	.001
Urban	.168	1.444	.007	907
College or Higher	1.825	1.482	.076	.219
Satisfied	.969	1.381	.040	.484
Male	5.053	3.386	.089	.137
Married	-5.053	2.415	-.133	.036
Constant	67.870			
R Square	.058			

Figure 1. Sactterplot with a Fitting Line for Seriousness Scores by Length of Service
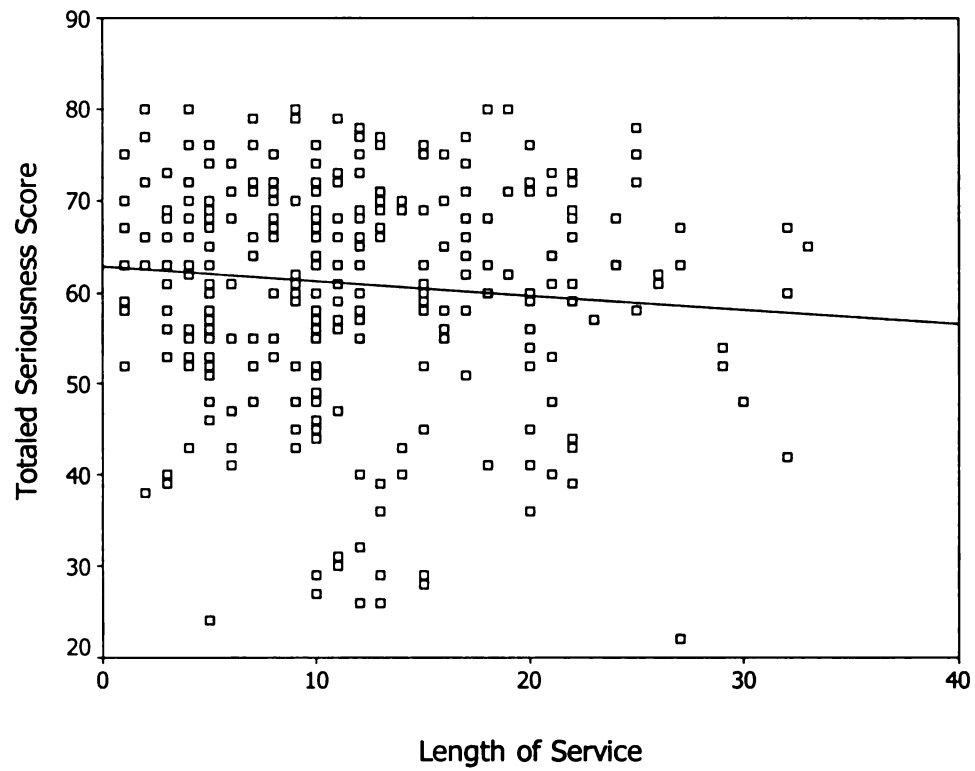
Appendix B. <u>Questionnaire</u>

INSTRUCTIONS

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Participation in this survey is voluntary, thus you have the right to withdraw at any time and the right to refuse to answer particular questions. On the following pages, you will be asked to evaluate eight descriptions of police officer behavior that may differ from the department policy. In each instance you should assume that the officer in question has been a police officer with five years of service, has not been previously disciplined, and the officer has a satisfactory work record. Please do not make any other assumptions about the incident or the officer. For each incident you will be asked to respond how seriously you view the given behavior. You should **CIRCLE** a number that indicates how you perceive the seriousness of the behavior on the ten-point scale that appears beneath each question.

Please understand that you are free not to answer any given question. It will be assumed that you indicated your voluntary consent to participate in the research by your returning the questionnaire. In this research, you are being asked for your PERSONAL OPINIONS on these matters. Your answers will remain confidential, and will be used only for academic purposes. Furthermore, your police station's name will not be cited anywhere in this study and will remain confidential.

If you have any questions about the nature of the research, you can contact either Professor Dr. Bruce Benson by phone: (517) 355-2199, email: <u>besonb@msu.edu</u>, address: 560 Baker Hall, School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1118 or Ilhong Yun by phone: (517)355-1270, email: <u>yunil@msu.edu</u>,

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address: 1452 Spartan Village Apt. C, East Lansing, MI 48823. In case you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please feel free to contact Ashir Kumar, MD, Michigan State University's Chair of University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects by phone: (517) 355-2180, fax: (517) 432-4503, email: ucrihs@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824. If you do not want your name to be known, you may contact Dr. Kumar anonymously.

PART 1.

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Case 1.

At 2:00 a.m., a police officer, who is on duty, is driving his patrol car on a deserted road. He sees a vehicle that has been driven off the road and is stuck in a ditch. He approaches the vehicle and observes that the driver is not hurt but is obviously intoxicated. He also finds that the driver is a police officer. Instead of reporting this accident and offense, he transports the driver to his home.

1. How serious do you consider this behavior (cover-up of officer DUI) to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all serious   Not really serious   Moderately serious   Very serious   Extremely serious

2. Do you think most other police officers in your agency would report an officer who failed to report the accident?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Definitely No   Definitely Yes

Case 2.

A police officer who is interviewing a girlfriend of a robbery suspect threatens her, saying, "If you don't tell me where he is, I'm going to arrest you right now."

1. How serious do you consider this behavior to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all serious   Not really serious   Moderately serious   Very serious   Extremely serious

2. Do you think most other police officers in your agency would report a fellow officer who engaged in this behavior?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Definitely No   Definitely Yes

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Case 3.

Two police officers on foot patrol surprise a man who is attempting to break into an automobile. The man flees. They chase him for about two blocks before apprehending him by tackling and wrestling him to the ground. After he is under control, both officers punch him a couple of times in the stomach as punishment for fleeing and resisting.

1. How serious do you consider this behavior to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all serious   Not really serious   Moderately serious   Very serious   Extremely serious

2. Do you think most other police officers in your agency would report a fellow officer who engaged in this behavior?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Definitely No   Definitely Yes

Case 4.

A police officer is widely liked in the community, and on holidays local merchants and restaurant and bar owners show their appreciation for his attention by giving him gifts of food and liquor.

1. How serious do you consider this behavior to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all serious   Not really serious   Moderately serious   Very serious   Extremely serious

2. Do you think most other police officers in your agency would report a fellow officer who engaged in this behavior?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Definitely No   Definitely Yes

Case 5.

A police officer habitually releases confidential criminal history information to any acquaintance who asks for it.

1. How serious do you consider this behavior to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all serious   Not really serious   Moderately serious   Very serious   Extremely serious

2. Do you think most other police officers in your agency would report a fellow officer who engaged in this behavior?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Definitely No   Definitely Yes

Case 6.

A police officer has a private arrangement with a local auto body shop to refer the owners of cars damaged in accidents to the shop. In exchange for each referral, he receives payment of 5 percent of the repair bill from the shop owner.

1. How serious do you consider this behavior to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all serious   Not really serious   Moderately serious   Very serious   Extremely serious

2. Do you think most other police officers in your agency would report a fellow officer who engaged in this behavior?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Definitely No   Definitely Yes

Case 7.

Two patrol officers on a night shift park their patrol car in a park and drink two bottles of beer together.

1. How serious do you consider this behavior to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all serious   Not really serious   Moderately serious   Very serious   Extremely serious

2. Do you think most other police officers in your agency would report a fellow officer who engaged in this behavior?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Definitely No   Definitely Yes

Case 8.

A police officer investigating a theft conducts an improper search at the suspect's house without proper warrant.

1. How serious do you consider this behavior to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all serious   Not really serious   Moderately serious   Very serious   Extremely serious

2. Do you think most other police officers in your agency would report a fellow officer who engaged in this behavior?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Definitely No   Definitely Yes

PART 2.

CONFIDENTIAL

1. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

2. Education

   Lower than High School ____ High School ____ College____Graduate or above ____

3. Rank:_____

4. Length of Service: _____ years

5. Marital Status: Not married ____ Married ____ Other _____

6. What is your current assignment? Enforcement section _____

   Non-enforcement section _____

*Enforcement Sections: Criminal Affairs, Crime Investigation 2, Special Investigation, Investigation of Traffic Accident, Traffic Patrol, Crime Prevention Guidance, Juvenile, Police Substation.

*Non-enforcement Sections: Police Administration, Accounting, Communication, Internal Affairs, Service and Information, Crime Prevention, Mobile Police Unit, Crime Investigation 1, Crime Affairs and Administration, Public Security, Intelligence, National Security.

7. What describes you the best? _____

   1). I served mostly in Enforcement Sections throughout my police career.

   2). I served relatively longer in Enforcement Sections throughout my police career.

   3). I served approximately the same period in both sections.

   4). I served relatively longer in Non-enforcement Sections throughout my police career.

5). I served mostly in Non-enforcement Sections throughout my police career.

8. What describes you the best?_____

    1). I am very satisfied with my job.

    3). I am modestly satisfied with my job.

    4). I don't know well.

    4). I am modestly dissatisfied with my job.

    5). I am very dissatisfied with my job.

Appendix C. <u>Approval of the University Committee on Research Involving Human</u>

<u>Subjects (UCRIHS)</u>

MICHIGAN STATE
U N I V E R S I T Y

April 21, 2003

TO: Bruce BENSON
       508 Baker Hall

RE: **IRB# 03-292** CATEGORY: EXPEDITED 2-7

          APPROVAL DATE: April 21, 2003
          EXPIRATION DATE:March 21, 2004

TITLE: A STUDY OF POLICE OFFICERS' PERCEPTION OF POLICE DEVIANCE:
         FROM AN OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION PERSPECTIVE

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete and I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the **UCRIHS approved this project.**
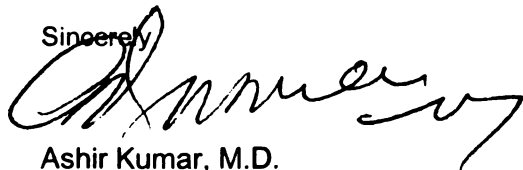
RENEWALS: UCRIHS approval is valid until the expiration date listed above. Projects continuing beyond this date must be renewed with the renewal form. A maximum of four such expedited renewals are possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit a 5-year application for a complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please include a revision form with the renewal. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request with an attached revision cover sheet to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB# and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

PROBLEMS/CHANGES: Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, notify UCRIHS promptly: 1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or 2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of further assistance, please contact us at (517) 355-2180 or via email: UCRIHS@msu.edu. Please note that all UCRIHS forms are located on the web: http://www.msu.edu/user/ucrihs

Sincerely,

Ashir Kumar, M.D.
UCRIHS Chair

OFFICE OF
**RESEARCH
ETHICS AND
STANDARDS**

University Committee on
Research Involving
Human Subjects

Michigan State University
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