



ISSN 1598-7795

JOURNAL OF ASIAN ASSOCIATION OF POLICE STUDIES

ASIAN POLICING

Volume 4. Number 1. September 2006

Some Reflections on Reported Crime Rates in the Chinese and Vietnamese Communities in Australia

By Dr Wing Hong Chui & Dr Peter White

The Measurement of People's Satisfaction on Public Safety and Police Service

By Dr. Charles Chang (Kuang-Ming) & Dr. Tsu-Shea Wang

Reconsidering the process of demilitarization: the case of the Belgian gendarmerie

By Dr. Marleen Easton

Workplace Problems and Coping Strategies for Police in South Korea and the United States

By Dr. Merry Morash, Dr. Sun Ho Cho, Seok Jin Jeong
& Dr. Vincent J. Hoffman

The Selection and Management of Policewomen in KOREA.

By Dr. Yoon-sung Oh

=====

[Special Reports from the Field] - Looking inside the Hong Kong Police

1. "Enhancing Policing Quality and Efficiency through Internal Promotion of Care and Support in the Hong Kong Police Force"

By Charles Doon-ye WONG (Assistant Commissioner of Hong Kong Police Force),

Eddie Kam-wah LI (Senior Police Clinical Psychologist of Hong Kong Police Force) &

Michael Siu-ming YIP (Chief Inspector of Hong Kong Police Force)

2. "Training in Psychological Competency for Police Officers"

By Dr. Gracemary Leung (Hong Kong University),

Cammie Leung (Superintendent of Hong Kong Police Force) &

Vincent Yeung (Senior Superintendent of Hong Kong Police Force)

=====
An anthropologist's sketch of AAPS 2005 Beijing

By Jeff Martin, University of Chicago

=====
Asian Policing & AAPS

Some Reflections on Reported Crime Rates in the Chinese and Vietnamese Communities in Australia

by
Dr Wing Hong Chui
School of Social Science
The University of Queensland
&
Dr Peter White
School of Social Work and Social Policy
The University of Queensland

Abstract

The primary aim of this paper is to provide an overview of some literature and research on crime in the Chinese and Vietnamese communities in Australia. This paper intends to challenge one of the common-held perceptions within the greater Australian community that Asian communities in general have a higher than average crime rate. It will explain why there are generally lower crime rates in the Chinese and Vietnamese communities with reference to some possible cultural factors such as close family ties and the dominant Confucianism. Finally, this paper argues that data on ethnicity and crime in Australia should have been made available to examine the potential of having differential crime rates across different ethnic communities. These data can be made available as part of a national crime mapping project and will inform on how police resources can be directed to the areas and communities with the greatest need.

Some Reflections on Reported Crime Rates in the Chinese and Vietnamese Communities in Australia

Introduction

There is a common perception within the greater Australian community that Asian communities have a higher than average crime rate. This perception has evolved throughout Australian history (Barnao and Lipson, 1991; Easteal, 1997; Collins, 2000; Collins, Noble, Poynting and Tabar, 2000; Khoo, 2000; Poynting, 2001) and has featured in more recent reports of organized crime in specific Asian communities, such as the Vietnamese community in Sydney's Cabramatta (Wilson, 1998; Basham, 1999). Beyer, Reid, and Crofts (2001) report that '[e]ither overtly or more subtly, the media has also portrayed the heroin problem as predominantly one concerned with people of "Asian" background ...' (p. 169). One explanation for this growing concern has been given by Chan (1994), who states: 'the pace of Asian immigration was seen to be detrimental to the interest of 'national cohesion' by some commentators' (pp. 175-176). However, is this perception true? We propose that it is not, although accurate statistical information is in relatively short supply.

One of the difficulties in creating a true picture is the dearth of statistical evidence; each state in Australia treats ethnicity differently in reporting crime statistics, and some states do not include ethnicity at all. Another major difficulty is the task of categorizing people into ethnic or racial groups is notoriously difficult, and is usually seen as a contested activity (Chui, 2001; Bowling and Phillips, 2002). For example, Horton (1995) substantiates that '[t]he situation gets even more complicated in the heterogeneous Chinese community. Asserting their independence from mainland China, natives of Taiwan may prefer to call themselves Taiwanese rather than Chinese ... [A]re Chinese from Vietnam "(Vietnamese)" or "ethnic Chinese"?' (p. 186). However, limited statistical evidence that is available appears to make the point that Asian communities generally have low crime rates, even though there are certainly organized (and un-organized) criminal activities within Asian communities. For the purpose of this paper, we will look at two specific Asian communities: the Chinese and the Vietnamese. As indicated in Table 1, between July 1980 and June 2000 these two communities were both in the top ten countries of birth of settler arrivals in Australia.

Table 1 Top Ten Countries of Birth of Settler Arrivals in Australia (%)

July 1980 - June 1990		July 1990 - June 2000	
1. United Kingdom	20.9	1. New Zealand	13.3
2. New Zealand	12.3	2. United Kingdom	12.5
3. Viet Nam	8.2	3. Hong Kong	6.1
4. Philippines	4.7	4. China	5.8
5. Malaysia	3.4	5. Viet Nam	5.7
6. Hong Kong	3.3	6. Philippines	4.4
7. South Africa	2.7	7. India	4.1
8. China	2.3	8. South Africa	3.4
9. Poland	2.2	9. Yugoslavia (a)	2.2
10. India	2.0	10. Malaysia	2.1
Top Ten Total	62.0	Top Ten Total	59.7

Source: Adapted from Lui (forthcoming, 2006: Table 2.1).

The first part of the paper will illustrate the statistical evidence that is available in Australia, with comparisons of the sorts of data that are available from official Australian sources. Second, international data from the United Nations crime surveys and crime and race data from the United Kingdom will provide a partial international comparison to indicate the rates of Asian criminal activity. The second part of the paper will explain why there are generally lower crime rates in Asian communities drawing on existing theoretical literature. The third and final part will discuss some implications for policing and crime prevention policies. At the outset, it is important to emphasize that any conclusions drawn in this paper are tentative and subject to further investigation. This is because it has largely relied on data from secondary sources and very limited data on ethnicity and crime in Australia.

The Statistical Evidence: An Overview

In Australia, each state and territory is responsible for its own policing system and court system, although there is an Australian police service. Each state and territory also has its own policy regarding the reporting of ethnicity of alleged offenders. Mukherjee (1999) emphasizes that the state of Victoria is the only jurisdiction that regularly publishes information on persons processed by the police (p. 49). The South Australian Office of Crime Statistics used to publish country of birth details for people who were tried in Magistrates and Supreme courts, but ceased publishing these data in 1996. Western Australian Police use an ethnic description or "ethnic

appearance” to categorize alleged offenders, from a list of ten different ethnic groups. New South Wales has published partial details of juvenile offenders which give some general ethnic descriptions, but these are not useable for any sort of cross-comparison (Crime Prevention Division, 1998). Sadly, the national crime statistics compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics do not contain any details regarding ethnicity.

Thus, it is almost impossible to get an accurate picture of criminal activity classified by ethnicity in Australia, other than the data collected in Victoria. Similar observations were shared by other researchers such as Hazlehurst (1987) and Mukherjee (1999). In addition, Mukherjee (1999) cautions that even the Victorian data do not present a true picture of the extent of crime, and suggests that about 60 per cent of all crimes are not reported (p. 49). The Victorian data do suggest, however, that there are significant differences between the Chinese and Vietnamese communities in that state. Table 2 indicates the alleged offender rates by country of birth per 100,000 population, for Australian, Chinese and Vietnamese born people.

Table 2 Alleged Offender Rates in Victoria by Country of Birth - per 100,000 Population

Country of birth	Victorian alleged offenders by country of birth	Victorian alleged offender rate by country of birth
Australia	107,321	3,337.4
China	298	1,058.7
Vietnam	3,176	5,758.1

Note: Based on 1996 data. The offence rate in country of birth for Australia is an approximation based on ABS recorded crime statistics. The Victorian rates were calculated using 1996 census data.

Source: Adapted and modified from Mukherjee (1999: 51).

As shown in Table 2, Chinese-born people had a much lower rate of offences than Australian born, whereas the Vietnamese had a much higher rate. It is also important to note that these data indicate alleged offenders by birthplace, and hence second generation people from ethnic communities are listed under Australian born. Mukherjee (1999) states that: ‘[i]ndeed, many research studies have found the crime rate of the second generation of migrants to be not only higher than that of their parents but that it also approaches the level of all native-born people’ (p. 49). A recent study conducted by Vazsonyi and Killias (2001) in Switzerland finds that second-generation immigrant male youth were more deviant than Swiss adolescents, and they were more deviant than first-generation immigrants. However, empirical data are not available to justify this claim in Australia due to the paucity of research on crime and migration.

Further figures from 1997–98 from Victoria follow a similar pattern to the 1996 figures, as Table 3 indicates.

Table 3 Number and Rate per 100,000 Population of Alleged Offenders Processed by Country of Birth, Victoria 1997/98

Country of birth	Victorian alleged offenders by country of birth	Victorian alleged offender rate by country of birth
Australia	114,879	3,572.4
China	331	1,175.9
Vietnam	3,405	6,173.3

Note: Source, Victoria Police 1999, Crime Statistics 1997/98.

Source: Adapted and modified from Mukherjee (1999: 62).

The Victorian Police have also recorded types of crime by country of birth. Table 4 illustrates the pattern of the three areas:

Table 4 Alleged offenders processed by offence and country of birth for 1997/98: number of offences and percentage of total offences

Country of birth	Violent offences		Property offences		Drug offences		Other offences	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Australia	16388	14.3	67285	58.6	11870	10.3	19336	16.8
China	33	10	191	57.7	47	14.2	60	18.1
Vietnam	256	7.5	1435	42.1	1253	36.8	461	13.5

Note: Source, Victoria Police 1999, Crime Statistics 1997/98.

Source: Adapted and modified from Mukherjee (1999: 63-66).

Different patterns of criminal activity can be seen from each group. The greatest extent of criminal activity by all groups is property offences, but the Vietnamese seem to have a much higher rate of drug offences and a lower rate of violent offences.

To summarize, Mukherjee (1999) makes the salient point that: 'Crime statistics from Victoria, the National Prison Census, and the Australian Census of Population and Housing appear to show that migrant groups who suffer disadvantages such as poor knowledge of English, no or low level of formal education, low status occupation, and high unemployment rate tend to display high arrest and imprisonment rate' (p. 4). [This statement reflects other commentators' concerns about the Vietnamese communities in Australia, which are discussed below.] Nevertheless, the validity of data cited in Mukherjee's study is questionable in different respects. While the data on crime and ethnicity do not discriminate second-generation immigrants, it relies greatly on the official sources.

Although it may be a methodological flaw to apply international crime data that uses individual Asian countries as units of analysis in order to explain the differences of crime rates of Asian communities in Australia, it is still worth having a brief discussion on what these international crime data can offer. The *Global Report on Crime and Justice* (Newman, 1999) provides a very broad picture of crime in selected countries, but unfortunately nothing specific for Australia. van Dijk (1999) reports that in an international survey, Asian countries¹ reported the lowest rate of victimisation from any crime in urban areas, with a rate of 50 per cent of the population, whereas the "New World"² nations reported about 63 per cent. van Dijk's analysis of the most victimized groups in selected countries, as in Australia are pre-dominantly young, male, unemployed and poorly educated.

In England and Wales, the Home Office (2000) reports ethnicity and crime using a small set of ethnic indicators which include Black, Asian and Other. However, it appears that Asian principally indicates people from Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka, whereas the Other category includes Chinese. From these data, one can infer that crime amongst the Chinese communities in Britain is relatively minor, but it is not possible to state with any certainty. Similar research findings have been reported by Sharp and Budd (2005) based upon the 2003 Offending, Crime and Justice Survey on the experiences of respondents from different ethnic groups. They found that the White respondents and the Mixed Ethnic origin self-reported more offending behaviour than other ethnic groups such as Asians.

One question remains that is how can we determine the extent of ethnic or migrant crime in any given country when there are no international standards or even national standards, to accurately gauge this phenomenon? What data are there to point to the fact that overall, some Asian communities have lower crime rates than the national average, but that is all that can be surmised for now. We will discuss the reasons for this differential in the next section.

Explaining Crime Rates: Towards A Cultural–Social–Economic Perspective

While there are apparently some general cultural patterns that are common to Asian communities, such as strong familial ties (Bond, 1986; Park, 1997; Komiya, 1999; Basham, 1999), there are also considerable differences. In Australia over the past few years, Asian communities have been regarded less favourably by some politicians who have stereotyped them as hotbeds of criminal activity. While government reports such as that of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority (1995) have certainly indicated that there is an element of organized crime in Asian communities, they by no means a definitive guide to issues in all Asian communities, nor all criminal activity.

We suggest that there are two features that can assist in predicting rates of crime within a migrant community. The first is the culture of the homeland of immigrants, and their beliefs and attitudes towards crime in their home country. The second is how well new immigrants are assimilated in the new foreign country, which includes the ability to gain employment, to have a good command of English, and to have a gained a reasonable educational level in their home country (Wang, 2001).

Cultures

Asian communities differ from one another along a range of indicators, as well as within a perceived ethnic group. For example, Collins (2000) notes that many ethnic Chinese are born in different countries such as Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia as well as in Hong Kong, Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. While they all may be considered Chinese, the differences between them are significant in terms of language (Mandarin, Cantonese, Hokkien, etc.), levels of income and education, and the reasons for immigrating to Australia. There are certain types of people involved in criminal activity within this disparate 'Chinese' community. However, the most significant difference between the Chinese communities and the Vietnamese communities are in terms of employment, income, and to some extent a reasonable comprehension of English.

Fukuyama (1999) suggests that over the past thirty years or so there has been a significant rise in crime rates throughout the Western world, but not necessarily in all Asian countries. With a rapid growth of Asian

¹ Asian countries include China, Japan, India, Indonesia and the Philippines.

² New world countries include Australia, New Zealand, USA and Canada.

immigration to Australia, the immediate understanding is that Asian immigrants will maintain their culture, while assimilating Australian culture to a certain degree. In relation to these communities' criminal activities, Wilson (1998) suggests that while there is indeed some serious criminal activity, overall the crime rates of Asian communities are very low. He states:

Before we jump to the conclusion that immigration increases crime, some other crime trends have to be taken into consideration. For a start, though particular groups of Vietnamese or Chinese immigrants might have high rates of offending, Asian immigrants as a whole have an extraordinarily low rate of crime in Australia (Wilson, 1998).

A number of other researchers have also stressed that Asian cultures generally have low crime rate. This is due to a number of factors, where the most prominent factor is culture, though not all writers agree. Sheu (2002) contends:

Unlike many other immigrant groups the crime rate among overseas Chinese migrants in Southeast Asia has long been quite low. Instead, these migrants are more likely to become victims of violence or various types of discriminatory practices. ... the low crime rate for overseas Chinese migrants to East Asia may be partly due to their embrace of the cultural values contained in Confucianism. (pp. 297-298)

Park (1997) suggests that for Japan, there are a number of interrelated factors, such as a central policing authority and a fair justice system, which outweigh culture as a primary indicator. But Komiya (1999) stresses the importance of culture in relation to low crime rates. His approach also ties in with Fukuyama (1999) and Bond (1986) in illustrating the cultural priorities of the Chinese and Taiwanese. From the Chinese perspective, the cultural roots are principally Confucian, with the family as the root of society, and filial piety is one of the strongest bonds that preserve Chinese culture at home and abroad (Bond, 1986). Daye (1996) shows that a Confucian model of the Chinese society emphasizes people's propriety, harmony, order, mutual respect, intrafamilial benevolence and filial piety. All these Confucian values may help to explain why the Chinese people are more law-abiding than the typical Australians.

In the new country

People from overseas come to Australia for different reasons. For some, it is an escape from a tyrannical regime, for others it is an opportunity to make a better life for themselves and their families. However Mukherjee (1999) suggests that migrants arrive with different levels of knowledge, education, language proficiency and work experience, and indicates that the most disadvantaged migrants in relation to these areas are the most likely to commit crime. Based on the research conducted in Sydney, Collins (2000) notes that while some emigrants from Hong Kong are wealthy and others are involved in small businesses, the mainland Chinese emigrants are either unskilled workers or unemployed. In looking at Indo-Chinese communities in Australia, Viviani (1996: 85) states:

[the] explanation of Vietnamese employment is a dismal one that holds out little hope for improvement in the short and medium term. In short, while changing economic conditions have been a major factor in the ability of some Vietnamese to find work, their attributes as a group with skills inappropriate to the Australian labour market and relatively poor English make it difficult for them to compete in Australian labour markets (cited in Mukherjee, 1999: 48).

These issues affect more than just the Indo-Chinese communities. It is safe to say that any ethnic group which finds its members in such circumstances will have a greater predilection to criminal activity. Another indicator is the neighbourhood environment. New migrants often move into areas populated with a common ethnic base as their own. If the overall community is in a lower socio-economic area with high levels of unemployment and poor education, then it follows that there will be a greater propensity for criminal activity. Studies from a number of countries have indicated this (see, for example, Carmichael and Ward, 2001; Raphael and Winter-Ebmer, 2001). For Australia, however, Mukherjee (1999) reports that the crime rate for overseas-born people was still lower than for the native born population, provided that the migrants were in similar financial and living conditions.

It would follow, then, that to belong to ethnic communities with low socio-economic status, employment problems and poor education, will not be particularly helpful for the second generation migrants (Borowski and Thomas, 1994). Research indicates that the second generation migrants tend to have a crime rate equal to or greater than native-born Australians. To illustrate this point, a major study carried out in Switzerland (Vazsonyi and Killias, 2001) reports that second generation migrant youths were more deviant than either native Swiss or first generation migrant youths. A major indicator of deviance for these groups was the lack of self-control,

which corroborates the study by Komiya (1999): 'The social process through which the Japanese develop self-control is the most important phase of 'socialisation' in Japan. This contrasts with the West where cultivating a sense of self is most important. The main agencies of socialization in Japan are families, schools and companies' (p. 382). Vazsonyi and Killias (2001) use the self-control theories of Gottfredson and Hirschi to indicate juvenile delinquency and later criminal activity; they maintain that 'differences in levels of self-control explain the propensity to engage in norm-violating conflict' (p. 334).

It appears, then, that migrant communities which have a cultural base of strong family ties, good self-control and a reasonable income and education do better than those communities which do not. These indicators may well explain why there is such a different crime rate in Chinese and Vietnamese communities. However no research has yet been done to investigate how these factors have an impact on criminality amongst these two Asian communities in Australia, and indeed this kind of research is much needed to increase our understanding of the trends and patterns of criminality in the ethnic communities. Despite this, the above analysis may be useful in guiding us to examine ethnicity and crime from a cultural perspective in the future.

Implications for Criminal Justice Policy and Practice

As we have discussed, there is a mixed picture of criminal activity in Asian communities in Australia. Statistical evidence is scarce, and possibly misleading. In spite of this, the general understanding in Australia is that Asian communities have a very low crime rate, and this can be attributed to cultural factors. However, there are provisos here: migrant families who have low socio-economic status and low employment tend to have greater criminal activity than those in more affluent and better educated communities. Within this milieu, how does the criminal justice system work with ethnic communities? What are some key issues?

A first issue in presenting an argument about low crime rates in Asian communities is the debate about ethnicity itself as a statistical indicator in reporting crime. There are policy and economic reasons for this, which we will present. Above the issues of ethnicity, there are also the perceptions of Asian-based criminal activity in Australia, and the general socio-economic factors that provide predictors for crime rates in different ethnic groups. The overall picture is complex, when considering the varied indicators such as age, first and second and ensuing generations, economic status, employment status, and educational levels, all of which we have discussed earlier. Another area of concern is how ethnic crime is portrayed in Australia; how inappropriate and inaccurate reporting and the use of vague statistical evidence could present a false picture than its actual situation.

There is an ongoing debate in Australia about using ethnicity as one of the crime indicators, based upon a highly politicized concern over Australia's multicultural community. As reported by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2004), 23 per cent of the Australian population was born overseas, and the rates of migration from the non-English speaking backgrounds have been high since the Second World War. Johnson (2005) points out that migrants from the Southern and Central Asia have increased from 3 to 11 per cent of all arrivals in Australia since 1982/83. Because of Australia's less than savoury record in dealing with minority groups in the past (Wilson, 1998; Collins, 2000; Khoo, 2000) and the rapid expansion of new migration since the end of the Second World War, national and state policies regarding multiculturalism have stressed equality of access to services and civil rights. The Multicultural Queensland policy adds further that all groups share a responsibility for the continued development of the state in a cohesive harmony. (Multicultural Affairs Queensland, 1998). Government agencies must consider this policy when developing new services or procedures in working with their client groups. In short, there is a strong anti-discriminatory approach to government-based services.

In an Australian Broadcast Corporation radio programme in March of 2001 (McCutcheon, 2001), the topic of crime and ethnicity was discussed at some length. The summary of the programme stated:

The outgoing Federal Police Commissioner is under fire for blaming ethnic gangs for the rise in violent crime. Critics say his comments would only create prejudice and race stereotypes. So how do we address the problem of crime and gang violence without vilifying ethnic groups?

When it comes to so-called 'ethnic crime', members of Asian communities have stated that these communities frequently have been tarred with the same brush. In an article in the on-line magazine *Amida*, Khoo (2000) suggests that the historical malaise of the Asian still thrives in Australia, and paints a less than flattering picture of Asian communities. In addition Khoo argues that 'From the colonial times to the present, the figure of 'the Asian' has remained [a] potent signifier of the ultimate Other with which Australia continually battles'. Collins (2000) suggests that the whole concept of ethnic crime is a misnomer; certainly there is crime in ethnic communities, but not all Asians or Asian communities are involved in criminal activities.

This summary highlights the dilemma of policy-makers in looking at ethnicity in terms of criminal activity. As discussed, the only state in Australia that has made use of ethnicity in crime statistics is Victoria, and they are limited by reporting on overseas-born people only. But there is also clear recognition of organized criminal activity by specific Asian groups, viz. members of the Vietnamese community. The usual occurrence, however,

is that reports from government departments that are responsible for dealing with organized crime highlight the ethnicity of specific groups involved in crime (Mukherjee, 1999). These reports are then taken up by the media, and through this distorted public lens seem to indicate that the specific community itself is a hotbed of criminal activity, rather than reporting it as only groups within the community that are involved in criminal activity.

Collins (2000) says that the label of 'ethnic crime' "automatically draws other immigrant minorities into the media gaze". This, coupled with the historical antipathy toward "the other" in the Australian popular psyche plays right into the hands of the more strident media reporters and political figures. Collins cites Van Dyke (quoted in Bacon, 1999) who undertook an international look at the interplay between ethnicity, crime and media, and stated categorically that the media sensationalizes the link between ethnicity and crime, and ultimately provides a distorted picture of events.

So, if there are poor statistics and a warped media picture of minority based crime, what proof is there that the crime rates in Asian communities are in fact low? If there are overarching government policies that attempt to ensure equitable social inclusion for all minority groups, and thus preclude the use of ethnicity in crime reporting, how do we find a true picture? How does the state then relate to Asian communities, and work with them to alleviate their concerns while at the same time carrying out its policing functions?

These issues have been tackled by police services in different ways, but generally all states have agreed some overall guidelines to working in ethnic communities. The National Police Ethnic Advisory Bureau (NPEAB), provides these guidelines and states:

Australia has people from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds. Due to the cultural differences of these people the NPEAB is responsible for looking into issues such as police and ethnic youth relations, recruitment of ethnic police officers and general relations between the police and ethnic communities (NPEAB, 2000).

The NPEAB has produced a number of papers reflecting these guidelines, such as the *Multilingual Communication Guide for Police*, and *A Practical Reference to Religious Diversity for Operational Police*. In Queensland, the Police Service has generated policies within these guidelines, and is involved in community liaison committees and crime prevention programs (Queensland Police Service, 1999). It has also prepared a Police/Ethnic Youth Partnership scheme, and has been monitoring the outcomes of this scheme in the Brisbane suburb of Inala. The programme has had some difficulties in meeting its objectives, and some of the reasons given provide an interesting picture. There have been difficulties in maintaining the interest and motivation of young people. Reasons given include boredom and dysfunctional families which were identified by respondents as significant contributors to drug/alcohol abuse. Other issues raised by young people and youth workers in this suburb were stereotyping, racism, gender bias, power imbalance and media images (Queensland Police Service, 2000).

While the police services are attempting to develop good relations with ethnic communities, the police culture itself has often been detrimental to the intended policies. Chan (1997) in her study of the New South Wales Police Service, reports that the police culture in that state had actually exacerbated ethnic issues. Based on her study, Chan urges the police to develop a new framework for understanding the interrelationships between police duties and responsibilities, day-to-day work and cultural knowledge (see also Chan, 1994, 1996; Chui and Ip, 2005). It appears that the operational police need to be more cognisant of government policies in respect to policing in ethnic communities, and tailor their approaches accordingly.

Notwithstanding the improved approach of the police services to criminal activity in ethnic communities, there is still the problem of poor statistical evidence and in some cases 'trial by media' for purported ethnic criminal activity. What needs to be done? We would suggest that although reporting ethnicity of alleged offenders has political and social overtones, it is a better solution than not reporting it at all, and leaving the less salubrious elements of the mass media to generate the picture. Maintaining good statistical measures could in fact assist the police services to put their resources into the areas that need them. The online magazine *Public Debate* (2001) discussed this issue of the reporting of ethnic-based crime. It interviewed Professor Michael Tonry of the University of Minnesota who suggested that these sorts of statistics could also assist in pinpointing inappropriate policing of ethnic groups. The challenge for Australia is then how to develop a fair and reasonable system of criminal reporting that includes ethnicity of alleged offenders without demonising a whole community. There needs to be an attitude among all the players towards developing a 'win-win' situation.

In conclusion, it is important at the outset to emphasize that this paper contains numerous speculative judgemental statements and some premature generalizations which urgently requires empirical validation. The current public perceptions of Asian crime need to be challenged (Wilson, 1998). It is firstly important to study Asian communities and their respective crime rates in order to gain a clearer perspective on the extent of Asian crime. Secondly, we believe that providing a clearer picture of what is really happening will assist them to gain a truer understanding of crime in their communities. And finally, a greater awareness of the true picture will assist the criminal justice system to better provide policing services to these people.

References

- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2004). *Migration* (Catalogue No. 3142.0), Canberra, ACT: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Bacon, W. (1999). Speaker in the media. In *Ethnicity and crime under the microscope (Dispelling the Myths) Forum Papers*, Monday, 2 November 1998 (pp. 44-48). Sydney, NSW: Ethnic Communities Council of New South Wales.
- Barnao, T. and Lipson, N. (1991). Crime: The Asian connection. *The Bulletin*, 2 April, 86-88.
- Basham, R. (1999). Asian crime - a challenge for Australia. *Australian Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 31, 29-44.
- Beyer, L., Reid, G. and Crofts, N. (2001). Ethnic based differences in drug offending. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 34, 169-181.
- Bond, M. (Ed.) (1986). *The Psychology of the Chinese people*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Borowski, A. and Thomas, D. (1994). Immigration and crime. In H. Adelman, A. Borowski, M. Burstein and L. Foster (Eds.), *Immigration and Refugee Policy: Australia and Canada Compared (Volume II)* (pp. 631-652). Melbourne and Toronto: Melbourne University Press and The University of Toronto Press.
- Bowling, B. and Phillips, C. (2002). *Racism, Crime and Justice*. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
- Carmichael, F. and Ward, R. (2001). Male unemployment and crime in England and Wales. *Economics Letters*, 73, 111-115.
- Chan, J. (1994). Policing youth in 'ethnic' communities: Is community policing the answer? In R. White and C. Alder (Eds.), *The Police and Young People in Australia* (pp. 175-198). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chan, J. (1996). Changing police culture. *British Journal of Criminology*, 36, 109-134.
- Chan, J. (1997). *Changing Police Culture: Policing in a Multicultural Society*. Melbourne, VIC: Cambridge University Press.
- Chui, W.H. (2001). A comment on racial discrimination in prisons in England and Wales. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 25, 199-214.
- Chui, W.H. and Ip R.L.K. (2005). Policing in a multi-cultural society: A Queensland case study. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 6, 279-293.
- Collins, J. (2000). *Crime and ethnicity in Australia: Myths and realities*, [Web]. Pluto Press. Available: <http://www.plutoaustralia.com/kebabs.html>
- Collins, J., Noble, G., Poynting, S. and Tabar, P. (2000). *Kebabs, Kids, Cops and Crime*. Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press Australia.
- Crime Prevention Division (1998). *Juvenile crime in New South Wales report*. [Web]. NSW Attorney General's Department. Available: <http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/cpd.nsf/pages/JJRCHP3>
- Daye, D.D. (1996). *A Law Enforcement Sourcebook of Asian Crime and Cultures: Tactics and Mindsets*. Boca Raton, Florida: CRC Press.
- Easteal, P. (1997). Migrant youth and juvenile crime. In A. Borowski and I. O'Connor (Eds.), *Juvenile Crime, Justice & Corrections* (pp. 151-166). South Melbourne, VIC: Longman.
- Fukuyama, F. (1999). *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order*. London: Profile Books.
- Hazlehurst, K.M. (1987). *Migration, Ethnicity and Crime in Australian Society*. Canberra, ACT: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Home Office (2000). *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System*. London: Home Office.
- Horton, J. (1995). *The Politics of Diversity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Johnson, H. (2005). *Experiences of Crime in Two Selected Migrant Communities* (Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice Paper No. 302). Canberra, ACT: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Khoo, T. (2000). (Dis)infecting Australia, [Web]. Amida Magazine. Available: <http://www.amida.com.au/ident/1003disinfect.html>
- Komiya, N. (1999). A cultural study of the low crime rate in Japan. *British Journal of Criminology*, 39, 369-390.
- Lui, C-W. (forthcoming, 2006). Transnational Chinese migration: An Australian profile. In D. Ip, R. Hibbins and W.H. Chui (Eds.), *Experiences of Transnational Chinese Migrants in the Asia-Pacific*. New York: Nova Science.
- McCutcheon, S. (2001). *Crime and ethnicity*. [Web]. ABC Radio National: Australia Talks Back. Available at: <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/austback/stories/s25933.html>
- Mukherjee, S. (1999). *Ethnicity and Crime: An Australian Research Study*. Canberra, ACT: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Multicultural Affairs Queensland (1998). *Multicultural Queensland: Policy Guidelines for Agency Planning and Reporting*. Brisbane, QLD: Department of the Premier and Cabinet.
- National Police Ethnic Advisory Bureau (NPEAB) (2000). *NPEAB Guidelines*, [Web]. National Policy Ethnic Advisory Bureau. Available at: <http://www.npeab.gov.au/guide/index.html>

- Newman, G. (Ed.) (1999). *Global Report on Crime and Justice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Office of the Government Statistician (2000). *Crime and Justice Statistics Queensland 1998-99*. Brisbane, QLD: Queensland Government.
- Park, W-K. (1997). Explaining Japanese low crime rates: a review of the literature. *International Annals of Criminology*, 35, 59-87.
- Parliamentary Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority (1995). *Asian organised crime in Australia*, [Web]. Parliament of Australia.
Available: <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/Australia/docs/ncaaocl.html#contents>
- Poynting, S. (2001). Appearances and 'ethnic crime'. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 13, 110-113.
- Public Debate (2001). *Crime statistics: Should ethnic origin be reported?*, [Web]. Public Debate.
Available: <http://www.publicdebate.com.au/is/744/index.html>
- Queensland Police Service (1999). *Strategic Directions for Policing with Ethnic Communities*. Brisbane, QLD: Queensland Police Service.
- Queensland Police Service (2000). *Police/ethnic youth partnerships - Half yearly report April 2000*, [Web]. Queensland Police Service. Available at: <http://www.npeab.gov.au/pubs/reports/1999youth.pdf>
- Raphael, S. and Winter-Ebmer, R. (2001). Identifying the effect of unemployment on crime. *Journal of Law & Economics*, 44, 259-283.
- Sharp, C. and Budd, T. (2005). *Minority ethnic groups and crime: Findings from the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey 2003* (Home Office Online Report 33/05). London: Home Office. Available at: <http://www.crimereduction.gov.uk/statistics45.htm#w48>
- Sheu, C-J. (2002) Confucianism as a control theory explanation of crime among overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. In J.D. Freilich, G. Newman, S.G. Shoham and M. Addad (Eds), *Migration, Culture Conflict and Crime* (pp. 297-312). Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate.
- van Dijk, J.J.M. (1999). The experience of crime and justice. In G. Newman (Ed.), *Global Report on Crime and Justice* (pp. 25-42). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Vazsonyi, A. and Killias, M. (2001). Immigration and crime among youth in Switzerland. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 28(3), 329-366.
- Viviani, N. (1996). *The Indochinese in Australia 1975-1995: From Burnt Boats to Barbecues*. Melbourne, VIC: Oxford University Press.
- Wang, J. (2001). Illegal Chinese immigration into the United States: A preliminary factor analysis. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 45, 345-355.
- Wilson, P. (1998). The migrants and the crime debate. *Brisbane Courier Mail*. (03/09/98).

The Measurement of People's Satisfaction on Public Safety and Police Service

by
Dr. Chang, Charles (Kuang-Ming)
Central Police University
&
Taiwan China
Dr. Wang, Tsu-Shea
Central Police University, Taiwan China

Abstract

In American police history, supervisor's judgment, crime reports and public opinion investigation have been used as indicators to measure police performance. Contemporarily, public opinion investigation is the most important indicator because it is the instrument to measure citizen satisfaction, a major dimension of police performance in community problem-solving era.

Page and Shapiro (1992) noted that public opinion is rational and stable; public opinion does change, but the change is incremental and predictable; a sudden change of public opinion can be traced to a certain events. Longitudinal data of polls conducted by independent institutions demonstrated that Taiwanese attitude and perception toward public safety is stable, incremental and predictable too. This paper shows the national trend of polls on Taiwanese sense of public safety. In addition, differences among counties and cities will be compared.

The Measurement of People's Satisfaction on Public Safety and Police Service

Introduction

Police performance evaluation is one of the main points of interest to this article. Along with the thought of community policing, opinion survey has been an important tool to measure police success. If so, the prerequisite is that public opinion survey can be trusted. Accordingly, the other question the paper concerns with is whether public opinion on police service and on public safety is rational?

To respond the above questions, the paper can be divided into five parts. In addition to the introduction, the second part reviews the history of American policing and its performance measurement. Then, theoretically whether public opinions are rational will be discussed in the third part. Next, the paper will collect Taiwan's data to test American experience of both police performance measurement and public opinion rationality. Final part is the conclusion.

The History of Measurement of Police Performance

Performance evaluation is the most important, but at the same time the most difficult issue to be solved in the field of public administration. It is because government pursues public interest and provides public service, but public interest and public service are hard to be defined. Being a classic bureaucracy, the police organization also faces the same problem.

Andrews (1980) used "the concrete measures the police use to define operational success or failure" as one of categories of "corporate strategy"³ to describe American police development. The concept of police performance changes with development stages. In different era, the measures the police use to define its performance vary. The history of American policing can be divided into three different eras: the political era, the reform era and the community problem-solving era. Early policing in the United States (between 1840's and 1900's) has been called political era, so named because of the close ties between police and politics. During that period, the expected outcomes of police work included crime and riot control, maintenance of order, and relief from many of the other problems of an industrializing society (hunger and temporary homelessness, for example). Consistent with their political mandate, police emphasized maintaining citizen and political satisfaction with police services as an important goal of police departments.

The reform era, the second stage, developed in reaction to the political. It took hold during the 1930's, thrived during the 1950's and 1960's, began to wane in the 1970's. The primary desired outcomes of the reform strategy were crime control and crime apprehension. To measure achievement of these outcomes, August Vollmer, working through the newly vitalized International Association of Chiefs of Police, developed and implemented a uniform system of crime classification and reporting. Later, the system was taken over and administered by the FBI and the Uniform Crime Reports became the primary standard by which police organizations measured their effectiveness. Additionally, individual officers' effectiveness in dealing with crime was judged by the number of arrests they made; other measures of police effectiveness included response time (the time it takes for a police car to arrive at the location of a call for service) and "number of passings" (the number of times a police car passes a given point on a city street). Regardless of all other indicators, however, the primary measure of police effectiveness was the crime rate as measured by the Uniform of Crime Reports.

Since late 1970's, American policing has adopted a new organizational approach, properly called community problem-solving strategy. The measures of success in the community strategy are broad: quality of life in neighborhoods, problem solution, reduction of fear, increased order, citizen satisfaction with police service, as well as crime control. Along with the improvement of computer technology, polls have been widely applied to measure citizen satisfaction with public order and police service.

To sum, supervisor's judgment, crime reports and public opinion investigation have been used as indicators to measure police performance. Contemporarily, public opinion investigation is the most important indicator because it is the instrument to measure citizen satisfaction, a major dimension of police performance in community problem-solving era. Table 1 demonstrates different American police performance measurements.

³ Andrews describes police organization in terms of seven interrelated categories. Others include: the sources from which the police construct the legitimacy and continuing power to act on society; the definition of the police function or role in society; the organizational design of police departments; the relationships the police create with external environment; the nature of police efforts to market or manage the demand for their services; the principal activities, programs, and tactics on which police agencies rely to fulfill their mission or achieve operational success.

Table 1 The Evolution of American Police Performance

Three Eras of American Policing	Police Function	Measurements of Police Performance	Who Says?
Political Era (1840's -1900's)	Order Maintenance	Political Satisfaction	Politicians
Reform Era (1930's – 1960's)	Law Enforcement	Crime Control & Apprehension	Figures (UCR)
Community Problem-solving Era (1970's...)	Service Oriented	Quality of life, Citizen Satisfaction	Citizen

Public Rationality or Capriciousness?

In this community problem-oriented policing period, it is the people who can decide whether police is successful. In other words, public opinion plays a more important role than before. Is public opinion trustworthy? This question relates to whether public opinion is rational. It will be discussed as follows:

1. Public capriciousness

James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and other founders of the national government feared the “passion” of the public and the “fluctuations,” “violent movements,” and “temporary errors and delusions” of opinion. It was for this reason that Hamilton in Federalist Paper no. 71 advocated an energetic and independent executive. With the success of the relatively populist Jefferson and Jackson, American politicians began to shy away from such rhetoric, but some important thinkers continued to hold skeptical views of public opinion even as the political system became more democratic.

Perhaps the most harsh modern critic of public opinion has been Walter Lippmann. In “Public Opinion (1965, p. 18), Lippmann asserted that objective reality differs sharply from the “pictures in our heads,” which often mislead men in their dealings with the world outside”. He also quoted Sir Robert Peel on “that great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong feeling, right feeling, obstinacy and newspaper paragraphs which is called public opinion” (Page and Shapiro, p. 4). However, Lippmann’s work was not based on systematic data from opinion surveys (or any other systematic data).

Another researcher arguing the instability of public opinion is Gabriel Almond. He declared that on questions of foreign policy Americans tend to react with “formless and plastic moods which undergo frequent alteration in response to changes in events”; even the reaction to crises is “a mood, a superficial and fluctuating response” (1960). Almond’s “mood theory” persists, in the form of a widespread of scholarly and popular image of changeable, fickle public opinion. Curiously, concrete evidence to support the image of volatile opinion-whether in Almond’s early Cold War period or later- is quite scanty.

Almond’s “most important problem” question measures salience or intensity or attention, not preference. Responses to it naturally jump around as dramatic events and as the media devote coverage to one issue and then another. Fluctuations in salience do not, however, necessarily imply anything about changes in policy preferences. For example, presidential popularity rises and falls markedly in response to events and to news reporters about presidential performance (Page and Shapiro, p.40). However, this paper argues that policy salience and policy preference can be one thing, not two different issues. When the observation period is long enough, policy preference accumulates to be policy salience. Thus, theories in explaining policy salience can also be applied to policy reference.

2. Public rationality

Now most Americans take for granted that citizens’ preferences should be the chief determinant of policy-making. And public policy in the United States apparently corresponds to majority preference about two-thirds of the time (A. Monroe 1979, 1983; Page and Shapiro, p. 2).

Page and Shapiro (1992) noted that public opinion is rational and stable; public opinion does change, but the change is incremental and predictable; a sudden change of public opinion can be traced to a certain events.

While individual opinion is not necessarily trustworthy enough, public opinion do tell a true story. Because to gather and analyze the information of public issue is costly in time and forgone opportunities and because people have other things to do and to think about (work, family, friends, recreation), it is highly granted the rational ignorance of most individuals, and the possibility that individuals’ policy preference are shallow and unstable. But public opinion as a collective phenomenon is nonetheless stable (though not immovable), meaningful, and indeed rational in a higher sense. And surveys accurately measure this stable, meaningful, and reasonable collective public opinion.

How is this possible? By what magic can it occur? The answer has to do with the statistical aggregation process. Over a period of time, each individual has a central tendency of opinion, which might be called a true or long-term preference, and which can be ascertained by averaging the opinions expressed by the same individual at several different times. If the individuals’ opinions fluctuate randomly around the same central

tendency for a sustained period of time, his or her long true long-term preferences will be stable and ascertainable, despite observed momentary fluctuation in opinion.

A more important point is that the random deviations of individuals from their long-term opinions may well cancel out over a large sample, so that a poll or survey can accurately measure collective preference as defined in terms of the true or long-term preferences of many individual citizens. As a result, the measurement of collective public opinion is largely free of the random error associated with individual attitudes.

Several scholars have argued that much of the response instability may have resulted from measurement error rather than actual fluctuations in citizen's opinion. Many imperfections and limitations of survey research- from errors in recording or keypunching responses to ambiguities in question wording, the artificiality of forced-choice answers, and pressures of the interviewing situation- could lead survey data to misrepresent what people really think and cause variation (perhaps random variations) in reported responses

If opinion surveys are used with care, they can be trusted. Many previous researches have demonstrated that surveys can successfully measure collective public opinion in spite of random measurement errors or fluctuations in the responses of individuals. Random errors, like familiar sampling errors, lower the reliability of measurement but do not bias them (Page and Shapiro, pp.8, 27).

Public opinions do change, but the change is either incremental or predictable. The causes of opinion change are complex. On one hand, it is incremental; the principal influences upon the collective policy preference of Americans are gradual social and economic trends. Gradual and economic trends have a particularly important impact on domestic policy opinions. On the other hand, world and national events which have some unmediated impact are often filtered through interpretations by experts, commentators, and public officials, as reported in the mass media. Those mediators, in turn, may be influenced by various actors in society, including organized interests, corporations, and mass movement. Familiarity with social matters is strongly related to the amount and duration of attention that particular issues and social figures receive in the mass media. Public policy, affected in part by public opinion, has feedback effects upon events and trends and ultimately on policy preferences (Page and Shapiro, pp.12, 353)⁴.

Taiwan's Public Opinion on Public Safety and Police Service

In this part, Taiwan's data will be collected to test American experience of police performance measurement and public rationality⁵. Specifically, following questions will be answered:

1. Has public opinion been an important indicator to measure police performance already?
2. Are public opinions stable or not? Whether they can be explained by Page and Shapiro's model? Does questionnaire wording or other factors influence the results?
3. Compare different levels of public opinions: national, county, village and community.
4. Compare the difference between satisfaction of public safety and police service.

As discussed in part 2, American police have used different methods to measure its performance with different development stage: political satisfaction in political era, crime control and apprehension in reform era, citizen satisfaction in community problem-solving era. Taiwan's data paralleled with American experience, though Taiwan's development stages are behind American's. With political development, Taiwan's police strategy to measure its performance evolved from political satisfaction, to crime control and apprehension, and then to citizen satisfaction. Table 2 shows the evolution of Taiwan's Police Performance.

Table 2 The Evolution of Taiwan's Police Performance

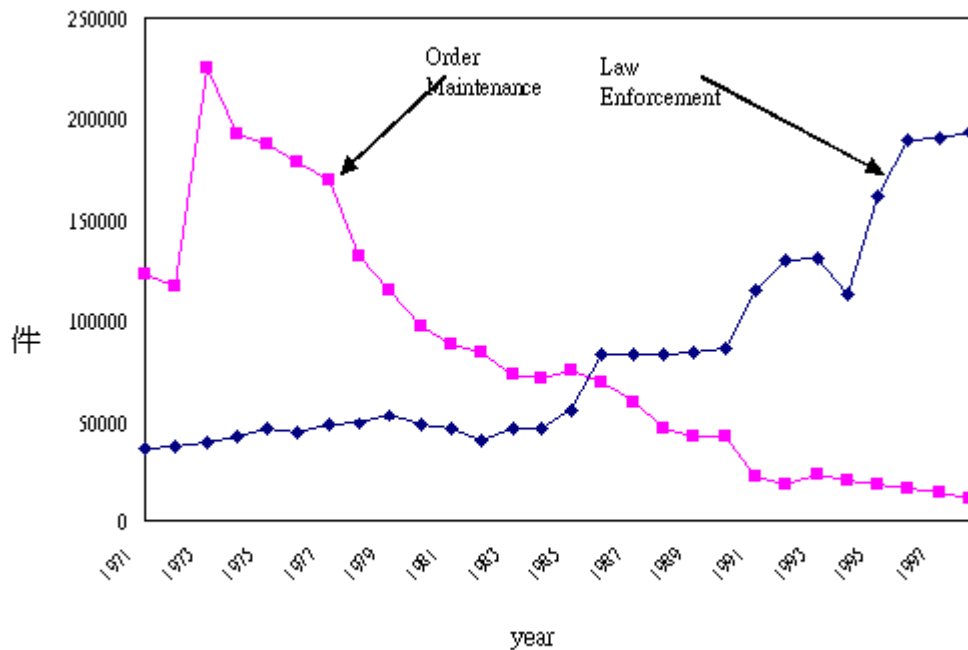
Time Period	Regime Characters	Police Function	Measures of Police Performance
1949- 1970s	Authoritarian KMT	Order Maintenance Oriented	Political Color
1980s-1990s	Late Chiangs, Removal of Martial Law	Law Enforcement Oriented	Crime Control & Apprehension
2000s	Democratic Solidarity	Service Oriented	Opinion Surveys

By and large, the development stages also related to police function. As figure 1 demonstrated, before the removal of martial law in 1987, Taiwan's police was oriented to order maintenance function; after that police

⁴ Both policy preference and policy salience are influenced by events and mass media report. That is why this paper argues that policy preference and policy salience, to a certain degree, is one thing, not two.

⁵ Data in this paper were collected from: Statistic Office of National Police Administration and Poll Center of National Police Administration, Taiwan.

function was oriented to law enforcement. And the KMT has not been the ruling party since the year of 2000. In a democratic society, people require police to be service oriented. The measures police uses to evaluate its success correspond to American experience of 3 stages of political development and police function.

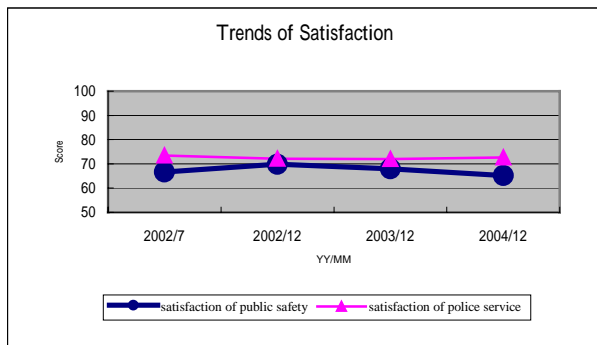


Change of Police Function in Taiwan

Figure 1 Evolution of police function in Taiwan

Is Taiwan's public opinion rational in terms of people's satisfactions on public safety and police service? Longitudinal data of polls conducted by independent institutions demonstrated that Taiwanese attitude and perception toward public safety and police service is stable, incremental and predictable⁶.

Figure 2 demonstrates the trends of people's satisfaction on public safety and police service in Taiwan. What do the trends show? First of all, the figure supports Page and Shapiro's argumentation that the trends are stable; and two lines almost parallel. Secondly, it is easy to find that people's satisfaction of police service is higher than of public safety. This is because police is not the only factor having impact on public safety. Politics, economic situation, education...all strongly influence public safety. Compared with other factors, police performance has a positive impact on public safety.



Source: Police Poll Center (Central Police University)

Figure 2. Trends of Taiwanese Satisfaction on Public Safety and Police Service (1)

⁶ Two main data sources of the study are:

Police Poll Center, Central Police University. (For academic reference since 2002)

National Police Administration, National Police Administration. (For evaluating police performance since 2002)

Data from National Police Administration on Figure 3 also shows the stability of trends. But there is a difference between Figure 2 and 3. Figure 3 differs from Figure 2 in that the satisfaction scores on September and December of 2004 and March of 2005 changed; they jumped to high. Why did public opinion change? This is because question wording changed on “satisfaction of public safety”. Before June of 2004 and May of 2005, respondents are asked: “How do you feel the public safety in ‘the county or city where you live’?” But the wording changed in September and December of 2004 and March of 2005 to “How do you feel the public safety in your ‘neighborhood’ or ‘community’?” The larger districts people are asked, the more likely people’s perception will be negative influenced by media report. On the other hand, when asked feeling of “neighborhood or community”, people will demonstrate their true feeling. Accordingly, the public opinion changed. But why the trend of “satisfaction on police service” did not change? Again, it is because of the questionnaire problem. In September and December of 2004 and March of 2005, although respondents are asked: “How do you feel the police service in ‘the county or city where you live’?” its last question is “your experience to contact with ‘county (city) police where you live’”. Respondents are influenced by last question of “county (city) police where you live”, their answer of this question did not jump in those 3 surveys. In sum, no matter whether the trends change or not, they can be explained; they are predictable.

Counties and cities’ data in Figure 4 also demonstrated same trends that the satisfaction scores on September and December of 2004 and March of 2005 changed jumped to high because of wording factors. At the same time, it obviously shows that satisfaction scores in rural districts (counties) are higher than those of urban districts (cities).

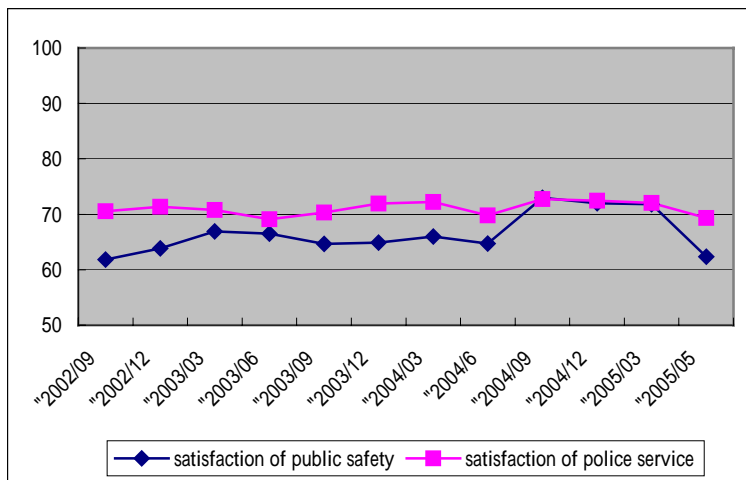
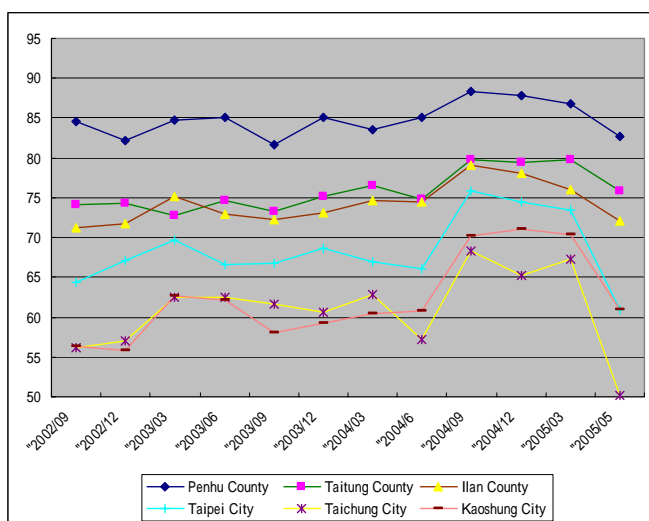


Figure 3 Trends of Taiwanese Satisfaction on Public Safety and Police Service (2)

Source: National Police Administration, Department of Interior



Source: National Police Administration, Department of Interior

Figure 4 Comparing Trends of Taiwanese Urban (Cities) and Rural (Counties) Districts' Satisfaction on Public Safety

In addition to stability and predictability, public opinion trends on satisfaction of public safety and police service are incremental, little change with gradual social and economic trends. Table 3 demonstrates that public safety issues people concern most seldom change. Even though they change, the changes are incremental. Burglary and larceny are always number 1 public safety issue; robbery is either in second or third place.

Table 3 Crimes (Public Safety Issues) People Concern Most

Survey Date		Rank Order		
		People's Concern # 1	People's Concern # 2	People's Concern # 3
Public Safety Issues	2002/07	Burglary/Larceny	Organizational Crime	Robbery
	2002/12	Burglary/Larceny	Robbery	Drug/Gun
	2003/12	Burglary/Larceny	Robbery	Gambling Video Game
	2004/12	Burglary/Larceny	Robbery	Drug/Gun

Data Source: Police Poll Center, Central Police University

That patrol is always the number one work people expect police to do and investigating larceny is the number two is shown in table 4. The work people expect police to do only changes in rank three and the change is minor.

Table 4 The Work People expect Police to do

Survey Date		Rank Order		
		People's Expectation # 1	People's Expectation # 2	People's Expectation # 3
2002/07		Patrol	Investigating Larceny	Motorcycle Racing
2002/12		Patrol	Investigating Larceny	Investigating Violent Crime
2003/12		Patrol	Investigating Larceny	Service
2004/12		Patrol	Investigating Larceny	Investigating Violent Crime

Data Source: Police Poll Center, Central Police University

The opinion survey in table 5 tells us economic situation is the most important factor on public safety in all time. But with the gradual political, economic and social trends, the political stability has shown that its impact on public safety is more and more important.

Table 5 Opinion Surveys of Main Factors on Public Safety

(Influenced by gradual social and economic trends)

Survey Date		Factors		
		Factor #1	Factor #2	Factor #3
2002/07		Economic Situation	Family Problem	School Education
2002/12		Economic Situation	People's 'Concept on Rule of Law	Political Stability
2003/12		Economic Situation	People's 'Concept on Rule of Law	Political Stability
2004/12		Economic Situation	Political Stability	People's 'Concept on Rule of Law

Conclusion

This paper introduces American experience of police performance measurement and public opinion theory. Empirically, Taiwan's data paralleled with American experience. With political development, Taiwan's police strategy to measure its performance evolved from political satisfaction, to crime control and apprehension, and then to citizen satisfaction. Nowadays, public opinion survey has been a police performance measurement in Taiwan since the 21st century.

Further, in Taiwan, people's satisfaction of public safety and police performance demonstrate that public opinion is stable, incremental and predictable. It is stable because it has not been changed. Even it changes, the

change is minor. That is incremental. If it changes a lot, the change can be explained. That is predictable. Finally, the data of public safety issues people concern most, the work people expect police to do and the most important factors on public safety people think support above hypothesis.

References

- Almond, Gabriel A. 1960. *The American People and Foreign Policy*. New York: Praeger.
- Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. 1961 [1787-1788]. *The Federalist Paper*. Edited by Clinton Rossitor. New York: New American Library.
- Lippmann, Walter. 1965 [1922] *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan.
- Monroe, Alan D. 1979. Consistency between Public Preference and National Policy Decision. *American Politics Quarterly* 7:3-19.
- Monroe, Alan D. 1983. American Party Platforms and Public Opinion. *American Journal of Political Science* 27:27-42.
- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro 1992. *The Rational Public*. The University of Chicago Press.

Reconsidering the process of demilitarization: the case of the Belgian gendarmerie

by
Dr. Marleen Easton
Department of Business Administration and Public Management
Hogeschool Gent, Belgium

Abstract

This paper addresses the complex relationship between the military and the police by focusing on the process of demilitarization of the police and conceptualising the impact of the military culture and structure on the institutionalisation of the police. On the basis of a case study on the demilitarization of the Belgian gendarmerie (1940-1998) interactions are indicated between the operational and organisational level of the process of demilitarization of the police. These interactions generate challenges for police forces who are trying to take into account the requirements of democratic policing (community policing) in an age of 'war' against terrorism, which tends to activate a latent military/traditional style of policing.

Reconsidering the process of demilitarization: the case of the Belgian gendarmerie

Introduction

“While police and military typically are dealt with separately, even by separate specialists, in actual practice the role of the police is shaped by the role of the military.

The reverse is also true: the role of the military is shaped by that assigned to the police.” (Enloe, 1978:243).

While the citation above refers to a publication of the seventies and to the specific Irish context, the core of the message is still very accurate today. The last decades the distinction between internal and external security is blurring and influences the core business of both the armed forces and the police (Kaldor 1999). Ever more soldiers are taking on tasks that are related to keeping the domestic order within the borders of their states or they are executing policing tasks abroad, observing truces, elections, educating local police forces and providing humanitarian assistance. Ever more policemen are being charged with crime fighting, tracing radicals and arresting terrorist suspects. The traditional vision of the armed forces being responsible for external security and the police for internal security is questioned. One of the results is that both security organisations are increasingly overlapping within the same domain such as providing an answer to the terrorist threats in our society⁷.

Although the historical, sociological and political link between the military and the police has long been denied or neglected, this evolution can be questioned (Bittner 1970, Enloe 1980, Kraska 1997). Do we want the police to become more military? Do we want the armed forces to perform more police tasks? What does this mean for the militarization of our societies? Which are the institutional, organisational and operational consequences of a shift in the tasks and responsibilities of the police and the armed forces? Is the distinction between internal and external security still relevant to discern the difference between the police and the armed forces? This paper will focus on the (de)militarization⁸ of the police as one part of this complex issue. For discussion on the military we would like to refer to a publication in progress on the ‘constabularization’ of the army⁹.

The academic debate about the (de)militarization of the police is concentrated on two paradoxical trends. On the one hand, attention is being paid to the military character of police organisations, an issue being discussed since the raise of modern police forces (Kraska 1997). The impact of the military structure and culture on different aspects of our society is central in that discussion. On the other hand the development of democracies raises questions on how to democratize/demilitarize police forces to meet all the requirements of a modern constitutional state. The concept of Community Policing is central in the latter trend (Friedmann 1992, Ponsaers 2001).

Both trends have an influence on the management and the organisational and operational functioning of police forces all over the world. The fact that the model of the gendarmerie is usually defined as a police force with a military character makes this institution of peculiar interest for this issue. Gendarmeries usually perform both military and police tasks and that makes them important cases to research the impact of the interaction of this combination of tasks on the organisational and operational level of the police. In this paper we want to describe some of these interactions relying on a sociological research into the process of demilitarization of the Belgian gendarmerie (Easton 2000). The goal of this paper is to point out some findings of this case study which are useful to take into consideration when deciding on the role for the police in changing security matters such as terrorism and the implementation of community policing.

The process of demilitarization: a theoretical framework.

In our study we conceptualised the process of demilitarisation of the police, including militarization and demilitarization, by using the paradoxical trends mentioned above (military policing versus community policing). To research the process of demilitarization of the gendarmerie and to be able to describe fifty years

⁷ Italy for example has adopted several measures to better prevent and respond to terrorist attacks. One example is the “Programme for the Use of Military Contingents for the Surveillance and Control of Sensitive Objectives.” Which employs military personnel to guard sites deemed to be at high risk of terrorist attacks. http://www.law.depaul.edu/institutes_centers/ihrl/_downloads/publications/Italy.pdf (International Human Rights Law Institute, Chicago: DePaul University).

⁸ Defined as a process of militarization and demilitarization of the police.

⁹ A publication on the constabularization of the armed forces is being prepared. Constabularization refers to the fact that the military increasingly performs police tasks (Janowitz 1960). This issue will most probably be published in the spring of 2007 in NL-ARMS, a Netherlands Annual Review of Military Studies, a publication under the auspices of the Dean of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy in Breda. Contributions to this publication will be presented in one of the workshops of the working-group ‘military-police relations’ at the next biennial conference of Ergomas (European Research Group on the Military and Society) in December 2006 in London.

of history of this institution (1940-1998), we conceptualised two idealtypes by using these paradoxical trends. We constructed on the one hand 'the military police organisation' and on the other hand 'the civil police organisation'. Both idealtypes are a sociological construction which refers to a characteristic kind of organisation and not to an ideal type of organisation (Kalberg 1994). Together both idealtypes form a continuum on which any police organisation can be situated¹⁰. While reading the description below, this should be at the back of one's mind. The theoretical framework consists of a search for useful concepts to build both idealtypes.

For understanding the process of **militarization** of the police (military policing) and constructing the 'military police organisation' the military sociology is very useful. This discipline puts the demilitarization of the police in the context of the interactions between societies and the military culture and structure. In the 19th and 20th century and up till now military organisational principles are for example implemented in different kind of organisations such as religious groups, youth associations and even hospitals (Van Doorn 1956 en Kraska 1994). Moreover, the discipline offers an understanding of what makes the military organisation so unique, which offers useful concepts to build our 'military police organisation' as an idealtype. To do so we rely on Boëne (1990 a,b) who distinguishes a military *functional* and a military *socio-political uniqueness*. Both dimensions can be divided for analytical purposes but in reality they interact.

The *military functional uniqueness* refers to the characteristics that are needed to be successful as a military organisation. The preparation for and the ever present possibility of 'primitive' war generates typical military characteristics such as obedience, loyalty (political neutrality in liberal democracies), availability, cohesion, physical strength, low recruitment age, minimal use of women, restriction of civil rights (reduction on the right to strike, freedom of expression,...) and the possibility to use violence and the orientation towards that in training, motivation and indoctrination. These elements are considered to be the most typical military characteristics, often found explicitly in military training (Lang, 1965, Teitler, 1972:11). Boëne (1990: 27-41) has pointed out that this military uniqueness has been influenced through time by the evolution in types of warfare (Boëne 1990)¹¹. Recent evolutions in security matters such as terrorism since 9/11, will undoubtedly have an impact on the nature of warfare these days for example in Irak and on the functional uniqueness of the armed forces being deployed.

The *military socio-political uniqueness* refers to the view of nation states on the role and position of the armed forces. This view is influenced by different factors such as the political culture, the social structure, the economic development and the strategic position of every nation state (Hauser 1973). Since WOII many Western countries tend to make an evolution, in terms of idealtypes, from an organic/national type to a liberal type of military-civil relations (Boëne 1990¹²). In the organic/national idealtype there is a clear distinction between civil and military responsibilities, the armed forces are a bureaucratic public service for the civilians, officers are an impartial instrument in the hands of political regimes and the armed forces do not intervene in politics. This idealtype is seen as the highlight of military uniqueness with the military being a 'total institution' (Janowitz 1965:27, Goffman 1969). The liberal ideal type reflects the delicate balance between internal and external integration of the military. Internally there is a professional mix of bureaucratic rationalism and elements of the traditional culture of warfare. Externally the military needs effective social and cultural relations with society for its own survival. In each country the view on the role and position of the armed forces in society interact with the functional uniqueness of those forces, as mentioned above.

We noticed that both dimensions of military uniqueness influenced the process of institutionalisation of the police in Western societies. When establishing police organisations the military model tends to be very popular (Monet 1993). The influence of the military uniqueness can be situated on three levels: the role and position of the police in society, the organizational level of the police (structure, discipline, decision-making,...) and the operational level of the police organisation (set of duties and implementation principles). The *first level* is of great importance in the debate on the demilitarization of the police. The vision on the role and position of the police in society refers to finding the right balance between the rights and liberties of every individual and the public interest and public order as a challenge for every democracy (Keith 1993: 228). By managing public order the police are directly confronted with this challenge. From a traditional point of view (influenced by the military culture and structure and often implicit in many state-policies towards policing) the police are seen as an embodiment of the power of the state, legitimated by the Law. From this instrumental point of view

¹⁰ In the context of this article we do not elaborate on this research methodology.

¹¹ Boëne describes an evolution through time from a primitive kind of warfare to a complex kind of warfare and finally to a abstract kind of warfare. For more on these types see Boëne 1990: 27-41.

¹² Boëne (1990a: 44-47) makes a distinction between the feudal, imperial, organic, liberal and ideological type of socio-political uniqueness in the West.

policemen are seen as performers of laws and procedures for which they get a monopoly on the use of violence. This may create a police that is an instrument in the hand of state authorities and which lacks any sense of critical thinking about its own performance. This instrumentalism makes policemen think about the law as being coercive (*dura lex, sed lex*) and restricting (because it allows them only to act after violation of the law). Besides, this instrumental view on policing gives police forces an apolitical status that eventually led to a police standing 'outside' society (Reiner 1992, Monet 1993, Monjardet 1996, della Porta & Reiter 1997, Van Ryckeghem et al. 1998, 2002). This traditional view on the role and position of the police in society, which may vary in its consequences from state to state, influenced to a great extent the *operational* and *organisational dimension* of the police.

On the *operational* level this traditional view may lead to an operational militarization of the police, defined as performing military duties and/or implementing military principles in performing police duties. The performance of military duties by the police implies that the military power of a nation state is strengthened against foreign enemies and can therefore be referred to as a strategic militarization of the police. The implementation of military principles in the performance of police duties leads to the use of violence and arms¹³ as an appropriate means to solve problems, thinking in terms of 'enemies' and a symptomatic approach in solving problems. These principles are mostly applied and highly visible in public order policing and the reactive style of police in interventions performed as a 'fire brigade' (Cordner 1978, Horn 1996). On the *organisation* level the traditional view on the role and position of the police in society implies that the police are being managed as an army (Goldstein 1977). This may lead to characteristics such as army officers in command, military rank & hierarchy, military discipline, military training and a restriction of rights and liberties of personnel. These three levels/dimensions, and the attached concepts, gave rise to the creation of the 'military police organisation' as an idealtype.

The traditional view on policing and the consequences on the three levels mentioned above have been questioned since the second half of the 20th century. The instrumental vision on the police generated a few problems. The first problem is that an instrumental vision on the police implies that the police can solve societal problems by addressing the symptoms for example by handling the disturbance of public order. This creates high expectations towards the police that can not be fulfilled because the causes of societal problems are difficult to address¹⁴. Failing to play this role may cause problems of legitimacy of the police. The second limit of the instrumental vision on the police is that it can be a threat to democracy because it generates a police that is mainly directed through internal orders and guidelines from police authorities. In this process the responsibility of the police constables on the street is neglected and there is no attention for a possible input from the people who are being served, the citizens. The third limitation of the model is that the police can never be a perfect instrument in the hands of authorities. Studies indicate that the interpretation of laws and guidelines are being influenced by organisational mechanisms, informal rules and the culture of police constables on the street. Policemen/women do have an operational autonomy, called discretionary power, when performing their tasks on the street (Monjardet 1996). Apart from this, criticism grew on the operational and organisational aspects of military policing. The use of the police to strengthen the military, the effect of the paramilitary way to maintain order and the efficiency to use military organisational principles to guide police constables in their daily work has been more and more questioned. It became clear that there was a gap between the police (organisation) and the people being policed. Since the end of the 20th century awareness grows that a different style of policing is required to meet the changed needs and expectations of democracies. A possible answer could be Community Policing, a philosophy that deals with the question of how to make the police more democratic. We explored this field to conceptualise the 'civil police organisation' as an idealtype in order to discuss the process of **demilitarization** of the police.

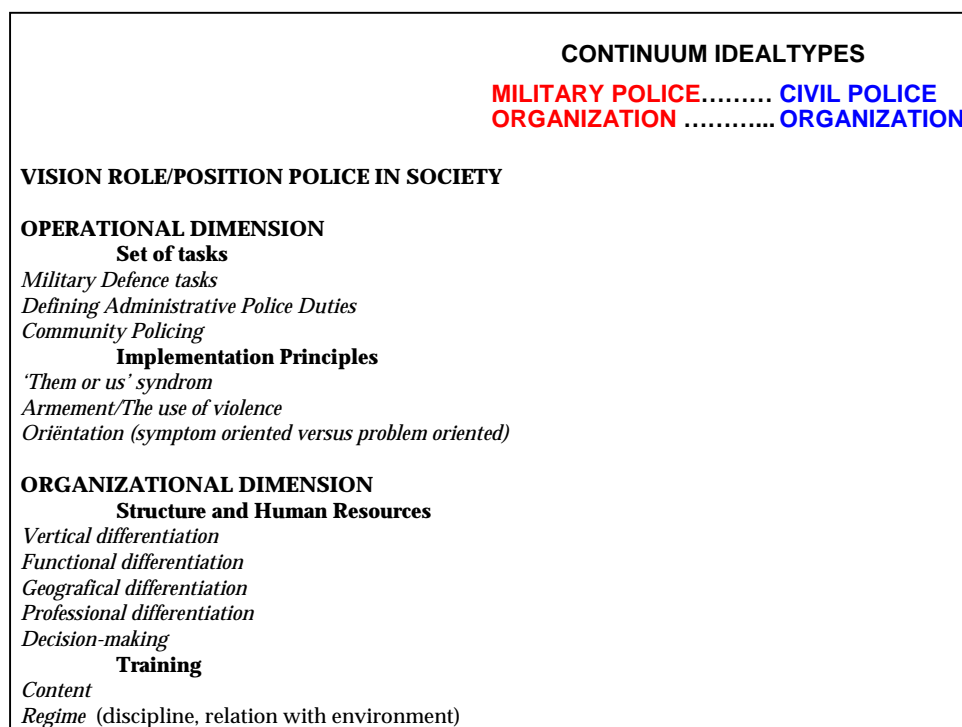
One of the basic ideas of **community policing** is that the police should first understand the nature of societal problems before they decide what kind of answer the police can or should provide. It implies a critical reflection on the role of the police in solving complex societal problems. Community policing can be a challenge to military policing if the underlying cultural assumptions of the traditional view on policing are being questioned (Van Ryckeghem & Hendrickx 1998, 2002). This means that community policing is able to challenge military policing on the levels mentioned above: the role and function of the police in society, the operational consequences and the implications for the police organisation.

¹³ The famous discussion between Waddington P.A.J. and Jefferson (White 1994) reflects the essence of this issue: does the use of violence by the police provoke violence in society?

¹⁴ This has once more been a current topic during the recent riots in France, which were an outburst of complex social problems.

On the level of the *role and position of the police in society* community policing implies a totally different view on policing. The police needs to be a part of society like institutions such as schools, churches etc. “*The police can no longer be viewed as commandos, parachuted into a community to rescue it from the forces of evil. The police are the community and the community is the police. Police officers come from the community and reflect its values.*” (Cadieux 1989). The major objective of community policing is to establish an active partnership between the police and the community through which crime, service delivery and police community relations can jointly be analysed and appropriate solutions can be designed and implemented. By consequence community policing on the operational level can be captured in five central principles: service orientation, partnership, problem-solving, accountability and empowerment. Service orientation refers to the idea that the community is the client and the police the service provider. Partnership is seen as a co-operative effort to facilitate a process of problem solving. Problem solving as such is related to the joint identification and analysis of the actual and potential causes of crime and conflict in communities. Accountability can be realised by creating mechanisms through which the police can be made answerable for addressing the needs and concerns of the communities they serve. Empowerment refers to the creation of a sense of joint responsibility and a joint capacity for addressing crime, service delivery and safety and security amongst members of the community and the police (Van Ryckeghem 1998, 2002). Crucial is that these principles challenge the traditional *operational level* of policing for example partnership contrasts with the thinking in terms of ‘enemies’ and problem-solving with the symptomatic approach of problems. Nevertheless, these five principles are complementary and should be taken into consideration together to be able to challenge the traditional view on policing¹⁵. Moreover on the *organisational level* community policing asks for principles such as decentralisation, diversity in human resources, democratic decision-making and an ethical police code to be able to ‘integrate’ the police into society. This main idea led to the description of the ‘civil police organisation’ as an idealtype.

Both approaches (military policing versus community policing) inspired us to construct two idealtypes (Weber’s methodology) by which we gave shape to a continuum with on the one hand the ‘military police organisation’ and on the other hand the ‘civilian police organisation’ (see scheme appendix). These idealtypes differ from one another on the *level* of the underlying vision on the *role and function* of the police in society, the *operational level* (set of duties and implementation principles) and the *organisational level* (the structure, human resources, discipline,...). Schematically, this can be visualised as follows:



¹⁵ The introduction of only a few of these principles is one of the reasons why the implementation of community policing fails in several police stations (Van Ryckeghem 1998).

The continuum defined by these idealtypes was the framework for the empirical research¹⁶. This conceptualisation made it possible to define demilitarisation as a process variable. Demilitarisation means that through time a police organisation is evolving from a 'military police organisation' to a 'civil police organisation'. The process of militarization means the opposite. For the period under study (1940-1998) the Belgian gendarmerie has been situated on the continuum for each moment in time according to each variable (depending on the data available). It resulted in a description of 50 years of history of this organisation. This methodology made it possible to discuss the process of demilitarization on the three levels mentioned above and to search for interactions between those levels.

Some findings on the demilitarization of the Belgian gendarmerie.

In this section we present a selection of the main findings on the process of demilitarization of the Belgian gendarmerie in the period 1940-1998. The military character of the Belgian gendarmerie has, for many years and many reasons, been fiercely debated in the Belgian journalistic, political and academic worlds. One of the main points of criticism was the military organisation of the gendarmerie (military hierarchy, management by the minister of defence) being an obstacle for the cooperation and coordination with the other Belgian police forces (local municipal police forces and judicial police forces attached to the public prosecutor) (Van Ostrive 1992). By law, the Belgian gendarmerie has been demilitarised during the Second World War, remilitarised after WWII and demilitarised in 1992. Meanwhile the demilitarised gendarmerie has been integrated with the other Belgian police forces. The Belgian police agencies underwent an in depth structural reformation which resulted in the creation of a completely new police¹⁷. Since 2001 Belgium has one integrated police force organised on two levels: federal (Federal police) and local (Local police forces on the level of (multiple) municipalities), which are linked in a functional and not a hierarchical way. This has been Belgium's most important police reform of the 20th century (Majerus 2004). In the 50 years of gendarmerie history under study we observed in general a trend towards militarization as well as a trend towards demilitarization on the three levels mentioned above. For this paper we focus on the military character of the gendarmerie and specifically on the interactions between the *operational* and *organizational* militarization of the gendarmerie between 1940 and 1998.

Our empirical research showed that although the military duties of the Belgian Gendarmerie in connection with national defence haven't, at any stage in its history, taken up more than ten per cent of its remit and the corps between 1940 and 1998 performed predominantly police duties, its military duties have been of crucial importance to the military character of the Belgian Gendarmerie. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, the military duties of the Belgian gendarmerie were, for years on end, the justification for its privileged relationship with the Army and the reason why the Minister of Defence had an important part in the authority and management/supervision on the gendarmerie. That, essentially, is the basis for the strategic militarization of the Belgian Gendarmerie as showed in the following figures. The first figure shows the evolution of the relation between the gendarmerie and the armed forces in Belgium. The second figure shows the evolution in the authority and supervision/management on the gendarmerie in de the period under study.

¹⁶ Data of this study consisted mainly of interview material and documents such as reports of meeting of top generals of the gendarmerie, internal notes/periodicals/reports, internal rules and regulations and courses being taught.

¹⁷ For more information on this reform see paper presented by Bergmans Denis at the Conference on: "Democratic Horizons in Security Sector: Turkey and the European Security Sector Governance Experience" organized by Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control on Armed Forces (DCAF) and the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) in Ankara, on February 3rd 2005. http://www.dcaf.ch/polref/ankara_30205/Bergmans.pdf

Figure 1: Evolution of the relation between the armed forces and the gendarmerie in Belgium (1940-1998).

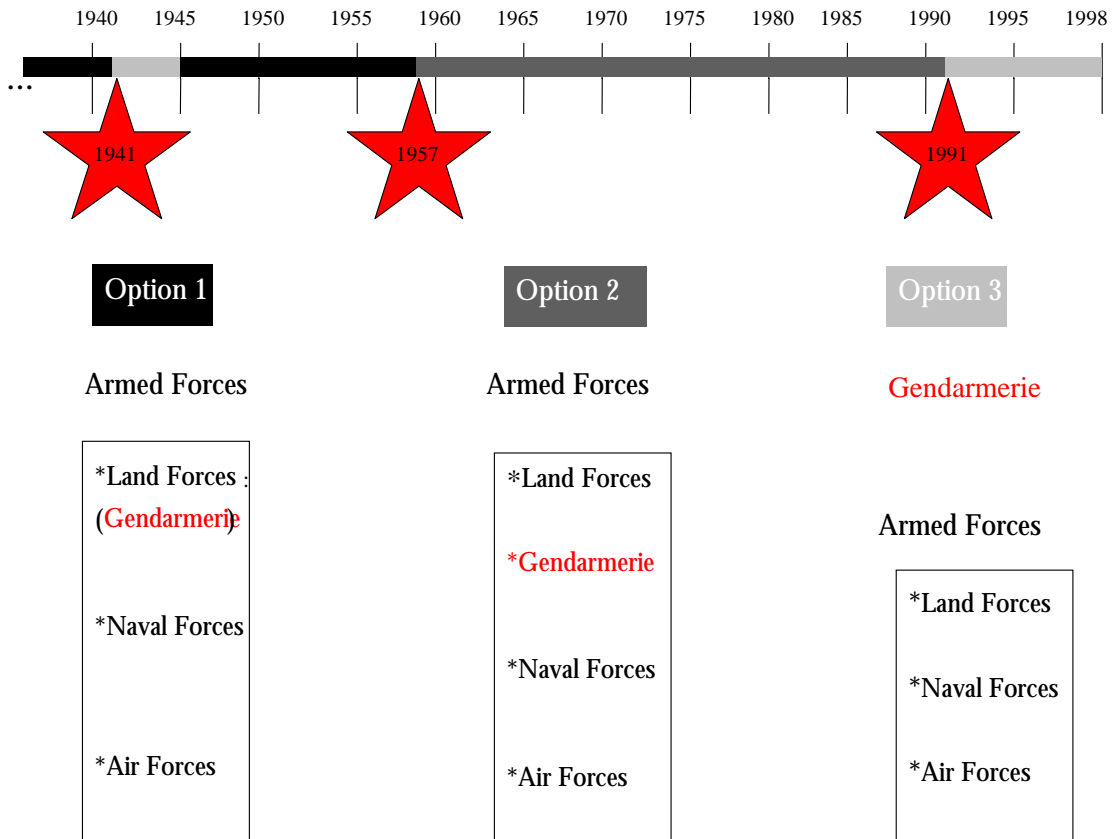
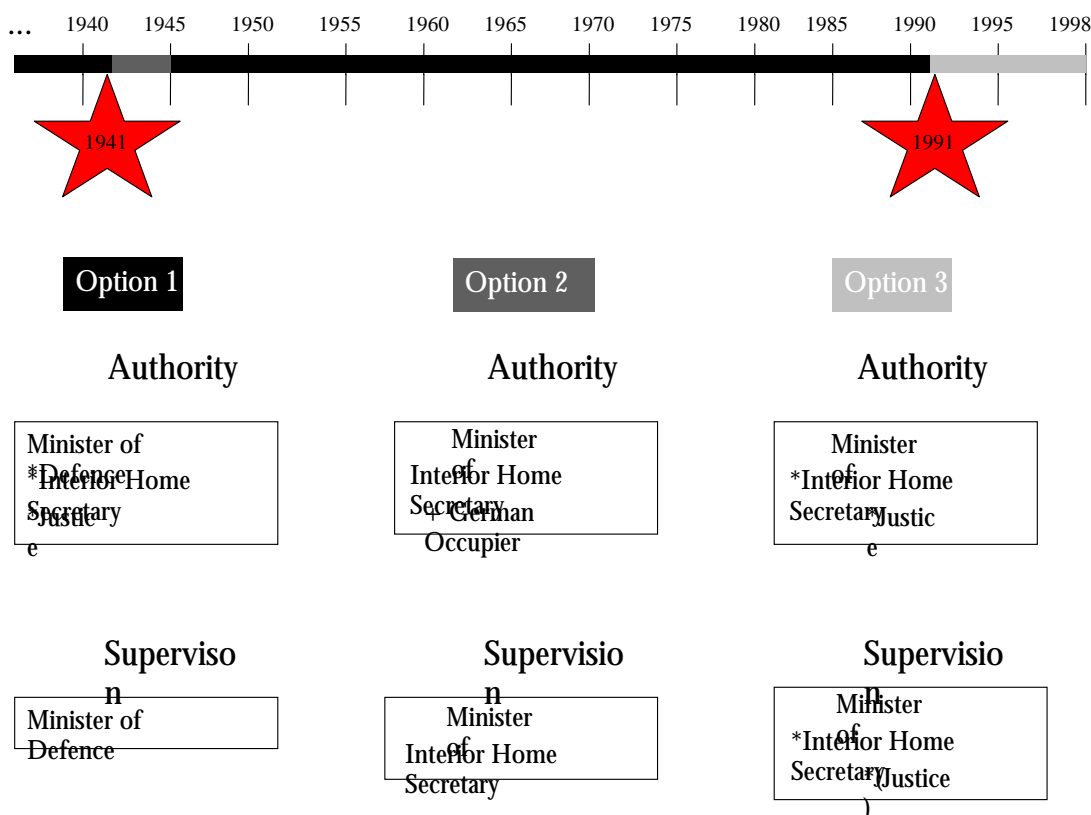


Figure 2: Evolution of the authority and supervision/management of the gendarmerie (1940-1998)



Secondly, the execution of military duties in connection with national defence enabled the Belgian Gendarmerie to develop military implementation principles, such as the 'them or us' syndrome, military armament, the use of violence and symptom-driven methods of working, and to deem these principles applicable to the execution of its police duties. This was clearly apparent from the way in which the peacekeeping duties of the Belgian Gendarmerie were defined and the implementation principles that were subscribed to in that respect. It's an important type of operational militarization. Moreover this operational militarization influenced to a great extent the way in which the first community policing initiatives were implemented¹⁸.

Thirdly, there's the fact that although the peacekeeping duties of the Belgian Gendarmerie have, since 1940, only made up a small proportion of its predominantly police remit it did, until 1991, continue to prepare itself for the execution (if such should be the case) of these military duties. This preparation is the source of the organizational militarization of the Belgian Gendarmerie, reflected in its management structure, personnel management, basic training and regime. Moreover this preparation took a lot of resources on the level of personnel that could not be invested in other police tasks. From this point of view the Belgian Gendarmerie comes close to an ideal-typical, military police organization. In the forties and fifties, this militarization was at its height; the Belgian gendarmerie could then be regarded as a total institution (as described by Goffman 1969).

Moreover the Belgian Gendarmerie still possessed a lot of those military aspects when we finished our empirical study in 1997. Even though the Belgian Gendarmerie hadn't performed any peacekeeping duties since 1991, it continued to support the Army in its sphere of action and the relationship between both entities continued to exist. Concerning the implementation principles on public order we concluded that the efforts on partnership, the measured use of violence and problem-oriented methods of working go hand in hand with a perception of disturbers of the peace as opponents, the use of military weapons and a symptom-driven approach. What's more, at the end of 1997, the Belgian Gendarmerie retained the distinguishing characteristics of a military organization such as a system of military rank, grade and seniority as the guiding principles in personnel management, the presence of military personnel, a distinction between NCOs and officers, a policy of

¹⁸ We elaborate on this in the description of the process of demilitarization below.

barracked accommodation for NCOs on basic training during the period in which (part military) subjects are taught and a prevailing regimentation in which guiding principles, such as obedience and carrying out orders, continued to be stressed. These aspects constitute the hard core of the Belgian Gendarmeries military make-up and serve to explain, at that time (the end of 1997), why the demilitarization process of the Belgian Gendarmerie was by no means complete.

In the period under study, 1957 is a first milestone in the demilitarization process because the Belgian gendarmerie, in that year, becomes, by law, a distinct part of the armed forces, with its own numerical strength and budget (cfr. Figure 1 above). Since then the Belgian gendarmerie has, to an increasing extent, been stressing its police character. In the sixties the Belgian gendarmerie starts recruiting civilians, it advocates the use of less deadly weapons in respect of public order, the personal partners of the gendarmerie staff get more freedom in their choice of career and prevention, service orientation and partnership are made more explicit as its implementation principles. In the seventies, this trend is sustained by highlighting the importance of relations with the community, the adoption of the functional differentiation as the main principle when positioning staff in the organizational hierarchy and a critical reflection about the administrative police duties of the Belgian gendarmerie by an internal work group. In the eighties the Commando reconsiders its stance on the use of firearms, the relative proportion of police weapons rises, in 1981 the first female NCO is recruited to the force and the social promotion, whereby the distinction between officers and NCOs is, to some extent, broken down, is introduced. Eventually, the trend towards demilitarization gains momentum in the nineties. The management of the Belgian gendarmerie passes into hands of a civil authority and the corps is relieved in part, of its military duties in connection with national defence. The traditional implementation principles on public order are being questioned and the Belgian gendarmerie starts its 'Basic Policing with Total Quality Control', their interpretation of community policing. The Commando fleshes out its stance on the use of firearms and the relative proportion of military weapons in its arsenal is run down. Organizationally, the hierarchical chain is shortened from five to three levels of command, more and more personnel are transferred to the territorial units of the Belgian gendarmerie (instead of to the central unit for public order policing), (highly-qualified) civilians are recruited in increasing numbers, the first female officer takes up her duties and the first immigrant NCO is recruited. At the same time a charter of values is drawn up and traditional military elements disappear from the logo of the Belgian gendarmerie. More and more NCOs end up, after their stint of basic training, in a territorial unit, the policy of barracked accommodation for NCOs on basic training is relaxed and the rules of military discipline are scrapped.

That, in turn, raises the question of to what extent the Demilitarization Act of 1991 has affected this process and to what extent the Belgian gendarmerie comes close to an ideal-typical civil police organization. On the basis of our research findings we can formulate a nuanced answer to this question.

The role of the Demilitarization Act in the demilitarization process at the Belgian Gendarmerie is, on the one hand, limited because the 1991 Act is aimed, principally, at the strategic demilitarization of the Belgian Gendarmerie. The government's aim, with that Act, was to adapt to the modified role of the Belgian Armed Forces and the demand for closer coordination between the Belgian Gendarmerie and the other Belgian police forces (municipal police forces and judicial police force). On the other hand, the Demilitarization Act plays a pivotal role through the implicit support of previously introduced innovations and by instigating new initiatives. In addition, the Act signalled, quite clearly, that the demilitarization of the Belgian Gendarmerie was a policy option and should, no longer, be restricted to the militant theme of a few internal pioneers. The 1991 Demilitarization Act can, therefore, be regarded as the political underpinning of the internal demilitarization process at the Belgian Gendarmerie which took shape, bit by bit, over three decades ago. We look upon this Act as the external demilitarization of the Belgian Gendarmerie.

The empirical analysis also showed that the demilitarization trend, as spotted in the period under study, hasn't, by any manner or means, reached the boundaries of the Community Policing concept, as defined in our theoretical approach. The main reason is that neither the internal demilitarization process nor the external demilitarization of the Belgian Gendarmerie was underpinned by rendering debatable the often implicitly existent, traditional viewpoint on the Belgian Gendarmeries role and position in Belgian society. We also concluded that the gendarmerie staff, which will be affected by the drastic change programme, not infrequently had no idea about the ultimate, long-term goal of the modernization programme. Furthermore, the military analogy continued to exist, albeit latently, in the change programme and this analogy lent 'colour' to the initiatives and to the end results on Community Policing. Our empirical study showed that the first initiatives of community policing of the gendarmerie were more directed towards an improvement of the public image of the gendarmerie than towards a fundamental change in the implementation principles. One of the reasons was that the central principles of community policing were not enough integrated in the overall approach towards the problems being addressed. Some projects were too often directed towards solving internal problems instead of addressing the police role in solving societal problems. Other projects directed towards problem-solving lacked the involvement of necessary partners to do so. Furthermore, an internal poll indicated amongst other results

that some projects were treated as a new procedure that had to be implemented, that the underlying ideas of community policing were not present at the bottom of the organisation, that people were trying to derive standards out of the projects and that culture was seen as an instrument to lead the organisation towards community policing. The traditional view on policing, as part of the culture of the gendarmerie, made the implementation of community policing obviously a very hard job.

It's a fact that the Belgian Gendarmerie, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, still carried about traditional military elements which made the corps structurally and culturally, unique. That uniqueness had to be taken into consideration when incorporating the municipal police forces, the Judicial Police (assigned to the offices of the public prosecutors) and the Belgian Gendarmerie in the integrated police force that Belgium has enjoyed, by law, since the end of 1998 (Law 07/12/1998). Since then no further research has been done on the evolution of the process of demilitarisation of the newly created police.

Although Belgium no longer has a gendarmerie, this Napoleonic heritage is still widespread all over the world (such as in Italy, Spain, Turkey, Morocco, Guinea, Ivory Coast and Argentina) (Monet 1993). The Carabinieri in Italy and the Guardia Civil in Spain have been used in Iraq, what puts this kind of institution in the middle of the debate mentioned above. Europe is also taken initiatives to use more of these corps to deal with the new security challenges. On the 17th of September 2004 five European Union member states signed an agreement to establish a European Gendarmerie Force (EGF), which is defined as *a police force with military status*¹⁹. EGF will be used for public order and backing up the military. The EGF is expected to bridge the gap between military forces and civil police forces. EGF consists of 800 men (backed by 2,300 in reserve reserves), drawn from the countries' paramilitary police such as the Gendarmerie National (France), the Koninklijke Marechaussee (the Netherlands), Guarda Nacional Republicana (Portugal) and the Guardia Civil (Spain). The plan is to become operational at the end of 2005. There is not an EU-wide consensus on this initiative for example Austria has recently disbanded their paramilitary police forces and Germany reacted with drawing the attention on the clear distinction they want to make between police and military functions. As Belgium abolished its gendarmerie in 1998, the Belgian minister of Defence (André Flahaut) is currently thinking about sending members of the Belgian Military Police, as part of the Belgian Armed Forces, to strengthen the EGF. It's clear that the founding of the EGF puts again the issue of the demilitarisation of the gendarmerie on the European political agenda.

Conclusion

This case study proves that, at the end of the twentieth century, the *militarization and demilitarisation/democratization* of police departments are, as paradoxical trends, still very much alive. And, what's more, *both trends are interacting on each other*. The presence of an often latent, traditional approach within a police organization influences, to a great extent, the way in which Community Policing is interpreted and implemented. The traditional perception of the role and position of the police in society is part of the prevailing culture in the police organization and it's implicitly inherent in the functionality of the police force. It's a vision which impacts on the implementation principles that are adhered to when discharging the remit. In this way the initial impetus to civilisation and, in particular, manifest civil implementation principles, such as problem-oriented methods of working and partnership, are being mortgaged by latent militaristic implementation principles, such as symptom-driven methodologies and a 'them or us' attitude.

Accordingly, the demilitarization process of a police organization will have more chance of success if the process is underpinned and guided by a transparent vision of the police's role and position in a democratic society. The reason is that precisely such a vision may mark a break with traditional basic assumptions and with the operational and organizational militarization of the police force. Provided the requisite attention is given to the theoretical elaboration of the concept, Community Policing offers great possibilities along those lines.

Finally, we can conclude that the demilitarization of a police organization is an ongoing process and that a law may well expedite that process. In this process, the operational demilitarization of a police organization is of crucial importance due to the huge impact of its remit (viz. the assigned tasks) and the implementation principles on the functionality of the police and on the nature of the police organization. Since the guiding principles that it adheres to in the execution of police work are so firmly-rooted, culturally, any attempt to change those principles will require a long-term effort. Following on from that, the organizational demilitarization of a police organization, via the management structure, personnel management, basic training, a policy of barracked accommodation and regimentation is crucial because this dimension, provided it's consistent with the basic assumptions, contains, both towards the workforce and towards the public at large, an important cultural message.

These considerations have to be put in their political context, which will determine whether the reform of the organisation (either militarization or demilitarisation) will have any chance to be successful. Furthermore, these

¹⁹ <http://www.eurofedop.org/news/news2004/head2004-n02.htm>.

considerations are useful for policy-makers who decide on the changing role and specific tasks of the police in combating crime and terrorism in the future by either militarising or demilitarising the police. The question can be asked whether it is possible to combine both styles of policing in one police corps to be prepared to perform the increasing demands of our societies. To some extent the 'war' on terrorism seems to ask for a remilitarization of the police while good relationships with different neighbourhoods (and the 'cry' for community policing) is one of the necessary elements to be able to deal with terrorism as a societal problem. If both trends not seem to be paradoxical on a societal level as they are two sides of the same coin, this may nevertheless generate concerns on the organisational and operational level of police management and may ask for a reconsideration of the process of demilitarization of the police.

References

- Bittner, E., *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society*, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.
- BOËNE, B. (1990a), *La Spécificité Militaire*. Paris, Armand Colin.
- BOËNE, B. (1990b), How 'Unique' should the Military be? A Review of Representative Literature and Outline of a Synthetic Formulation. In: *Arch. Europ. Sociol.*, nr. 31 , pp. 3-59.
- CADIEUX, P. H. (1989). *A Vision of the Future of Policing in Canada: Police-Challenge 2000*. Ontario: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada.
- CORDNER, G. W. (1978). Open and Closed Models of Police Organizations: Traditions, Dilemmas and Practical Considerations. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 6 (1), 22-34.
- CREVELD, M. L. van (1991). *The Transformation of War*. New York: Free Press.
- DELLA PORTA, D., & REITER, H. (1997), Police du Gouvernement ou des Citoyens? Les Stratégies de L'Ordre Public en Italie. In: *Les Cahiers de la Sécurité Intérieure. Maintien de L'Ordre*, pp. 36-57, Paris: IHESI.
- EASTON, M., De demilitariseren van de rijkswacht, *Criminologische Studies*, 7, Brussel, Vubpress, 351p, 2001. (publication phd in Dutch)
- EASTON, M. (2005). "Culture as the key to change", paper presented at the International Symposium on Management and the Military, 26-27/05/2005, Turkish Military Academy, Ankara.
- ENLOE, C.A. (1978). Police and Military in Ulster: Peacekeeping or Peace-subverting Forces? In: *Journal of Peace Research*, 15 (3), p. 243-258.
- FRIEDMANN, R.R., (1992). *Community Policing - Comparative perspectives and prospects*. New York, London, Harvester: Wheatsheaf.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1969). The Characteristics of Total Institutions. In A. Etzioni (Ed.), *A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations*, pp. 312-338. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, inc.
- GOLDSTEIN, H. (1977). *Policing a Free Society*. Cambridge: Ballinger.
- HAUSER, W. L. (1973), *America's Army in Crisis: a Study in Civil-Military Relations*. London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- HORN, J. (1996). Een Goede Politieorganisatie is Meer dan de Som der Delen. *het Tijdschrift voor de Politie* (4), 14-18.
- JANOWITZ, M. (1965). *Sociology and the Military Establishment*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- KALBERG, S. (1994). *Max Weber's Comparative Historical Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- KALDOR, M. (1999). *Old en New Wars, Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Stanford: Polity Press.
- KEITH, M. (1993). *Race, Riots and Policing. Lore and Disorder in a Multi-Racist Society*. London: UCL Press.
- KRASKA, P. B. (1994), The Police and Military in the Post-Cold War Era: Streamlining the State's Use of Force Entities in the Drug War. In: *Police Forum*, jg. 4, pp. 1-8.
- KRASKA, P. B., & KAPPELER, V. E. (1997), Militarizing American Police: The Rise and Normalization of Paramilitary Units. In: *Social Problems*, 44 (1), pp. 1-18.
- LANG, K. (1963), Military Organizations. In: J. G. March (red.), *Handbook of Organizations*. Chicago, Rand McNally, pp. 838-878.
- MAJERUS, B., ROUSSEAU, X. (2004). The World Wars and Their Impact on the Belgian Police System. In: Fijnaut, C. (ed.). *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, pp. 43-89. Belgium: Leuven University Press.
- MONET, J.-C. (1993), *Polices et Sociétés en Europe*. Paris, La Documentation Française.
- MONJARDET, D. (1996), *Ce que Fait la Police: Sociologie de la Force Publique*. Paris, Editions la Découverte.

- PONSAERS, P., (2001). "De ontwikkeling van community (oriented) policing en de verhouding tot andere politiemodellen". In : *Handboek Politiediensten*, Gemeenschapsgerichte politiezorg, Politiemodellen, Afl. 57, p. 1-42. Diegem: Kluwer.
- REINER, R. (1992), *The Politics of the Police*. London, Harvester-Wheatsheaf.
- TEITLER, G. (1972), *Toepassing van Geweld: Sociologische Essays over Geweld, Verzet en Militaire Organisatie*. Boom, Meppel.
- VAN RYCKEGHEM, D., HUENS Caroline, & HENDRICKX, E. (1998), *Conflicten in de Maatschappij: de Politie een Partner? Een Onderzoek naar de Grenzen van de Traditionele Referentiekaders en die van "Community Policing" in het Raam van het Politieel Begeleiden van Evenementen*. Brussel, Rijkswacht Generale Staf.
- VAN RYCKEGHEM, D. & HENDRICKX, E. (2002), "N'oubliez jamais que vous êtes les rois de la rue...". Openbare ordehandhaving of het beheren van gebeurtenissen en de bescherming van personen, goederen en instellingen. In: Duhaut, G., Ponsaers, P., Pyl, G. & Van de Sompel, R. *Pour Suite D'Enquête... Essais sur la police et son rôle dans notre société*, pp. 693-726. Brussels : Politeia.
- VAN DOORN, J. A. A. (1956), *Een Sociologische Benadering van het Organisatieverschijnsel, in het bijzonder gebaseerd op een Analyse van de Militaire Organisatie*. Leiden, Stenfert Kroese N.V.
- VAN OUIRIVE, L., CARTUYVELS, Y., PONSASERS, P. (1992). *Sire, ik ben ongerust. Geschiedenis van de Belgische politie 1794-1991*. Leuven: Kritak, pp. 367.
- WHITE, R. (1994), Review 'The Strong Arm of the Law: Armed and Public Order Policing. The Case against Paramilitary Policing' by T.JEFFERSON & P.A.J. WADDINGTON. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 27(2), pp. 198-200.

Workplace Problems and Coping Strategies for Police in South Korea and the United States²⁰

by
Dr. Merry Morash of Michigan State University
USA,
Dr. Sun Ho Cho of Chung Nam National University
Republic of Korea,
Seok Jin Jeong of Michigan State University,
U.S. A. &
Dr. Vincent J. Hoffman of Michigan State University
U.S.A.

Abstract (Summary)

The present study compared workplace problems and coping strategies of South Korean and U.S. police. Data were from surveys of 700 South Korean and 849 U.S. officers. Women and men in both countries experience a similar lack influence on how policing accomplished. There are more national differences than gender differences. South Korean police see the least opportunity for advancement, and South Korean women report the highest levels of harassment and stigmatization. U.S. Caucasian male police officers and African American police officers, and to somewhat a lesser extent U.S. Caucasian female officers have the least workplace problems. Perhaps because they experience more problems, South Korean officers are more active than those in the U.S in using several different kinds of coping strategies.

²⁰ The authors would like to acknowledge Robin N. Haarr, Associate Professor, University of Kentucky, for Assistance in collecting the U.S. data and Dae Hoon Kwak, Doctoral Student, Michigan State University, for assistance in collecting the Korean data. Additional thanks to Jung Mi Kim and Chang Hun Lee, Doctoral Students at Michigan State University, Byong Ook Moon, Assistant Professor, University of Alaska at Fairbanks, and Dr. Young-Nam Lee, Professor at Kwandong University for assistance in developing the survey instrument in Korean. The viewpoints and conclusions presented in the paper are solely those of the authors.

Workplace Problems and Coping Strategies for Police in South Korea and the United States

Introduction

This research compares workplace problems and police officer methods of coping with those problems in South Korea and the United States. The comparative nature of the study allows for assessment of whether South Korea and the United States are unique from each other in either the workplace problems that officers experience or in the ways that individuals cope with these problems. It also allows conclusions about the persistence of gender differences across the different national contexts, and for the United States, the combined effect of gender and racial minority status on workplace problems and coping. Finally, the comparison makes it possible to determine whether we can generalize findings from one country to the other. We can draw conclusions about whether there are workplace problems that are particularly acute in one or the other country, about potential strategies for addressing these problems, and about whether officers in both countries need similar types of assistance in using effective coping strategies.

A primary reason for studying police workplace problems is that they can contribute to stress and they can lower retention and productivity. The academic literature from both South Korea and the United States establishes these connections. Many scholars have demonstrated a link between the stress that police feel on the job and negative outcomes that include job dissatisfaction (Kearns, 1986; Wright & Saylor, 1991), work performance problems (Gaines & Jermier, 1983; Maslack Jackson, 1974; Territo & Vetter, 1987), family problems like divorce, medical problems (for a review, see Chang, 2000, p. 24) and feelings of depression, anxiety, and even suicide (Fridell & Pate, 1997; Arrigo & Garsky, 1997; Kim et al., 2000). The occupation of police work is very stressful (He et al., 2002; Newman & Rucker-Reed, 2004; Park, 2002). Police officers are frequently exposed to danger, are confronted with violent and unknown assailants, and must deal with antisocial and unpredictable situations (Martelli et al., 1989). While some stressors are out of control of the police organization, many of the strongest predictors of stress are located in police organizational structure, police practices, and police culture (Martelli et al., 1989; Morash, Haarr & Kwak, forthcoming). For instance, stress can result when orders are simply passed from management to street officers, without any opportunity for the officers to participate in the decision making that leads up to issuing a particular order (Schafer, 2000). Lack of promotional opportunity is another key influence on police stress (Storch & Panzarella, 1996). Understanding the relative levels of workplace problems can suggest organizational change that would have positive outcomes for employees.

Many workplace problems involve police officers who are interacting in a negative way with each other (Cole, 1999; Zhao et al., 2002; Morash & Haarr, 1995; Brown & Campbell, 1994; Reiser, 1974; Kroes et al., 1974; Wexler & Logan, 1983; Cha, Chang, Park, Ko, Kang & Ko, 1997; Chang, Cha, Koh, Kang, Koh & Park, 1997). In South Korea, great value is placed on harmonious relationships with fellow officers, and when officers have negative interactions, the result can be competition and dissatisfaction, that in turn result in inefficiency, inability to accomplish tasks, and lack of cooperation and support (Ok & Kim, 2001). Police who are stressed because of problems at work tend to change to another occupation (Kim et al., 2000; Park, 1984; Park 2002), have role ambiguity (Jang, 1996), and to be dissatisfied with their jobs (Park, 2002). For both South Korea and the United States, workplace problems need to be documented and understood, because not only are they undesirable by definition (that is, they are *problems*), but also they can contribute to negative outcomes for both individuals and the police organization (Zhao et al., 2002; Haarr & Morash, 1999; Morash & Haarr, 1995; Newman & Rucker-Reed, 2004; Kim et al., 2002).

How police cope with workplace problems is also an important area for research. In fact, some theorists argue that how an individual copes with problems is more important to her or his well-being than the existence of the problems in the first place (Perrewe & Zellars, 1999: 739; for a review, see Aldwin & Revenson, 1987; Fain & McCormick, 1988). Some coping strategies are more effective than others in reducing occupational stress (Burke, 1998; Haarr & Morash, 1999; Kirkcaldy, Cooper & Brown, 1995; Violanti, 1981, 1992). Specifically, officers who changed job assignments and took formal action were better able to decrease their workplace stress than those who used escape, coworker support, and/or family support (Aldwin & Revenson, 1987; Billings & Moos, 1981; Dewe, 1989; Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Haarr and Morash, 1999; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Consistent with findings specific to the police, for South Korean industrial workers, direct action coping strategies reduced stress and positively impacted job performance, but other approaches did not have these desirable results (Lee & Lee, 2001). Coping by escape may reduce stress in the short term, but it does not lead to problem resolution, and it can actually increase stress over the long term (Billing & Moos, 1981; Folkman & Lazarus, 1980, 1988; Strentz & Auerbach, 1988; Violanti, 1992), especially in jobs like policing. In policing, escaping from workplace problems can be highly impractical, because most police have frequent interaction with fellow officers and supervisors. Coping strategies such as distancing and planned problem-solving significantly reduced stress, but escape/avoidance and self-control coping do not appear to work, and sometimes they significantly increased officers' stress levels (Hart, Wearing & Headey, 1995).

National Differences

Due to the historical involvement of the United States in the development of policing in South Korea after the Korean War, South Korean and U.S. police departments are somewhat similar in the structure, philosophy, and policies affecting policing. Yet, there are some important organizational as well as cultural differences. The South Korean Police is a national force with branches in each of fourteen provinces. Except for federal agencies and state police departments with specialized functions, like the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the California State Police, the U.S. force is highly decentralized, with city and county jurisdictions under the control of local governments. In general, the South Korean police have a more highly centralized and more hierarchical structure. As a result, relationships between supervising and line officers are more formal. Because of police culture, official rules, and regulations, line officers rarely participate in decision-making processes.

Promotions to supervisory positions are accomplished differently in the two countries. In South Korea, almost all supervising officers have graduated from the National Police University or passed a high-level civil service exam to begin their career as a supervising officer. Therefore, officers who begin employment as a line officer rarely get into a supervisory position (Park, 2002). There are more National Police University graduates than can be matched to the available supervisory positions, so despite their educational achievement, graduates often fail. They lack sufficient opportunity for promotion. In contrast, almost all U.S. police supervisors, including heads of departments, were first employed as line officers. Also, in the United States, the widespread adoption of community oriented policing has led to decentralized decision making (Morash and Ford, 2002). Opportunities for promotion are of course limited by the positions available, but education is not a barrier to promotion, and individuals at all levels may have considerable autonomy in making day-to-day decisions about work.

An important feature of Asian, including Korean, culture is that value is placed on being humble and not being assertive in order to preserve harmonious relationships with other people (Chaiyevej, 2003; Chu, 1987; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In contrast, situations and practices in the United States mitigate against harmonious relationships. These include the unionization of many police departments in the United States, and for all U.S. police departments, the legal possibility that police officers can sue their departments for a wide variety of perceived injustices and unfairness. U.S. police unions establish practices that encourage documentation of problems and use of official grievance procedures to resolve them. Police officers' legal right to sue the police department also establishes documentation of complaints and taking legal action as desirable and reasonable ways to address problems that police might have with superiors and coworkers.

Gender and racial group representation is quite different in the two countries. The United States is a racially and ethnically diverse country, and has a diverse police force. The vast majority of citizens and police in South Korea are Asians of Korean heritage. Finally, different from the United States, women police officers in South Korea are restricted to certain types of jobs. In the United States, by law women have the same training and job opportunities as do the men.

The literature, then, suggests that workplace problems and coping strategies will differ in a variety of ways for South Korean and U.S. police. As we will next discuss, there also is reason to believe that police officers' workplace problems and coping with those problems will differ for gender groups, and in the United States, minority racial groups.

Gender and U.S. Racial Minority Group Differences

Women are a small minority of police officers in both South Korea and the United States, and in the United States, most police officers are Caucasian. As of 2001, women officers were two percent of the South Korean police force; however they were over represented among supervisors, where they were 13.5 percent (Lee, 2002). Statistics are compiled for U.S. departments serving populations of 250,000 or more. In 2000, females were 16.3% of full-time sworn personnel; blacks made up 20.1% of all police officers, Hispanics were 14.1%, 2.8% were Asian/Pacific Islander, and 0.4% were Native American (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000). U.S. police women are not over represented in supervisory positions, and they are greatly under represented in the highest positions.

In the United States, there is considerable documentation that police practices and organizational culture are most supportive of traditional, Caucasian, masculine values (Hunt, 1990). These values include the idea that police work emphasizes the use of force and display of aggression, which are viewed as primarily male traits, and that women are not appropriate candidates for police work. The result of these values can include being left out of informal support and mentoring arrangements, being ignored, or being watched carefully as an unusual, "token" officer (Kanter 1977; Kanter & Stein, 1979). Other results are that compared to men, women police officers are more likely to encounter higher levels of harassment, hostility, and disadvantage as they learn the job of policing (Martin, 1990, 1997; Deaux & Ullman, 1983). Also, whether an officer is in a racial minority

group can influence whether he or she gets along with colleagues and develops shared values (Cole, 1999) and can result in limited occupational opportunities and negative experiences on the job (Morash & Haarr, 1995; Haarr & Morash, 1999; Gaines et al., 1997). The racial homogeneity in South Korea dictates that the influence of race combined with gender will be different in the United States. However, it is possible to examine the influence of gender on workplace problems across the two countries, and to fill a gap in research on the experiences of women police officers in South Korea.

There is some empirical basis for expecting unique coping strategies among women and, for the U.S., racial minority police. Relevant to the notion that some groups of police have unique stressors, women police may differ in their coping strategies because the experience of exclusion makes them more critical of dominant occupational group norms and practices, particularly those that appear to preserve predominantly male interests (Worden, 1993: 207). Additionally, in the organizational psychology literature, Greenglass (1995) elucidated the role of social support from family, coworkers, and supervisors in coping with occupational stress; social support helps people deal with job stress through communication that enhances self-esteem and self-acceptance (see also Wills, 1990). The effectiveness of social support is supported in research on police (Cullen, Lemming, Link, & Wozniak, 1985; Graf, 1986; Kroes, Margolis, & Jurrell, 1974) and on workers in other types of settings (Chang, Cha, Koh, Kang, Koh & Park, 1997). Greenglass concluded that U.S. women's greater reliance on social support is likely to result in effective coping strategies to manage stress (see also Glick, 1998; Holahan & Moos, 1987; LaRocco et al., 1980; Moos & Moos, 1984).²¹ Etzion and Pines (1981) similarly found that women were better able than men to use their support networks because they talk with one another as a way of coping with problems. Similarly, there are racial group differences in strategies that police use for coping with problems in the workplace (Lykes, 1983; Plummer & Slane, 1996; Stroman & Seltzer, 1991; Smyth & Williams, 1991). Racial minority status also affects how people cope with stress. According to Plummer and Slane (1996), Caucasians are less likely to seek support to help solve race related problems, but when African-Americans are confronted such a situation; they are more likely to seek support. A complexity that can be considered in the research is whether national or gender or, for the United States, racial minority status make the greatest difference in the types of workplace problems that police experience or in how they cope with them.

Hypothesized National, Gender, and Racial Minority Differences

Based on a consideration of national, gender, and U.S. racial minority group differences between police officers, we tested the following hypotheses:

- In South Korea, officers would feel they have less influence over day-to-day decisions about how they do their jobs than in the United States.
- Officers in South Korea would feel they have less opportunity for promotion than do those in the United States.
- The value placed on harmonious relationships and the absence of union and legal tactics to formally address problems would suggest that in South Korea, officers would be most likely to cope with problems through informal means. Alternatively, in the United States, individuals (especially gender and racial group minorities) would be more likely to use formal means of addressing problems at work.
- In general, we hypothesize that women police would experience more workplace problems than do men, in part because of their token status in the organization. Additionally, because of prejudice and bias, we would expect that within the United States, racial minorities would report more workplace problems than do Caucasian officers.
- Due to different historical experiences of women in the South Korean and the U.S. police departments, and cultural differences in differences in expected gender appropriate behaviors, women in the two countries will report different kinds of workplace problems and coping approaches.
- Since South Korean police women typically have jobs that are considered to be "appropriate" for women, we expected that they would less often be harassed or ignored. In the United States, women are integrated into the same training and job types as are men, so we hypothesize that they will have high levels of workplace problems.

Methodology

Sample

The intent of the sampling approach was to replicate, insofar as possible, a similar method for taking a sample in both South Korea and the United States, and to obtain a large sample that would include adequately sized groups for analysis to compare the two nations and subgroups differentiated by gender. In the United States, we also wanted to have a large enough sample to compare Caucasians and African Americans, the two

²¹ However, note that Haarr and Morash (1999) found that reliance on social support as one of a variety of simultaneously used approaches to coping with stress characterized highly stressed officers. This raises questions about whether social support is as effective as taking more direct steps to eliminate the stressor.

largest racial groups. The intent was not to take a probability sample, but to take large and diverse samples in the two countries. Efforts were made to include individuals from the range of ranks.

The voluntary nature of participation, and other human subjects' protections, such as anonymity and the right to skip questions, also were explained to subjects. This information was presented both verbally and in writing to the officers.

Korean Data. There is a police headquarters in each of Korea's fourteen provinces, and within each province, multiple departments (totaling 101 in the country) to serve specific areas. Most of the data collection was in the Chungbuk Provincial Police Agency, where 500 male officers and 100 female officers, who worked in 11 different departments, were asked to complete the survey. To obtain more women in the sample, an additional 100 women who were attending a training program that served all of the provinces were asked to participate. Chungbuk Province, which has a population of about 1.5 million, is located in the central part of South Korea. It includes one large city (Cheongju, with a population of over 600 thousand) and two medium sized cities as well as numerous suburban and rural areas.

Of 500 questionnaires distributed to men in the Chungbuk Provincial Police Agency, 490 were returned, yielding a response rate of 98 percent. Of 200 police women asked to take part in the research, 186, or 93 percent, did take part. Overall, for South Korea the total number of returned questionnaires was 676 and the response rate was 96 percent. Seventeen percent of the respondents indicated that they were supervising officers (e.g. lieutenant, captain, and superintendent). Eighty three percent reported being line officers (e.g. sergeant, senior police officer, and police officer)

U.S. Data. The U.S. data were collected in a partial replication of a prior survey conducted in 1990 (Morash and Haarr, 1995). In 1990, the leadership in 24 departments voluntarily involved those departments in the research. Eleven of the 26 departments agreed to a repeat of the survey in 2003, and the 2003 group of 849 participants constituted the U.S. sample. The departments served geographically diverse areas in the United States, including a major U.S. city with a population well over 1 million and some very small sheriff and small town departments serving rural areas. One of the researchers spoke with a contact person in each department and negotiated an approach to sampling that would result in subgroups that would be reasonably representative, but that the department felt was feasible given its workload and resources. Each department was asked to obtain a sample, insofar as possible, of 30 in each of the gender by race subgroups: males and females who were Caucasian, African American, Asian, and Native American males. For the present analysis, the very small number of participants who were Asian and Native Americans were not included. Similar to the South Korean sample, the U.S. sample did not represent the actual proportions of women and men, racial minority and racial majority officers in the departments, since we worked with each department to over sample women and minorities.

In some cases, particularly in small departments, it was possible to actually randomly sample officers from a stratified list. In other U.S. departments, after we ascertained that officers who reported for different shifts were generally representative of officers in the department, a certain shift was approached. We encouraged departments to allow work time to complete the survey, but a few departments were only willing to distribute the surveys by internal mail and ask that they be mailed back. These departments had the lowest response rates. In all, 2051 individuals were asked to take part in the survey, and 947 (46.2%) returned a survey.

Males were just over 72% of the U.S. sample, and females were 27% of the sample. In addition, 69% of the officers were Caucasian, and racial minority officers made up just over 30% of the sample. In the U.S. sample, 21.9% of respondents were above the sergeant level, and the remainder were either patrol officers or sergeants. The proportions of parole and supervisory officers were comparable in the two countries.

Measurement

Questions that had been used in the United States in 2003 were translated into Korean for use in 2004. A second bilingual translator translated them back into English, and an English-speaking investigator determined whether the new version was accurate. A group of six bilingual and one mono-lingual (English speaking) individuals reviewed all of the questions and the results of the back translation process. The group included three professors in criminal justice (two from the United States and one from South Korea) and four Ph.D. students in criminal justice. Final adjustments were made to the questions during the group meetings.

Measures of four types of workplace problems, four approaches to coping with problems, and three types of social support for work activities were adapted from Morash and Haarr (1995; Haarr and Morash, 1999). The four workplace problems are lack of advancement opportunity, lack of influence over police work, harassment and stigmatization, and rejection by other police. The coping strategies are expression of feelings, getting other police to like oneself, keeping written records, and changing job assignments. Levels of social support in dealing with workplace problems were measured for coworkers, superiors, and family. The measures of

support from coworkers, superiors, and family were initially adapted from Cullen, et al. (1985). Table 1 presents reliability scores and sample questions for each of the scales.

Data Analysis

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to compare the group means for measures of workplace problems, coping, and support for the six groups: Korean women, Korean men, U.S. Caucasian women, U.S. Caucasian men, U. S. African-American women, U. S. African-American men. Based on the review of the literature, eight comparisons were planned: (1) Korean versus U.S. police (to identify national differences); (2) male versus female police (to identify gender differences); (3) Korean police versus Caucasian U.S. police (to identify national differences just for racial majorities in the countries); (4) Korean male versus U.S. Caucasian male police (to identify national differences for majority men); (5) Korean female versus U.S. Caucasian female police (to identify national differences for majority women); (6) Korean male versus Korean female police (to identify within Korea gender differences); (7) U.S. male versus U.S. female police (to identify within U.S. gender differences); (8) U.S. Caucasian male versus U.S. Caucasian female (to see if gender differences in the U.S. depended on racial minority status). To take into account the increased chances of making a Type I error when multiple statistical tests are conducted, for each variable (i.e., each of the four workplace problems, each method of coping, and each type of support), alpha was determined for the set of eight comparisons. This procedure allows for establishing significance for the set of tests so that Type I error is not inflated simply by conducting many comparisons. It should be noted that it was not possible to consider nation, gender, and race as three covariates in the same analysis, because some of the intersections do not exist, for example, there are no Caucasian Korean police. The eight planned comparisons were designed to tease out the influences of nation and gender, and in the United States, to see if racial minority status made a difference.

Results

Workplace Problems

South Korean Officers Compared to U.S. Officers. When all South Korean officers were compared with all U.S. officers, the Korean officers were significantly more likely to report a lack of advancement opportunity, problems with stigmatization and harassment, and rejection by other police (Table 2; comparison I). Graphs 1, 2 and 3 depict these findings and additional findings about subgroup differences in workplace problems. There were no differences in Korean and U.S. officers in reports of the level of influence they felt that they had over how policing gets done, and as for other instances when there are no subgroup differences, we do not present the graph.

Compared to non-minority (Caucasian) U.S. women police, the Korean female police officers reported less of a problem with job advancement opportunities, more of a problem with stigmatization and harassment, and greater rejection by other police. The statistical analysis suggests that in three of the four workplace problem areas, Korean women are the most disadvantaged of any subgroup.

In a parallel comparison of Caucasian U.S. men to South Korean men, Korean policemen were higher in reported stigmatization and harassment, rejection by other police, and lack of advancement opportunity.

Table 2. Results of Eight Comparisons of Means for Four types of Workplace Problem

Comparisons	Stigma and Harassment	Rejection by Other Police	Lack Influence Over Job	Lack Advancement Opportunity
I. Korean vs. U.S. Officers				
Group 1 name and mean	Korea: x=3.8	Korea: x=7.3	Korea: x=3.2	Korea: x=3.0
Group 2 name and mean	U.S.: x=3.6	U.S.: x=6.8	U.S.: x=3.2	U.S.: x=2.5
t-value*	2.4**	3.9***	-.4	8.8***
II. Male vs. Female Officers				
Group 1 name and mean	Male: x=3.6	Male: x=7.0	Male: x=3.2	Male: x=2.8
Group 2 name and mean	Female: x=3.9	Female: x=7.2	Female: x=3.2	Female: x=2.6
t-value	3.0***	1.5	.2	-2.1**
III. Male Majority vs. Female Majority Officers				
Group 1 name and mean	Mmale: x=3.7	Mmale: x=7.3	Mmale: x=3.2	Mmale: x=3.1
Group 2 name and mean	Mfemale: x=4.1	Mfemale: x=7.4	Mfemale: x=3.1	Mfemale: x=2.9
t-value	4.0***	1.1	-.1	-2.7***
IV. Korean Male vs. U.S. Caucasian Male				
Group 1 name and mean	Kmale: x=3.7	Kmale: x=7.3	Kmale: x=3.2	Kmale: x=3.1

Group 2 name and mean	Uscmale: x=3.5	Uscmale: x=6.7	Uscmale: x=3.1	Uscmale: x=2.6
t-value	3.2***	5.2***	1.3	9.2***
V. Korean Female vs. U.S. Caucasian Female				
Group 1 name and mean	Kfem: x=4.1	Kfem: x=7.4	Kfem: x=3.1	Kfem: x=2.9
Group 2 name and mean	Uscfem: x=3.7	Uscfem: x=6.9	Uscfem: x=3.2	Uscfem: x=2.5
t-value	2.2**	3.2***	-1.6	4.5***
VI. Korean Male vs. Korean Female				
Group 1 name and mean	Kmale: x=3.7	Kmale: x=7.3	Kmale: x=3.2	Kmale: x=3.1
Group 2 name and mean	Kfem: x=4.1	Kfem: x=7.4	Kfem: x=3.1	Kfem: x=2.9
t-value	3.6***	.9	-1.7	-3.1***
VII. U.S. Male vs. U.S. Female				
Group 1 name and mean	Usmale: x=3.5	Usmale: x=6.7	Usmale: x=3.1	Usmale: x=2.6
Group 2 name and mean	Uscfem: x=3.7	Uscfem: x=6.9	Uscfem: x=3.2	Uscfem: x=2.5
t-value	1.9*	1.3	.7	-1.1
VIII. U.S. Caucasian Male vs. U.S. Caucasian Female				
Group 1 name and mean	Uscmale: x=3.5	Uscmale: x=6.7	Uscmale: x=3.1	Uscmale: x=2.6
Group 2 name and mean	Uscfem: x=3.7	Uscfem: x=6.9	Uscfem: x=3.2	Uscfem: x=2.5
t-value	2.1**	.7	1.2	-1.0

*Because the variances were not equivalent between groups, all significance tests were calculated with assumed unequal variances. For each variable, the significance of the t-value is determined using the Scheffe method for the set of eight planned comparisons.

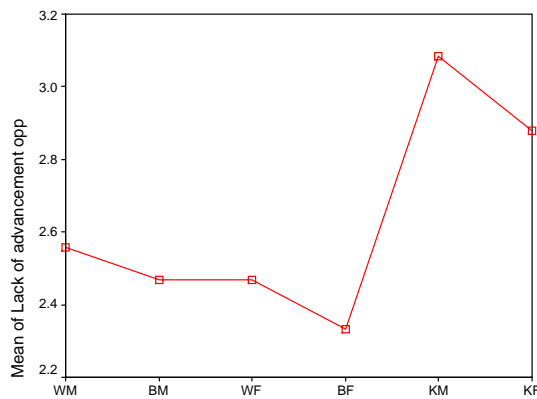
** p<.01

Women Compared to Men. For the combined South Korean and U.S. samples, women reported less of a problem than men reported with opportunities to advance in the police department (Table 2, Comparison II). However, as was hypothesized based on their under representation in policing and prior work that has suggested that they are not accepted on the job, women reported more difficulties than did men with (1) stigma and harassment and (2) rejection by other police.

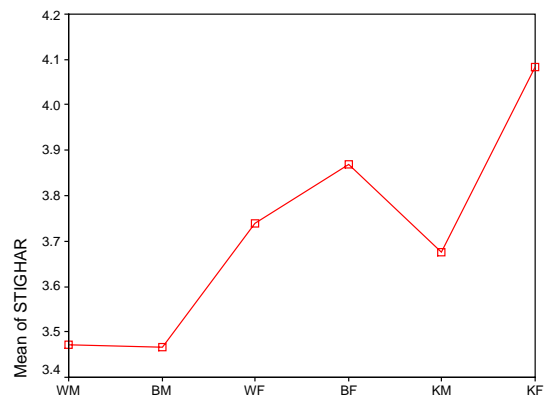
Graphs 1 and 3, respectively, illustrate that national differences seem to make the most difference in whether officers feel they cannot advance on the job and feel that other officers reject them. South Korean officers are much higher on these two problems. However, within South Korea, women experience the lack of advancement opportunity less than do men. (There is not a similar significant finding for the United States.) A comparison of Korean males and females showed no differences in whether they felt rejected by other police officers (Table 2, Comparison VI). However, the Korean women reported more problems with being stigmatized and harassed on the job than did the Korean men.

Findings from comparisons to try to untangle gender and racial minority status related differences in the United States showed a complex picture. As in the analysis of workplace problems, we compared just the Caucasian U.S. officers with the Korean officers. Comparing the Korean men with Caucasian men confirmed the many national differences in coping strategies and support in addressing workplace problems. When the U.S. African American officers are not included in the comparisons, males and females in U.S. police departments were not significantly different on whether they experienced the problem of rejection and hostility from other police officers (Table 2, Comparison III). Women were more likely to report significantly higher levels of sexual harassment and stigmatization, however. For the United States, women's rejection by other police, but not their harassment, seems to be concentrated on the U.S. women who are African American.

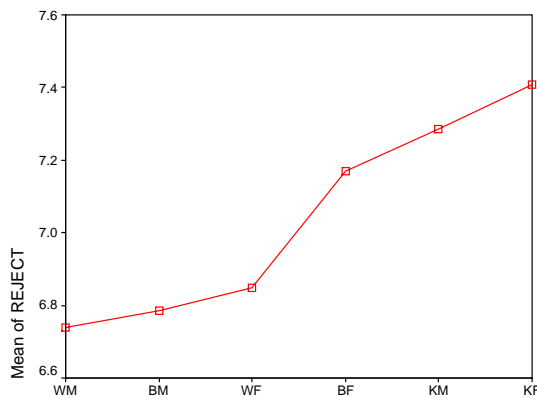
[Graph 1,2 & 3]



1. Subgroup differences of Lack of Advancement



2. Subgroup differences of STIGHAR



3. Subgroup differences of REJECT

Note: On a label text, WM = white male; BM = black male; WF = white female; BF = black female; KM = Korean male; and KF = Korean female.

Coping Strategies

South Korea Officers Compared to U.S. Officers. When all Korean officers were compared with all U.S. officers, the Korean officers were significantly more likely to report coping with problems by escaping, taking formal action, trying to get other to like them, relying on coworker camaraderie, and changing job assignments (Table 3; comparison I). In contrast, the U.S. officers were more likely to report that they coped with workplace problems by keeping written records. The U.S. officers also had higher levels of family, superior, and coworker support for addressing workplace problems than their South Korean counterparts. There was no significant difference between Korean and U.S. officers in the level of using expression of feelings to cope with problems.

Graphs 4 through 13 depict the differences in coping strategies that seem to be most related to which country the police officers are from. Graphs 4, 6, 7, and 10 show that regardless of gender, South Korean officers are quite a bit more likely to address workplace problems by escaping from them, taking formal action, getting others to like them, and changing job assignments. Graphs 11, 12, and 13 show Korean officers' comparatively lower levels of family and coworker support when they are confronted with workplace problems.

To further examine national differences, we conducted separate comparisons for men and then for women. Korean men were more likely to report taking formal action, trying to get other to like them, reliance on coworker camaraderie, and changing job assignment; U.S. Caucasian men tended to report higher level of family, superior, and coworker support (Table 3; Comparison IV; Graphs 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13). Similarly, when Korean women were compared with U.S. Caucasian women, Korean women officers were significantly more likely to report dealing with workplace problems by using escape, taking formal action, getting others to like them, and changing job assignment (Table 3; Comparison V; Graphs 4, 6, 7, 10). In contrast, U.S. Caucasian women officers reported higher level of expressing feelings and keeping written records; they also experienced more superior and coworker support (Graphs 5, 9, 12, 13).

Women Compared to Men. For the combined U.S. and Korean officers, women officers tended to report more use of expression of feelings and reliance on coworker camaraderie to deal with workplace problems

(Table 3; Comparison II; Graphs 5, 8). There were not significant gender differences in reported levels of family, superior, and coworker support.

We also tested for within country gender differences. A comparison of Korean males with Korean females showed no differences in coping strategies, except taking formal action and relying on coworker camaraderie. Korean women officers were significantly more likely to report higher levels of relying on coworker camaraderie, and Korean men reported greater use of formal action (Table 3; Comparison VI; Graphs 6, 8). When U.S. women and men were compared, the women officers reported higher level of coping by expressing feelings and relying on coworker camaraderie than did the men (Table 3; Comparison VII; Graphs 5, 6). Finally, compared to non-minority U.S. women, Caucasian women officers were significantly more likely to report relying on escape, expressing feelings, taking formal action, seeking coworker camaraderie, and keeping written records to deal with workplace problems (Table 3; Comparison VIII; Graphs 4, 5, 6, 8, 9). Across countries, women officers were more likely to report reliance on coworker camaraderie to cope with workplace problems than their male counterparts.

The Intersection of Gender and Race in the U.S. Our analysis and the related graphs show the importance of considering the intersection (the combined effects) of gender and racial minority status in the U.S. context. White females in the United States seem to cope differently with problems at work than do either men or African American women in the United States. In a few cases, they are similar to Korean female officers. More than any group in either country Caucasian female officers cope with workplace problems by expressing their feelings (Graph 5) and by keeping written records of problems that they encounter in the workplace (Graph 9). They are similar to only Korean female officers in their frequent reliance on coworker camaraderie to address workplace problems (Graph 8). Although they do not rely on an escape strategy as much as do Korean officers (either female or male), they use this strategy more often than any other U.S. group (Graph 4). They also report more family support than any other group (Graph 11).

Gender-related patterns are quite distinct for African American women in the United States. Compared to the Caucasian women, African American women are less likely to rely on escape as a strategy for coping with workplace problems (Graph 4). They also report that they are relatively less likely to cope by expressing their feelings (Graph 5), taking formal action (Graph 6), trying to get others to like them (Graph 7), seeking coworker camaraderie (Graph 8), and keeping written records (Graph 9). For African American women, the levels of support from superiors is low (Graph 12), and more similar to the low levels experienced by Korean officers than other groups of U.S. officers.

In the United States, African American males do not differ as sharply from Caucasians as the African American females. They report especially high levels of support from superiors and coworkers (Graphs 12 and 13). However, compared to both Caucasian police officers or African American female officers, African American males are the less likely to rely on expressing their feelings as a strategy for coping with problems (Graph 5). They also report that they are relatively less likely to cope by relying on coworker camaraderie (Graph 8) than other U.S. officers and Korean officers.

Table 3. Results of Eight Comparisons of Means for Coping Strategies

Comparisons	Escape/Dealt with things	Expressed Feelings	Formal Action	Get Others to Like Me	Coworker Camaraderie
I. Korean vs. U.S. Officers					
Group 1 mean	Korea: x=3.2	Korea: x=2.8	Korea: x=2.7	Korea: x=3.4	Korea: x=3.4
Group 2 mean	U.S.: x=2.8	U.S.: x=2.9	U.S.: x=2.0	U.S.: x=2.4	U.S.: x=3.2
t-value	6.6***	-.7	11.4***	17.8***	4.1***
II. Male vs. Female Officers					
Group 1 mean	Male: x=2.9	Male: x=2.8	Male: x=2.3	Male: x=2.8	Male: x=3.2
Group 2 mean	Female: x=3.0	Female: x=3.0	Female: x=2.3	Female: x=2.8	Female: x=3.5
t-value	.3	2.2**	-1.4	-1.0	3.2***
III. Male Majority vs. Female Majority Officers					
Group 1 mean	Mmale: x=3.2	Mmale: x=2.8	Mmale: x=2.8	Mmale: x=3.3	Mmale: x=3.4
Group 2 mean	Mfem: x=3.1	Mfem: x=2.9	Mfem: x=2.6	Mfem: x=3.4	Mfem: x=3.6
t-value	2.0**	4.3***	-.9	1.0	7.9***
IV. Korean Male vs. U.S. Caucasian Male					
Group 1 mean	Kmale: x=3.2	Kmale: x=2.8	Kmale: x=2.8	Kmale: x=3.3	Kmale: x=3.4
Group 2 mean	Uscmale:	Uscmale:	Uscmale:	Uscmale:	Uscmale:

	x=2.8	x=2.8	x=2.0	x=2.4	x=3.2
t-value	8.4***	-.5	17.5***	18.6***	3.9***
V. Korean Female vs. U.S. Caucasian Female					
Group 1 mean	Kfem: x=3.1	Kfem: x=2.9	Kfem: x=2.6	Kfem: x=3.4	Kfem: x=3.6
Group 2 mean	Uscfem: x=3.0	Uscfem: x=3.3	Uscfem: x=2.2	Uscfem: x=2.5	Uscfem: x=3.5
t-value	1.8*	-4.1***	4.6***	10.0***	1.5
VI. Korean Male vs. Korean Female					
Group 1 mean	Kmale: x=3.2	Kmale: x=2.8	Kmale: x=2.8	Kmale: x=3.3	Kmale: x=3.4
Group 2 mean	Kfem: x=3.1	Kfem: x=2.9	Kfem: x=2.6	Kfem: x=3.4	Kfem: x=3.6
t-value	-.7	.8	-4.3***	.3	6.0***
VII. U.S. Male vs. U.S. Female					
Group 1 mean	Usmale: x=2.8	Usmale: x=2.8	Usmale: x=2.0	Usmale: x=2.4	Usmale: x=3.2
Group 2 mean	Uscfem: x=2.9	Uscfem: x=3.0	Uscfem: x=2.1	Uscfem: x=2.4	Uscfem: x=3.4
t-value	.5	2.1**	-.1	-1.1	1.9*
VIII. U.S. Caucasian Male vs. U.S. Caucasian Female					
Group 1 mean	Uscmale: x=2.8	Uscmale: x=2.8	Uscmale: x=2.0	Uscmale: x=2.4	Uscmale: x=3.2
Group 2 mean	Uscfem: x=3.0	Uscfem: x=3.3	Uscfem: x=2.2	Uscfem: x=2.5	Uscfem: x=3.5
t-value	2.7***	4.9***	2.2**	1.0	5.4***

*Because the variances were not equivalent between groups, all significance tests were calculated with assumed unequal variances. For each variable, the significance of the t-value is determined using the Scheffe method for the set of eight planned comparisons.

** p<.01

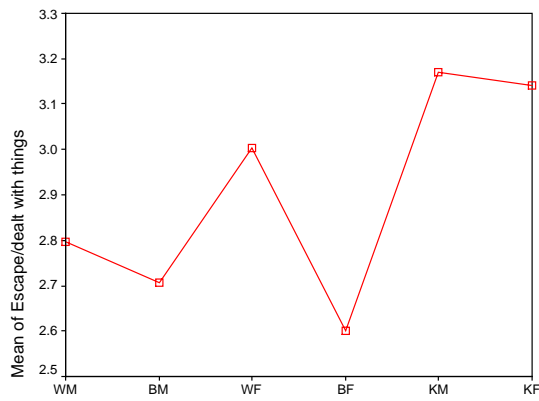
Comparisons	Keep Written Records	Change Job Assignment	Family Support	Superior Support	Coworker Support
I. Korean vs. U.S. Officers					
Group 1 mean	Korea: x=2.1	Korea: x=2.8	Korea: x=3.7	Korea: x=3.2	Korea: x=3.1
Group 2 mean	U.S.: x=2.3	U.S.: x=2.3	U.S.: x=3.8	U.S.: x=3.7	U.S.: x=3.3
t-value	-1.8*	9.2***	-2.2**	-2.4**	-4.8***
II. Male vs. Female Officers					
Group 1 mean	Male: x=2.2	Male: x=2.5	Male: x=3.8	Male: x=3.3	Male: x=3.2
Group 2 mean	Female: x=2.3	Female: x=2.5	Female: x=3.9	Female: x=3.3	Female: x=3.2
t-value	.4	1.4	1.3	-1.5	-.6
III. Male Majority vs. Female Majority Officers					
Group 1 mean	Mmale: x=2.1	Mmale: x=2.8	Mmale: x=3.7	Mmale: x=3.2	Mmale: x=3.1
Group 2 mean	Mfem: x=2.1	Mfem: x=2.8	Mfem: x=3.8	Mfem: x=3.2	Mfem: x=3.2
t-value	2.9***	.7	1.6	-.5	.1
IV. Korean Male vs. U.S. Caucasian Male					
Group 1 mean	Kmale: x=2.1	Kmale: x=2.8	Kmale: x=3.7	Kmale: x=3.2	Kmale: x=3.1
Group 2 mean	Uscmale: x=2.2	Uscmale: x=2.3	Uscmale: x=3.9	Uscmale: x=3.4	Uscmale: x=3.4
t-value	-.5	10.2***	-3.2***	-2.6***	-6.4***
V. Korean Female vs. U.S. Caucasian Female					
Group 1 mean	Kfem: x=2.1	Kfem: x=2.8	Kfem: x=3.8	Kfem: x=3.2	Kfem: x=3.2
Group 2 mean	Uscfem: x=2.5	Uscfem: x=2.4	Uscfem: x=3.9	Uscfem: x=3.4	Uscfem: x=3.3
t-value	-3.2***	5.6***	-1.6	-2.0**	-2.5**
VI. Korean Male vs. Korean Female					
Group 1 mean	Kmale: x=2.1	Kmale: x=2.8	Kmale: x=3.7	Kmale: x=3.2	Kmale: x=3.1
Group 2 mean	Kfem: x=2.1	Kfem: x=2.8	Kfem: x=3.8	Kfem: x=3.2	Kfem: x=3.2

t-value	.3	.5	1.4	-.6	.8
VII. U.S. Male vs. U.S. Female					
Group 1 mean	Usmale: x=2.1	Usmale: x=2.3	Usmale: x=3.9	Usmale: x=3.4	Usmale: x=3.4
Group 2 mean	Usfem: x=2.4	Usfem: x=2.3	Usfem: x=3.9	Usfem: x=3.4	Usfem: x=3.4
t-value	.3	1.3	.9	-1.4	-.9
VIII. U.S. Caucasian Male vs. U.S. Caucasian Female					
Group 1 mean	Uscmale: x=2.2	Uscmale: x=2.3	Uscmale: x=3.9	Uscmale: x=3.4	Uscmale: x=3.4
Group 2 mean	Uscfem: x=2.5	Uscfem: x=2.4	Uscfem: x=3.9	Uscfem: x=3.4	Uscfem: x=3.3
t-value	3.3***	.5	1.0	-.1	-.5

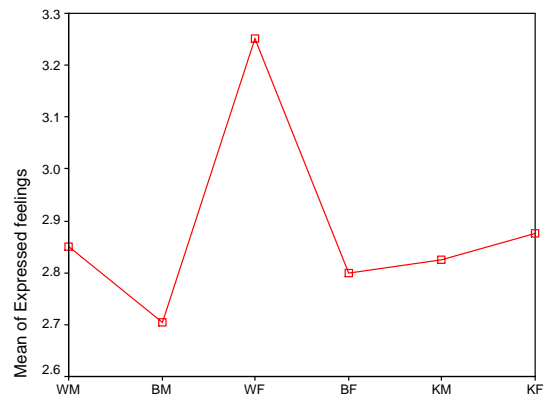
*Because the variances were not equivalent between groups, all significance tests were calculated with assumed unequal variances. For each variable, the significance of the t-value is determined using the Scheffe method for the set of eight planned comparisons.

** p<.01

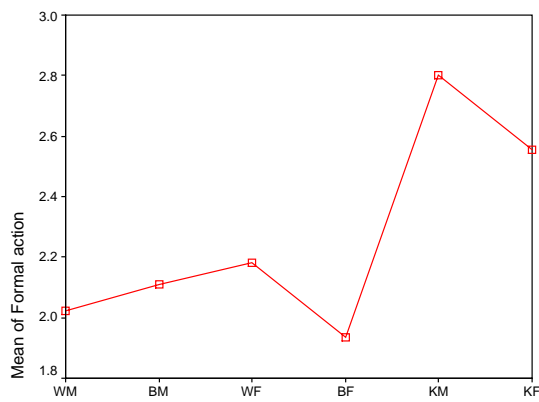
[Graph 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13]



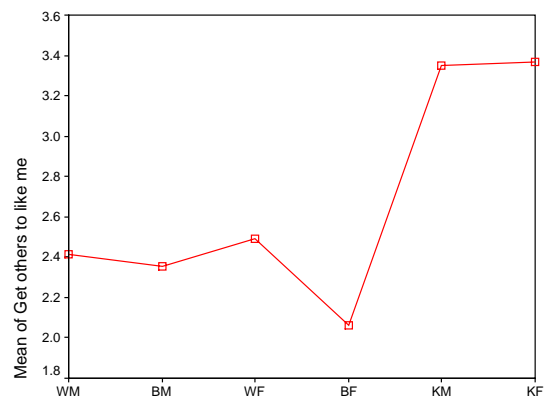
4. Subgroup differences of Escape



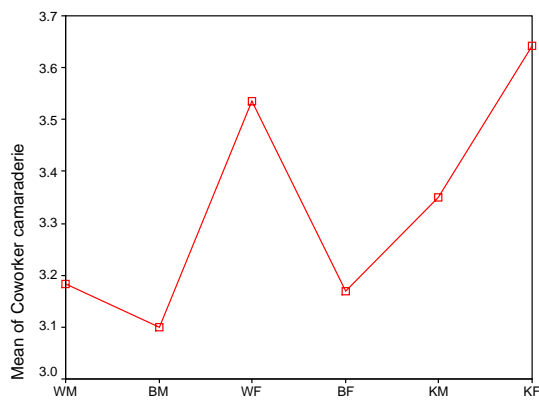
5. Subgroup differences of Express Feelings



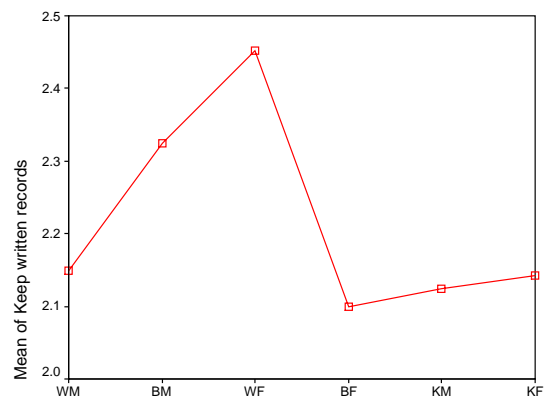
6. Subgroup differences of Formal Action



7. Subgroup differences of Get Others to Like Me

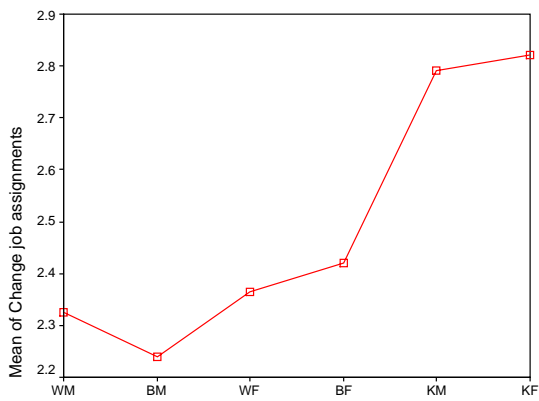


8. Subgroup differences of Coworker Camaraderie

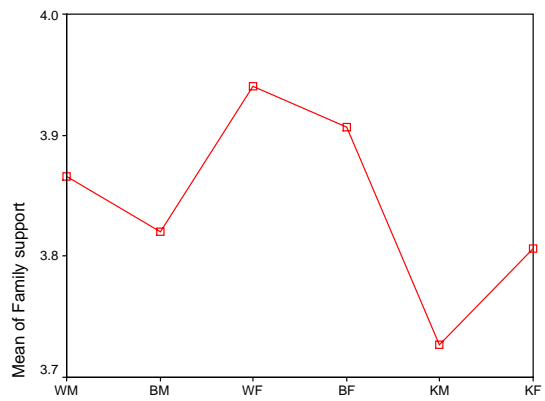


9. Subgroup differences of Written Records

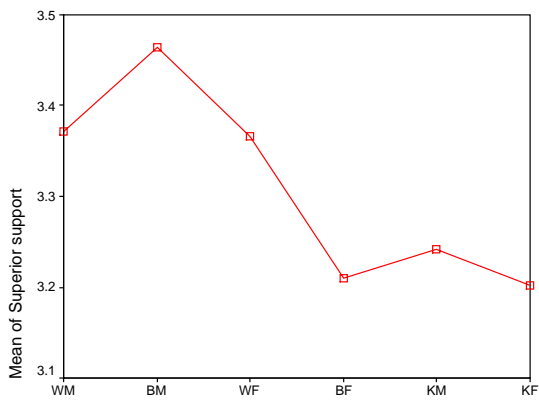
Note: On a label text, WM = white male; BM = black male; WF = white female; BF = black female; KM = Korean male; and KF = Korean female.



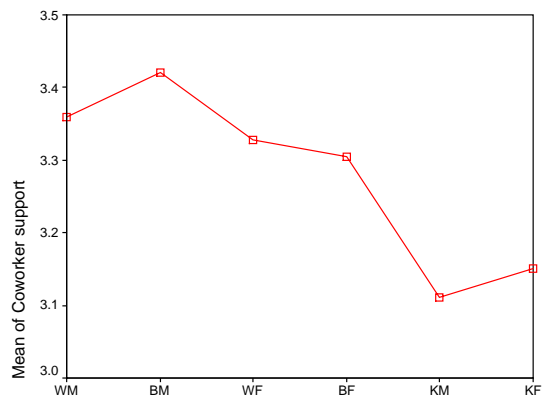
10. Subgroup differences of Change Job Assignment



11. Subgroup differences of Family Support



12. Subgroup differences of Superior Support



13. Subgroup differences of Coworker Support

Note: On a label text, WM = white male; BM = black male; WF = white female; BF = black female; KM = Korean male; and KF = Korean female.

Conclusion and Discussion

One consistency across subgroups and the two countries is in level of agreement about whether police feel they can influence the day-to-day activities involved in how police work is accomplished. The infusion of community oriented policing principles in the United States did not produce more influence for police officers over their jobs. This may be because the decentralized “police box” approach, that puts a mini-station in urban neighborhoods, produces a similar effect in South Korea. Or it may be that the U.S. departments in our research did not fully implement the decentralized decision making component of the community policing philosophy. Police decision making in both countries appears to be similar in its level of decentralization (and centralization). It would be useful to uncover variations in the two countries, as this would provide clues about whether there are approaches to giving officers greater influence over their work. Also, research is needed to determine whether this lack of influence is an important predictor of undesired outcomes, such as stress or retention problems.

With some important exceptions, national differences in workplace problems and coping strategies are more pronounced than are gender differences; however in the United States, gender and minority racial status combine to reveal complex differences. South Korean and U.S. police differ considerably in their feelings about advancement opportunities and their reports of rejection by other police. Perhaps because of the reliance on the National Police College as the gateway to higher-level positions, and the limited jobs at the highest levels, Korean police see comparatively little opportunity for upward mobility. South Korean women are over represented in supervisory positions, but still they see less opportunity for advancement than do officers in the United States. This may be because they are restricted to just certain types of positions. There are benefits to recruiting higher-level officers from the most educated and a centrally educated cadre. It is unknown, however, whether these benefits are negatively balanced by undesirable outcomes, like lack of commitment to the organization, or low job satisfaction. Likewise, in the United States, small departments may find it difficult to locate highly qualified candidates for promotion from inside the organization. There is some interest in the United States in recruiting officers from other departments when high-level vacancies occur. Both countries may benefit by an examination of whether consistent use of promotions from outside (in the case of South Korea) or inside (in the case of the United States) has the desired results. The degree to which people reach supervisory and leadership positions through attending a national university or by promotion from within should be viewed as a continuum, rather than a one or the other choice, in assessing promotional practices.

South Korean women police report the highest levels of stigmatization and harassment. Our own future analysis will try to add to the little that is known about the potential outcomes of their situation. It may be that their recent entry into police work, and/or South Korean women’s placement in special jobs rather than their integration into all aspects of police work, or stronger stereotypes of women’s limitations as police officers, account for their high level of harassment and stigmatization. Also, research on organizations has suggested that once under represented groups reach fifteen percent or more, their experiences in organizations become more positive (Kanter, 1977; Krimmel & Gormley, 2003). Women and African American men are at or above this proportion in many large U.S. departments. For South Korean women, time and fuller integration may result in a reduction of these problems, as has been the case in the United States (Morash and Haarr, forthcoming). Negative workplace conditions for women are an important area for practical attention, as is the finding that in the United States, African American women are most negatively affected by stigmatization and harassment. In general in the United States and compared to South Korea, Caucasian male police officers and African American police officers, and to somewhat a lesser extent Caucasian female officers have the most desirable situation in terms of relatively low levels of workplace problems.

Turning now to how people respond to workplace problems, South Korean officers are more active than those in the United States in several different kinds of response. These response approaches are: escaping from the problems, taking formal action, getting others to like them, and changing job assignments. South Korean women are distinct in extremely frequent reliance on trying to get others to like them. Though Caucasian U.S. women use this strategy more than other U.S. officers, the South Korean women report even higher levels of use. Causal order becomes an issue in interpreting these findings. South Korean officers might be active in addressing workplace problems because, with the exception of sexual harassment and stigma for the men, they report higher levels of workplace problems. Alternatively, they may be using coping strategies that do not reduce these problems, or their relative lack of social support may leave them needing to rely on multiple coping strategies.

The findings that the South Korean officers use multiple approaches is consistent with the literature, which suggests that when people have problems, they try to address them in more than one way (Haarr and Morash, 1999; Violanti, 1992, 1993). Groups that rely on camaraderie, escape, and getting other people to like them, the literature suggests, are using ineffective problem reduction strategies. Whether this is the case for the South Korean officers and our sample of U.S. officers is something we will examine with future analysis. However,

the literature in the United States suggests that people with high stress use multiple coping strategies, but those with low stress used just one or a few, because their approaches are effective.

Relative to other groups, South Korean police are less likely to keep written records. This may be due to the lack of union representation and the U.S. officers' access to legal resource, which would require records to provide assistance.

Specific to gender group, we did find some interesting cross-country differences. The South Korean men relied on strategies that are consistent with cultural emphasis on harmonious group relationships more than did the U.S. men. They tried to get others to like them, and they relied on coworker camaraderie to a greater extent than did men in the United States. Similarly, more than U.S. women, Korean women also dealt with their problems at work by trying to get other officers to like them. Due to gender-related role expectations that make it more difficult to be away from home in social settings during off duty hours, it may be that Korean women don't have the same opportunities for relying on camaraderie as do men. For Korean men, late night eating and drinking are considered an important part of being part of a work group.

Both Korean men and women seem to have more chance to change jobs than do U.S. police, perhaps because of the national nature of the police force, and the restrictions on moving between police departments in the United States. However, in the U.S. both women and men report greater social support for their work, which may also be a result of cultural differences. Time spent socializing with coworkers in South Korea may not necessarily translate into greater support from them; and spouses and other family members may be more involved in discussions of work in the United States than in Korea. In the United States, more time is spent with family, and less time is spent with the workgroup, particularly after work hours. Whether the different ways to deal with coping with workplace problems are equally effective across countries is an important empirical question.

It should be noted that our samples are not random. However, we do feel that findings have high potential for generalizability, because in each country the sample was fairly large, and we made efforts to include a range of police officers. Notably, the response rate was much higher in South Korea than in the United States. Despite our emphasis on human subjects' protections and the voluntary nature of the research, it may be that Korean participants acted on their cultural predispositions to be cooperative with authority, and that our contacts in the United States acted on their predispositions to give rather limited priority to the research. Certainly replications with other, and if feasible nationally representative samples, would provide useful and needed support that what we have discovered is not due to sampling bias.

The focus of our research has been on differences in workplace problems and coping approaches between and within South Korea and the United States. This focus was justified by the relevance of workplace problems and coping for producing (or ameliorating) stress. It should be noted that, depending on the country, there can be other quite important influences on stress, and promoting healthy and productive workers might not be limited to reducing workplace problems or enhancing effective coping strategies. In South Korea, a recent economic downturn resulted in downsizing, restructuring, and decreases in income; these in turn became important influences on workers' mental health (Cha, Koh, Wang & Chang, 1998). Also we have not examined some workplace problems that may be important, for example shift work and very tiring work (Nam, Joe, Jung, Soh & Chung, 1997; Kim and Yun, 1998; Shin and Meng, 1997). In a study of correctional officers in South Korea, Moon and Maxwell (2004) discovered that perceptions that others consider the job to be low status was a strong predictor of stress. Even though some studies point to the desirability of police work in Korea (e.g., a steady salary) (Moon & Hwang, 2004), many Korean police report that they have a low economic status and that the police organizational culture is very authoritative (KNPA, 2000). Future research should consider alternative aspects of the historical moment or the nature of police work in fully understanding national differences in police at their workplace. However, although there are no doubt additional explanations for stress and its negative outcomes at work, groups most affected by workplace problems, the conditions that create those problems, and the use of ineffective coping approaches are potential points of intervention for making immediate improvements for police in both countries.

References

- Aldwin, C.M. & Revenson, T.A. (1987). Does coping help? A reexamination of the relation between coping and mental health. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53, 337-348.
- Billings, A.G. & R.H. Moos (1981). The role of coping responses and social resources in attenuating the stress of life events. Journal of Behavioural Medicine, 4, 139-157.
- Burke, R. J. (1998). Work and non-work stressors and well-being among police officers: The role of coping. Anxiety, Stress and Coping, 11, 345-362.
- Cha, B. S., Chang, S. J. Park, J. KI., Ko, S. B., Kang, M. G., Ko, S. Y. (1997). Effects of cigarette smoking on psychosocial distress and occupational risks. Korean Journal of Preventative Medicine 30, 540-554.
- Cha, B. S., Koh, S. B., Wang, S. J., Wang, S. J. & Chang, S. J. Effect of economic depression on psychosocial distress of industrial workers. Korean Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine 10:484-492.
- Chaiyavej, S. 2003. Reactions to sexual harassment: A comparison of policewomen in Thailand and the United States. Dissertation. Michigan State U., E. Lansing, MI.
- Chang, S. J., Cha, B. S., Koh, S. B., Kang, M.G., Koh, S. R. & Park, J. K. (1997). Association between job characteristics and psychosocial distress of industrial workers. Korean Journal of Preventive Medicine 30, 129-143.
- Cullen, F.T., Lemming, T., Link, B.G. & Wozniak, J.F. (1985). The impact of social supports on police stress. Criminology, 3, 503-522.
- Dewe, P.J. (1989). Examining the nature of work stress: Individual evaluations of stressful experiences and coping. Human Relations, 42, 993-1013.
- Etzion, D. & Pines, A. (1981). Sex and culture as factors explaining reported coping behavior and burnout of human service professionals: A social psychological perspective. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, the Israel Institute of Business Research.
- Folkman, S. & Lazarus, R.S. (1980). An analysis of coping in a middle-aged community sample. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 21, 219-239.
- _____(1988). Coping as a mediator of emotion. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50, 992-1003.
- Geick, E. (1998). Occupational stress of female police officers: An empirical investigation. Dissertation: Texas A&M University.
- Graf, F. A. (1986). The relationship between social support and occupational stress among police officers. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 14, 178-186.
- Greenglass, E. R. (1995). Gender, work stress and coping: Theoretical implications. Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 10, 121-134.
- Hart, P. M., Wearing, A. J. & Headey, B. (1995). Police stress and well-being: Integrating personality, coping and daily work experiences. Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 68, 133-156.
- Holahan, C.J. & Moos, R.H. (1987). Personal and contextual determinants of coping strategies. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52, 946-955.
- Kanter, R. (1977). Men and Women of the Corporation. New York, Basic Books.
- Kim, S. H. & Yun, G. S. (1998) Korean Journal of Occupational Medicine 1998 10, 105-115.
- Kirkcaldy, B., Cooper, C. L, & Ruffalo, P. (1995). Work stress and health in a sample of U.S. police. Psychological Reports, 76, 700-702.
- KNPA (Korean National Police Agency) (2004). Korean Police Annual Report. Soul, Korea: KNPA.
- Krimmel, J. T. & Gormley, P. E. (2003). Tokenism and job satisfaction for policewomen. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 2, 73-88.
- Kroes, W.H., Margolis, B.L. & Jurrell, J.J Jr. (1974). Job stress in policemen. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 2, 145-155.
- LaRocco, J.M., House, J.W., & French, J.R.P. Jr. (1980). Social support, occupational stress, and health. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 21, 202-218.
- Lee, S. & Lee, W. (2001). Coping with job stress in industries: A cognitive approach. Human Factors and Ergonomics in Manufacturing 11, 255-268.
- Lykes, M.B. (1983). Discrimination and coping in the lives of black women: Analyses of oral history data. Journal of Social Issues, 39, 79-100.
- Moon, B. & Hwang, E. (2004) The Reasons for Choosing a Career in Policing among South Korean Police Cadets. Journal of Criminal Justice, 32, 223-239.
- Moon, B. & Maxwell, S. (2004). The Sources and Consequences of Corrections Officers' Stress: A South Korean Example. Journal of Criminal Justice, 32, 359-370.
- Moos, R.H. & B.S. Moos (1984). The process of recovery from alcoholism: Comparing family functioning in alcoholic and matched control families. Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 45, 111-118.

- Morash, M. & Haarr, R. N. (1995). Gender, workplace problems and stress in policing. Justice Quarterly, 12, 113-140.
- Morash, M., Haarr, N. L., & Kwak, D. H. (forthcoming). Multilevel influences on police stress. Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice.
- Morash, M. Haarr, R. N., & Gonyea, D. P. (forthcoming). In L. Goodstein, C. Renzetti, S. Miller, eds. Workplace Problems in Police Departments and Methods of Coping: Women at the Intersection Women, Crime, and Criminal Justice (2/e). Los Angeles: Roxbury Press.
- Nam, M., Joe, S. H., Jung, I. K. Soh, K. Y. & Chung, C. K. Anxiety, depression and immune functions of shift workers. Korean Journal of Occupational Medicine 9: 478-486.
- Pearlin, L. & Schooler, C. (1978). The structure of coping. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 19, 2-21.
- Perrewe, P. L. & Zellars, K. L. (1999). An examination of attributions and emotions in the transactional approach to the organizational stress process. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 20, 739-752.
- Plummer, D.L. & Slane, S. (1996). Patterns of coping in racially stressful situations. Journal of Black Psychology, 22, 302-315.
- Shin, E. C. & Meng, K. H. (1997) Korean Journal of Preventive Medicine 24, 279-286.
- Smyth, K.A. & Williams, P.D. (1991). Patterns of coping in black working women. Behavioral Medicine, 17, 40-46.
- Strentz, T. & Auerbach, S.M. (1988). Adjustment to the stress of simulated captivity: Effects of emotion-focused coping versus problem-focused preparation on hostages differing in locus of control. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55, 652-660.
- Stroman, C.A. & Seltzer, R. (1991). Racial differences in coping with job stress: A research note. Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 6, 309-318.
- Violanti, J. M. (1981). Police stress and coping: An organizational analysis. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo. Buffalo.
- _____. (1992). Coping strategies among police recruits in a high-stress training environment. Journal of Social Psychology, 132, 717-729.
- _____. (1993). What does high stress police training teach recruits? An analysis of coping. Journal of Criminal Justice, 21, 411-417.
- Wills, T.A. (1990). Social support and interpersonal relationships. In M.S. Clark (Ed.), Review of personality and social psychology (pp. 265-289). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Worden, A.P. (1993). The attitudes of women and men in policing: Testing conventional and contemporary wisdom. Criminology, 31, 203-42.

The Selection and Management of Policewomen in KOREA.

By
Dr. Yoon-sung Oh
Division of Law and Public Administration
Soonchunhyang University, Korea

ABSTRACT

The participation of women in the public sector in Korea over last few decades has increased in both quantitative and qualitative aspects. Most women want to work as public servants. Although there are many jobs available in the public sector, many women are eager to become police officers. Korean police leadership recognized the role of the female officer and the need to increase the number of policewomen in the force. The finding that over 50 colleges and universities in 2004 offer police related programs majoring in police related subjects is a compelling indicator of the desire of young people to pursue careers in law enforcement. But compared to other public servants, police officers operate in a more specific and dangerous environment. The nature of law enforcement requires confrontation with criminals on a regular basis sometimes under dangerous circumstances. Korean traditional values cause some people to view policewomen in a negative or passive way. Other factors exist that complicate the role of females in law enforcement. Some male officers feel that females are hesitant or incapable of handling dangerous field situations. Other males perceive that female officers are interested solely in perceived easy assignments such as counseling of other women or juveniles. The future holds an increasing role and responsibility for qualified females in the Korean police organization. To facilitate this increase, it is the time to review whether the selective examination is reasonable regarding the selection of female applicants in a previously male dominated career field. It is particularly important to examine the physical requirements for policewomen to determine if they can endure the full range of physical demands associated with law enforcement. Utilization of policewomen in Korea over the past few decades has been more symbolic than functional. Future management and utilization of policewomen in Korea should be practical, starting with selective examination standard and management.

The Selection and Management of Policewomen in KOREA.

Introduction

Women began to enter the workplace in the early 1990's. The economic crisis that struck Korean business in 1999 impacted women reducing job opportunities for women in South Korea. Nevertheless, women continued to advance and make inroads in various fields, and the ratio of women to men in the workplace increased. The role of women has advanced, but not to the point of guaranteeing that a woman can stay in the civil workplace until retirement age. Therefore, most young females, especially graduates from college or secondary school, are interested in official jobs that provide a path to retirement. Women recognize significant opportunities and social acceptance in a career as a police officer. One reason is that they face minimal sexual discrimination in the workplace that is not controlled in other civil service or private positions. The ratio of policewomen to policemen in Korea has increased rapidly since 1999. The physical demands of police work are difficult for male officers and present additional demands on females. As such female officers are treated differently than male officers in terms of assignments and hazardous work causing male to criticize the capabilities of the women. Female officers complain that the selection system is not fair in terms of advancement, training and promotion. They feel the men are favored in the force. (Park Ju Moon, 2001: 95). While female positions in South Korea are expected to improve in the future, it is not possible to predict exactly how the awareness or treatment of policewomen will develop. However, it is likely that negative views will continue to impede the future development of policewomen relative to their quantitative growth and opportunities for key positions. Police personnel managers should seek quality applicants, and ensure fairness in providing promoting the cooperation of the police agency to achieve maximum efficiency (W. Donald Heisel and Patrick V. Murphy, 1974: 2).

Whether male or female, the best policy is to select and employ the officer most qualified for the assignment in the police organization. Unchanged, existing policies will not improve the development of policewomen in Korea. A turning point in overcoming the difficulties policewomen face is required and now is the right time to begin the change. Other nations that faced similar issues recognized that affecting a change, not only of structure and organization, but also a cultural change was not a simple task. Accordingly, I will analyze current issues in Korean police policy and propose desirable policies for improving opportunities and developing women in the Korea police organization.

Expanding woman's role and opportunities for policewomen

Woman's role enlargement phenomenon in the South Korea

The advancement of women in the Korean society through professional association and activity will accelerate in the future. The advent of the information age requires the development of a new culture much different than the customs of the industrial era. The sexual discrimination phenomenon that is widespread in South Korean society has restricted or prevented recruitment or employment opportunities for women. Changing this phenomenon is important to the values and ideals of Korea. We must ensure that women and men are treated impartially and women have an opportunity to obtain self-realization of their personal goals (Kim Tae-Hyun, 2002: 27).

In 1994, the Kim Young-Sam government established a Special Committee on Women's Affairs in President Subsidiary that has effectively controlled women's policy through six women policy offices in the central government. According to the Law of Employee Equality between males and females that was revised in Feb. 1999, to show favoritism or give personnel advantage between males and females is discrimination. The Ministry of Women's Affairs was established on 29 Jan. 2001. The authority has planned and executed the policy and regulations relating to women. They put sexual harassment regulations in the Law of Employee Equality to eliminate sexual discrimination. The ministry wrote the law to banning sexual discrimination. and for consideration to females, and the law of supply for female job opportunity. The basic goal of the women's policy in South Korea is to promote sexual equality, expand women's social participation, and enhance female welfare. The president's Special Committee on Women's Affairs established the center and wrote laws prohibiting sexual discrimination (Korean Women's Social Laboratory, 2003: 383).

The women's participation in South Korean politics shows rapid development. The results of the National Assembly's campaign in 2000 showed that female candidates were only 5.9%. This was a very low ratio compared to the female candidates' average percentage of (10%) in other countries (Kim Tae Hyun, 2002). After four (4) years, the percentage of females in the National Assembly increased to 13%, increasing over two times since 2000. Additionally, the Military Academy, Naval Academy, Air Force Academy and National Police University began female matriculation during the 1990s and notes increases in applicants annually.

History of policewomen in K.N.P.

The history of policewomen in Korea was established on July 1, 1946. According to situational requests, the section of policewomen was established as the police safety branch in the National Police Department. The mission and function were to search women suspects and to protect the rights of women and juveniles. Policewomen were not expected to be strong, but found a place in handling female criminals, e.g. prostitutes. Policewomen attended military training schools to perform combat activities against communist guerrillas. In 1946, 16 female cadets were recruited, trained for two months and dispatched to metropolitan areas. In 1947, 500 policewomen (1.8% of total police strength) were dispatched to the police department (National Police Agency, 1995: 51). From Feb 1947, the National Police Agency maintained a separate policewomen department system for 11 years. The special policewomen department system was abolished in 1957. At that point policewomen sections were incorporated in to every police department. As the female officer's role changed, police leadership recognized in May 1967 expanded roles for policewomen. This same year recruitment of female college graduates began with the hiring of 38 degree qualified policewomen. Through the 86 Asian Games and the 88 Olympic Games, the National Police Agency continued to increase the female officer strength. In 2004, the total strength of policewomen was 3,524.

Policewomen composition

While policewomen are now found in many countries and regions of the world, females still comprise only a small minority of serving officers (Heidensohn 1998; National Center for Women and Policing 1998; Prenzler 1998; Harris 1999; Home 1999). Moreover, studies in many countries show that female police officers have not been fully integrated into operations, as judged by the roles they perform and their career expectations and opportunities. Such opportunities are considerably more limited for women than for men (Martin 1990, 1991; Schulz 1995, 1998).

Comparing ratios of female to male officers in some countries determined that policewomen ratios of countries belonging to Western Europe (France, Scotland) are higher than in East Asia (Thailand, Sri Lanka, Philippine, Japan). Among the latter, the ratio in Korea is very low (Table 1).

Table 1: Strength comparison of policewomen in various countries

	R.O.K	Japan	Scotland	Philippine	Sri Lanka	France	Thailand
Total	91,660	237,056	15,149	109,393	35,838	144,618	213,985
Female	3,524	9,290	2,602	6,613	1,805	2,9261	11,520
%	3.8%	4%	17.2%	6%	5%	20.23%	5.4%
The basic year	04. 4	02. 4	02. 4	02. 4	02. 4	02.4	02. 4

Source: Korea National Police Agency, 2004

Data for American policewomen shows a range of more than 10% to a high of 27.2% in the sampled areas (Table 2). This data is consistent across the 50 states.

Table 2: Regional policewoman present strength comparison in USA

	Las Vegas	Cook county	Detroit	Miami	Cincinnati	Cleveland	Portland	Dallas	San Diego	Houston
Total	2,495	2,587	4,195	3,078	1,025	1,819	1,027	2,862	2,075	5,300
Female	281	699	1,085	676	204	311	165	452	297	664
%	11.26%	27.2%	25.86%	22.3%	19.9%	17.1%	16.07%	15.79%	14.31%	12.53%
The basic year	00. 12	00.12	00. 12	00. 12	00. 12	00. 12	00. 12	00. 12	00. 12	00. 12

Source: Korea National Police Agency, 2004

Limited opportunities and low advancement for lower ranking officers causes morale problems for low ranking officers. They experienced difficulty in obtaining promotions compared to other administrative agencies. According to personnel plans, beginning in 2005 authorities controlling the ratio of ranks will implement changes by human strength requirements structured on a bell curve format. Improvements in promotion policy will permit 10,000 police officers to be promoted over a 3-year period of time. For example, 306 police officers will be promoted from Assistant Inspector to Inspector, 887 police officers will be promoted from Inspector to Senior Inspector, and 6,000 police officers will be promoted from policeman to Assistant Inspector. However, the policy change will not aid policewomen who will realize only a slight increase in advancement opportunities. According to data, the condition of policewomen's class distribution shows two senior superintendents, 10 superintendents, 52 senior inspectors, 269 inspectors, and 3,191 assistant inspectors. The percentage of women in ranks higher than Senior Inspector remains less than 0.8% (Table 3).

Table 3: Police rank present condition comparison

Rank	Total	Commissioner General	Chief Superintendent General	Senior Superintendent General	Superintendent General	Senior Superintendent	Superintendent	Senior Inspector	Inspector	Assistant Inspector	Senior Policeman	Policeman
Total	91,660	1	4	19	33	404	1,265	2,926	9,188	14,436	29,367	34,522
Male	88,136	1	4	19	33	402	1255	2,874	8,819	13,840	28,448	32,846
Female	3,524					2(0.5)	10(0.8)	52(0.5)	269(3.0)	596(4.1)	919(3.2)	1676(4.9)

Source: Korea National Police Agency, 2004

Policewomen utilization

A. Employment

Police examination for selection contributes to the establishment of a professional public official system and becomes the basis for establishing a merit system. Through the police entrance examination, the authorities select a person who has the necessary high level of technology, knowledge, ability, and realization of the necessary police organizational goals (William J. Bopp and Paul M. Whisenand. 1980: 82).

Since 1947, the police cadet processing system selected only males. Female cadets were accepted beginning in 2000 after a change in acceptance policy. Among 50 cadets, 5 female cadets were selected and trained every year. National Police University has chosen 5 female students since 1989, and beginning in 1997, the number rose to 12 female students. The advancement of women in law enforcement has increased as a result of the expansion of opportunities for women. The critical problem of the system is that policewomen are selected separately from male applicants questioning the legal foundation of the process. Female applicants insist that this is an obstacle to increasing policewomen strength and increasing opportunities for women. The competition for the limited number of entry positions for female officers and the segregated selection process make the process extremely competitive and fail to hire extremely qualified females who fail to reach the established quota (Ryu mi jin, 2003 : 2). The policewomen examination for selection competitive rate for the latter half of 2003 shows 31.8 to 1. According to the National Police Agency, 5,240 people passed physical examinations in 2003, and 165 people were accepted (www.ehrasp.com/gg/mss/powe).

The physical qualifications for the female applicant consists of a height of more than 157 cm, and minimum weight of 47kg, and eyesight no more than 0.8 in each eye, and corrected eyesight must be no more than 0.2 with without glasses or contact lens. A female who succeeds in passing the physical requirements can apply for the written, physical and aptitude tests followed by a background check and personal interview. Lastly, a decision to accept a candidate is based on a cumulative score from a written examination 75%, a physical test 5%, and a personal interview 20%. The personal interview is comprised of a certificate of qualifications 5%, aptitude test 5%, and personal interview 10%

B. Probation system and educational training

1) Probation system

The Korean National Police (KNP) adapted a probation system to identify whether newly assigned police officers are able to be members of a law enforcement agency. The probation period is 1 year (Police Public Official Law § 10-1).

During the probation term, the new officer is evaluated on his or her accomplishment or work performance. Officers showing promise but experiencing difficulties are provided additional education and training. Failing to meet expectations the newly assigned police officer may be expelled and dismissed from the police. The police officer that graduated from police cadet processing or the national police university does not have experience under the probation system. But upon completion of the education course, the new officer becomes a regular police officer without additional probation.

During the last few years of the probation term, the policeman is assigned to line duty in the field. But this is where the opportunities alter. A policewoman is assigned to various sections that men are not, for example, in the Public Service Center, License Examination Center, detective, Office of District Police Detachment and the National Police Agency including line duty in the field (Park Ju Moon, 2001: 102). All of the newly assigned male police officers are dispatched to patrol assignment.

2) Educational training

Women enter the KNP through one of three different courses: National Police University police cadet process course, assistant inspector course for university graduate students, and the new appointment patrol process basic course. Among these, 3 kinds of courses are integrated in the education of policemen; however, the basic course for the new appointment of policewomen is segregated education, for the reason that policewomen are enlisted separately. Expert education courses, for ability development to police officer, are divided to administrator courses of study and specialization courses of study. These courses are for the police officer that is below the superintendent rank.

C. Promotion and job

1) Promotion

The police promotion system is divided into promotion by evaluation and/or examination. Promotion by evaluation is used in all of ranks, but examination promotion is applied through the Superintendent. The examination promotion system is not sexual discrimination because it is an open competition between all officers. Promotion by evaluation, however, has problems from the standpoint of discrimination. According to the law, no written policy exists to promote policemen and policewomen separately, but the leadership accepts personnel policy to allocate the number of promotions between the two sexes. As a result there is an imbalance of promotions resulting in a low ratio of policewomen. 26.1% of policewomen have appealing disadvantages as opposed to the personnel system (Gang IL heon, 1995).

2) Job

Until recently, policewomen were assigned in the counseling section, traffic, and crime prevention sections rather than the Task Force Unit, heavy crime investigation section and patrol section (Kim Won Hong, 2003: 4). Policewomen are seeking new job opportunities. Women officers see disadvantages in promotion if an opportunity is available to policemen in these functions. Only male officers occupied the functions of detective, defense security, and information sections (Ryu mi jin, 2003: 4).

The status of policewomen job assignments in 2004 shows that 783 people (22.3%) are arranged in patrol section, 723 people (20.5%) in life safety section, 558 people (15.8%) in traffic, and detectives comprised 513 (14.5%)(Table 4).

There is obvious deficiency in development opportunities compared to 1 or 2 years earlier. Fewer policewomen now work in planning, personnel, and the inspector general section. This phenomenon of limited job assignment is one of the major complaints.

Table 4: Policewomen strength KNP

	Total	Police affairs section	Life Safety section	Traffic section	Detective section	Public safety section	Intelligence section	Security section	Foreign affair Section	Patrol section	The other
Number	3,524	354	723	558	513	121	121	132	65	783	154
%	100	10.0	20.5	15.8	14.5	3.4	3.4	3.7	1.8	22.3	4.3

Source: Korean National Police Agency, 2004

Different view of policewomen utilization

Contrary view about policewoman use

The United States of America began to employ policewomen for the first time to manage women offenders in the 1840s. (Kim Won Hong, 2002: 44). The New York City Police Department employed the first policewomen for the watching of women offenders and juveniles, and serving as secretaries or in positions of general company business in 1888 (Kim Won Hong, 2002: 44). The Los Angeles Police Department assigned Mrs. Alice S. Wells as the first regular policewoman in 1910 (Kim Won Hong, 2002: 85).

At the end of World War I, female officer's gains were curtailed by the depression. After World War II, policewomen were able to maintain newly acquired positions and increase both their numbers and duties throughout the 1950s. The 1950 Census reported 2,610 publicly employed policewomen, slightly more than 1 percent of all police and detectives. The numbers of policewomen continued to increase throughout the 1950s. By 1956 policewomen were employed in 150 cities. The 1960 census counted 5,617 policewomen, about 2 percent of publicly employed officers (Frances Heidensohn, 1995: 107). At present, policewomen in the United States work with policeman under the same conditions. Equal opportunity was recognized as a basic right after the Second World War under the effects of the women's liberation movement.

Early policewomen in the U.S.A. were employed as lockup prison guards and undertook police subsidiary missions including teenagers and women offenders, missing persons affairs, quest etc. It was in the 1970s that policewomen were used in field or patrol duties (Lee Yun Gun, 2001: 223). The first policewoman was employed over 120 years ago. Policewomen comprised 2% of total strength in the first assignment of patrol after 130 years in America. The early policewoman's role and function in Korea were limited to the women and teenagers' sphere; it expanded to include the SWAT team, investigation section, and intelligence section during the 1980s and 1990s. The first woman chief of a police station was assigned in 1998, symbolic of the fact that the roles of female officers were expanding in Korea.

Currently, two contradicting views of the utilization of policewomen's exist. The first view is that expanding the number of policewomen quantitatively and increasing opportunities is desirable. The other is that policewoman's quantitative growth and utilization may cause undesirable results. Police leadership believe that they must advance carefully in increasing the numbers of female officers.

A. Affirmative view of policewomen utilization

According to Sichel's study of N.Y.P.D for seven months between 1975 and 1976 discovered that there was no difference in performance between male and female patrol officers working under similar conditions. Policewomen are more passive, but are evaluated as more capable and polite than policemen in the New York City study.

Block and Anderson, in trying to discern differences in ability and job achievement among 86 new recruits in Washington D.C, detected no measurable differences in performance between male and female officers. Washington D.C policewomen who were part of the study were armed with pistols and night sticks, dispatched in all assignments, patrolled alone or with a male partner and accepted night service as natural business. The ratio of American policewomen to policemen is about 14.3% at present (National Center for Women and Policing, 1999: 1-17).

Policewomen's activities in Brazil are charged with handling of prostitution, sexual and domestic violence by establishing women police stations. British policewomen are employed to handle domestic and sexual violence. In many countries except in Asia, policewomen occupy almost 12% ratio of all police officers. The Queensland, Australia National Police Agency, the strength of policewomen was 18.5% of total police officers; in 2000, they decided to increase the policewomen's ratio up to 50%. The evidence that the number of policewomen is increasing and making the balance of promotions and job distribution means sexual equality is occurring in employment. In terms of police conception and function, the role of police has changed to building rapport, establishing communication, and human relations. Female officer seem to perform better than male officer at these skills (Vicki Wilkinson and Irene D. Froyland, 1996). According to research regarding the policewoman's role in South Korea, 90% of respondents (policemen 93.8%, citizens 90.6%) favored expanding the role of policewomen (Park Ju Mun, 2001: 113). KNP activated female investigators and made special arrangements for investigation and interrogation of the women offenders and female victim assistance. This is a good example of positive policewomen utilization in Korea. Through these special units comprised of female officers the investigation of sexual assaults and the protection of women's human dignity have expanded. Female victims in the Korean society find speaking of embarrassing assaults much easier with a female than a male officer. Some people insisted that the increase of policewomen means increasing the professionalism of the KNP if policewomen are assigned to the right place using their merits. For example, KNP will profit by assigning policewomen as hostage negotiation agents, interrogators, and sexual violence investigators (Ryu mi jin, 2004).

B. Negative view of policewoman use

A study conducted by South Korea Seonggyungwan University male students in May 2004 showed an interesting outcome. The students were asked to identify the most common complaint regarding females. Many students, 78.5% expressed negative views regarding female's recognition of right and responsibility; 60.4% replied that females usually asserted their right, but avoided their responsibility when meeting critical situations; and 18.1% answered that women give up work altogether when they feel tired (Good morning news; 2004. 5. 7). This is but one example of the Korean male's negative views regarding females in a law enforcement role. Some male police officers expressed their negative views of policewomen, such as being compliant and discontented, through the an Internet chat room rather than the police officer's chain of command as indicated below:

The assignment in the field is very difficult not only for policewomen but also policemen as well, because they have to control drunken persons, fight violence and criminals, death processing etc day and night. As a matter of fact, it is a very hard job for policewomen. Sometimes policewomen are very useful working in administrative affairs, but are not as helpful in patrol or confronting the criminal or fighting with aggressive offenders. The absence or lack of female partner assistance in the field may jeopardize male police officers. This is an important reason policemen are reluctant to work with policewomen in the field. There are some excellent and professional policewomen, but how many policewomen are qualified like this? Actually, some of the policewomen do not want to work in the field, they prefer to stay in a safe and clean office rather than the dangerous and dirty field.

This phenomenon comes from the lack of professionalism. If they want to be policewomen, they must have the mental attitude to work anywhere whether dangerous or dirty. They should be proud to be policewomen. It is acceptable that women are weaker than man physically, but some policewomen do not make any effort to work with policemen. If duty as a policewoman is thought to be difficult, they should find another job (<http://211.196.153.9/search97cgi>).

One Korean policeman wrote on the internet that it is easy to work as a policewoman in American society because law enforcement circumstances are stable and strong. It is easy to use a gun, but unstable law enforcement circumstances in Korea make it difficult for policewomen to work in the field. The tendency to resist legal law enforcement in Korea is the decisive obstacle to work as policewomen in the field. Korean male drunks used to ignore and were not afraid of police officers. The authority of the police is weakened due to the lenient punishment for the person who disregards the law and is noncompliant with law enforcement officials.

Under these circumstances, policewomen are very ineffective in restraining lawbreakers. In the field, strong law enforcement ability is needed to control offenders. Police officers have to spend the night on patrol or stay at police box during work in the field. If there are emergencies involving citizens, police officers must to respond alone. Some policewomen feel uncomfortable operating independently to emergency situations. Some complainants have revealed that older policemen, over 50, are required to deal with offenders in the field, whereas young policewomen work administrative jobs in a cool and clean office. These officers advocated that the budget attributed to policewomen be used to employ more policemen.

Antagonists have voiced the position that the KNP has two anniversaries; the KNP anniversary and policewomen anniversary. They feel reverse discrimination citing that that 10 among 14 policewomen were awarded citations for good conduct on the last KNP anniversary. These opinions may be a temporary or fragmentary phenomenon due to sexual prejudice that some male police officers possess, but this negative opinion of the policewomen's role enhancement or quantitative growth may exist beyond the vocal minority. Affirmative views are being developed and the causes of negative views analyzed in order to find ways to solve the problems inherent in the development and deployment of policewomen.

Basic problems in the use of South Korean policewomen

A steady increase in female officers has occurred since 2000, although the population of policewomen remains at a 4% low. There is an indication that policemen and policewomen cannot remedy these circumstances altogether. Policewomen complain about the low percentage of current strength, and propose every kind of development plan, whereas policemen are dissatisfied with the hasty expansion of policewomen. They insist that it will produce reverse sexual discrimination. The tendency at this stage is to not approach policewomen's use in symbolic dimensions, but to approach a new view about the personnel system; a variety of job placements and practical uses, and promotion by quantitative increase and qualitative enhancement. Therefore, organic and specific alternative plans for policewomen utilization in the future are needed.

A. Some policemen's negative point of view towards women

The increase of policewomen population increased the competition among male colleagues. Before the 90s, policemen thought of policewomen as symbols or mascots of the police. They now recognize their female partners as rivals and are concern for their job and advancement. They see the change in attitude of their leadership toward female officers in a negative view. They recite problems during the initial expansion of policewomen and complain about the low utility of female officers. The male officer complained through

informal ways, such as talking with colleagues in the field or making jokes. Recently, they rely on the Internet to complain about policewomen openly expressing their views with the public.

This phenomenon suggests that some policemen worry about the female's aggressive social advance in Korea. They feel reverse sexual discrimination and sense of alienation. They express opinions that the policy for increase of policewomen will result in the general decline of police image and support. Basically they believe policewomen are inferior to policemen.

B. Absence of strong law enforcement and wrong human rights consciousness

Some drunken citizens resisted and even fought with police officers in South Korea. The hospitable culture to drink liquor in Korea contributes to this atmosphere. There are some cases where aggressive drunken persons attacked police boxes with burning vehicles. Verbal altercations caused by alcohol abuse occur frequently, according to the KNP. Police officers have been hurt attempting an arrest of a criminal. This is the outcome of neglect of law enforcement and the absence of strong penalties for lawbreakers. Therefore, the policewoman's physical ability to cope with drunken persons or criminals is essential to work in the field with their partner. Policemen feel the pressure of the Korean male's negative attitude toward women. Because most drunks are males, policewomen may have more difficulty handling a drunk than policemen.

To sustain the balance between human rights and reasonable law execution, penalties for violation of the law must be written commensurate with the seriousness of the crime. Until the punishment is sufficient to restrain the behavior of some law violators the duties of both the male and female officers in the field will remain extremely difficult.

C. Inadequate working conditions of policewomen

Policewomen's working conditions are more severe than other public servants. Policewomen serve under dangerous situations - patrol, night watch, and arresting criminals. They call for emergency assistance frequently. Policewomen need special consideration for pregnancy, childbirth and care for their children. As matter of fact, females must juggle their simultaneous roles as mother, wife, and officer and the responsibilities of caring for the family members in a traditional Korean household. Based on individual circumstances female officers may not be able to manage these roles by themselves. They need help to sustain their jobs and lives. In financial and budget terms, the support required of the policewomen's working conditions is severe.

D. Policewomen's physical and mental attitude

The beginning stages and transition period for even the recognition and development of a female police officer has become an item of interest, especially in recent years. The policewomen's abilities in the computer field, and handling women offenders, juveniles, and their treatment in civil matters have proven outstanding. It is accepted that such activities are more efficient for female using their inherent qualities such as caring, nurturing, kindness and delicateness. But the physical ability of policewomen is a weak point providing their opponents a point of argument. Some perceptions of policewomen's passive and indolent ways of thinking and behavior in the field have caused complaints among male partners.

Problems on each step

A. Selection phase

1) Selection examination

If the police leadership changes the present divided selection system that selects males and females separately, the percentage of policewomen will be rise. The policewomen's competition ratio is higher than policemen's, therefore present scores on the policewomen's written examination are sufficient to work as law enforcement officers, possible excluding males who do not achieve a similar score. The problem for women on the selection examination is not the written examination but the physical test. The physical factor is an essential point to controlling drunks or criminals in the field. The ratio of physical testing that applies in the current policewomen selection examination is no more than 5%. Through the only 5% physical test adoption in the selection examination, it is almost impossible to identify whether an applicant is a good resource or not as a policewoman.

2) New police officer education and training

The Korean National Police central academy is responsible for establishing the new police officer course. According to educational Program of Instruction, the policewomen's course is separated from policemen through different curriculum. Separate education systems may induce new policemen to think that the male is superior to the female and new policewomen to accept that the female is dependant upon the male. This is the starting point of unconscious sexual discrimination against women.

3) Probation course

The probation course is the system to select the best qualified person among appointment candidates. One objective of the probation system is OJT (on the job training); the other objective is to check their qualification as a public officer. Assessment through the written examination and interview is not sufficient to assess whether the candidate will be an acceptable police officer (Lee Hwang woo, 2001: 166). However, the percentage of discharge during probation course is extremely low, implying that the probation system may not be properly serving the intended purpose. Since 1999, all of the policewomen who finished the central police school education course were dispatched into the field. No novice police officers were dismissed because of a lack of physical ability. This fact suggests that police leadership does not consider physical ability to be a major factor in the field, whether male or female.

B. Use phase

1) Job placement

Most female officers work in office affairs, such as the administration section, finance, civil appeals, juvenile affairs, and driver license management. The Policewomen's opportunities have become more diverse than in the past. The insistence of varied job distribution seems to imply that policewomen are eager to work in the policy decision making branches, such as the personnel or planning sections. Some policewomen demand various job distributions to positions of authority. Ironically some policewomen don't want to be dispatched in the field because the work is too hard. Of course this tendency is not unique to policewomen, as policemen also search for easy and comfortable jobs.

The other reason is that some district police department commanders believe that policewomen in the field are not effective. They prefer to send policewomen to work in an office rather than the field. "Work in the field is difficult and an irregular spending night on patrol, but this is the primary mission and function of an officer. that has to be overcome. Without experience on patrol in the field, it is difficult to understand police work and to be prepared to advance in rank and responsibilities." said Park (Park Ju Moon, 2001: 112). The poor welfare facilities for policewomen are another reason for these problems. These conditions became the cause of trouble blamed by policemen. They insisted policewomen are an ineffective and burdensome existence. That some newly assigned policewomen evade difficult duties is becoming a big obstacle to expanding the policewomen's role.

2) Job education

Educational opportunities and standards must be defined to provide equal position placement and advancement. Diversity in jobs will be impossible if commensurate educational opportunities are not given. The opportunity for education is more limited for policewomen than policemen, and policewomen's job education applications concentrate on short-term courses, such as Female officers tend to prefer Internet education and do not want to leave their families for long periods of time. They hesitate to attend long-term education courses. For example, if one wants become an investigator, one has to attend the investigation training which last about months.

C. Management phase

1) Personnel strength

South Korea's policewomen strength is less than 4% of the total police strength, fundamentally lower than other countries until 2004. It will not be easy to reach 10% strength because of the current climate among police administrators.

2) Promotion

The examination promotion system based upon personnel ability poses no problem for women applicants. In the case of judging promotion, participating as a committee member is very important. Policewomen participating on promotion boards are few. Committee members' must have access to the complete list eligible police officers for advancement. Through this kind of system, the promotion system can be transparent.

3) Physical management

Physical ability is an essential factor during police job processing. As a member of the police, one has to have enough physical strength to endure hard conditions. Physical aspects may be a troublesome point for females. While the military is doing physical strength measuring every year from general to sergeant, the police do not have standards for physical ability and strength. Physical ability is as important to police officers as it is to military personnel. Without regular physical strength standards and regular testing, interest in physical strength will decrease. Physical standards for female officers will help to dispel the accusations of physical ineptness.

4) Inefficiency of policewomen exclusive organizational responsibility

The Rho Mu Hyeon government decided to assign responsibility for women's policy to 45 central administrative agencies in June 2003. The National Police Agency designated the director of the life safety branch as the responsible high-ranking official and the manager of the women teenagers department as the woman policy official.

The mission of responsible women policy officials is to propose policy direction and strategy relating to policewomen, and generalize and control policewomen; i.e.; no discrimination and equality between male and female officers.

Improvement for South Korean policewomen deployment

Precise recognition to present

Both policemen and policewomen of South Korea must recognize that the use of policewomen is in a period of transition. At present the policewomen's development process is similar to the child's case, in that it suffers from growing pains. Male police officers should be able to understand the policewomen's situation rather than think of the female solely as a competitor for male positions. Male officers must maintain an open mind that policewomen's strength currently remains below 4%, and become part of the solution working to bring new specially qualified colleagues in to the department. Males in the police force must acknowledge that their cynical attitude surrounding policewomen is not helping the department on the community being served. Neglect of consideration for policewomen offers no solution. Considerable support for policewomen must be sustained until the female officer's role is fully established and support by the male officers.

Policewomen should have a pioneering sense of responsibility and sacrifice, with a positive viewpoint. Organizational development during the transition period has caused members to have a spirit of sacrifice and of responsibility, which nurtures innovational ways of thought. If they want to be police officers, women have to work diligently and conscientiously. Attitude and motivation are decisive factors in affecting behavior (Lee sang won, 2001: 210). If policewomen persist in seeking equal opportunity and working to attain planning, detective, personnel, and inspector general positions, they must endeavor for their own development with positive thinking and actions. They have to make police organizations accept policewomen as inevitable by their own professionalism. Through occupational consciousness, sexual discrimination will be eliminated by incentive (Park Ju Moon, 2001: 115).

A person who has worked long term as a policewoman may not want many changes; however, all policewomen must recognize that they are in a transition period working to completely establish the role of policewomen. An aggressive way of thinking is needed for the expansion of policewomen's responsibilities. Policewomen are not mascots in an organization, but are vital assets with the same rights and responsibilities of the male officer. They do not have to prove their value, but simply do their daily job as professionally as possible and thereby win the support of their male counterparts.

Reform of working conditions

Before addressing the issue of policewomen's physical ability, reform of working conditions is needed. Even policemen have experienced problems when they work in the field because of severe resistance to law enforcement by drunken persons. While danger levels during police officer's law enforcement processing are not exceeded, restraint against breaking the law is weak. Harsh punishment for any lawbreaker that dares to attack the policewomen while in performance of her duties is a must. Additionally special considerations to females are needed to relieve the family pressures while on duty. Basic working provisions such as day-care facilities and support related to motherhood, are essential. Politically cooperation in seeking, policies promoting budget and advertisement are essential for the enhancement of the policewomen's working conditions.

Upward adjustment of physical test ratio during selection examination and acceptance of regular physical test system

Physical ability is not only the policewoman's responsibility, but also the policeman's. For addressing the physical disadvantages of women, upward adjustment of the physical test ratio in the selection examination is required. Further study may identify additional reinforcement measures. For genuine sexual equality, with male and female police officers being dispatched under similar conditions, both sexes must decide whether to endure or not, and whether to remain in the police. Policewomen are different from other female public servants. They have to confront dangerous situations, such as illegal demonstration suppression, fighting against criminals, and controlling drunken persons every day. It is a significant historical fact that the ancient Korean Lee Dynasty had strict selection standards for female detectives.

Some male police officers evade difficult jobs, preferring to seek safe and comfortable assignments. Female police officers are in the minority and to overcome discrimination; they must sustain reasonable physical ability relative to male police officers. Through regular physical testing, it is possible to dismiss police officers who

can't reach the standard, and induce the remaining members to take an active interest in their own physical management.

Execution of unified new appointment training course and strict probation system

From the beginning, a unified new appointment training course should be initiated. Male and female police officer training courses must be integrated; thereby eliminating sexual discrimination and give each sex a chance to understand the other.

The British are accustomed to utilizing a probation system to promote characteristics that provide for stable police administration service, to minimize the disadvantages that can occur among policemen and police organizations, citizens, etc (Em Ji Wun, 2002: 124). Before the adoption of this probation system, 5 or 10% were usually dismissed during each period.

Allowance of job education for various job assignment and spontaneous choice of long-term education

Educational opportunity and fair job placement are two faces of the same coin. There are two reasons why few educational opportunities are available. One is due to inconsiderate policies for policewomen; the other is caused by an unwillingness of policewomen themselves. Authorities should endeavor to give policewomen as well as policemen equal opportunities, and adapt a policy of assigning policewomen to planning, personnel, intelligence, and public affairs assignments.

Most policewomen that try to avoid long-term education, preferring short-term or easy courses, must recognize that these attitudes will be decisive obstacles to various policewomen's job assignments. If female police officers want greater and more varied responsibilities, they must be willing to seek the necessary education. Policewomen must make the sacrifices necessary for their professional development.

Increase of policewomen strength and fair policewomen promotion opportunity

Through enforcement of policies promoting women and by extension of the women's rights movement and human rights movement, women police officer's responsibilities are increasing gradually. The gap between male and female police officers' strengths must be well balanced by sound personnel policy.

If the recognition of policewomen's abilities grows, and the gap between male and female police officers is narrowed, it will be possible to increase policewomen to 10% of total strength. However, such growth assumes that every policewoman understands that during this transition period, they have to sustain a positive and flexible attitude through sacrifice. Long-term policy of police officer strength expansion should favor integrated selection of males and females. This policy requires the physical ratio in entrance examinations. Professionalism as a policewoman must be emphasized for real equality with males. For transparent promotion, authorities should adapt the participation of policewomen as members on promotion boards, and open the system to enable candidates' knowledge of promotion boards as soon as opportunities are available.

Readjustment of policewomen policy office

Policewomen policy must protect and promote policewomen. The Korea National Police Agency adapted the Rho Mu Hyun government's policy for women, and activated female police officers' doctrine under responsibility of the life safety branch. It is extremely difficult to control the education, personnel, and welfare of women because of symbolic treatment, a head without arms and legs. Under the present system, there is no chain of command and it is impossible to increase policewomen's instruction systematically. I propose to make new arms and legs for the development of effective female police officer policy. For the education, personnel and welfare aspects of policewomen, a policewoman must be assigned in charge of education at the education, personnel, and motherhood guardian branches. After making these new policy assignments, greater cooperation and integration will result. The policewoman who is responsible for female policy at KNP can control this policy properly through tight cooperation among related branches. Long-range planning to transfer all of female police officers' policies from life safety branch to police affairs branch is needed for greater consideration of females in the KNP. This is a more effective method of integrating female police officer policy.

Conclusion

The problems experienced by policewomen do not belong entirely to the policewomen themselves. Attempts to understand the policewomen's problems have produced male and female confrontation in police organizations that is very dangerous and unproductive. Both male and female police officers have to recognize this problem of the KNP. Many scholars, members of citizen organizations and politicians who are interested in the police must be aware that this problem has been caused by the poor surroundings of the KNP. Precise recognition of causative factors will be most effective in solving the policewomen problems. Despite the active advances of women in society during the last couple of years, South Korea's genetic equality measurement (GEM), measuring women's position in the labor market, ranked 61st out of 64 nations. (UNDP, 2001) The

percentage of high-ranking managers and CEOs among Korean women workers is only 0.3%, very low compared with the United States of America (13.9%), Singapore (6.3%), Germany (3.5%), et al. (OECD, 2001).

The genuine power of the 21st century is not manpower but brainpower. It is meaningless to distinguish whether one is male or female in an economy based knowledge.⁷⁾ (Park dong suk, Aging Shock, 2003) The trend of females advancing in law enforcement agencies is worldwide(<http://www.iawp.org>). Activity of IWAP (International Association of Women Police) is gradually becoming more prominent, and rapid social changes demand that police serve citizens in various aspects. As the future will consist of a graying population and low birth rate; how authority and society utilize the potential of women may be a decisive factor in greater prosperity. South Korean policewomen's operations are in the toddler stage, despite their long history. Various difficulties that are present with policewomen are transitional periods for growth. All police members should endeavor to diminish the sexual discrimination present within the police organization.

For policewomen to develop and advance in Korea, they have to make their existence in the KNP essential.

Reference

- Eum Ji Wun (2002). 'The Study of Strategic Human Resources management for the Recruitment of Police Officer'. The Korean Association of Police Science Review Vol.5.: 113-130.
- Favreau D. F.(1978). Modern Police Administration. New Jersey : Prentice-Hall Inc. Englewood Cliffs.
- Heise D. W. & Patrick M. V.(1974) Organization for Police Personnel Management. Washtington D.C. : Police Foundation.
- Heidensohn F.(1995). Women in Control? The Role of Women in Law Enforcement. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Institute of Korea Women Society (2000). New Written Women and Korea Society. Social Culture Institute.
- Jung Duk Young (2002). 'A Study on revolution management of Police cope with environmental change'. Review Vol. 6.: 345-366.
- Kim Tae Hyun (2002). The women's life in 21st Century. Seoul : Sung Sin Women's University.
- Kim Won Hong (2003). Policewomen strength activation plans for Police Revolution. Korean National Police Agency.
- Kim Won Hong et al. (2002). 'A Study on Improvement of Police's Service for Citizen and Women'. Police Science Journal, Vol. 18. Research Institute of Police Science.
- Korea National Agency (2004). Korea Policewomen System.
- Korean National Police Agency (1995). The 50 years history of Korean National Police.
- Lee Hwang Woo(2001). Police Administration. Seoul : KCI.
- Lee Hwang Woo(1998). Police Administration. Seoul : Bup Moon Sa.
- Lee Hwang Woo(2003). 'A Study on Improvement Method of Police Selection System', The Korean Association of Police Science Review Vol. 6.:175-202..
- Lee Sang Won (2001). 'A Study to the Effects on Policing Intention by the Job Motivation and Working Attitude of Korean Police Cadet', Korean Association of Public Safety and Criminal Justice Review Vol. 11.: 209-229.
- Lee Sang Won (2002). 'A Study on the Relationship between Training and Job Satisfaction of the Police', Korean Association of Public Safety and Criminal Justice Review Vol. 14.: 135-157.
- Lee Young Nam (2000). 'A Study on the Structure for the Recruitment of Police Personnel'. Korean Association of Public Safety and Criminal Justice Review Vol. 9.: 127-148.
- Lee Yun Gun(2001). Comparison of Police System. Bup Moon Sa.
- Lois Decker O'Neill, ed(1979). The Women's Book of World Records and Achievements. Garden City, NY : Anchor Press.
- Martin S. E.(1980). Breaking and Entering: Policewomen on Patrol. Berkeley : University of California Press.
- Milton C. (1972). Women in Policing. Washington, DC : Police Foundation.
- National Center for Women and Policing(1999). Equality Denied : The Status of Women in Policing. Los Angeles : National Center for Women and Policing.
- Park, Ju moon (2001). 'A Study on Improvement of Policewomen's Role and Status',The Korean Association of Police Science Review Vol. 3.: 93-121.
- Schulz D. M.(1995). From Social Worker to Crime fighter: Women in United States Municipal Policing. Westport : Praeger.
- Vicki W. & Froyland, I. D.(1996). Women in Policing, in trend & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice. Australian Institute of Criminology.
- William, B. J. & Whisenand, P. M.(1980). Police Personnel Administration. Boston : Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

<http://www.police.go.kr/data/white/white2000Main.jsp>

<http://www.ehrasp.com/gg/mss/powe>

http://www.jinju79.co.kr/police_official

<http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d>

http://opendic.naver.com/100/entry.php?entry_id

<http://www.iawp.org>

<http://211.196.153.9/search97cgi>

Appendix A. Scales Used in the Analysis

	Relia- bility	Number of Items	Examples of Questions
Workplace Problems			
Lack of advancement	.56	3	1.Opportunity for promotion 2.Apply for and get assigned to the jobs 3.Less a chance to advance
Lack of influence over police work	.57	4	1.Lack of influence 2.Do not have the power to change the way police work 3.Influence on department policies and procedures 4.Feel that I have a say in how things get done
Harassment and stigmatization	.75	3	1.Language harassment 2.Sexual harassment 3.Stigma and appearance
Rejection by other police	.73	3	
Coping Strategies			
Express feelings	.87	3	1.Let people know how angry I was 2.Showed people how hurt/upset 3.Made it clear how the situation affected my feeling
Get other police to like me	.91	2	1.Effort to try to get my coworkers to like me 2.Effort to try to get my superiors to like me
Keep written records	.86	2	1.Kept a written record of my own 2.Kept a written record of things I considered offensive
Change job assignments	.85	2	1.Changed my job, still satisfied my career goals 2.Changed my job, sacrifice career goals
Social Support			
Coworkers	.64	5	1.Fellow officers-encouragement 2.Think of better ways of getting the work done 3.Fellow officers-compliment 4.Fellow officers-spent hardly any time helping me 5.Back me up when I make mistakes
Superiors	.65	4	1.Superiors-encouragement (to do best job) 2.Superiors-encouragement (did job well) 3.Superiors-stressed the importance of job 4.Superiors-encouragement (think of better way)
Family	.57	4	1.Get the support I need to feel better 2.No one can talk about job 3.Support spouse or steady mate 4.Had people who talk about any problems

Special Reports from the Field

[Hong Kong Police]

1. “Enhancing Policing Quality and Efficiency through Internal Promotion of Care and Support in the Hong Kong Police Force”

by Charles Doon-ye WONG (Assistant Commissioner of Hong Kong Police Force),
Eddie Kam-wah LI (Senior Police Clinical Psychologist of Hong Kong Police Force) &
Michael Siu-ming YIP (Chief Inspector of Hong Kong Police Force)

2. “Training in Psychological Competency for Police Officers”

by Dr. Gracemary Leung (Acting Director of Personal Development and Counselling
Centre, Hong Kong University),
Cammie Leung (Superintendent of Hong Kong Police Force) &
Vincent Yeung (Senior Superintendent of Hong Kong Police Force)

The Hong Kong Police



"That Hong Kong remains one of the safest and most stable societies in the world"

-Vision of the Hong Kong Police-

Enhancing Policing Quality and Efficiency through Internal Promotion of Care and Support in the Hong Kong Police Force

by
Mr. Charles Doon-ye WONG
Assistant Commissioner of Police (Service Quality)
Hong Kong Police Force,

Mr. Eddie Kam-wah LI
Senior Police Clinical Psychologist
Hong Kong Police Force

&
Mr. Michael Siu-ming YIP
Chief Inspector of Police
Hong Kong Police Force

Abstract

This paper is to examine how the cultural transformation of the Hong Kong Police Force (HKPF) from a quasi-military management style to a service quality (customer oriented) management style through a series of Living-the-Values Workshops takes place; and how the management culture change positively motivates its members. Although there were many attributors, such as advance in technology, better cooperation with the Mainland Public Security Bureau, higher education of new recruits, etc. for the outstanding performance of HKPF in the past decade, the successful cultural transformation, attitude and behaviour change of HKPF's members no doubt played an essential role in the process.

Police officers were observed to perform their duties in the most professional way even in times of adversities, such as reduction in manpower and salary (involuntarily), bleak promotion prospect, rising public demand on service quality and increasing workload. The current Living-the-Values Workshop (Wave V) "Serving with Care" will be examined in detail to show how the above process takes place.

Enhancing Policing Quality and Efficiency through Internal Promotion of Care and Support in the Hong Kong Police Force

Executive Summary

- The Hong Kong Police Force (HKPF) had been adopting a *quasi-military management style, in which strict discipline and absolute obedience were the core values.*
- The HKPF expanded in parallel with the economic and population growth of Hong Kong in the past century. Moreover, a number of expatriate officers opted not to serve the new government after the sovereignty handover in 1997. These generated excellent promotion opportunities for HKPF's members. *The promotion was the main motivator* for HKPF's members.
- In early 1995, the Commissioner of Police unveiled a new era of quality service. The "Vision and Statement of Common Purpose and Values" was then published. A series of Living-the-Values Workshops has been carried out to foster attitude and behaviour change of HKPF's members and to change the management culture of the HKPF towards service quality since 1997. The latest Living-the-Values Workshop (Wave V) "Serving with Care" will be examined in detail to show how the cultural transformation takes place.
- The performance of HKPF has been improving for the past decade. The overall crime rate (number of cases per 100,000 population) dropped from around 1,500 cases in 1995 to around 1,200 cases in 2004. The violent crime rate also decreased from around 280 cases in 1995 to around 200 cases in 2004. Moreover, there was rising public confidence/satisfaction on the service of HKPF. A survey conducted by the Political and Economic Risk Consultant (Asian Intelligence) in 2004 ranked Hong Kong as the safest and most stable society in Asia-Pacific Region.
- Although there were many attributors, such as advance in technology, better cooperation with the Mainland Public Security Bureau, higher education of new recruits, etc. for the encouraging performance of HKPF in the past decade, the successful cultural transformation, attitude and behaviour change of HKPF's members no doubt played an essential role in the process.
- Police officers were observed to perform their duties in the most professional way even in times of adversities, such as reduction in manpower and salary (involuntarily), bleak promotion prospect, rising public demand on service quality and increasing workload.

Introduction

This paper is to examine the effect on policing quality and efficiency of the culture change of the Hong Kong Police Force (HKPF) in the past decade. The current internal promotion of care and support through a series of Living-the-Values Workshop (Wave V) will be examined in detail to illustrate how the process takes place.

Background

The HKPF (formerly known as the Royal Hong Kong Police Force) was established in 1844 by the British colonial government. One of its main functions was to perform social control and to support the colonial government. Key senior posts were occupied by expatriate officers in the past. The HKPF had been adopting a quasi-military management style, in which *strict discipline and absolute obedience were the core values.*

Hong Kong, a small territory with a total area of around 1,000 sq kilometers, has been developing from a small fishing port with a population of around 6,000²² in 1840s to the Asian World City nowadays. Its population was 6.8 million²³ and its gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was US\$23,700 in 2004, among the highest in Asia²⁴. Hong Kong is now the world's freest economy²⁵. The HKPF was expanding/developing in parallel with the population growth and economic development of Hong Kong. Moreover, in 1960s and 1970s, there was serious social unrest and this led to the rapid expansion of the HKPF. In 2000, the establishment of the HKPF was 28,695 disciplined officers supported by 6,068 civilian officers and 4,500 auxiliary police officers²⁶ (its peak). The expansion of the HKPF provided excellent promotion opportunities to its members.

During the sovereignty handover, some senior expatriate officers chose not to serve the new government and retired early. Between 1996 and 1998, there were excellent promotion opportunities for the remaining officers.

The promotion was the main motivator for the management of the HKPF in the past.

²² Source : A Brief History of Hong Kong and the Hong Kong Police, Internal Police Inspector Study Notes, <http://pena03/PINotes.nsf/3318027f2fae950f4825689f0014dc2a/73832f5be36dca0548256a1700288a52>

²³ Source : Hong Kong Year Book 2004, http://www.info.gov.hk/yearbook/2004/en/20_01.htm

²⁴ Source : Hong Kong Year Book 2004, http://www.info.gov.hk/yearbook/2004/en/03_02.htm

²⁵ Source : The "Economic Freedom of the World: 2005 Annual Report"

<http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/200509/08/P200509080285.htm>

²⁶ Source : Hong Kong Police Review 2000, http://www.info.gov.hk/police/review/2000/chart/chart_main.htm

Culture Change of HKPF

In early 1990s, the Hong Kong Government introduced the public sector reform. The HKPF was one of the leading departments to echo the government's initiatives. Various managerial and market measures were introduced to enhance the service quality and efficiency of the public services.

In early 1995, the Commissioner of Police unveiled a new era in HKPF - an era of quality service. One of the key elements in providing quality service is to understand the needs and expectations of HKPF's clients, including members of the public and its staff²⁷. Staff and Public Opinion Surveys were then introduced to understand its internal and external customers' need.

The "Vision and Statement of Common Purpose and Values²⁸" was published in December 1996. The vision of HKPF is "*That Hong Kong remains one of the safest and most stable societies in the world*". The service quality initiatives faced various challenges/resistance from existing members who were used to the quasi-military management style. However, the workshop started the engine for the fundamental culture change of HKPF from the quasi-military management style to the service quality (or customer oriented) management style. It started slowly but accelerated rapidly. Various performance pledges were introduced as well. Nowadays, the service quality is one of the core values of all HKPF members. "We Serve with Pride and Care" is our motto.

A series of Living-the-Values Workshops has been carried out to foster attitude and behaviour change of HKPF's members and to change the management culture/style of the HKPF since 1997. The main themes of those workshops were as follows:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Main theme of Living-the-Values</u>
1997	Service Quality (Wave I) to foster attitude/behaviour change and to identify obstacles
1999	Service Quality (Wave II) to address obstacles raised in Wave I, i.e. lack of communication, trust, integrity and honesty
2000	Integrity and Honesty and Internal Communication (Wave III)
2002	Professionalism through personal improvement in professional ethics and professional image (Wave IV)
2005	Serving with Care (Wave V)

The HKPF's Senior Management has also been promoting a healthy lifestyle (sports, non-smoking/alcohol, etc.) and encouraging family activities/interaction among HKPF's members since 1997. This, to certain extent, promotes a work-life balance among HKPF's members.

The HKPF's Senior Management has been the core support/catalyst behind the Living-the-Values Workshops and promotion of work-life balance and hence the culture change.

Challenges and Opportunities

There were/are various challenges from both within and outside the HKPF. First, the rising democracy and civic society have led to rising public demand on the public services. The performance pledge and rising public demand on quality service on the public services have been continuously increasing the workload of the public services, especially the police service since 1990s. In 2004/2005, the monthly number of emergency calls was about 4,670²⁹ per 100,000 populations in Hong Kong whilst those of Metropolitan Police Service, UK and New South Wales Police, Australia were about 2,894³⁰ and 607³¹ respectively. Meanwhile, there is continual emphasis on service quality by the HKPF's Management.

Second, the 1997 Asian financial crisis had badly hit most economies of Asian countries and this led to currency devaluation of all neighbouring countries, except the People's Republic of China (PRC). Although Hong Kong could cope with the attack on its linked exchange rate system (with US dollar which was very strong at that time) by an increase in interest rate, the linked exchange rate system caused the Hong Kong dollar to be very expensive (overvalued) when compared with her neighbouring countries'. This seriously undermined the economic confidence of investors. As a result, Hong Kong suffered from deflation and economic recession between 1998 and 2004. Most Hong Kong people, including police officers were adversely affected.

²⁷ Offbeat Article, Police Report No.5 Issued by PPRB on November 18, 1998

<http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/199811/18/1118111.htm>

²⁸ A copy of the statement is at <http://www.info.gov.hk/police/review/2004/english/mtarget.htm>

²⁹ Source : Information Systems Wing (COMMS), HKPF

³⁰ Source : <http://www.met.police.uk/merton/999.htm>

³¹ Source : <http://www.police.nsw.gov.au/>

Third, the deflation and economic recession had then led to rising unemployment rate and social discontent. The unemployment rate rose to its history high of around 8.7% in 2003³². There were 7.8 demonstrations per day from 1998 onwards. The social discontent reached its peak on 1st July 2003 when 500,000 Hong Kong people marched on the street to protest against the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government (HKSARG) owing to various reasons, namely economic hardship, few unfavourable government policies, etc. Moreover, the total number of complaint against police figure rose from 2,935 cases in 1997 to 3822 cases in 2002 and decreased to 3,216 cases in 2004. There was also substantial increase in complaints relating to neglect of duty, misconduct and improper manner (viewed as stress related complaints) from 1,223 cases in 1997 to 2,020 cases in 2004³³. This created great challenges/pressure on the HKPF to maintain law and order.

Fourth, the economic recession led to serious government budget deficit between 1998 and 2004. Enhanced Productivity Programme (EPP), Efficiency Saving Exercise (ESE) and salary reduction by controversial legislation were then introduced by the HKSARG. The recruitment was frozen between 2001 and 2003. The total budget of the HKPF was reduced from around US\$1.54 billion in 2000³⁴ to US\$1.45 billion in 2004³⁵. The establishment of disciplined officers reduced to 27,754, civilian staff to 5,232 and auxiliary police to 4500, i.e. no change in 2004³⁶.

Fifth, many young officers were promoted between 1996 and 1998. They filled those promotion posts and had a number of years before retirement. This phenomenon had undermined the promotion prospect in the following few years post 1998. Moreover, the contraction in the establishment of the HKPF had also adversely affected the promotion prospect. The promotion prospect was bleak in the following few years post 1998. This hardly hit the most important morale booster of the HKPF.

Sixth, in the internal staff relation reports, staff had expressed certain degree of unrest owing to the above circumstances. Some felt that they were not respected by the public. Some felt that the HKSARG was not caring about their condition of service and welfare. Some even speculated that the HKSARG was the one to stir up/echo the public discontent against civil servants in order to pressurize the civil servants to bow to (or support) the Enhanced Productivity Programme, Efficiency Saving Exercise and salary reduction. This had led to the civil lawsuit between civil servants (represented by individual officers) and the HKSARG. Although the HKSARG won in the Court of Final Appeal eventually, the trust between civil servants and the HKSARG was affected.

These challenges provided opportunities for all managers (HKPF's Management) to look into ones' area of responsibilities and to re-organize, re-engineer, re-prioritize our works. These had led to various initiatives in improving current work process or management structure, such as the station amalgamation scheme, use of technology in daily works, civilianization of station guard duties, etc. More importantly, the HKPF's Management has embraced these challenges as an opportunity to pave the way for the requisite cultural transformation that would strengthen caring support to all officers. Through the internal promotion of care and support (the Living-the-Value Workshop Wave V), it is expected that the policing quality and efficiency would be further enhanced.

Promoting Care and Support as an Innovative Strategy

The HKPF has been emphasizing on the service quality, professionalism, internal communication, integrity and honesty (core values of HKPF) in the previous Living-the-Values Workshops (Wave I to IV). The latest Workshop (Wave V) is to enhance officers' personal efficiency through self-caring and the overall policing quality and efficiency of HKPF through promoting mutual support or caring, i.e. the synergy effect.

Objectives of the Workshop (Wave V)

It is to design and prepare for the Workshop (Wave V) aiming at :-

- looking after the well-being of all HKPF's members;
- being a responsible employer (the HKPF);
- enhancing professional image;
- increasing the productivity of HKPF as a whole; and
- reducing suicide rate in HKPF.

Basic Premises

We believe that many of the challenges faced in modern day policing may be ramified through an emphasis on an interpersonal attitude of care in undertaking law enforcement duties; and that through an internal

³² Source : Hong Kong Year Book 2004, http://www.info.gov.hk/yearbook/2004/en/03_03.htm

³³ Source : Statistics Office, Complaint and Internal Investigation Branch, HKPF.

³⁴ Source : Hong Kong Police Review 2000, http://www.info.gov.hk/police/review/2000/text_version/ch6_1_txt.htm

³⁵ Source : Hong Kong Police Review 2004, <http://www.info.gov.hk/police/review/2004/english/mfap.htm>

³⁶ Source : Hong Kong Police Review 2004, <http://www.info.gov.hk/police/review/2004/english/pdf/9.pdf>

promotion of caring, support and mutual understanding, officers will improve in their morale and feel better motivated to work corroboratively and faced up with the ever-increasing challenges of modern day policing.

There are many successful examples of caring support systems in other organisations that are well received, namely:-

- the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)'s "Peer Support System" to help address law enforcement stress;
- the US Air Force's "Buddy Care" system to strengthen the social support; and
- the New York Police Department (NYPD)'s caring support initiatives for victims of September 11th Attacks.

Considerations

Whilst introducing the "Serving with Care" Living-the-Values Workshop (Wave V), we are mindful of the following considerations. First, the police culture, inter alia, contains emphasis on independence, discipline and obedience, de-emphasis on self-care, fear of intruding into the privacy of others, directing rather than listening. Second, there were also other common interpersonal issues in the workplace, such as the attitude of senior officers, sensitivity and respect, support at times of adversity. Third, the target of dissemination and media for dissemination should be carefully thought of in order to convey the message and to foster the attitude and behaviour change effectively and efficiently.

The Four Essential Components of Care

First, it is the self-care and modeling. Officers are encouraged or motivated to exercise self-care in respect of physical, psychological, financial and time-management. The work-life balance is encouraged. There is also modeling on positive self-care as shown in the video episodes of the Workshop.

Second, it is the care and sensitivity. This includes sensitivity to signs of problems, e.g. personal problems, undesirable associations, sensitivity to needs and feelings of others (respect, reducing stigma, reconciling). The impact of one's behaviour and attitudes towards others will also be taken into consideration.

Third, it is the care at times of adversity and critical incidents. These will include personal crisis support and management, critical incident stress support and management, inter-departmental cooperation and peer support.

Fourth, it is the care through mutual understanding and expression of mutual expectations (sharing of expectations, taking others' perspective, adjusting differences), and to those in need. Effective communication skills, such as effective listening, respect, care and readiness to help will be introduced.

Target for dissemination

This will include three levels, i.e. individual level, line management level and HKPF level.

For individual level, officers are encouraged or motivated to self-caring, forthcoming (willingness to discuss problems with supervisors and peers), removing barriers and stigma to seek help, empathy towards others, peer support and confidentiality (respecting the privacy of others).

For line management level, officers are trained to consider help seeking behaviour as a statement of strength and responsibility instead of a sign of weakness (attitude change), to detect persons at risk and provide counseling and referral to professional help (sensitive manager), to accommodate subordinates who need help (coping skills) and to be actively involved and to provide support as a leader (leadership support and involvement).

For HKPF level, the senior management is to create a favourable environment to foster self-caring and peer support culture. It is also to heighten the awareness of HKPF's Management of the *risk factors* (including mental health problems, substance misuse, relationship problems, poor coping skills, legal and financial problems and social isolation) that would confer risk for adverse outcomes, such as suicide, family violence and discipline problems. On the other hand, it is to strengthen the HKPF's *protective factors* (including social support, coping skills and understanding of mental health and decreasing stigma about the need to seek professional help) to all HKPF's members, especially those in personal crisis, such as death of spouse, personal injury and illness, divorce and marital separation.

In addition, it is to encourage and protect those who seek help with its emphasis on early prevention. Seeking health care should be construed as a statement of strength and responsibility (early prevention).

Methodology – the experiential/Living-the-Values Workshop Approach

The real life video case study method is adopted. The case method calls for discussion of real-life situations that police officers have faced. The video case study method is a very practical way to let officers apprehend the stress and challenges that they might encounter. Four video scenarios modified from actual cases gathered from experiences of the Psychological Services Group (PSG) and other sectors of HKPF were used.

Participants will be divided into small groups. They will view and discuss all the case scenarios. The group discussions will focus on interaction between the facilitator and participants and self-contribution by participants experience sharing about the respective scenario. Other techniques of communication such as role-play will be encouraged to enhance participation and value of the workshop.

Taking into consideration of the feedback from the Living-the-Values Workshop (Wave IV), the subject of the scenarios will also encompass the civilian staff and middle management so as to gain their input in the discussion and accentuate on the role of middle and senior managers, in particular, on setting good example, showing support and “walking the talk”.

The facilitator is to facilitate the discussion, to pose questions, prod, draw out people’s reasoning, play the devil’s advocate and highlight issues. Participants will be challenged to think how they can better cope with those stress and challenges. They are required to present the results of discussions afterwards. This is to reinforce positive attitude in dealing with stress and challenges.

The above video case study method for Living-the-Values Workshop is an innovative idea in HKPF.

Top Down Approach or Bottom Up Approach

Every HKPF’s member has to take part and contribute in the workshop. The workshops are divided into three categories, i.e. Junior Police Officers’ Workshops (25,000 police constables to station sergeants), Inspectorate Workshops (2,200 officers) and Superintendent and above Workshops (420 officers). In the past, senior officers were trained first.

Nevertheless, the bottom up approach is adopted for Wave V. Junior officers are trained first and then the seniors. This is because past experience showed that the main resistance for culture change was from the middle ranking officers for various reasons, such as entrenched values and character, lack of relevant management skills or care to other’s need. The bottom up approach is to create expectation/demand from frontline officers to exert drive on the middle ranking officers to change. It would be better to adopt the old model in which senior officers took the lead and conveyed the message downward.

There might be a time lag between the training of junior officers and the seniors’. The middle ranking officers might not be able to respond to the changes of expectation and demand from below timely. Junior officers might be frustrated when it appears that there is no change in the management. Remedial action is to shorten the time lag as minimal as possible and middle ranking officers are constantly briefed of the progress of the workshop.

Programme

The one-day workshop programme will begin with the video opening address by the Assistant Commissioner of Police (Service Quality) :-

- to show the HKPF’s commitment in reinforcing one of its defining qualities/values – a supportive and caring attitude;
- to demonstrate full support from senior management;
- to emphasize that HKPF’s Management will lead the way for the culture change;
- to encourage, actively assist and shield those courageous people who seek help early before the situation becomes too serious; and
- to communicate in words and actions to all HKPF’s members that it is not only acceptable, but also important to know your strength and limitations and to seek help when the issues are beyond one’s capabilities.

Viewing of cases and group discussion will then follow. The programme of the day will conclude with lessons learned. Participants have to write down the key goals of the workshop. Facilitators will also ask participants to design a slogan that fully reflects the spirit of the theme of the workshop. The winning team will be given recognition and monetary award.

Evaluation and lessons learnt

Participants are required to fill in a questionnaire after the workshop. The workshop is very well received by most participants. About 94% participants rated good (useful) or very good (very useful) for the workshop design (video assisted, realistic stories) and usefulness of the workshop in heightening participants’ awareness of their role in enhancing caring in HKPF. About 98% participants rated good to excellent for the level of satisfaction with the workshop and the level of achieving objective of the workshop. The detail figure of survey results is at Annex. A.

There is overwhelming support from Junior Police Officers and Inspectorates. Some opine that the HKPF should have promoted this long time ago. Care is now a subject of chitchat among HKPF’s members.

Although there is encouraging progress from the result of questionnaires, it is too soon to determine the effect of it. The effect on enhancing policing quality and efficiency is to be measured by the Staff and Public Opinion Surveys with reference to the future overall crime rate and violent crime rate. Top Management's commitment is essential in the cultural transformation.

Assessment

The culture change of HKPF has been evolving since 1995. Meanwhile, there were also rapid changes in technology, economy and socio-political environments both locally and internationally and organizational changes within the HKPF in the past decade. The Deputy Commissioner of Police (Management) (DCP MAN) recently commented that the HKPF had encountered the most difficult period (between 2001 and 2004). Officers might be unhappy about the salary reduction, bleak promotion prospect, diminishing welfare benefit, rising public demand on service quality and workload. HKPF's members are observed to perform their duties in the most professional way³⁷.

The overall crime rate (number of cases per 100,000 population) was maintained at low level in the past decade and dropped from around 1,500 cases in 1995 to around 1,200 cases in 2004. The violent crime rate (number of cases per 100,000 population) decreased from around 280 cases in 1995 to around 200 cases in 2004³⁸. This is an exemplary result reflecting the professionalism and devotion to duties of HKPF's members even in times of adversities. A survey conducted by the Political and Economic Risk Consultant (Asian Intelligence) in 2004 ranked Hong Kong as the safest and most stable society in Asia-Pacific Region.

In addition, the Public Opinion Survey indicates that there are continuous improvements in the HKPF in the following aspects³⁹:-

	1999	2001	2005*
Confidence in HKPF	73%	73%	85.3%
Feel safe at day time	78%	84%	91.4%
Feel safe at night time	37%	50%	74.9%
Performance of HKPF (marks out of 100)	62%	66%	74.9%

* Remark : The sample size is 1007 respondents. The official result will be announced in November 2005.

There were rising public confidence and satisfaction on the performance of HKPF between 1999 and 2005.

The performance of HKPF has no doubt been improving for the past decade even in times of reduction in manpower and salary (involuntarily), increase in workload and other adversities. There were many possible attributors, such as advance in technology, better cooperation with the Mainland Public Security Bureau, higher education of new recruits, organizational structure change, etc. for the encouraging results in terms of both quantity (decreasing crime rate) and quality (rising public confidence/satisfaction). The management culture change and hence the attitude and behaviour change of its members no doubt played an essential role in the process of enhancing policing qualities and efficiency.

The Staff Opinion Survey 2004 might indicate how the process takes place. The percentage of satisfied respondents for the following key attributes of HKPF is as follows⁴⁰:-

Key Attribute of HKPF	% satisfied in 1999	% satisfied in 2000	% satisfied in 2001	% satisfied in 2004
Continuous Improvement	77%	79%	78%	84%
Overall Job Satisfaction	70%	59%	69%	72%
Internal Communication	20%	24%	34%	45%

Moreover, there is increasing percentage of staff who agreed with or internalized the HKPF's values⁴¹ in 2004 when compared with the figures in 2001. Last but not least, the percentage of officers ready to change with HKPF rose from 67% in 2000 to 81% in 2004⁴².

The culture change of HKPF has led to attitude and behaviour change of its members and has enhanced the policing quality and efficiency as a result. It is assessed that the internal promotion of care and support among HKPF's members will have the same result in the near future.

³⁷ Mr. FUNG Siu-yuen, DCP MAN visited C&IIB on 2005-09-14 and made the above comment in an open forum.

³⁸ Source : Hong Kong Police Review 2004, <http://www.info.gov.hk/police/review/2004/english/pdf/15.pdf>

³⁹ Source : The result of the Public Opinion Survey is provided by the Service Quality Wing, HKPF.

⁴⁰ Source : Offbeat Issue 804 August 3 to August 16, 2005, pages 10 and 11.

⁴¹ A list of HKPF's values is at <http://www.info.gov.hk/police/review/2004/english/mtarget.htm>

⁴² Source : Offbeat Issue 804 August 3 to August 16, 2005, pages 10 and 11.

Conclusion

The HKPF has been evolving from the quasi-military management culture to service quality (customer oriented) management culture for the past decade. The evolution is still ongoing with the latest Living-the-Values Workshop (Wave V), which has been elaborated in detail in this paper to show how the process of culture change takes place within the HKPF.

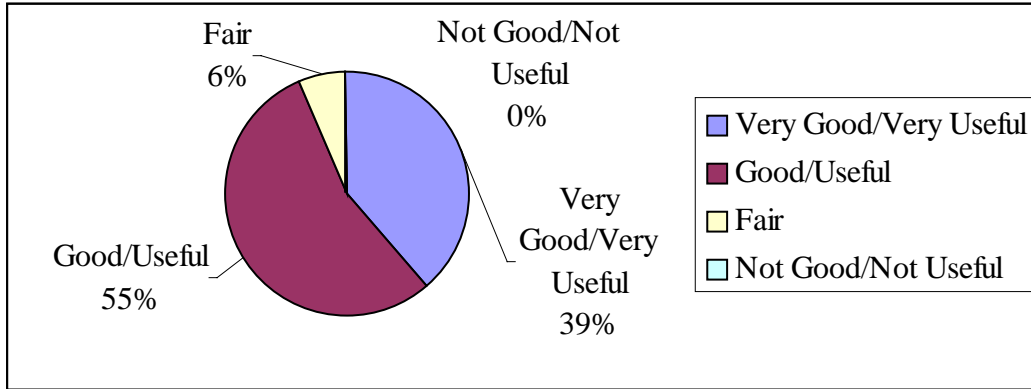
Staff in general agree with the HKPF's vision, common purposes and values nowadays. The culture change of HKPF and hence the positive attitude and behaviour change of its members definitely played an essential role in enhancing the policing quality and efficiency of HKPF in the past decade especially in the years of adversities between 2001 and 2004. The internal promotion of care and support (emphasizing self-care and mutual support) among HKPF's members nowadays will harvest in the future.

HKPF's members are more willing to change with the HKPF nowadays. This nurtures favourable environment for further culture change to enhance policing quality and efficiency. Top Management's support and commitment are essential in the process of culture change.

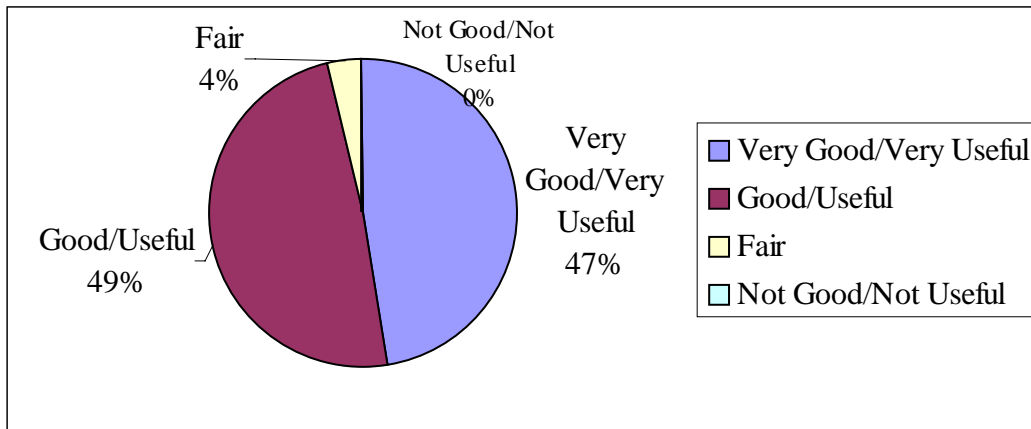
Annex. A

Result of Questionnaire on Facilitators' and Participants' Assessment of the Living-the-Values Workshops Wave V

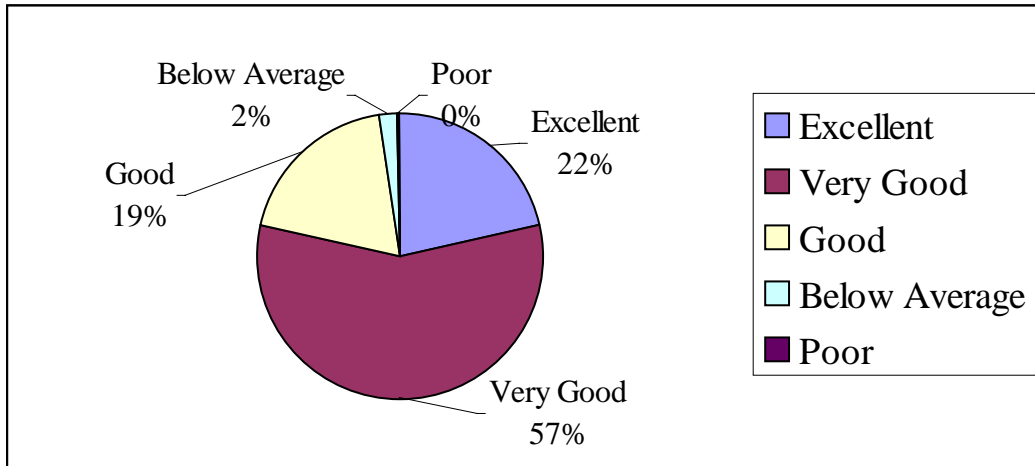
1. Workshop Design



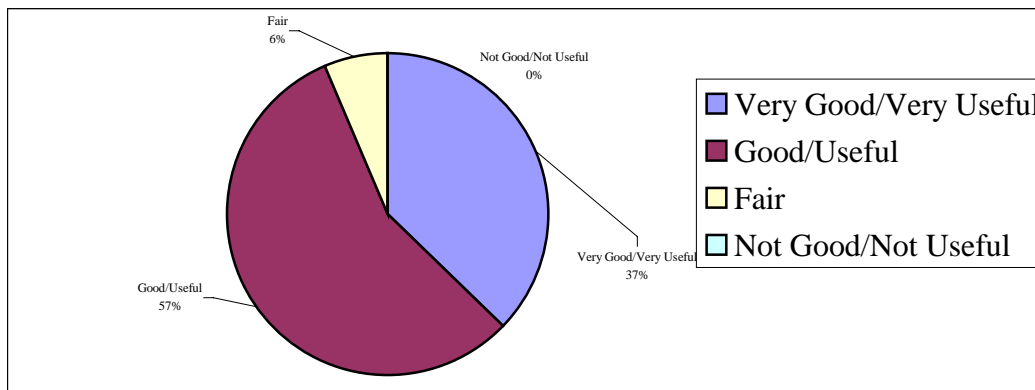
2. Response of Participants on the Workshop



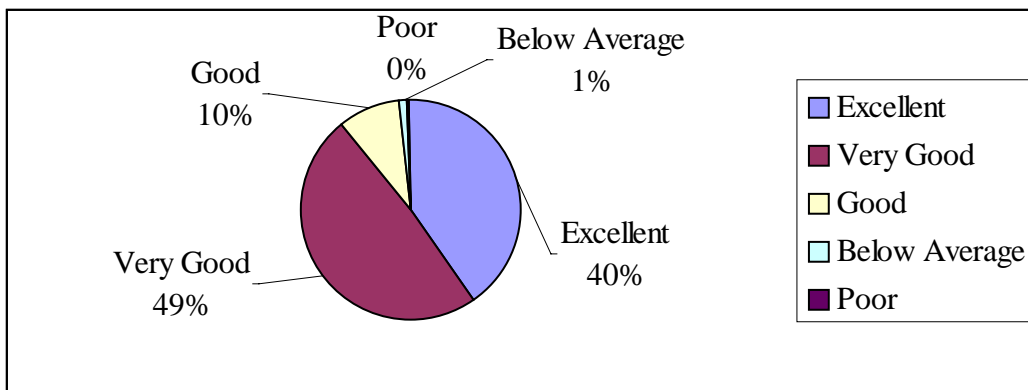
3. Level of Achieving Objective



4. Usefulness of the Workshop in Heightening Participants' Awareness of their Role in Enhancing Caring in the Force



5. Level of Satisfaction with the Workshop



Source : Service Quality Wing, HKPF, September 2005.

Training in Psychological Competency for Police Officers

By

Dr. Gracemary Leung, Acting Director of Personal Development and Counselling Centre, Hong Kong University,
Cammie Leung, Superintendent of Hong Kong Police Force &
Vincent Yeung, Senior Superintendent of Hong Kong Police Force

Introduction

Stress, seen as “forces from the outside world impinging on the individual” (Medicine Net 2006), is a normal part of living. Police officers encounter many negative stresses in the course of their daily work. Stressful situations arise when eager young officers are faced with injured victims, officers encounter uncooperative citizens involved in disputes or being intoxicated. Often when officers witnessed their colleagues being injured or killed this has a traumatic impact on their psychological well being. Thus the nature of their job, in combination with the pressures arising in their own daily lives (family, job promotion etc.) mean that police officers are particularly vulnerable to the negative effects of stress.

Given the practical importance of learning to cope with stress, the subject has been given a great deal of attention by academics. Psychologists in particular have carried out extensive research into police stress (e.g., Benner 2001). The results of their studies have alerted us to the importance of providing officers with the skills they need to deal with the rising demands of their profession.

The literature on police stress reveals several different types of stressors, which can be assembled under the headings: (1) intra-interpersonal, (2) occupational, (3) organizational, and (4) health consequences of police stress (Abollahi 2002). Project Shield (Harpold et al 2002) provided information about the negative influence of stress and broke these down into psychological, physical, behavioural, and organizational. Harpold found evidence that stress causes officers to lose energy and interest, including sexual interest, and to have a sense of doom, with 1% expressing suicide ideation. Behavioural problems reported by officers included physical abuse of spouse and children, smoking, drinking heavily, gambling, often feels anxious and depressed. Ironically, the officers who reported these problems were the least likely to seek help.

Stressfulness in policing is related to the concepts of foreseeability and controllability. However, organizational stressors, as opposed to occupational stressors, are most damaging because they are both unforeseeable and uncontrollable, according to Abdollahi (2004), who pointed out that the ability to predict and control one’s work environment greatly contributes to the level of stress experienced, that stressors in policing are similar to those in other occupations, and that these stressors can be rectified through organizational intervention. Stinchcomb (2004) explored the dynamics of organizational stress in policing, identifying factors such as unclear expectations, inadequate communications, insufficient rewards, and autocratic management practices, and suggesting potential strategies for proactively combating it.

Anshel (2000) also reported that the inability to cope with stressful events can result in undesirable psychological and somatic outcomes, leading to chronic stress, burnout, and quitting the profession. He suggested that improving on coping strategies would in fact help to reduce both chronic and acute forms of stress, improving job satisfaction and performance among police officers. He emphasized the need of officers to be able to detect their own daily stressful events or stimuli, understand their own cognitive appraisal of the events or stimuli, and when and how to apply their approach/avoidance coping strategies, or the cognitive/behavioral coping methods.

Countering the negative impacts of stress is clearly a key element in protecting the health of law enforcement officers. Thus the present paper looks at how Hong Kong Police Force made advancement in tackling the issue of stress through introducing a training package for Hong Kong Police Officers, to establish strategies that will help police officers to become aware of the areas of psychological competency that come into play in coping with stress; and to establish approaches that help police officers apply the most appropriate psychological knowledge in handling stress. Finally, the effectiveness of the training is evaluated following its implementation.

Hong Kong Scene

The HKPF recognized that human interaction skills are needed in modern policing, in order to help the public and themselves in coping with work and organizational stress. Top management has been supportive when the Steering Committee was formed chaired by the Chief Superintendent of Police In-Service Training, with senior members of staff from Personnel Wing and other Frontline officers in order to explore ways of countering the negative impact of stress, keeping a healthy law enforcement force. The Senior Force Psychologist suggested that in order to handle personal and organisational stress, there is a need to train the Force professionals with a

set of psychological knowledge and skills, understand efficient behavioral patterns of others when interacting and to practise a healthy lifestyle management themselves. These sets of knowledge and skills are coined as “Psychological Competency”, and it would need to be included in the continuous training programs for all ranked professionals. The final proposal was made to the Senior Directorate Group, comprising of the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioners and the Senior Assistant Commissioners of Police, who made the decision that Psychological Competency training will be provided to all police officers.

The Learning Development Support Centre (LDSC) of the Training Wing and the Psychological Services Group of the Personnel Wing then worked together to conduct a training needs analysis (TNA). From the TNA findings, they then worked on eight priority areas (2004) covering different aspects of psychological knowledge that may contribute to the efficiency and effectiveness in carrying out their duties on a public and personal level.

The prioritized psychological competency areas are:

1. Stress management in police work
2. Conflict management
3. Victim Psychology
4. Interpersonal Communication skills
5. Healthy Lifestyle
6. Emotional regulation
7. Counseling skills as a police supervisor/colleague
8. Psychological skills in suspect interviewing

The main objective of the psychological competency training is to establish a higher professional standard with the public by a coordinated, systematic and cost effective approach. The practice is to combine practical police experiences with a theoretical understanding and applied psychological knowledge to better prepare the police officers in handling daily operations and manage personal interactions in the most effective manner, minimizing work and personal stress. In order to measure its effectiveness, the training needs to be evaluated.

Aim of this study

This present study examines the effectiveness of the psychological competency training packages provided to the police officers in Hong Kong between January 2004 and June 2005 (2 training packages: Interpersonal communication during stressful situations and Conflict management).

Procedure

The LDSC first invited bids from local University experts to do the pilot training on Interpersonal Communication skills in Jan- May 2004 for a group of police officers and subsequently in Jan- June 2005 to carry out a second topic on Conflict management.

Partnership was set up with The University of Hong Kong, Personal development & Counseling Centre to deliver the training on those two topics. A working group chaired by the Senior Force Training Officer, with representatives from different frontline and policy formation and the Senior Police Clinical Psychologist was set up together with the designated University trainers; in order to design training materials on lectures, discussion and local scenario-based practices.

The training topic on “Interpersonal Communication Skills for Officers under stressful and emotional situations” was advertised throughout the HKPF to invite officers to attend 10 training sessions, lasting 3 hours in the evenings (6.30-9.30pm) in their own time. The attendees would receive a certificate on the trained competency areas. Three hundred applications were received.

For the second training on Conflict Management it was incorporated into the syllabi of the existing training programmes for the following officers:

1. PC with 5 years experience and above
2. Supervisor grades
3. Management grades
4. Train- the trainers
5. Master Trainers
6. 2 Group seminars

Participants

30 highly motivated police officers with different ranks and from different units were selected, with varying experiences from 5 years to 15 years for the pilot ‘Interpersonal Communication Skills for Police Officers under Stressful and Emotional Situations’.

For the second group for Conflict Management Training that lasted between Jan and June 2005, there were 29 attending the conflict management train-the-trainer workshop for 2 days. But a total of 987 participating in

different programs (see Procedure), ranging from 2-hour seminars to 2-hour session on ‘Self Awareness’ module, to 1-day program, to Management Seminars.

Training Methods

The training methods used in both pilots included:

- Facilitated inputs,
- role-plays,
- training videos,
- newspaper cutting and
- case discussions.

Video scenarios and cases used include emotional situation during stop and search, handling angry persons, handling emotional persons when breaking bad news, communicating with psychiatric patients, late night violence, critical incidence, etc. Experiential homework assignments on application of learning, with sharing and discussions.

Evaluation methods

A set of evaluation questionnaire was sent out after each of the training packages. The results would be analysed using qualitative and quantitative measures.

Training objectives

Interpersonal Communication for Police Officers under Stressful and Emotional Situations:

- ◆ To communicate and listen effectively under stressful and emotional situations
- ◆ To appreciate the stressful situation when breaking bad news to relatives appropriately and how to handle the stress of relatives
- ◆ To understand and be more aware of angry emotions and how to manage under different situations
- ◆ To communicate with people who are anxious, depressed as well as paranoid and aggressive)
- ◆ To communicate with the public during critical incidents and how to do crowd management

Training Objectives for Conflict Management training:

- To be aware of the different conflict issues and stress
- To explore levels of self awareness and how to cope
- To understand how to mediate unresolved situations
- To learn how to coach staff

PROGRAMME CONTENTS

The contents of the programmes of ‘Interpersonal Communication Skills for Police Officers under Stressful and Emotional Situations’(see appendix A) and workshops on ‘Conflict Management’ (see Appendix B).

Evaluation Results

The results of the pilots were encouraging. Participants all rated the training as effective and useful. Application of psychological knowledge and skills has been especially beneficial on developing positive attitude, empowering thinking patterns, and equipping officers with a wider skill-set of soft skills when handling conflicts as well as in stressful and emotional situations.

For ‘Interpersonal Communication Skills for Police Officers under Stressful and Emotional Situations’, 29 officers (out of 30 attended) rated the following:
To what extent were the training objectives met?

Themes	Completely	To a large extent	To a certain extent	Not at all
(1) Self Awareness Training	24%	72%	4%	0%
(2) Communication Skills	24%	76%	0	0%
(3) Handling Situations in Breaking Bad News	38%	55%	7%	0%
(4) Awareness and Communicating with psychiatric patients	7%	72%	21%	0%
(5) Anger Management	31%	69%	0%	0%
(6) Critical Incidence & Negotiating Skills	10%	73%	17%	0%
(7) Debriefing and Support Systems in Life	21%	69%	10%	0%

Teaching methods and approach

(i) How satisfied were you with the approach and methods?

Very satisfied	48% (14)
Satisfied	48% (14)
Moderately satisfied	0 (0)
Not at all satisfied	0 (0)
No Comment	4% (1)

(ii) How satisfied were you with the Lecturers' knowledge and delivery?

Very satisfied	59% (17)	• managed to <u>answer questions</u>
Satisfied	38% (11)	_____
Moderately satisfied	0% (0)	_____
Not at all satisfied	0% (0)	_____
No Comment	3% (1)	_____

Qualitative comments were categorised as follows:

1. Enhancement of Personal Knowledge

- To alert myself about my thoughts, feelings & behaviors in some emotional situation. It is really useful in my job & daily life.
- Learned how to understand the others feeling, apply empathy that greatly improve a better communication with people.
- Enhance his interpersonal communication skills towards the superiors, colleagues and citizen. Realize how to express his feeling and being understood by others. Know more in using verbal skills.
- Sufficient practice, helped his learning, enlightened his thought, useful sharing among the participants and learned how to handle cases with different perspective.
- A very useful course to us, especially there front line officers.
- Learned abundantly. Good opportunity to learn.
- A very practical training. It can be very useful in future training of the Force.

2. Useful techniques for learning: Role-play

- Participating in the role play is effective in learning. The skills can be applied in the work and improve the image of the Force.
- Useful in dealing with colleagues, family, citizen and myself. This course let me know the skills of communication and understand more on empathy.
- It was particularly useful on breaking the bad news as no such training was received whatsoever. It can help the victim's family if suitable preparation is done.
- Role play gives an active learning opportunity to the participants. The course is useful for dealing with people and discharging duties.
- The atmosphere was harmonious. Classmates were devoted to learn.
- Environment is good for experience sharing. All trainers and training staff are patient, experienced and good at teaching and encouragement. Overall speaking, it was an excellent course to all of us.
- TDB has improved a lot in providing new training courses to officers of different ranks. It would be better if more participants could join in.

3. Self awareness and improvement

- Has a new perspective on self -pressure which is useful.
- Can handle work under emotional situation with good result.
- Have increased my ability to communicate with others, under stressful or normal situation. Understand more on other's feeling, how to reduce pressure and pressure indicator.
- Helpful, Useful and Wonderful!
- Excellent! Thank you!
- The course makes me understood the importance of empathy. Learned how to control emotion and anger.
- It's really useful and as an alarm for me to notify my emotions, feelings thoughts and behavior. It's a valuable expenses and I strongly recommend this come to my colleagues.

- Learned fruitfully. Has come across with a suicide case and applied successfully with the skills, e.g. reflection of feeling, mood chart / indicator.
- Feeling good. Will teach the colleagues on what has learned in this course. THANK YOU

BEHAVIORAL DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE TRAINING TO HELP IN STRESSFUL AND EMOTIONAL SITUATIONS

For ‘Interpersonal Communication Skills for Police Officers under Stressful and Emotional Situations’ (ICP), a follow-up session was conducted three months afterwards to see if participants had any behavioural changes. The following demonstrated the applications of the learning of two officers.

Sergeant Chiu, one of the participants, dealt with an attempted suicide case one day. Initial information disclosed that a staff of the Samaritan Befrienders was talking over the phone with a man who wanted to kill himself in a hotel and die together with his wife and daughter. Entering the hotel room, Mr. Chiu found the man looked very sad and refused to disclose the suicidal reason. Using the skill of “Reflection of Feelings” learned in “ICP”, Mr. Chiu told the man that he looked extremely sorrowful, and asked if he was troubled by something. He further expressed the police did not want to see anyone, including the man himself, to get hurt.

The man kept silent for a short while. He then said with eyes turning red that his divorced wife would emigrate to U.S.A. with their daughter, implying his permanent separation from his daughter. Mr. Chiu continued to communicate with the man with “Empathic Listening”. After some time, he was confident that the man had given up the intention of committing suicide, and confirmed that his wife and daughter were safe. Even though Mr. Chiu could have left the scene at that moment, he was taught in “ICP” to arrange a “support person” for the man to pass through his emotional stages. Upon request, two staff of the Samaritan Befrienders came to accompany the man.

Sergeant Yiu who worked in the report room also applied the learning of “ICP”. One day a suspect detained in the station cell was furious that he could not be bailed out as soon as he wished. He yelled with foul language, disturbing both the police and the members of the public in the report room. Mr. Yiu learned in “ICP” that before he could manage others, he had to manage himself first. He applied the “Anger Management Skills” and stayed calm by taking a deep breath and counting to ten, breathing out and imagining a peaceful picture. Patiently Mr. Yiu then explained to the bailee the proper procedures that the police would contact the case officer as soon as possible. When the bailee saw that Mr. YIU was not provoked, he ceased yelling and waited for the bail. Mr. Yiu’s good work was immediately recognized by the Duty Officer.

Evaluative Results for the Conflict Management Training

Both pilots received very positive evaluations. Those 133 who attended the full programme on Conflict Management, their ratings were as follows:

	Excellent 1	V.Good 2	Good 3	Fair 4	Poor 5
a) Content	26.5%	68.5%	5%		
b) Clarity of presentation	26.5%	62.5%	11%		
c) Duration	25%	54%	21%		
d) Usefulness to your present job	35%	44%	21%		
e) Overall effectiveness of the program in achieving its objectives	31.5%	52.5%	16%		

Qualitative results

- What did you gain from the program?
- It is good for my personal & work. I can improve my relationship with my family & to improve my work.
- Experience from each other and from the speakers.
- Theories & applications of techniques.
- Know more about "conflict". The ways to manage conflicts.
- Basic concept, good experience sharing from colleagues. Enrich knowledge on the topic.
- The basic knowledge of handling conflict management.
- Factors leading to conflict. Skills of management of conflict. Psychological matters.
- Good theory of conflict.

- Learn that there are different conflict management styles. And I learn what my conflict management is different situation be applied by different style.
- Know a lot of skills to handle the conflict methods.
- A comprehensive view about conflict mgt.
- The skills to deal with conflict management.
- Some theories, better understanding.
- Theoretically learnt the factors in conflict mgt.
- Learnt more about to handle group conflict.
- Much valuable experience shared by participants & theories of conflict management issues.
- A systematic learning of conflict management and the way to effectively conduct training.

Discussion

The HKPF has long maintained operational efficiency to a very high standard and has long focused its training on police powers, procedures and operational tactics. The emphasis on human or soft skills in addition to operational efficiency is considered an important move to further enhance its professional services to the community.

The whole development and implementation process of psychological competency training in the HKPF and its success came mainly with the backing of top management team based on a training needs analysis, partnership with universities as well as evaluation.

According to Lewin's model of organizational change (Chrusciel & Field, 2003) there are three phases of change within an organization: unfreezing, moving, and refreezing. Unfreezing phase is the recognition of need to change. Moving phase is the development and implementation of the change while refreezing phase is the integration and reinforcement of the change within the organization.

It appears that the introduction of the psychological competency training in the HKPF shares similar characteristics with Lewin's model of organizational change, and critical success factors can be identified in each phase. In unfreezing phase, top management support is vital. Before the training direction was decided and support by the Senior Directorate Group comprising the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioners and the Senior Assistant Commissioners of Police who finally made the decision to provide psychological competency training to police officers.

In moving phase, the involvement and training of the stakeholders is a critical success factor. For involvement, to inculcate the new mindset of the importance of psychological competency training in various training units, a Working Group chaired by the Senior Force Training Officer and comprised representatives from all major training units was set up so that the training units could participate in the development and implementation of the training. Besides, police representatives from different frontline and policy units were also members of the Working Group to provide practical police inputs to combine with psychological expertise of the local academic institutes to make the training a success.

As for training of the stakeholders, the most important stakeholders having much impact on training quality are the trainers of various existing training programmes. So, apart from the conventional support provided to them in the form of train-the-trainer workshops and comprehensive training manuals, an assessment system was designed to test and confirm the standard of the instructors. For conflict management, all training instructors having attended the train-the-trainer workshops were required to satisfactorily complete a homework assignment on application of conflict management knowledge and skills into their work or life.

Finally, in refreezing phase, which is often ignored in organizational changes but is essential for the change to be integrated as the new reality, communication and training of change is the critical success factor. More specifically, communication and training of change to different ranks of police supervisors to facilitate the transfer of learning is focused upon. For officers to improve their work performance and to better meet public's expectations, it is important that the participants will apply their learning in workplace after receiving the new training on conflict management, communication skills and breaking bad news. The overall evaluation from participants has been very positive. The support of the supervisors for such transfer of learning becomes indispensable. Therefore, psychological competency training is provided not only to the frontline police officers but also to different ranks of supervisors. In addition, management seminars were also organized to management staff to align them with the new direction of training and to enlist their support for their staff to use the new skills learnt.

THE WAY FORWARD

With the success of two pilots training, psychological competency training has become one of the initiatives supporting the Management Priority of "Enhancing staff efficiency and effectiveness" of the Strategic Action Plan 2005-08 of the HKPF. Training on other psychological competencies such as 'Counselling Skills as a

Police Supervisor/Colleague’, ‘Psychological Skills in Suspect Interviewing’, ‘Emotional Regulation’ will be conducted in the coming two years.

CONCLUSION

To better meet the expectations of the public, the HKPF is committed not only to maintain a high operational efficiency but also to improve the quality of its manpower resources. This paper introduced the two pilots of the HKPF on psychological competency training. From the preliminary evaluation on two specific training areas of ‘Conflict Management’ and ‘Interpersonal Communication Skills for Police Officers under Stressful and Emotional Situations’, the training was effective. Critical success factors were also identified in the process of implementation of the pilots. Both the evaluation and the critical success factors would be used as a good reference to conduct future training on psychological competency.

Table 1: Critical Success Factors of the Psychological Competency Training of the HKPF

Lewin’s Model of Organizational Transformation	Process of Psychological Competency Training of the HKPF	Critical Success Factors Identified
Unfreezing Phase	Forming of Steering Committee Conducting Training Needs Analysis Endorsement by Top Management	Top Management Support
Moving Phase	Partnership with universities Forming of Working Group Training and Assessment of Trainers	Involvement and Training of Stakeholders
Refreezing Phase	Training provided to Different Ranks of Supervisors Management Seminars to Facilitate Transfer of Learning	Communication and Training of Change to Different Ranks

Appendix 1

Session	Contents
1	<p><u>Self Awareness Training for Police Officers</u> Be aware of the important relationships between thinking-feeling-action. When being provoked, calming down by self awareness of thoughts, then thinking alternate thoughts, and regulating own moods. Be assertive, not aggressive to the public by stating the event/behaviour that is wrong, stating what is to happen, offering alternative suggestions.</p>
2	<p><u>Communication Skills</u> Building rapport with WIRE (warmth, interest (genuineness), respect & empathic understanding), and how to train yourself to be empathetic. Getting clients to disclose by questioning, encouraging body language, responding to verbal content & responding to feelings. Diffusing hostile behaviours, negative emotions and encouraging cooperation by use of words and communication skills.</p>
3 & 4	<p><u>Handling Situations in Breaking Bad News</u> Stages of grieving & breaking bad news in appropriate manners. Coping with relatives' expectations, questions and handling children.</p>
5	<p><u>Awareness and Communicating with psychiatric patients</u> Types of psychiatric problems & reactions (anxiety, depression, paranoia & schizophrenia), and a safer & effective communication strategy. How to cope with aggression.</p>
6 & 7	<p><u>Anger Management</u> Understanding thinking, behaviour and feeling behind anger. Dealing with anger reactions from self/others. Dealing with unpredictable and the aggressive by negotiating skills.</p>
8	<p><u>Critical Incidence & Negotiating Skills</u> Using negotiating skills to handle crisis and crowd management. Handling own stress on the spot.</p>
9	<p><u>Debriefing and Support Systems in Life</u> Coping with traumatic experiences & introducing the concept of hope.</p>
10	<p><u>Recapitulation</u> Video scenario discussion: how to communicate and deal with an aggressive person when breaking bad news of the death of his family member.</p>
11	<p><u>Follow-up Session (after three months)</u> Participants share their learning and application</p>

To understand different styles of conflict management
Appendix 2

<i>Time</i>	<i>Content</i>
DAY 1	
9:00am-9:30am	Welcome talk/Warm up exercises Ground rules
9:30am-9:45am	Sharing of what conflict situations they have been in, what did they do?
9:45am-10:00am	Video – on managing domestic arguments Discussion on role conflicts
10:00am-12:00noon	Self awareness – level of awareness of self and others Anger management Conflict Management Style questionnaires Role play exercises
12:00noon – 1:00pm	Feedback Different conflict management styles and effects
1:00-2:00pm	Lunch
2:00pm – 3:00pm	Video – Part 2 Discussion on Coaching Skills
3:00pm – 5:00pm	Discussion groups Dealing with Bad Relationships Negotiation skills Mediation skills Finding common procedures / solutions Role plays Homework
DAY 2	
9:00am – 1:00pm	Homework – each team to role play examples of supervisory conflicting situations, severe conflict situations using different techniques Role plays Discussion on conflict management styles (with colleagues)
1:00pm-2:00pm	Lunch
2:00pm-4:30pm	Power based and attitudes Crowd management
4:30pm – 5:00pm	Q&A/ Evaluation/ Homework assignment – to return in a month

References

- Abdollahi, M. Kathrine (2002) Understanding police stress research. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*, Vol. 2 (2), pp.1-24. US: Haworth Press.
- Abdollahi, M. Kathrine (2004) The effects of organizational stress on line staff law. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, Vol 64(8-B), pp. 4093. US: Univ. Microfilms International.
- Anshel, Mark H. (2000) A conceptual model and implications for coping with stressful events in police work. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, Vol 27(3), pp.375-400. US: Sage Publications.
- Benner, Alan W. (2001) *Stress and Police Officers*. Sussex Publishers.
- Chrusciel, D. and Field D. W. (2003) From Critical Success Factors into Criteria For Performance Excellence: An Organizational Change Strategy. *Journal of Industrial Technology*, Volume 19, Number 4– August 2003 to October 2003. The Official Electronic Publication of the National Association of Industrial Technology, <http://www.nait.org>.
- Harpold, Joseph A. and Feemster, Samuel L. (2002) Negative Influences of Police Stress. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*. Sep2002, Vol. 71 Issue 9, p1-7.
- Medicine Net. Inc (2006) *Definition of Stress*. www.medterms.com/script/main/art.asp?articlekey=20104
- Stinchcomb, Jeanne B. (2002) Searching for Stress in All the Wrong Places: Combating Chronic Organizational Stressors in Policing. *Police Practice & Research*; Jul 2004, Vol. 5 Issue 3: 259-277. Routledge.

An anthropologist's sketch of AAPS 2005 Beijing

By Jeff Martin, University of Chicago



Driving into Beijing from the airport, the relevance of this year's theme "Desirable Directions for Policing in Fast-Changing Societies" was obvious in the forest of construction cranes and towering ultra-modern skyscrapers lining the highways. The economic dragon of China has woken from its slumber and stretching its wings, how fortunate that the AAPS could hold its sixth annual meeting in the midst of such dynamic creativity. Themes of progress, prosperity and peace resonated through every aspect of the gathering, invoked in toasts around banquet tables, affirmed in formal addresses and salutations offered by the hosts and leaders of the conference, and described in meticulous empirical detail by the 72 scholars and practitioners who provided the centerpiece of the event: a discussion of over 20 research reports written expressly for the meeting.

With the meeting open, we spent the next two days receiving a thorough education in cutting-edge police research from countries across Asia and beyond, beginning with an exploration of the tensions between militarized and community-policing models, looking especially at how the former's orientation to order diverges from the latter's acceptance of a certain degree of conflict as socially healthy.

Any account of the meeting would be incomplete without some attempt to describe the many wonderful recreational activities arranged for us by our generous hosts. Opulent banquets with plenty of wine brought forth the songs of many nations on the ride home. Also, with well-appreciated symbolism, the academic component of the meeting was bracketed by outings to monuments of China's commitment to peacekeeping; we began with a trip to the Great Wall, in perfect autumn color, and ended with a visit to the lavishly equipped new UN Civpol training center at the Armed Police Academy, where we chatted with a cohort of brilliantly professional young officers preparing for assignment to Haiti. The logistics for all our tourism (which also included a stop at the beautiful new Beijing Police Museum), was handled by a hard-working crew of graduate students from Public Security University. The opportunity to get to know some of these outstanding young students was, for me, one of the high points of the conference, and left me with a very personal feeling of optimism for the bright future of China's police.

The AAPS Journal : [Asian Policing]

Instructions to Authors

Papers should be sent by Email to : aaps@aaps.or.kr

Articles are accepted on the understanding that they are contributed solely to this journal, unless otherwise clearly stated, and that they may not be published elsewhere in full or in part without the Editor's permission.

Please submit paper electronically, edited with double spacing (including notes and references), wide margins, and numbered pages. Articles should be as brief as possible, and should include only such reviews of the literature as are relevant to the argument. (Undue length will lead to delay in publication.) They should be accompanied by a short summary of not more than 120 words.

REFERENCES

References should be listed alphabetically at the end of the paper, giving the names of journals in full. Titles and subtitles of articles, books, and journals should have main words capitalized. Titles of books and journals will be printed in italics and should therefore be underlined

Examples:

Pyo, C.W. (1998), *Crimewatch UK and the Police*. Seoul: Hankuk Publishing Company.

Mon, W. (1997), 'Community and Crime Prevention', *The Chinese Public Administration Review*, 7/1: 181--210.

Chu, Y.K. (1999), 'Juvenile Gangs, Collective Violence and Triad Societies in Hong Kong', in P. Chan, ed., *Proceedings of Strategies Against Juvenile Delinquency and Drug Abuse*, 120--44. Macau: The Macau Juvenile Delinquency Research Society.

In the text, the name of the author and date of publication should be cited as in the Harvard system (e.g. Chang 2000: 34-6; Song and Jiao 1996: 237-40). If there are more than three authors, the first name followed by et al. is permissible in the text but the names should be spelt out in full in the References

DIAGRAMS AND TABLES

Diagrams and tables are expensive of space and should be used sparingly. All diagrams and tables should be numbered, and should be referred to in the text.

The process of submission, review and editing

Deadline of paper submission for each issue : 31st of October

(Papers submitted after 31/10 will be reviewed for next year's issue)

Peer Review : by 30th of November (2 reviewers per paper)

Author's revision : by the end of December

Editing by editing board of AAPS : by the 20th of January

Published by the end of January

Paper submission & enquires : aaps@aaps.or.kr



Asian Association of Police Studies

<http://www.aaps.or.kr>

National Police University, Yong-in City, 449-703, Korea

Fax: + 82 31 285 8152 Email : aaps@aaps.or.kr

The Asian Association of Police Studies is an international organization embracing scholarly, scientific, practical and professional knowledge concerning policing and crime control. This includes the evaluation and development of police system and activities, legislation and practice of criminal law, as well as the law enforcement, judicial and correctional systems.

The Association's objective is to bring together a multidisciplinary forum fostering study, research, and education on policing issues. Its members include practitioners, academicians, and students in the many fields of criminal justice.

The Association conducts annual conferences, each devoted to a discussion of a particular topic of general interest. The 1st conference was held in August 2000 at the National Police University of Korea, the 2nd in August 2001 at the Central Police University of Taiwan, the 3rd in August 2002 at the Open University of Hong Kong and the 4th AAPS Annual Conference was held in December 2003 again at the National Police University of Korea. In August 2004, the 5th conference was held at Sam Houston State University in Texas, USA. The 6th conference was held in China. The 7th conference is due to be held in Bangkok, Thailand

Members will receive the Asian Policing journal, due to be published once a year. The AAPS has regional offices in places such as China, Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and the United States, that distribute information and announcements on a regular basis.

We cordially invite you to join with us in the objectives of the Association, and to become a member. For MEMBERSHIP please fill out this application (please print or type).

NAME: _____
Last First Initial

POSITION OR TITLE: _____

DEPARTMENT: _____

INSTITUTION/AGENCY: _____

ADDRESS _____
Street City

State/Province Country Postal Code

WORK PHONE () _____ HOME PHONE() _____

E-MAIL _____ FAX # _____

AREA OF EXPERTISE: _____

HOME ADDRESS: _____

The editing board :

- Dr. Changwon Pyo, Korea National Police University
- Dr. Kuang-Ming Chang, Central Police University of Taiwan China
- Dr. Kam C. Wong, University of Wisconsin (Oshkosh)
- Dr. Yui-Kong Chu, University of Hong Kong
- Dr. John Song, Buffalo State, State University of New York
- Dr. Nathan Moran, Midwestern State University
- Dr. Mahesh Nalla, Michigan State University
- Dr. Robert D. Hanser, University of Louisiana at Monroe
- Dr. Sandy Yeh, Central Police University of Taiwan China

Asian Association of Police Studies
National Police University, Yong-in city 449-703, Korea

Published in Korea
by Asian Association of Police Studies, Yong-in.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Asian Association of Police Studies, or as expressly permitted by law.

Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to Asian Association of Police Studies, at the address above.

31st August, 2006

ISSN 1598-7795

Printed in Korea by Daehan Munwha Sa Ltd.