

Job Satisfaction among South Korean Police Officers: A Qualitative Approach

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ABSTRACT

Police officers' job satisfaction has usually been measured by quantitative methods such as survey. This research is the first attempt to interview police officers in Korea to find how satisfied they are with their job. Based on e-mail interview with fourteen police officers in Korea, the study measured the multiple dimensions of job satisfaction including work condition, relationship with supervisors and colleagues, personnel management, pay and benefit, and discretion. The results suggested that police officers' attitude toward their job and motivation of becoming police officers may influence their job satisfaction. Other findings and policy implications are also discussed.

Keywords: Job Satisfaction, Qualitative Method, E-mail Interview, South Korean Police

1. INTRODUCTION

Police officers' job satisfaction is important because it is related to their performance, police-community relations, turn over, and other things. Those who are satisfied with their job perform the work effectively, and have less job withdrawal [1][2]. Psychologists indicated that job satisfaction affects employees' behavior, attitude, and commitment [2]. They have made efforts to measure job satisfaction accurately and correctly. In this paper, we examined how police officers are satisfied and attempted to explore the factors that influence their job satisfaction. Most research has been conducted with the quantitative method such as survey [1],[3]-[7]. It is a cost effective way to find how police officers are satisfied with their job and what factors affect their job satisfaction. Job Descriptive Index was developed to measure job satisfaction in the quantitative research. However, the quantitative approach is not a good measure to get respondents' honest answer to policing because police is a kind of closed organization. Many scholars have attempted to make personal interviews with police officers to overcome the problem [8],[9]. To this end, they sometimes patrolled and worked with officers to establish rapport. This way, they could understand the characteristics of

police and find how police officers feel and handle the problems.

Regarding the Korean police, it can be reasonably argued that the quantitative surveys might be a much ineffective way to get an honest picture of the officers' mindset due to their peculiar culture. First, the Korean police have defensive attitude against the people, which can be understood through the role of police as a protector of the authoritative and illegitimate regime by the 1980s [10]. Such repressive role caused people to formulate a negative and aggressive image against the police, which has survived up until these days. Second, Confucianism is strongly inculcated throughout Korean society and it emphasizes the hierarchical structures and harmonious relationship that refrains people from expressing their opinions [11]. Hwang [12] indicated that it is possible that responses in the survey might be impacted in certain ways by the culture of ultra-hierarchy of the police organization, although police administrators pretend to make an emphasis on the voluntary and anonymous nature of the survey.

In sum, we explored officers' job satisfaction considered as one of critical factors that influence their behavior, attitudes toward work, and commitment. The qualitative method was employed because the traditional quantitative approach to examine job satisfaction of police officers could have limited utility considering the closed nature of police organization. It appears to be more than true in the Korean police contexts. Thus, this study made one of the first attempts to make interviews with Korean officers to get more exact information

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on how satisfied they are. It is expected to serve as a stepping stone for further research and better policy in the field. The limitations of this study were also indicated.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 History of Korean Police

It is necessary to understand the history and system of Korean police because this study focused on officers' job satisfaction in Korea. Organizational characteristics are measured and examined to find out the relationship with job satisfaction. Organizational characteristics are not made in a day, but they are formed with the accumulation of events and rules.

Korea established a criminal justice system that coexists with the informal social control system because of the long historical process of Confucianism that has been for more than 600 years [13]. The first specific police unit was created in the fourteenth century, and the modern police force was set up after the end of the Second World War [14]. The United States Army Government in Korea (USAGIK) took over governmental duties from Japan after World War II ended, and the USAGIK controlled Korea until an Independent Republic of Korea was established in 1948 [14].

The Korean police participated in manipulating various elections in 1960s, and severed for undemocratic and authoritative regimes in 1970's and 1980's [10]. For example, one university students was arrested to interrogate regarding an anti-government organization, but he died because of torture by forcing his head under water several times [15]. In 1991, with the enactment of the Police Act, the Korea National Police Agency (KNPA) was established in order to get the police out of the direct control of the Ministry of Interior who was in charge of the election administration [16]. However, the Korean police had not been independence from politicians because it was under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs that is responsible for elections [10]. Koreans believed that police severed for government instead of protecting citizens [17]. The Korean police were distrusted by citizens for corruption, and their authoritative behavior. The Korean police maintained the system and did not make efforts to its system and operation until the Grand Reform which began in 1999.

The newly appointed Commissioner General of the Korea police, Mooyoung Lee, declared "The Grand Reform" to make fundamental changes to the system, culture, and practice of police [18]. He asked police officers to have self efficacy in enforcing the laws, and to approach citizen actively. He also requested government to raise officers' salary and to guarantee the political neutrality. The Grand Reform has been implemented although he resigned his position in 2001. Lee's Grand Reform was effective, and it changed many parts of police despite short period. President Kim supported the Grand Reform and he said that police should root out corruption, and keep in mind that public satisfaction is the primary goal. National Customer Satisfaction Index (NCSI) survey which is jointly carried out by the University of Michigan and the Chosun daily showed how effective the Grand Reform was [18]. According to NCSI report, police score increased from 37

points in 1998 to 59 points in 2001, whereas water service and environment service score decreased. In 2003, the Korean police implemented community policing to improve the relationship with residents. The Korean police maintained police substation which is similar to Japanese Koban system. The purpose of police substation was to watch residents rather than to serve for community. The Korean police reformed substation system to conduct community policing. For example, police substations have regular meetings with residents, and share important information about crime and other issues. In 2004, problem oriented policing introduced in Korean police [19]. Officers who work at police substations are responsible for crimes and problems at their area, and they patrolled hot spots area. Police officers and equipments were redistributed to each police department for equality.

As far as the current system, the Korean police has maintained a noticeably centralized system unlike the counterpart of the United States of America. The police force is comprised of the Korea National Police Agency (central headquarter), with 16 regional police agencies (state police), 248 police stations, and 1,940 police substation (police beat or police office) as of December, 2010. There are 101,108 sworn officers, 23,917 assistant police who helps sworn officers, and 3,844 civilians. The number of female officers is 6,830, and it consists of 6.8% of total sworn officers. The budget in 2010 was \$ 7.6 billion.

2.2 Definition

The conception of police job satisfaction is a broad topic; however, job satisfaction can be defined as the attitudes of an individual and their enjoyment toward many job related factors. It can be also defined as the state of mind that results from an individual's needs or values [20]. Some scholars argue that Malsow's theory of hierarchical needs laid the foundation of job satisfaction [7][20]. Maslow [21] suggested that there are five levels of needs: physiological, safety, love (belonging), esteem, and self-actualization. Beyond lower needs, higher levels of needs exist. Herzberg [22] added a new element to Malsow's theory. According to the motivation-hygiene theory, hygiene factors like salary, work condition do not give satisfaction, but if it is absent, it leads to dissatisfaction. Only the motivation factors such as achievement, recognition cause satisfaction. Research on police officers' job satisfaction is newer than other fields such as psychology and organizational behavior [7].

2.3 Quantitative vs. Qualitative

Most studies on job satisfaction were conducted with survey. Judge et al. [23] analyzed 254 studies to find the relationship between job satisfaction and job performance. They did not distinguish between quantitative studies and qualitative studies. We reviewed the 254 studies based on title and found that there were three studies related to qualitative methods.

Bennet [24] interviewed constables and their immediate supervisors in three Caribbean nations. As the author admitted, the interview was "unstructured (p. 307.)" and supplementary. He used interviews to won the trust and to make the questionnaire reliable because the survey was conducted in three Caribbean nations. Chan and Doran [25] interviewed

officers in New Zealand four times: during recruits' first week at the police Academy, 6 months, 18 months, and 24 months later. The survey was the main research method and interview was used to understand the complexity of officers' job satisfaction. Dowler [26] suggested that in-depth interviews with African American police officers should be conducted to find out their job satisfaction, burnout, and perception of unfair treatment.

Kiely and Peek [27] employed in-depth interviews and participant observation to study the culture of the British police. They interviewed twelve officers with structured and open ended questions. The method was described in detail and the contents of interview were provided with one or two sentences instead of using independent paragraph. Paoline III and Terrill [28] interviewed 240 officers in St. Petersburg with using survey to find out the relationship between education and performance. They interviewed officers with questions and asked them to fill out the checklists. They also indicated that in-depth interviews with officers would disentangle the influence of education on performance.

The research on officers' job satisfaction with using only qualitative method has not been found. Many of them used interview as supplementary method. In- depth interview was used in police culture study [27]. However, several studies pointed out the strength of in- depth interview because the interview is the useful method to understand the phenomenon.

2.4 Rank, Years of Service, Age

Rank, years of service and age have been associated with satisfaction [29]. Officers with high rank are more satisfied with being a police officer compared to patrol officers [6]. However, Zhao and his colleagues [7] argued that rank and years of service affect officers' jobs satisfaction negatively. Dantzker and Kubin[4] analyzed the data which includes 4,712 officers from 14 municipal police in 7 states, and they found that rank and age affect officers' job satisfaction positively. Engel and Worden [30] argued that as officers of higher rank progress, they experience greater stress and responsibilities, which have an adverse effect on job satisfaction. Dowler[26] reported that high ranked officers show low level of job satisfaction.

2.5 Organizational Characteristics

Davey et al. [5] found that demographic variables such as gender, age, rank, and years of service are not related to officers' job satisfaction, but organizational support affects job satisfaction positively. They also found that aged and more educated female officers report high levels of job satisfaction. Several studies have focused on the organizational environments such as promotion, independence, discrimination, and position. The unfairness attributed to promotion procedures and assessment tools as advancement proceeds can lead to dissatisfaction among employees [3]. This is amplified by political influences such as directives from administrators or ignorance of a problem which can affect promotion and thus job satisfaction [29]. Personal freedom or discretion on the job and diversity can affect officers' job satisfaction positively. Undercover officers or those who are not assigned to routine patrol duties report higher level of job satisfaction [6][31]. The

support at work affects officers' job satisfaction positively, but increasing job demand affects officers' job satisfaction negatively [32].

2.6 Gender

Female police officers are still minority in policing, although there has been a growth in the proportion of female officers in police departments. After surveying 1,104 officers in Baltimore, Dowler [26] found that female, African American officers feel that they are discriminated and the feeling affect job satisfaction negatively. Krimmel and Gormely [33] surveyed 175 female officers in New Jersey and indicated that police organizations where fewer than 15% of the employees are female see those individuals experiencing increased levels of tokenism and discrimination, and the feeling of tokenism and discrimination affects female officers' job satisfaction negatively. However, some studies show that gender is not associated with job satisfaction [4],[7],[20],[34]. Buzawa [34] surveyed 170 officers, 94 from Detroit in Michigan, and 76 from Oakland in California, and concluded that there was no statistical difference between male officers and female officers in both cities.

Bennett [24] surveyed police officers and their immediate supervisors in three Caribbean nations which have colonial experience and more than 1,000 police officers. He found that gender does not significantly affect job satisfaction. Hwang [12] utilized a sample of police officers in South Korea, and he reported that gender is not a significant predictor of job satisfaction. However, Kim [35] surveyed public employees of the general service in the Seoul Metropolitan Government, South Korea, and found that female employees are more satisfied with their job than male employees. He argued that women have lower expectations than men do because they compare themselves to other women, whereas men compare themselves to other men. Korea is historically a male-dominated society. Confucian ideology has been an integral part of social ethics in Korea, and it continues to influence modern society. Women expect less from work, and so they are satisfied with less.

2.7 Job Satisfaction of Korean Police Officers

Only one article about job satisfaction of Korean police officers was found after using search engines such as JSTOR, LexisNexis Academic, ProQuest, and Google scholar. We found one unpublished dissertation in Korea through the Korean National Assembly Library. Hwang [12] analyzed the survey data which was conducted by Korea National Police Agencies in 2002. He found that there is no difference in job satisfaction between officers in metropolitan cities such as Seoul, capital of Korea, and those in smaller cities and rural areas. However, years of service and rank affected officers' job satisfaction negatively in metropolitan cities. He argued that metropolitan cities' negative aspects including the complexity, heterogeneity, and anonymity affect different levels of stress, workload, and eventually job satisfaction.

Lee [36] surveyed 393 police officers and found that rank is associated with job satisfaction positively but year of service does not affect job satisfaction significantly. Korean police system is nationalized and all police stations are controlled by

regional police agencies and police head quarter, National Police Agency. He insisted that high ranked officers have more power and autonomy due to police system and Confucianism. In addition, they are confident and satisfied with their job because high rank leads to high socioeconomic status.

2.8 Framework of this research

The Korean police and the definition of police job satisfaction were explained and many related articles were reviewed in this section. The Korean police was involved in various undesirable works and lead to public distrust. It might cause officers' job satisfaction negatively. This study attempted to measure officers' job satisfaction. Previous research shows that many demographics and organizational characteristics are related to officers' job satisfaction. We examined the relationships between organizational characteristics and job satisfaction based on literature review. However, we employed the qualitative methods unlike previous research.

3. METHODS

3.1 Qualitative Methods

As mentioned, most of studies about job satisfaction were based on survey. Notwithstanding many methodological advantages, however, survey approach provides only a "snapshot" of the situation at a certain point in time, yielding little information on the underlying meaning of the data [37].

Lincoln and Guba[38] argued that qualitative sampling is different from conventional sampling, because its purpose is to maximize information, instead of facilitating generalization. That would be the reason why most studies have focused on quantitative methods. As Maynard-Moody and Musheno[8] pointed out, however, interview or story tell is very effective method to get knowledge from street level workers such as police officers and vocational rehabilitators. Qualitative studies can provide important insights and discoveries of job satisfaction among police officers in South Korea. In this study, e-mail interview will be used to enhance our understanding of officers' job satisfaction.

3.2 E-Mail Interview

As Silverman [39] pointed out, the majority of qualitative research uses interviews because it is effective in terms of time and resources. Interview requires no special skill but it produces in-depth findings. However, e-mail interview require some adaptation of thoughts because it is done via text as opposed to conversation [40]. When e-mail interview is used, same context should be shared between researchers and interviewees because interviewees interpret questions by themselves and answer them, unlike face to face interview. In face to face interview, when interviewees do not understand the meaning of questions, they can ask researches about the questions. However, in e-mail interview, interaction between researchers and interviewees is seldom due to constraints of time and space. Researchers should consider the context of each question to prevent confusion and misunderstanding.

In general, semi-structured or open ended interview is used in face to face interview. It provides flexibility and active

interaction. Structured interview is used in e-mail interview. Hamilton and Bowers [40] recommend initiating the process with three or four questions of a general nature and then following that with four or five cycles of three to four questions, when researches use e-mail interview. The researchers have time between receiving answers and sending the next set of questions to reflect on how best to follow up on the information received. They insisted that the repeated e-mail interview would overcome the limitation of e-mail interview such as incapability of grasping nonverbal cues (e.g., tone of voice and pauses in speech). Unfortunately, the repeated e-mail interview method could not be used in this research, because sample is police officers in Korea. It would be very difficult to receive their responses several times because many respondents are busy. It may lead to respondents' refusal to the participation of interview. Instead, the follow up study would be conducted in near future to develop findings further.

E-mail interview has several advantages. First, it can overcome the constraints of time and space. Any researcher could contact any interviewee as long as they have an online access. Second, it can eliminate transcription reliability because e-mail is a written data collection [40]. In face to face interview, the transcription of interview is an important issue because there may be some mistakes in the process of transcribing the interview. E-mail interview does not cause this issue because interviewees type their opinion by themselves. Word typing is not a problem for the sample in this research. Lastly, e-mail interview is a combination of oral interview and written interview [40]. Oral communication is considered as less abstract and closer to the individuals' real world, while written communication is considered more abstract and objective. E-mail is in the middle of oral communication and written communication because it is informal communication, although it is typed instead of voice.

3.3 Sample

The sample is fourteen police officers in Korea. All of them are male, ranging in age from 27 to 52. Years of service are between 5 and 29 years. Seven respondents work at National Police University which is an educational facility for police officers as well as police cadets. Five of them work at National Police Agency which is the headquarters of police. Two respondents work at police department. Three of respondents are Captain, seven of them are Lieutenant, and the other four are Sergeant. Lieutenant is an interesting rank in Korea. It was recognized as manager before Korean National Police Agency's innovation in 2006. KNPA promoted many patrol officers who have worked more than 15 years to improve their satisfaction. The massive promotion resulted in the change of the role of Lieutenant. Half of the Lieutenants work as managers, whereas the other half patrols like line officers. That is, Lieutenant becomes the mixture of line officer and manager. Two Lieutenant officers who work at police department are mangers, whereas six Lieutenants who work at National Police Agency or National Police University are not.

Respondents were recruited by the use of snowball sampling. The sample in this study is likely to represent the population of police officers of Korea, although all respondents are male and most of them work at National Police University or National

Police Agency. Female officers consist of about 5%. As mentioned above, the police system in Korea is centralized. Under the supervision of a national police headquarters, each provincial police headquarters is in charge of administering police departments in its geographic district. It means individual police officers are more likely to share common characteristics and experiences and to work in very similar circumstances, and transfers are common [41]. In addition, they are transferred to different department regularly. For example, all police officers work at level of police department. Some police officers are selected to work at state police agencies or the head quarter. Generally, police officers cannot work at one police department more than five years.

3.4 Questionnaire

Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) is one of the popular forms to measure job satisfaction. For example, Hoath et al. [1] used the Questionnaire to measure police officers' job satisfaction. The questions in the research are based on Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire in that the Questionnaire measure 20 facets of job satisfaction such as relationship with supervisors, independence, and advancement. Respondents are asked to explain how satisfied they are at their workplace. "What is the best part of the job of being a police officer?" is one of questions [42].

Several concepts of MSQ are used, but the questionnaire used in this study is different from MSQ in several aspects. First, the format is totally renovated. The scale of original MSQ is the five Likert scale from very dissatisfied to very satisfied. Our questionnaire asked respondents to describe how satisfied or dissatisfied they are with detailed reasons. Second, motivation of becoming police officers and decision of quit are added. We have witnessed many colleagues who became police officers due to economic reason or parents' demand, although they did not want to be. Some of them try to quit their job and hope to have another job. Motivation is an important factor because it affects behavior and satisfaction [23]. Turnover is one of critical issues related to job satisfaction [1]. Third, respondents were asked to indicate the most important factors in job satisfaction and explain the reasons.

The questionnaire was made under the guidelines for structured interviews. The guidelines are as follows [39].

1) Never get involved in long explanation of the study; use the standard explanation provided → The aim of this study is explained briefly at the beginning of the questionnaire.

2) Never deviate from the sequence of questions or question wording → The questions are related to officers' job satisfaction.

3) Never let another person interrupt the interview or let another person answer for the respondent or offer his or her opinion → Respondents were asked to express their PERSONAL OPINION.

4) Never suggest an answer (other than reading out the fixed – choice answer if provided); never agree or disagree with an answer or give the respondent any idea of your personal opinion on the topic → The questions are neutral and do not include my opinion and 'pros and cons issues'.

5) Never interpret the meaning of a question; just repeat it and/or give instructions or clarifications provided in training → The questionnaire was distributed with brief instructions.

6) Never improvise such as by adding answer categories or making wording changes → The interview was conducted by same questionnaire.

The questionnaire consists of eleven items: General job satisfaction, satisfaction with work condition, supervision, communication, works, discretion, salary, and personnel management were measured. These factors have been discussed in several studies. In addition, the motivation, the intention to turn over, and merits and shortcomings of being police officers were measured because these factors are associated with job satisfaction.

4. RESULTS

4.1 General Satisfaction and Motivation of Becoming Police Officer

Table 1 shows that the vast majority of police officers reported that they are generally satisfied with their job. Seventy one percent of responds are satisfied with their job. Jaesoo¹ reports that he is very satisfied with his job:

I feel police is a calling because it helps people and prevent crimes. I do my best to implement socially useful work. I think God selected police as a job for me. I want to become a police when I was young. I had a military service as assistant police. I am proud of my job.

Table 1. General Satisfaction

Satisfaction	Number (Percent)
Very satisfied with the job	2 (14.3%)
Satisfied with the job	8 (57.1%)
Dissatisfied with the job	1 (7.2%)
No response	3 (21.4%)

Wrzesniewski et al. [43] argued that there are three kinds of people's attitude toward their jobs: 1) Jobs – they are only interested in the material benefits from work and do not seek or receive any other type of reward from it. The work is not ends of life, but it is a means that allows individuals to acquire the resources. 2) Careers – they have a deeper personal investment in their job and they pursue their achievements not only through monetary gain, but through advancement within the occupational structure. 3) Calling – they think that their job is inseparable from their life. They work for the fulfillment rather than financial gain and career advancement. Wrzesniewski et al. [43] surveyed 196 employees who work at a major university. They found that respondents in a Calling are more satisfied with their job and life than those in a Job and Career. Jaesoo's perception of job can be categorized into Calling and it may influence his job satisfaction.

¹The names in this study are not the respondents' real names. Pseudonyms are used to protect their privacy.

The motivation of becoming police officers is various such as to help other people, to enforce justice, and to serve the country. Cholho's motivation is unlike from others' because he became a police officer due to his father's encouragement:

I went to National Police University because my father encouraged me to enter the university. I have never felt that my decision is right. I tried to quit the job, but I couldn't do that because I don't have any specific skill and I have wife and children. There are no privileges as a police officer.

Cholho is a high ranked police officer and he works at National Police Agency. It means that he is an elite police officer and he will become a higher ranked police officer in near future. Considering his career and ability, he should be satisfied with his job. However, he tried to quit his job and dissatisfied with his job. If he became a police officer with his own decision instead of his father's encouragement, he might be satisfied with his job. Cholho's case shows how important applicants' motivation is.

4.2 Work Condition and Relationship with Supervisors and Colleagues

Several respondents are not satisfied with work condition due to irregular work time and overtime without payment. However, most respondents are satisfied with their supervisors and colleagues. They think their supervisors are reasonable and their colleagues are thoughtful.

Table 2 shows that more than 90% of respondents reported that they are satisfied with their supervisors and colleagues, while 57.2% of them reported that they are satisfied with working condition.

Table 2. Level of Satisfaction with Work Condition and Relationship with Supervisors and Colleagues

Work Condition	Number (Percent)	Relationship	Number (Percent)
Satisfied	8 (57.2%)	Satisfied	13 (92.8%)
Dissatisfied	5 (35.6%)	Dissatisfied	0
No response	1 (7.2%)	No response	1 (7.2%)

Several respondents complain about work condition. They understand police officers should work at night and holidays, but they pointed out the problem of overtime payments. It is one of main problem for Korean police. According to the rule on overtime payment, government does not pay overtime to officers who work more than 20 hours in a month. It means 20 hours per month is the limitation of overtime payment. For example, if police officers accumulate 30 overtime hours, he will be paid by only 20 hours. Dae explained:

I am dissatisfied with working condition. Generally, I worked at night because I have many works to be done. I worked very hard, but I could not get paid for overtime work, because there is a limitation.

In western police organization, many police officers feel that they have poor relationship with their supervisors and

colleagues. The poor relationship leads to organizational stress [26] or internal stress [31]. However, police officers in Korea established good relationship with their supervisors and colleague. As mentioned above, Confucianism is inculcated throughout Korean society. Individuals should respect older people and seek harmonious relationships with others [11]. Kyu shows how Confucianism about harmonious relationship affects his attitude toward his supervisors:

I don't think the question is appropriate to assess satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the supervisors. We should accept our supervisors as they are. We do not have to assess or evaluate our supervisors. My relationship with colleagues seems to be good, but it is not a substantial relationship. I don't want to harm the relationship.

4.3 Personnel Management and Pay and Benefit

Generally, police officers are not satisfied with personnel management such as performance appraisal because the criteria are uncertain and arbitrary [29]. Despite efforts to improve the procedures for personnel management, the level of satisfaction with the process between managers and employees is very low. Pay and benefit is also important factor for the jobs satisfaction. Rice et al. [44] found that workers receiving less pay than coworkers are likely to be very dissatisfied because of the negative discrepancy. High ranked officers are less satisfied with pay and benefit than line officers [20].

Table 3. Level of Satisfaction with Personnel Management and Pay and Benefit

Personnel Management	Number (Percent)	Pay and Benefit	Number (Percent)
Satisfied	4 (28.6%)	Satisfied	6 (42.8%)
Dissatisfied	6 (42.8%)	Dissatisfied	6 (42.8%)
No response	4 (28.6%)	No response	2 (14.4%)

Table 3 supports the notion that police officers are less satisfied with personnel management and pay and benefit. Regarding personnel management, 6 respondents (42.8%) are dissatisfied, whereas four respondents (28.6 %) are satisfied with personnel management. Several respondents point out the problems of appraisal performance such as unfairness, hollow effect, and subjective evaluation. They also indicated that promotion is conducted by the basis of years of service and police chief's decision instead of officers' ability and contribution to police organizations. According to Confucianism, young people should respect old people as well as their ancestors. Minsoo who is 29 years old criticize the personnel management system because it is operated by the years of service, where as Nam who is 52 years old reported that he is satisfied with current personnel system.

Korean police system is centralized, so it is possible for officers to be transferred to different department. In addition, it is mandatory to be transferred to different state if police officers get promoted. The aim of mandatory transfer is to expand the understanding of police work among officers who work at different states. Kumin described his transfer:

I did not want to work at the current department. I expressed my opinion to the supervisors. However, he transferred me to this department without any explanation. I don't think there is a principle for transfer. It is conducted by supervisors' arbitrary decision based on years of service and their connection.

One of the purposes of Grand Reform was to raise officers' salary, but it was not successful because of limitation of budget. As Rice et al. [44] pointed out, the negative discrepancy affects job satisfaction. Yoon explained why he is not satisfied with pay and benefit.

I don't think I am paid appropriately, considering my work and achievement. The employee who works at a rail ticket office receives \$70,000 in a year, whereas I received less than the amount. I work at night and holidays. If I were a police chief, I will raise officers' salary and provide allowances.

Several officers feel that they receive less salary than other government officials, although police officers work at night and they are exposed to dangerous situation. Government's official position is to balance salary among government employees.

4.4 Work and Discretion

Lipsky [45] called police as street bureaucracy because officers interact with citizens directly and they have wide discretion. Officers are exposed to dangerous situation and they use coercive power to solve problems. These characteristics create unique culture different from other organizations. Skolnick [9] argued that police officers' working personality consists of danger, authority, efficiency, and discretion.

Table 4. Level of Satisfaction with Work and Discretion

Work	Number (Percent)	Discretion	Number (Percent)
Satisfied	11 (78.4%)	Satisfied	8 (57.2%)
Dissatisfied	2 (14.4%)	Dissatisfied	3 (21.4%)
No response	1 (7.2%)	No response	3 (21.4%)

Table 4 shows that more than half of respondents are satisfied with their work and discretion. Several respondents indicated that they are satisfied with their job because people express the appreciation to respondents' works. Yong would like to maintain his position:

I like to contact and talk to residents. I am satisfied with my work when they say 'Thank you officer.' I have much discretion when I do my work and my supervisors admit my discretion. I appreciate their consideration.

However, Dae reported he is not satisfied with his job:

I am responsible for general affairs in my department. It means that my work area is not clear. Moreover, I do not have discretion. I just follow supervisors' direction. I'd like to do different work.

Discretion is inevitable because the characteristics of police work are vague and inconsistent. However, discretion may lead to inequity of enforcement. Korea National Police Agency

made several manuals to prevent the problem, but it failed because it is not possible to include all situations in the manuals. The respondents who have much discretion show high level of satisfaction with their works.

5. DISCUSSION

This research is the first attempt to interview police officers in Korea to find how satisfied they are with their job. Interviewing police is difficult and time consuming because police is not open to the public and it takes much time to establish rapport for honest response. Moreover Korean police show strong code of silence due to public distrust. Fortunately, the authors have worked as police officers for over 10 years, which experience helped to get officers' active participation in the interview.

There are several meaningful findings that might not be easily revealed by quantitative studies. First, officers' attitude toward job and motivation affects their overall job satisfaction. Jaesoo and Cholho show how these factors affect their job satisfaction. Cholho's case implies that Korean police need to focus more on applicants' motivation as well as their ability. Judge et al. [23] argued that job satisfaction is related to job performance, which implies that Cholho's job performance may go worse as time goes by, for he does not feel satisfied with his job. The sequential link from motivation to satisfaction to performance needs to be closely monitored by the Korean police. In particular, more efforts need to be made to strengthen officers' motivation, since it appears to be the cornerstone of officers' job performance as well as their life itself.

Second, several respondents pointed out the problem of overtime payment. Overtime work without payment has been a serious issue in Korean police. It is consistent with Herzberg's [22] motivation-hygiene theory that hygiene factors like salary and work condition do not give rise to satisfaction, but if they are absent, they causes dissatisfaction. Police leaders and politicians in Korea have to try to solve the problem to lessen officers' dissatisfaction.

Third, respondents show low level of satisfaction with personnel management and pay and benefit. Lilley and Hinduja [29] insisted that community policing increases the satisfaction with personnel management because it enables managers and line officers to communicate with each other. The community policing was introduced to Korean police in 2004, and Korea National Police Agency should consider the community policing as a tool to increase officers' satisfaction with personnel management. The negative discrepancy of pay and benefit leads to officers' dissatisfaction [44]. It is time for the Korean government to eliminate the discrepancy through admittance of characteristics of police work such as dangerous and continuous.

Finally, discretion is related to the satisfaction with works. Generally, police officers are recognized as street bureaucrats because of their wide discretion [45]. Several respondents reported that they do not have discretion and they hope to have different work. Korea National Police Agency needs to encourage managers and supervisors to give their subordinates more chance of discretion.

Despite meaningful findings, there are a few limitations of this research. First, the sample size was too small although the qualitative method was used. We admitted that fourteen police officers could not represent all Korean police officers. In addition, female officers did not participate in the research. Thus, it would be challenging to generalize the findings to female officers. Second, the interview was conducted just one time. A few respondents did not answer some questions. As Hamilton and Bowers [40] pointed out, the repeated interview might help to solve this problem. It was unfortunate that the repeated interview could not be conducted due to time and space constraints. Lastly, snowball sampling was employed instead of random sampling because several police officers were reluctant to participate in this study. The findings might be biased due to the non-probability sampling. Notwithstanding these weaknesses, this study can still find its merits in the new methodological attempt in Korean contexts and its policy implications.

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