A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLICE CORRUPTION IN THE US AND TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

A Comparative Analysis of Police Corruption in the US and Turkey

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Professor James O. Finckenauer

Although police represent the law and justice system, police corruption cases still occur in many police organizations around the world. This cross national study examined and compared the perceptions of Turkish and American police officers regarding police corruption. The data that was collected by the researcher from TNP was used as a primary data; on the other hand, the dataset of Klockars et al's study was used as a secondary data.

This research examined the police corruption problem on the basis of organizational level explanations considering individual and societal approaches rather than the traditional limited view. In this study, a cross-sectional survey research design including a survey questionnaire, along with hypothetical scenarios based primarily on temptations faced by officers in their daily work was applied.

The findings of this study demonstrated significant agreements between the Turkish and American police officers' perceptions especially on the most serious cases. This agreement showed a consensus between the American and Turkish police officers perception about what they considered as being serious. While the Turkish and American

police officers come from different economic, social, political, cultural environments, they share a common understanding of corruption seriousness.

According to the findings, both the Turkish and American respondents are not willing to report all the misbehaviors of their colleagues even they perceive those behaviors as being unethical. The results showed that 'the code of silence' and 'loyalty' to colleagues exist in the TNP and American police agencies.

This research also investigated factors contributing to officers' perception of seriousness. "Income satisfaction level" and "supervisory position" have significant effects on Turkish police officers' attitude toward corruption. "Supervisory position", "length of service" and "current assignment unit" have significant effects on American police officers.

This study did not aim to measure the extent of police corruption in any police agency of Turkey or the US, but tried to shed light on some scientifically unexplored aspects of the police corruption phenomena in the US and Turkey.

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ABREVATIONS

ANOVA	Analysis Of Variance
CASI	Computer Assisted Self Interviewing
DUI	Driving Under the Influence
EU	European Union
ICPSR	Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research
IRA	Irish Republican Army
LAPD	Los Angeles Police Department
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NYPD	New York Police Department
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TNP	Turkish National Police
US	United States

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Corruption has existed almost ubiquitously as an old and complex problem of humankind since the beginning of known history. Corruption has been a part of the social life and, not surprisingly, a subject of inquiry within different disciplines such as theology, social sciences (e.g. economics, sociology, psychology, etc.), and humanities. Two thousand years ago, Kautilya, the prime minister of an Indian king, discussed corruption in his book called Arthashastra. Seven centuries ago, the Italian poet Dante mentioned corruption in his works, and four centuries ago the British poet Shakespeare also gave corruption a prominent role in his plays.[1]

Interest in the manifestations and ramifications of corruption continues, in part, due to many innovations in communication that have contributed to turning the earth's many countries into one global village. Economies are becoming integrated. Private companies deal more with the social, economic, and political conditions of other countries. In such an environment, even single corruption cases in a certain country have received attention around the world. Currently, corruption is internationally recognized as a large problem in society that threatens social, economic and political development. With growing globalization, it has become the subject of a large amount of research.[2] It can be argued that there is no nation in the world which is immune to corruption. However, the levels of corruption may vary depending on the beliefs, cultural

[1] International Monetary Fund Working Paper. "Corruption Around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope, and Cures", 1998.
[2] United Nations Global Program. Global Programme against Corruption: An Outline for Action, 6, 1999.

backgrounds, levels of education, standards of living, salaries, and other variables among public officials.[3]

In democratic societies, law enforcement officers are expected to abide by the rule of law and be accountable for their actions. But the history of policing shows that police organizations from all over the world have experienced corruption scandals at different degrees and witnessed police officers breaking the law. Police corruption is a near universal problem that is found in many countries and police departments.[4] Finckenauer [5] states that:

> Paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln, do all police do this all of the time? No, but there is reason to believe that at least some police officers do it all the time, that all police officers may do it some of the time, and at a minimum, some police officers operate well outside of the law at least some of the time.

Obviously, police are one of the most visible arms of government and represent the law and justice system. They should be able to maintain public faith in law and government, but police corruption is still very common in many societies. When police officers do wrong, they dishonor both themselves and the law and justice system.[6] At the same time, the police have come under more and more scrutiny over the years as citizens have demanded greater accountability of the police. Despite greater professionalism in policing and the volumes of reform strategies, police corruption still occurs in police organizations and sometimes captures even the most competent and idealistic police

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[3] Bebler, A. "Corruption Among Security Personnel in Central and Eastern Europe." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 17(1) (2001): 129-153.

[4] Klockars, B. C., Ivkovic, K. S., Harver, W.E., Haberfeld, M. R., *The Measurement of Police Integrity: Executive Summary*. Research Report to NIJ. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997; Punch, M. "Police Corruption and Its Prevention," *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 8 (2000): 301-324; Klockars, B. C., Ivkovic, K. S., Harver, E. W., Haberfeld, R. M. *The Measurement of Police Integrity.* (Washington, DC: U.S. National Institute of Justice, 2000).

[5] Finckenauer, J.O. "Laws, Rules, and Police Policy." (Reaction Essay) *Criminology & Public Policy*, 2 (1) (2002): p.161-166.

[6] Williams, H. "Core Factors of Police Corruption Across the World." *Forum on Crime and Society.* 2(1) (2002): 85- 99.

officers into committing more severe acts of corruption.[7] Manning [8] indicates that the range of police deviance is not known due to the nature of the work and social cohesion. Moreover, he states that police officers do not necessarily identify their own violations.

The nature and extent of corruption in the police is a challenging topic for researchers. Questioning the morality of an organization's integrity is not an easy task for the researchers as well as the organization opening its doors for potential criticisms. The systematic study of police corruption is mostly done when societies become aware of scandals and reach a certain democratic maturity to discuss or criticize its causes and consequences. After major corruption scandals in the US, police corruption, in general, has received consideration from the social scientists.[9] Police corruption cases have received the greatest public attention for a couple of decades. Specifically, after a series of corruption cases in the 1990s, the integrity of police officers and departments has become a highly debated issue in the US. Here are some examples of police corruption cases that received much attention by the public and media in the US after 1990: the corruption investigation in NYPD by Mollen Commissions in 1994; the Rodney King incident in LAPD in 1991; the establishment of the Christopher Commission for the investigation of the latter incident and as a result, the resignation of LAPD police chief Darrel Gates and 54 dead people during the riots that transpired; the revealing testimony of Mark Fuhrman in the O.J. Simpson trial.[10]

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[7] Pogarsky, G. and Piquero, R. A. "Studying the Reach of Deterrence: Can Deterrence Theory Help Explain Police Misconduct?" *Journal of Criminal Justice.* 32 (2004): 371-386.
[8] Manning, P. K. Occupational Culture. In W. G. Bailey (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Police Science*. (New York and London: Garland, 1995), 472-475.
[9] Kleinig, J., *The Ethics of Policing*. (Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press, 1996); Sherman, L.W. *Scandal and Reform-Controlling Police Corruption*. (Berkley, US: University of California Press, 1978).
[10] Klockars, C. B., Kutnjak Ivkovich, S., & M. R. Haberfeld. *Enhancing Police Integrity.* (Springer, 2006).

Police integrity has been a great issue in Turkey similarly to the United Sates as well as in the many countries around the world. In particular, after the 1980s, police corruption incidents have garnered very much public attention. In recent years, Turkey has made great efforts to be a member of European Union (EU) and set this effort as a major foreign policy goal. Because of European Union membership criteria, many reforms have been made in various areas by the Turkish government. During this process, the Turkish government has been mostly criticized for law enforcement practices such as abuse of force, human rights violations and corruption.[11] Among the new regulations and innovations, the most significant concern has been given to the Turkish National Police (TNP), one of the major components of the criminal justice system, because of some previous undemocratic practices and misconduct incidents. The media and civil society institutions have seen certain forms of police misconduct and corruption as one of the most serious form of unlawfulness among public officers. These issues have been believed to create an obstacle to EU membership and the democratization process of the country. Every single act of wrongdoing by police officers is watched with significant concern and criticized severely. While steps have continued to be taken carefully by the civil government for the sake of the EU and democracy, little concern has been given to the scientific research of the police corruption problem in Turkey.

Police corruption is an important topic that has been the subject of a large amount of research. This is rooted in the idea that law enforcement officers are the most direct representatives of the state and its welfare for citizens: their visibility in uniforms, their 24 hour presence on the streets and their involvement in society to keep the environment

[11] Kucukuysal, B. *Determinants of Turkish Police Officers' Perception of Integrity: Impact of Organizational Culture*. (Doctoral Dissertation, Central Florida University, 2008).

safe and livable. Therefore, more than any other public official, the integrity of the police is vital for maintaining the confidence of citizens in the legitimacy of the state. However, comprehensive quantification of police corruption is extremely difficult, if not impossible, due to the highly sensitive nature of the topic and the secrecy inherent in the subculture of police. The problem of corruption is not often discovered and rectified from within the organization. Indeed, usually cases are revealed by outside sources and only after media reports, formal complaints, and civil suits against police organizations are made known do investigation and resolution happen.[12]

Until a couple of decades ago, most studies and researchers tried to explore police corruption with individual level explanations alone. Namely, the problem had been considered the result of a few morally defective individual police officers' corrupt actions and mostly focused on the bad apple or rotten apple theory of a few rogue officers within an organization. This cross-cultural study, however, will examine the problem on the basis of organizational level explanations and analyze the primary and secondary data with respect to individual and societal approaches.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

In recent decades, the world has become a global village with the effects of globalization, and this has led many researchers to make more comparative studies by providing innovations in communication, transportation and technology which make international research easier to conduct than in the past. The benefits of globalization have enabled the transfer of successful practices and studies to other countries more than past. In addition, the reliability and validity of a study that was conducted in a developed

[12] Weitzer, R., "Can the Police Be Reformed?" *Contexts* (Journal University of California Press), 4(3) (Summer 2005): 21-26.

country might be tested or enhanced by replicating the same or conducting a similar study in other developed, developing or underdeveloped countries. According to Hallin & Mancini,[13]

> Comparative analysis is valuable in social investigation, in the first place, because it sensitizes us to variation and to similarity, and this can contribute powerfully to concept formation and to the refinement of our conceptual apparatus, and it makes it possible to notice things we did not notice and therefore had not conceptualized, and it also forces us to clarify the scope and applicability of the concepts we do employ.

This study will enable the comparison of views of police officers who work in a developed and developing country on the same issue. Thus, this cross national comparison will reveal the different and similar views of police officers about police corruption in the US and Turkey. This study is significant in being the first study under international police studies literature that compares perceptions of Turkish and American police officers regarding police corruption. Accordingly, it will make a contribution to international comparative police studies literature as well.

This study is also significant in being the first known empirical research that examines the perceptions of TNP members on police corruption. Although there are many rumors about corruption among the TNP members, no empirical study on police corruption has so far been conducted on this topic in Turkey. This research will enable us to find out and identify the perception and tolerance of Turkish police officers about corruption by applying hypothetical misconduct scenarios which were already conducted in the US by Klockars, et al.[14] Thus, this dissertation will also enhance the knowledge about police corruption in Turkey. However, police corruption in the TNP has received

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[13] Hallin, D. C. & Mancini, P. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 2-3.
[14] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

almost unparalleled attention from the Turkish public. Therefore, a strong foundation is being laid out to pave the way for future studies.

Since the Turkish police force is national and all agencies work under the command of the Ministry of the Interior, this highly centralized structure - which includes central human resources selection and rotation, training, policy implementations, rules and regulations in the organization, etc. - creates identical police agencies all over Turkey. This special feature of the TNP allows us to some extent to make general assessments about this organization by using the information that will be obtained from our limited sample.

The legal rules and regulations determine the boundaries of acceptable behaviors of police officers. The police are responsible for maintaining public order and safety, so while they control the behaviors of citizens, who will control the controllers? Why do these controllers violate the rules which they have the responsibility of applying? How do they view their own misconduct behaviors? Do they perceive the various forms of police corruption cases similarly or do they evaluate some of them more seriously? Do these perceptions change in the US and Turkey? To what degree are the perceptions of the police officers in both countries about police corruption country specific? It could be anticipated that different social, cultural and economic conditions affect the perceptions of the officers about corruption. Do they know their organizational rules which they have to obey very well? Do they support those rules or do they criticize them? To what extent do they know what disciplinary threat their agencies make for violation of those rules? Do they think the discipline of their agencies is fair? How willing are they to report the corrupt behavior of their colleagues? Do they tolerate it? This study aims to answer all

these questions by reviewing the literature and comparing the primary data, which were collected in the TNP, and the secondary data, which were already collected by Klockars et al.[15] in the US in their study about police corruption.

Successful corruption control measures require solid academic research backed with sound theoretical foundations.[16] In this vein, the essential role of this study can be summarized as delineating the police officers' perception of petty corruption, disciplinary actions in their agencies and their reporting behaviors, involving hypothetical petty corruption scenarios that are virtually prevalent within the public life and private domain. This study will provide a wealth of information to police practitioners and others who seek to acquire a better understanding of police corruption in the US and Turkey. Having the data of the perceptions of police officers about corruption is an invaluable resource. The results of this study will provide some essential information for policy makers and administrators, as well as police practitioners. It will help them to prepare better policies to reduce corruption in those communities and create sufficient precautions in police agencies.

This dissertation consists of six chapters. The first chapter, following the introduction that summarizes the statement of the problem, includes the significance and purpose of the study, and the difficulties inherent in studying it. In the second chapter, various definitions of corruption, the prevalent types of corruption in police agencies, and the influences of police corruption among the communities will be determined. In the third chapter, the theoretical considerations relevant to police corruption with respect to their taxonomies and the promoted conceptual framework pertaining to the current study

[15] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity.*
[16] Ibid.

will be discussed. The organizational approach to police corruption will be explored in detail because this research and its study variables are based on that approach by considering individual and societal level explanations. In the fourth chapter, the methodological challenges and various research methods to explore the police corruption will be discussed. The fourth chapter also includes the design of this research and all the phases of this study's methodology. The fifth chapter covers the results and findings of primary, descriptive, bivariate and multivariate analyses of this research. In the last chapter, all the answers of research questions will be discussed. Then, the study will be finalized with implications and conclusion.

Using primary and secondary data and extant literature, including books, scholarly articles, corruption commission reports, and illustrating with real cases from different countries, this study attempts to make the phenomenon of police corruption more understandable and contribute to international comparative police studies. This study does not aim to measure the extent of police corruption, but rather tries to shed light on some scientifically unexplored aspects of the police corruption phenomena in the US and Turkey.

Difficulties in Studying Police Corruption

Police corruption has received quite a bit of interest from police scholars since the 1970s due to highly visible scandals of police corruption incidences that occurred in large police departments, such as the New York and Philadelphia Police Departments.[17] However, there is little empirical research on police corruption in the literature. This is because the study of actual corruption (nature and extent) is challenging, in part due to

[17] Ivkovic, K. S., "To Serve and Collect: Measuring Police Corruption." *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, 93 (2003), 593 - 607; Kleinig, *The Ethics of Policing*; Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*; Sherman, *Scandal and Reform*.

the nature of the police occupational culture. For instance, "the code of silence," inherent to the police occupational culture, informally prohibits reporting incidences of police corruption thereby hindering data collection from police personnel who constitute the sources of data and who are more likely to be knowledgeable about police corruption.[18]

As the existing literature on police corruption has suggested, there are many dimensions of police corruption reported by researchers. The most important component reported by those researchers who attempt to measure police corruption empirically is the data collection stage, and the complexity of gaining official access to study the problem. Klockars, et al.[19] and Skolnick [20] similarly indicate that because police officers are the main source of the data, studying police corruption by obtaining information about police corruption from police is often problematic due to significant obstacles.

Ivkovic [21] points out that no individual officers have incentives to reveal and admit their corrupt behaviors publicly; they risk losing their jobs and jeopardizing their careers. This is also true for the police administrators because they do not want to put the entire agency under investigation and have the public question the integrity of the entire department. Therefore, a large amount of the existing literature has examined information revealed by commissions established to examine corruption charges that came into the public spotlight by the media. Some of these famous commissions include the Fitzgerald Commission (1989), the Independent Commission of Hong Kong (2003), the Knapp Commission (1971), and the Mollen Commission (1994).

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[18] Ivkovic, "Measuring Police Corruption."
[19] Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*.
[20] Skolnick, H.J.,"Corruption and Blue Code of Silence." *Police Practice and Research*, 3, (1) (2002): 7-19.
[21] Ivkovic, "Measuring Police Corruption."

During the investigation of corruption in NYPD, the Mollen Commission applied some of the crime fighting techniques such as use of informants. One sentence from the report of commission shows the importance and extent of corruption in NYPD in 1990s: "… What is significant about our findings is that whenever we searched for corruption, we found it.[22]" Although studies show that police corruption exists almost everywhere, many police departments are reluctant to allow studying corruption in their departments. The actual frequency of police corruption is not known, because it is very difficult to supervise and record all the encounters between police officers and citizens.

Studying corruption in empirical sense is one of the challenging endeavors in social research. Despite its inherent limitations for gauging the actual extend of corruption within a particular environment, surveys are one of the useful research methods.[23] The current study involves case scenarios and questionnaires in parallel with the relevant literature and bears similarity with studies aiming to assess police integrity and misconduct in active police officers.[24] Many researchers have employed, adapted and modified these scenarios and questionnaires both nationally and internationally in their countries.

[22] Mollen, Milton., Report of the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Police Corruption and the Anti-Corruption Procedures of the Police Department. (The City of New York, New York, 1994), p.14.
[23] Ivkovic, "Measuring Police Corruption."
[24] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND OF POLICE CORRUPTION

What is Police Corruption?

As Sherman [25] and Ivkovic [26] have continued to maintain, no police department, from Los Angeles to Tokyo or from New York to Rio de Janeiro, is completely immune from corruption, and corruption is always possible where there are police in existence. Although the problem occurs less frequently than in the past, it still continues.[27] For example, for almost a century, the NYPD experienced twenty year cycles of corruption scandals and subsequent investigations as seen by the dates of the following committees: the Lexow Committee in 1894, the Curran Committee in 1913, the Seabury Committee in 1930, the Harry Gross Investigation in 1950, the Knapp Commission in 1971, and the Mollen Commission in 1994.

In the course of studying police corruption, it is essential to have a clear definition of what police corruption means and what forms police corruption takes. However, when the extant literature is examined, it seems that no consensus has been reached about what corruption means and what its characteristics are, as numerous definitions are offered by scholars and researchers from such disciplines as political science, criminal justice, and sociology. To exemplify, a cop accepting a free cup of coffee in some places is considered a corrupt act, while in other places it is not. In this context, some observers believe that the police should never accept any gratuity, tip, or extra recognition for doing

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[25] Sherman, L.W. "Becoming Bent: Moral Careers of Corrupt Policemen" in *Moral Issues in Police Work*, (Eds.) F. A. Elliston & M. Feldberg, (Totowa, NJ: Roman and Allanheld, 1985).
[26] Ivkovic, "Measuring Police Corruption."
[27] Raymond, C., Terrance, J. "Police Ethics: Organizational Implications." *Public Integrity*, 7(1), (2004): 67-79.

their job under any circumstances.[28] Others believe that receiving tips, recognition, or small gifts builds and increases positive police-community relationships and can be an important part of current policing strategies.[29] Therefore, before discussing police corruption and its forms, it is crucial to understand, from a broad view, what occupational deviance is. It is this perspective that may provide a better, more comprehensive awareness of the behavior.

According to Robin,[30] occupational crime is related to employment and includes any kind of job related violations or deviant behaviors committed by employees during their daily work activities. However, Barker [31] finds this definition narrow because it does not cover behaviors in violation of unwritten rules and regulations involving occupational values and norms. Therefore, he offers a broader definition of occupational deviance that encompasses any kind of behavior, both proscribed by laws and regulations and by ethical values and norms. In Barker's definition of occupational deviance, violating proscribed rules and regulations is a criminal behavior and requires either disciplinary or criminal investigation whereas violating prescribed ethical values and norms governing a specific profession is not a criminal behavior but is still unacceptable. Police corruption is the most extreme form of police occupational deviance, violates proscribed regulations, and requires criminal or disciplinary investigation.[32]

In relation to the specific deviant behavior of police corruption, the definitional boundaries are contextually dependent on the people, culture, and even the organizational

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[28] Delattre, E., *Character and Cops: Ethics in policing* (5th Ed). (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 2006).
[29] Kania, R.R.E. "Should We Say the Police "Yes"? *Criminal Justice Ethics*. (1998): p. 38-48.
[30] Robin, G. D. "White Collar Crime and Employee Theft." *Crime and Delinquency*, 20(3), (1974): 251-262.
[31] Barker, T., "Peer Group Support for Police Occupational Deviance." *Criminology,* 15 (3), (1977): 353-367.
[32] Ibid.

concepts involved. In the research, a variety of police deviance and criminal behavior has been termed corruption as no universally agreed upon corruption definition exists. This is because the cultural, social, political, and economic development of societies differ; thus, the concepts of acceptable and unacceptable behaviors vary. For example, Asian cultures tend toward gifting; giving gifts to the government employees or taking care of them in different forms is due to the patrimonial nature of the state. Hence, corruption has always been a part of these cultures.[33]

Some social scientists argue that police corruption is like a container that covers more police deviant behavior than just traditional bribery. According to this view, the important issue is an abuse of power or authority. Some police occupational deviance that is carried out against the internal organizational rules, such as sleeping while on duty or absenteeism, seems like minor misbehavior but implies that supervision is lax. More significantly, however, police employees may break rules by perpetuating criminal acts. For example, they may engage in theft, drug use and dealing, racial discrimination, even rape and murder of colleagues. According to Punch,[34] "These are crimes committed by criminals in uniform."

Despite the complexities of the concept, it is essential to reach an acceptable definition of police corruption to understand the problem. Because most of the early studies on corruption focused on political corruption or the political influences on police corruption, many historic definitions of corruption are political in nature. For example, McMullan [35] argued that a public official is corrupt when he "… accepts money or

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[33] Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) of Hong Kong. (2003) Retrieved on March 30, 2009 from http://www.icac.org.hk

[34] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention," p.305.

[35] McMullan, M. "A Theory of Corruption." *Sociological Review*, 9, (1961): p.182.

money's worth for doing something that he is under a duty to do anyway, that he is under a duty not to do, or exercises a legitimate discretion for improper reasons." Although this definition has been criticized as being political in nature, it nonetheless has been used as a basis in studying police corruption.

Over the decades, scholars have continued to refine similar general definitions of police corruption. Wilson [36] and Goldstein [37] identify police corruption as "the misuse of authority by a police officer in a manner designed to produce personal gain for the officer or others." Souryal [38] defines corruption as a violation of the public's interest for personal gain or favor. Feldberg [39] defines corruption as the acceptance of goods or services for performing or failing to perform duties which are a normal part of one's job.

The World Bank [40] uses the simplest definition, "the abuse of public power for private benefit." In a working paper of the United Nations and the World Bank Urban Management Program,[41] corruption (C) equals monopoly power (M) plus discretion by officials (D) minus accountability (A); that is, C = M + D – A (p.12). According to this formula, if somebody has monopoly power over a service and discretion to determine who gets the service, and no effective accountability exists, there is potential for corruption.

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[36] Wilson, J. Q."The Police and Their Problems: A Theory." *Public Policy*, 12, (1963): p.189.
[37] Goldstein, H. *Policing in a Free Society*. (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1977).
[38] Souryal, S. S. Etiology of Police Corruption. *Police Chief*, (1979): 77-79.
[39] Feldberg, M. "Gratuities, Corruption, and the Democratic Ethos of Policing: The Case of the Free Cup of Coffee" in *Moral Issues in PoliceWork*, (Eds.) F. A. Elliston & M. Feldberg, (Totowa, NJ: Roman and Allanheld, 1985), p. 267-276.
[40] World Bank, Perceived Corruption & Low Public Respect. (2000), Retrieved April 23, 2009 from http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/civilservice/corruption.htm.
[41] UNDP/UNCHS/World Bank Urban Management Program. "A Practical Approach to Dealing with Municipal Malfeasance," (1998), 12.

Kleinig [42] brings a broader definition to corruption: police corruption occurs when the police officer is intentionally involved in an action that is not prescribed by the law and is outside of his/her duty requirements to gain personal or departmental/ divisional benefit or pleasure. The Transparency International Act defines corruption as the abuse by public officials for private gain.[43] Disciplinary sanctions are generally applied when these elements come together:

> Accepting something (generally a bribe but also a non-financial reward or promise of a reward); for doing or not doing something that is clearly against your duty; for an external person whose motivation is to reward the officer for performing an illicit service.[44]

Obviously, some of the previous definitions are not clear enough to encompass all types of police corruption, nor do the authors specify what behaviors police corruption is comprised of. Barker and Roebuck's [45] definition of police corruption is probably one of the best and most precise: "Any type of proscribed behavior engaged in by a law enforcement officer who receives or expects to receive by virtue of his official position, an actual or potential unauthorized reward or gain." According to them, corrupt acts contain three elements: 1) They are forbidden by some law, rule, regulation, or ethical standard, 2) they involve the misuse of the officer's position, and 3) they involve some actual or expected material reward or gain regardless of its worth or significance. Thus, this last definition is the most significant and universally applicable definition for corruption, because it outlines all the common forms of police corruption while allowing for variations due to cultural or organizational mores. In this study, when the term police corruption is used, Barker and Roebuck's definition will be applied.

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[42] Kleinig, *The Ethics of Policing*.
[43] Transparency International. Retrieved on March 20, 2009 from http://www.transparency.org/index.html.
[44] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention," p.302.
[45] Barker T. and Roebuck, J.B. A Typology of Police Corruption. *Social Problems*, 21, (3), (1974): 423-479.

The Types of Police Corruption

As previously mentioned, the variety of police corruption is very broad and heterogeneous, including extorting money from a city's restaurants and nightclubs in return for protection,[46] ignoring bustling organized crime enterprises, participating in the distribution of cocaine and heroin, or escorting international drug organization shipments. Contemporary corruption has become more violent and premeditated in nature than the traditional police corruption of the past.[47] The Mollen Commission Report [48] similarly confirmed this change in the nature of corruption:

> While the systematic and institutionalized bribery schemes that plagued the department a generation ago no longer exist, the prevalent forms of police corruption today exhibit an even more invidious and violent character: police officers assisting and profiting from drug traffickers, committing larceny, burglary, and robbery, conducting warrantless searches and seizures, committing perjury and falsifying statements, and brutally assaulting citizens. This corruption is characterized by abuse and extortion, rather than by accommodation – principally through bribery – typical of traditional police corruption.

Barker and Roebuck [49] offer the best known typology of police corruption classification, which includes eight patterns of corrupt police behavior. (Table 1) They classify these types of police corruption according to five dimensions: the act and actors involved, the nature of norms violated, the degree of peer group support, the required degree of deviant organization and the departmental reaction.

Corruption of Authority

The officers receive officially unauthorized, unearned material gain for misuse of their positions as police officers. Corruption of authority is a very broad category that refers to police accepting various material gratuities such as free cups of coffee or tea,

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[46] Police Corruption Trial Under Way in Boston, *New York Times*, July 1, 1988, p. A9.
[47] Ivkovic, K. S. "Police (Mis) Behavior: A Cross-Cultural Study of Corruption Seriousness." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 28(3), (2005): 546-566.
[48] Mollen, "Report of the Commission," p.4.
[49] Barker and Roebuck, "A typology of Police Corruption."

meals, liquor, merchandise, and discounts offered by a citizen wishing to show gratitude or respect for the police. These kinds of acts are generally not organized behaviors and an officer usually decides by himself/herself to accept or not accept them.[50] Accepting gratuities does not violate any criminal law and some departments do not even consider such gratuities as corruption. Researchers suggest that this type of corruption is entry level and often the first step toward larger and more serious acts of corruption.

Kickbacks

Kickbacks refer to the police receiving money, goods, or services for referring businesses. In this type of corruption, officers typically refer citizens to places like garages, towing companies, and ambulance companies in exchange for gratuities. The corrupters are legitimate businesspeople who gain financially by having such a relationship with the police.[51] This type of corruption is not acceptable in most of the police departments but it is still not so much a crime as a corruption of authority.

Opportunistic Thefts

In these cases, officers use their positions to afford themselves the opportunity to commit thefts from arrestees, victims (e.g., traffic accident or crime victims), unprotected property (e.g., property of dead citizens), and crime scenes. The environment of police work often provides opportunities to commit thefts.[52] Opportunistic thefts are not organized because whenever opportunity is created, officers decide by themselves, but they are obviously crimes.

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[50] Barker and Roebuck, "A typology of Police Corruption."
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

Shakedowns

Shakedowns are another form of opportunistic corruption as well. In these cases, police officers are offered bribes for not arresting someone that they witnessed committing a criminal violation. The police suggest that they would look the other way if they are given money. One common example of this type of corruption is to accept bribes from contraband transporters. The officers who work in anti-smuggling and narcotic departments are a potential interest area of shakedowns. Roebuck and Barker [53] also indicate that police officers classify the bribe money as "clean" and "dirty" money. According to corrupt officers, bribes from transporters of gambling goods or bootleg liquor or money from traffic violators are "clean" money, whereas bribes from felons such as robbers, burglars or drug dealers are "dirty" money. The clean money is considered more acceptable than dirty money.[54]

Protection of Illegal Activities

In this type of corruption, police are paid for the protection of some sort of illegal activity. This protection might be carried out in one of two ways. First, police provide protection to illegitimate operations such as gambling, drug selling, and prostitution. The second way is to legitimate businesses that need police protection to avoid citations for infractions. For example, a liquor store or bar pays the police to ignore the fact that they stay open after business hours. This type of corruption might be highly organized throughout an entire police department.[55]

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[53] Barker and Roebuck, "A typology of Police Corruption."
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

Traffic, Misdemeanor, and Felony Fixes

An officer fixes a variety of cases in exchange for gain. For example, a traffic fix typically involves disposing of traffic tickets; a misdemeanor fix involves preventing court action of misdemeanor offenses; a felony fix involves preventing court action for felony offenses. In addition, police officers may fail to prosecute, tamper with evidence, or deliver perjured testimony.[56] These fixes might be either highly organized in a department or the acts of individual officers.

Direct Criminal Activities

This type of corruption has no corrupter and involves police officers directly committing crimes against persons or property for material gain or reward.[57] These acts are clearly against both departmental and societal norms. This type of corruption is one of the worst because it completely subverts the mission of the police.

Internal Payoffs

This type of corruption is "police-only" corruption. Both the corrupter and the one being corrupted are police. Officers who administer the distribution of assignments and personnel may collect fees for assigning officers to certain divisions, shifts, and beats or for excluding them from certain work assignments.[58] Certain positions may require more payment than others depending on their desirability. Internal payoffs are highly organized in a department.

Some police officers might create evidence for the prosecution against suspects or plant evidence in cases where they feel the criminal may not otherwise be convicted or

[56] Barker and Roebuck, "A typology of Police Corruption."
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

punished.[59] Scholars have called this "noble cause corruption" as it is actually breaking the law to enforce it. The officers believe that they are justified in their actions to get bad guys off the streets and make the world a safer place by fabricating information, giving false testimony in court, using racial profiling, using excessive force, or applying 'street justice' to the offenders who, in their opinion, deserve it. This kind of corruption has a delegitimation effect such as breaking the bond that links the police with citizens.[60]

[59] Tiffen, R. "Tip of the Iceberg or Moral Panic?" *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(9), (2004): 1171-1193.
[60] Caldero, M., Crank, J.P. *Police Ethics: The Corruption of Noble Cause,* 2nd Edition. (Anderson Publishing Company, OH, 2004).

Table 1 The Types of Police Corruption*

Type	Types and Dimensions of Police Corruption
Corruption of authority	When an officer receives some form of material gain by virtue of their position as a police officer without violating the law per se (e.g. free drinks, meals, services).
Kickbacks	Receipt of goods, services or money for referring business to particular individuals or companies.
Opportunistic theft	Stealing from arrestees (sometimes referred to as 'rolling'), from traffic accident victims, crime victims and the bodies or property of dead citizens
Shakedown's	Acceptance of a bribe, for not following through a criminal violation i.e. not making an arrest, filing a complaint or impounding property.
Protection of illegal activities	Police protection of those engaged an illegal activities (prostitution, drugs, pornography) enabling the business to continue operating.
The fix	Undermining of criminal investigations or proceedings, or the 'loss' of traffic tickets.
Direct criminal activities	A police officer commits a crime against person or property for personal gain in clear violation of both departmental and criminal norms'.
Internal payoffs	Prerogatives available to police officers (holidays, shift allocations, promotion) are bought, bartered and sold.

*Source: Newburn, T.[61]

Because of the public invisibility of some police work and the brotherhood among police officers, such corruption is often shielded.[62] Violent behaviors of police officers against suspects are considered justified because those suspects are people who have 'to be taught a lesson'.[63] Punch notes, for example, that while police officers were combating the IRA in Britain, some innocent suspects received long prison sentences because of

[61] Newburn, T. "Understanding and Preventing Police Corruption: Lessons from the Literature." *Police Research Series*. Policing and Reducing Crime Unit Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, London, (1999).
[62] Tiffen, "Tip of the Iceberg or Moral Panic?"
[63] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention," 301-324.

police-falsified statements, confessions, and forensic evidence as in the 'Birmingham Six' and the 'Guildford Four' cases. In recent years, the pressure to bring to trial cases of terrorist assaults might have fostered law-breaking by police, justified for security reasons. However, it is clear that any rule-bending or breaking to secure a conviction for criminals can not be tolerated in democratic societies.

The Influences of Police Corruption

Corruption threatens the rule of law, democracy, and human rights, undermines good governance, and jeopardizes fairness and social justice. Corruption also distorts competition, and endangers the stability of democratic institutions and the moral foundations of society.[64] In other words, police corruption affects not only civilians and officers, but also the credibility of the government and of law enforcement. Police corruption cases create significant tension between the police and public, because police are charged with enforcing the law, preserving order, and serving the public. There are many harmful results of corruption for the public officials, such as economic, social, and political consequences, but the most serious one is the undermining of confidence in the institutions involved.[65] The police always need public cooperation to deal with the crime and criminals. Therefore, collapse of the public trust in the police may seriously compromise the eagerness of the citizens to cooperate and diminish the success of police respectively.[66]

In the past decade, the police have been faced with more public demand for efficiency, accountability, and better resource use for their operational and non-

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[64] Bebler, "Corruption Among Security Personnel."
[65] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption."
[66] Punch, M., *Conduct Unbecoming: The Social Construction of Police Deviance and Control*. (Tavistock Publications, London and New York, 1985).

operational acts and decisions. The citizens have high expectations for the accountability of police, because people see a direct connection between their taxes and spending for law and order matters and want to trust public security providers.[67] Police and judicial authorities should know that as the keepers of law and order, they will be measured according to strict criteria, and are expected to have a high degree of integrity to battle corrupt people.[68]

According to results of different studies,[69] among various groups--men and women, African-Americans and Caucasians, elderly and youth, victims and non-victims--public officials receiving bribes is considered more serious than citizens offering bribes. Wolfgang et al.[70] state that even if the amount of money accepted by officials is ten times lower than the amount of money offered by citizens, the perception of seriousness does not change. McConkey et al.[71] similarly found that participation in corruption among public officials is considered more serious than among private citizens. The results of these researches show that the citizens want to see reliable and honest officials rather than corrupted officials even when they offer bribes.

Bowles and Garoupa [72] approach police corruption from social and economic perspectives and argue that corruption itself might be without monetary cost but has a

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[67] Ayling, J. and Grabosky, P. "When Police Go Shopping." *Policing: An International Journal of Police* Strategies & *Management*, 29(4), (2006): 665-690.
[68] Poerting, P. and Vahlenkamp, W., Internal Strategies Against Corruption: Guidelines for Preventing and Combating Corruption in Police Authorities. *Crime, Law & Social Change*, 29, (1998): 225-249.
[69] Rebovich, D.J., Layne, J., *The National Public Survey on White Collar Crime*, (National White Collar Crime Center, Morgantown, WV, 2000); Rossi, P.H, Bose, C.E. and Berk, R.E.,"The Seriousness of Crime: Normative Structure and Individual Differences." *American Sociological Review*, 39, (1974): 224-37; Wolfgang, M.E., Figlio, R.M., Tracy, P.E., Singer, S.I., *The National Survey of Crime Severity.* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC., 1985).
[70] Wolfgang et al., The National Survey of Crime Severity.
[71] McConkey, K.M., Huon, G.F., Frank, M.G. *Practical Ethics in the Police Service*. (National Police Research Unit, Payneham, 1996).
[72] Bowles, R. and Garoupa, N., "Casual Police Corruption and the Economics of Crime." *International Review of Law and Economics*, 17, (1997): 75-87.

costly effect on efficiency. The influence of corruption has an impact on the perception of prospective offenders (i.e., criminals). The offenders think that they will reduce future fines that they might pay for crimes they might commit by paying bribes and thus they view corruption as the expected cost of punishment for any offense. When these beliefs are widespread among society, deterrence overall becomes weaker and offenses increase. Bowles and Garoupa further claim that when an offender and a corrupt officer collude, they share the prospective unpaid fine at the expense of the police department and the taxpayer. They also suggest that the monetary equivalent of punishment for the offenders should not be less than the amount paid in bribes.

Within law enforcement agencies, corruption scandals often damage a department by destroying group pride and morale. Police corruption seems to have a harmful effect on the honest police officers who are trying to do their jobs properly. Many police officers work hard to capture dangerous and wanted criminals. When a corrupt officer allows captured criminals to escape or helps them to get a lesser punishment, these cases affect the honest police officers negatively. Even further, when the more honest police members see those around them getting away with profiting from corrupt activities, they will experience even greater pressure; they may succumb to the "if you can't beat them join them attitude."[73]

Murphy [74] succinctly summarizes the major effects of police corruption in four categories: 1) It undermines the confidence of the public; 2) It destroys respect for the law; 3) It undermines departmental discipline; 4) It harms police morale.

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[73] Ivkovic, "Measuring Police Corruption," p.646.
[74] Murphy, P.V., Corruption Influences: In B.L. Garmire (ed.) *Local Government Police Management.* (Washington DC, 1982).

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF POLICE CORRUPTION

In the literature, the explanation of police corruption has been grouped under three main categories that are individual (rotten apple hypothesis), organizational, and societal explanations. Each of these theories approaches police corruption from different perspectives over the years.[75]

Individual Level Explanations

The individual approach mainly focuses on the officers' background characteristics such as their personality characteristics, and moral and ethical attitudes toward the cases that are related to police corruption. [76] According to this approach, police corruption happens due to the result of putting into a policing position individuals with an already established tendency for police corruption.[77]

At the beginning stages, previous studies on police occupational deviance and police corruption focused on the issue from an individual level perspective, at the micro-level.[78] That is, police corruption has generally been considered to be the product of a few morally defective individual officers. This is commonly called the bad or rotten apple theory of police corruption.[79] The theory refers to either weak or deviant individual

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[75] Johnston, M., Police Corruption. In D. Close and N. Meier (eds.). *Morality in Criminal Justice* (Belmont. CA: Wadsworth, 1995), p.37-85; Delattre, *Character and Cops: Ethics in Policing*.
[76] Chan, J., Devery, C. and Doran, S. *Fair cop: learning the art of policing*. (University of Toronto Press, 2003); Beck, A. and Lee, R., "Attitudes To Corruption Amongst Russian Police Officers and Trainees." *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 38(4), (2002): 357-372.
[77] Delattre, *Character and Cops: Ethics in Policing*.
[78] Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*.
[79] Ivkovic, "Measuring Police Corruption," 593 - 607; Miller, L.S. and Braswell, M.C., "Police Perceptions of Ethical Decision-Making: The Ideal vs. The Real." *American Journal of Police* 11(4) (1992): 27-45; Raymond and Terrance, "Police Ethics: Organizational Implications."

officers who seek personal gain when confronted with opportunities inherent in police work environments and surrendering to those temptations.[80]

The individual approach explains the causes of corruption with the rotten apple theory, recruitment and police personality approaches. They claim that "indiscriminate hiring, inadequate training and poor supervision" destroy the good characteristics of the officers and finally results in corruption within a department.[81] They suggest to put in place stricter guidelines for hiring, more training and larger doses of supervision.[82]

In addition, some higher level stakeholders have used the rotten apple approach as a classical defense mechanism. Whenever they face harm because of their uncovered systemic linkages to corruption, they localize the corruption cases into one or a few corrupt officers to save their interests.[83] On the other hand, police corruption scandals broadcast through media institutions leave police administrators no other choice than to attribute those corruption events to a couple of characteristically bad individual officers to save the entire department's integrity. Police chiefs may view such scandal as a deviation committed by a small number of 'bad apples'. For instance, in response to a police scandal in 1999 among the officers of the LAPD, chief Bernard Parks said that "we have a small number of officers that have chose (n) to, in some instances, tarnish their badge."[84]

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[80] Barker, "Peer Group Support for Police"; Beck, A. and Lee, R., "Attitudes To Corruption Amongst Russian"; Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*; Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*; Knapp, Whitney, Report of the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Police Corruption and the City's Anti-Corruption Procedures. George Braziller, (New York, 1973); Raymond and Terrance, "Police Ethics: Organizational Implications."
[81] Delattre, *Character and Cops: Ethics in Policing*, p.85.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Barker, T., *Police Ethics: Crisis in Law Enforcement,* (Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas, 1996)
[84] Son, I.S. and Rome, D.M., "The Prevalence and Visibility of Police Misconduct: A Survey of Citizens and Police Officers." *Police Quarterly*, 7(2), (2004): p.181.

Conventional police education programs approach police corruption from the individual level and depend on developing individual resistance ability. During their training at the academy, police cadets are instructed on how to say 'no'. When they start working on the streets, they experience the dichotomy: on one hand 'never accept a gratuity' and on the other hand 'maintain close ties with the community'. Accepting a free cup of coffee while discussing the seller's safety seems very innocent.[85]

The Knapp Commission Report [86] states that 'the character of the officer' is one of the most important factors that affected the decision to engage in corrupt activities. Barker and Carter[87] point out a very interesting example of the individual approach from the Knapp Commission Report that influences the doctrine of NYPD: "…any policeman found to be corrupt must promptly be denounced as a rotten apple in an otherwise clean barrel. It must never be admitted that his individual corruption may be symptomatic of underlying disease." Furthermore, they claim that the rotten apple theory is a way to identify the "normalization of deviance" instead of an explanation of police deviance.

Later, Miller's [88] research revealed that personal problems such as alcoholism, drug abuse or gambling, and bad friends or relatives encourage police corruption. Greed and ego were also identified as some of the other personal motivations that influence corruption. The Mollen Commission Report [89] indicated that many corrupt NYPD officers used alcohol and drugs. The decreasing social stigma of use, easy availability, and addictive properties of drugs were cited as the main reasons for NYPD officers'

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[85] Kania, "Should We Say the Police?"
[86] Knapp, "Report of the Commission."
[87] Knapp Commission, as cited in Barker, T. and Carter, D. L., *Police Deviance* (3rd Ed.) (Cincinnati, OH: Anderson, 1994), p. 46.
[88] Miller, J., "Police Corruption in England and Wales: An Assessment of Current Evidence." (Home Office Online Report, 2003), p. 3–4.
[89] Mollen, "Report of the Commission."

abuse of drugs. However, currently there is not enough research that conclusively supports a direct causal relationship of drug and alcohol use and corruption among police officers.

The study of McElvain and Kposowa[90] did not show any significant relation between misuse of police investigations and gender of the officers. They also found that the younger the officer, the more likely to be investigated for abuse of the force.

Today, employing solely this micro approach for the explanation of police corruption is criticized by many social scientists because police corruption is accepted as being a much more complex phenomenon than simply being the result of a few troubled individual officers. Therefore, while the individual's attributes may lead to corruption, this cannot by itself be the only explanation of corruption. [91]

Organizational Level Explanations

Over a twenty-year period between the 1970s and 1990s, some social science studies and investigations of independent commissions have shifted the literature from the individualistic level to the organizational level by explaining both external and internal factors in a police organization that may influence the nature and extent of police misconduct. The individual level approach, which explains police deviance as the result of individual officers' deficiency has lost being the only core point for the explanations of

[90] McElvain, J.P.and Kposowa, A.J., "Police Officer Characteristics and Internal Affairs Investigations for Use of Force Allegations." *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 32, (2004): p. 265-279.
[91] Barker, "Peer Group Support for Police"; Beck and Lee, "Attitudes To Corruption Amongst Russian"; Goldstein, *Policing in a Free Society*; Ivkovic, "Measuring Police Corruption"; Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*; Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*; Knapp, "Report of the Commission"; Mollen, "Report of the Commission."; Raymond and Terrance, "Police Ethics: Organizational Implications"; Sherman, "Moral Careers of Corrupt Policemen."

police corruption. Police organizational and cultural issues have become the contemporary explanations of police deviance.[92]

According to Barker and Carter, [93] the organizational level approach to deviance contains three main elements which are: "(1) opportunity structure and its accompanying techniques of rule violations, (2) socialization through occupational experiences, and (3) reinforcement and encouragement from the occupational peer group."

The first element, opportunity structure and its accompanying techniques of rule violations, is very common in policing due to the occupational structure of policing that creates lots of opportunities for police misbehaviors. While the police officers are doing their routine duty, they often face lawbreakers who may offer money or personal gain not to be arrested.[94]

The second element, which is socialization through occupational experiences, is also very prominent in policing. The authors mention four steps for the socialization process of police: first, police officers share an important police duty individually; second, while doing this duty, they build up an interaction with each other; third, the closeness during the interaction creates the police solidarity; finally, they produce and share informal group values and norms.[95]

The third element of the organizational level approach to deviance, which is reinforcement and encouragement from the occupational peer group, is another very common theme in police organizations. A lot of scholars and commissions stress this

[92] Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*.
[93] Barker and Carter, *Police Deviance,* p. 47.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.

phenomenon which is called "code of silence" or "blue wall."[96] It has been reported that this code is one of the major facilitators of deviant police behavior and continues to add to the difficulty of reforming and investigating those behaviors. The code of silence is a common characteristic of policing across the continents. This element will be discussed in detail in further pages.

The organizational level approach to police corruption mainly includes the police organizational culture and various aspects of police work and administration. These two important components of the organizational approach and some recommendations at this level will be discussed in detail below.

Police Organizational Culture and Corruption

Much of the research evidence suggests that a powerful police organizational culture is a major factor in police corruption, operating by influencing police attitudes and behaviors from the moment the recruit enters the force.[97] According to Manning,[98] police culture contains invisible but strong constraints. His definition of the police culture includes "accepted practices, rules, and principles of conduct that are situationally applied, and generalized rationales and beliefs." Paoline & Terril [99] describes the police culture as:

> ... a distrust and suspiciousness of citizens, the need to maintain the edge during interactions with citizens, a lay-low/cover-your-ass approach to police work to

[96] Barker, "Peer Group Support for Police"; Beck and Lee, "Attitudes To Corruption Amongst Russian"; Ekenvall, B., "Police Attitudes Towards Fellow Officers' Misconduct: the Swedish Case and a Comparison with the USA and Croatia." *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology & Crime Prevention*, 3 (2), (2002): p. 210-232; Kleinig J., "The Blue Wall of Silence: An Ethical Analysis." *International Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 15, (1), (Spring, 2001), 1-23; Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*; Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*; Knapp, "Report of the Commission"; Mollen, "Report of the Commission," p.4; Raymond and Terrance, "Police Ethics: Organizational Implications."
[97] Klockars, et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*.
[98] Manning, Occupational Culture, p. 472.
[99] Paoline, E.A. III and Terrill, W.," The Impact of Police Culture on Traffic Stop Searches: An Analysis of Attitudes and Behavior." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 28 (3), (2005): p. 456.

> minimize procedural errors, a strong endorsement of the crime-fighting mandate of the police, a we-versus-they sentiment toward citizens, and a strong loyalty to fellow officers.

Reppetto [100] noted that as long as there has been an organized law enforcement body, there has been a subculture. The subculture might be thought of as the common experiences, feelings, stresses, duties, and beliefs that are inherent in police work. It might be also described as a series of informal norms and values. The powerful police organizational culture strongly affects both the manifestation and prevention of police corruption. Besides, the distinctive organizational culture influences the attitudes and behaviors of police officers and shapes their personal characteristics.[101] The role and identity of a police officer engenders a separate culture that is only shared with other police officers. This subculture has a distinct set of values and sometimes "insulates the police fraternity and fosters a code of silence that shields cops from scrutiny." [102]

The policing environment creates its own culture, structure and identity. An officer learns how to break the law, among other deviant behavior, in this context. But, it is still not known exactly why some officers choose to involve themselves in corrupt activities and others do not. Many social scientists point out that the recruits arrive in the departments 'clean', then fall under the 'operational code' of the informal system gradually by violating more and more rules like fellow officers.[103] A former NYPD officer named Dowd reported to the Mollen Commission [104] that "violence against suspects and others was a bonding ritual that strengthened loyalty and code of silence."

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[100] Reppetto, T.A., *The Blue Parade*. (NY.: Free Press, 1978).
[101] Armacost, B. E., "Organizational Culture and Police Misconduct." *George Washington University Law Review*, 72, (2004): p. 453-545.
[102] Weitzer, "Can the Police Be Reformed?" p.25.
[103] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention."
[104] Mollen, "Report of the Commission", p. 24.

According to him, newcomers do not have a chance not to become initiated into an escalating scale of deviant activities.[105]

Armacost [106] indicates the common characteristics of police organizational culture as the following: formal and informal norms that support a challenging, rigid style of policing; a promotion and evaluation system that functionally favors illegal uses of force by not enforcing established management policies; a work environment that tolerates and even encourages discriminatory and violent attitudes; and language that may contribute to aggressive and discriminatory conduct.

The informal code has stronger affect on police behavior than the formal rules and regulations in most police organizations. Failing to comply with this informal code usually may result in being isolated by their coworkers.[107] Policy makers should reflect on these unwritten rules and values of police in addition to the written rules when making decisions. Finckenauer [108] offers a comprehensive summary of the levels and categories of rules to be taken into consideration:

> There is not only the rule of law, but also what might be called the rule of rules and the latter is further divided into formal and informal rules. In sum, what we have then is the rule of law that represents societal standards with respect to police duties and responsibilities. Next, there are the unwritten rules that determine what is acceptable and normative in a particular police department. And finally, there are the individual police officer's moral standards developed over a lifetime of interaction with family and peers, and within educational and religious institutions. In any police decision situation -in any application of their discretion- all of these standards or rules are going to come into play.

Some aspects of the police subculture such as lying, perjury or covering up for a fellow officer are far from the legitimate police mission. While an occupational subculture is not unique to the police profession, the "thin blue line" of the police

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[105] Mollen, "Report of the Commission", p. 24.
[106] Armacost, "Organizational Culture and Police Misconduct."
[107] Kappeler, V., Sluder, R. D., Alpert, G., *Forces of Deviance.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1994.
[108] Finckenauer, "Laws, Rules, and Police Policy," p. 163.

subculture separates the police from the rest of society and makes this subculture more powerful than any other occupational subculture. Skolnick and Fyfe [109] state that for police officers,

> Danger and authority combine to produce in them a distinct world view that affects the values and understanding of cops on and off the job, sometimes leading to admirable valor, sometimes to brutality and excessive force, and sometimes to a banding together, a cover-up, a conspiracy of silence.

The connections between the police organizational culture and corrupt behaviors of police are well discussed in the literature as well as in the investigative commission reports which were formed after major corruption scandals in the US [110] and abroad. The organizational culture literature indicates specific organizational factors and elements that influence the formation of the police culture and shape the police officers' characteristics from their recruitment to the different phases of their career. A number of authors have mentioned various themes or common components of the police subculture that are visible and associated with the extant corruption in many police organizations.[111] Some of those elements will be discussed below with the aim of understanding the role that the police organizational culture plays in the phenomenon of police corruption.

The Code of Silence

The code of silence operating in the organizational culture among police officers is one of the major reasons for corruption. This code both impedes the internal and external investigations of corrupt officers and encourages the junior officers, by

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[109] Skolnick, J. H. and Fyfe, J. J., *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force*. (NY: Free Press, 1993), p. 190.
[110] Knapp, "Report of the Commission"; Mollen, "Report of the Commission."
[111] Crank, J. P., *Understanding Police Culture*. (Cincinati: OH, Anderson Publishing, 2004); Kappeler et. al., *Forces of Deviance*; Manning, P. K., *Police Work: The Social Organization of Policing. (*Prospects Heights, IL; Waveland Press, 1997); Sherman, "Moral Careers of Corrupt Policemen"; Barker and Carter, *Police Deviance.*

threatening them with labels of 'rat' or 'cheese eater', to be a part of a lawless world.[112] The code of silence exists inherently in the police occupational culture. A number of studies and commissions[113] have reported that this code is one of the major facilitators of deviant police behavior and continues to add to the difficulty of reforming those behaviors.

Both the Mollen [114] and Knapp [115] Commissions identified the code of silence among police officers as a salient feature of the occupational culture that can not be ignored. The code is considered a large obstacle to controlling and detecting police corruption and thus hinders the efforts to investigate it. This code of silence is an unwritten rule, sometimes referred to as the "blue wall" or "blue curtain." It encompasses the feelings of loyalty and brotherhood that both renders policing easy and protects corrupt officers from being identified. Police officers tolerate fellow corrupt colleagues rather than reporting them to their superiors. In fact, loyalty to fellow officers is a key feature of the culture of policing, regardless of whether criminality is involved.[116] After the 1991 Rodney King case in Los Angeles, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) reported that the code of silence does not distinguish on the basis of race among the LAPD corrupt officers. Blacks, Whites, and Anglos are equally protected.[117]

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[112] Skolnick, "Corruption and Blue Code of Silence."
[113] Barker, "Peer Group Support for Police"; Beck, A. and Lee, R., "Attitudes To Corruption Amongst Russian"; Ekenvall, "Police Attitudes"; Kleinig, "The Blue Wall of Silence"; Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*; Raymond and Terrance, "Police Ethics: Organizational Implications"; Knapp, "Report of the Commission"; Mollen, "Report of the Commission."
[114] Mollen, "Report of the Commission."
[115] Knapp, "Report of the Commission."
[116] Kleinig, "The Blue Wall of Silence."
[117] Ogletree, Jr., Charles J., Mary Prosser, Abbe Smith and William Talley, Jr., *Beyond the Rodney King Story: An Investigation of Police Misconduct in Minority Communities*. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995).

The same code and brotherhood can develop a subculture that accepts colleagues' violations of criminal law and creates a criminal police subculture.[118] Skolnick further argues that this unwritten code is so widespread that it is a characteristic of policing across continents. Punch[119] indicates that the same silent code can be found to have perpetuated police corruption scandals in New York, London, and Amsterdam. The code has also been identified by Fitzgerald in Queensland (1989) and by the Wood Royal Commission in New South Wales (1997) as being at the root of departmental problems.

In the United States, the police code of silence is such a troubling subject that it often moves from police culture to popular culture. For example, Frank Serpico, a NYPD officer, ultimately blew the whistle on corrupt activities in the NYPD in the early 1970s to the Knapp Commission. Serpico revealed the agreements protected by the police code of silence between police and criminals to regulate illegal operations, payments and pay offs. Serpico attempted to make the problem known to his superiors, but encountered such opposition that when he broke the code he almost paid for his actions with his life: On an undercover drug bust, he was shot and nearly died because his police colleagues deliberately did not provide back up. The department maintained the blue wall and did not investigate the case seriously. Finally, in 1971, the Knapp Commission was established and the reforming chief Pat Murphy made significant inroads into the corruption cases.[120] Although Serpico published his story, which was then made into a movie and TV series, the code and its ramifications continues to exist four decades later.

The application and acceptance of the code varies from agency to agency. In some departments, the code is applied to small scale corrupt activities, such as free meals,

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[118] Skolnick, "Corruption and Blue Code of Silence."
[119] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention."
[120] Ibid.

coffee, or small tips. Conversely, in some other agencies, it is also applied to large scale corrupt activities, such as systematic bribery, collaboration with drug dealers, or selling drugs.[121] Thus, the police subculture has a very powerful form of informal social control largely through enforcement of the code of silence. According to Williams, [122] this code protects police officers even if they deliberately kill innocent citizens. This code isolates the world of police and subverts an officer's legal and moral responsibility to be a witness against a colleague's deviant behavior.

It becomes very difficult for a police officer to betray a fellow officer who is corrupted or has violated the rules. As Williams [123] stresses, "integral to police culture is a tendency to close ranks in silence and to cover up knowledge of an officer's wrongdoing with a collective blanket of self-preservation." Never ratting on another officer has developed into one of the general rules of policing. The 'rat' is seen as a threat to the safety of colleagues and labeled 'unreliable' or 'untrustworthy'. At the very least, this results in isolation within the ranks. According to a Police Foundation survey, two-thirds of police agree that "an officer who reports another officer's misconduct is likely to be given the cold shoulder by his or her fellow officers."[124] At the worst, as with the case of Serpico, it can result in bodily harm.

Because of the paramilitary structure of the police and its emphasis on following, without question, superiors' orders, new officers learn how the code works and how it protects officers from being prosecuted despite illegal or immoral behavior. They quickly adapt themselves to the culture by closing their eyes to corrupt colleagues. This also

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[121] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.
[122] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption."
[123] Ibid. p. 86.
[124] Weitzer, "Can the Police Be Reformed?"p. 21-26.

assures them of the assistance of fellow officers when they are in need, as well as ensuring disregarding the consequences of their own violations of the criminal law. According to the Mollen Commission Report, [125] an officer is accepted and trusted as a tough or good cop by fellow officers as long as he/she does not report the wrongdoings of his/her colleagues. An NYPD officer named Dowd reported to the Mollen Commission that "brutality strengthened the bonds of loyalty and silence among officers and thus fostered corruption tolerance."[126] Although the researchers guarantee confidentiality and anonymity, police officers may not give information about their fellow officers' misbehavior due to this code.[127]

Police Cynicism

It is clear that police culture fosters solidarity, secrecy, and cynicism.[128] When the police officers are on the job, they usually trust only fellow officers because they share the same subculture and fate and distrust in the citizens- and because they are potential criminals or adversaries.[129] According to Williams [130] "every police officer knows that neither ordinary civilians nor the law will save him in the wee hours of the morning as shots crack out through the air; only a brother officer will do that."

Bonifacio [131] approaches this cynicism from the perspective that police cynicism is a psychological defense mechanism that allows officers to adapt to the rigors of police work without feeling so much of the emotional pain associated with the experiences of the job. For example, if a police officer always works on homicide cases and witnesses

[125] Mollen, "Report of the Commission."
[126] Ibid. p.47.
[127] Ivkovic, "Measuring Police Corruption."
[128] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention."
[129] Weitzer, "Can the Police Be Reformed?"
[130] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption," p. 86.
[131] Bonifiacio, P., *The Psychological Effects of Police Work: A Psychodynamic Approach.* (NY: Plenum Press, 1991).

many brutal killings, that officer begins to see people around as brutal and then approaches the people cynically. Thus, instead of being in constant pain by seeing people in brutal crimes, the officer protects himself by feeling nothing towards people.[132] In fact, this argument can not be applied to all police officers who work on investigations of homicides or similar tasks, because all police officers may not experience the cynicism.

Scheingold [133] enumerates factors that foster cynicism as the way police officers are victims themselves due to poor pay, public disrespect or under-appreciation from their organization. Additionally, police officers share a common concern over the possibility that they will be killed or injured, that they will be subject to false accusations, or that they will be deprived of the benefits to which they are entitled in their jobs.[134] The highly risky nature of some police encounters creates propensities for police misconduct. In such instances, police, due to the emotional atmosphere, become overzealous in enforcing the law and infringe many basic human rights guaranteed by the law.

It might be more appropriate to reconceptualize this manifestation of cynicism as affecting soldiers in a war in which the exact enemy is never known. The police are at war as well, but the enemy is crime and criminals, so non-criminal citizens are not part of war.

Us versus Them

The police sometimes view themselves as carrying out missions superior to those of the rest of the population. According to this perception, policing is seen as a very important duty and thus their world is divided into ‘cops and the public’ or ‘us versus them’. Law enforcement officers believe the public does not understand the problems

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[132] Bonifiacio, P., *A Psychodynamic Approach.*
[133] Scheingold, S., *The Politics of Law and Order: Street Crime and Public Policy*. (NY: Longman, 1984).
[134] Caldero and Crank, *The Corruption of Noble Cause*.

police face. Police officers take an 'us against the rest of the world' approach because they do not always face the general population, but deal usually just with the problem citizens. Officers think that they are the "thin blue line" between order and disorder. When this line combines with autonomy and large discretionary power it may lead to abuses of that power.[135]

This "us versus them" mentality in the police subculture builds a barrier between citizens and police and isolates the officers from the community.[136] Niederhoffer [137] offers an interesting evaluation about the police and society's perception of them. According to him, although the police deserve the respect of the public, various levels of society view them in different manners. The upper class looks down on them, the middle class ignores them, and the lower class fears them. He adds that these behaviors help create the cynicism and code of silence.[138]

Police cynicism and classification is an important part of police subculture as it reveals how police view and classify the public which they have to serve. Skepticism, distrust of the public, and reliance only on other officers to survive are elements of police cynicism. Negative classifications of people by police are partially based on officers' experiences with the public but they mostly learn them from fellow officers. Although these officers approach the public with cynicism, they view themselves as being automatically worthy of respect by virtue of their position. This cynicism and classification damage any good police-citizen relations and create a barrier between them. This barrier motivates police to maintain an identity that is distinct, distrustful, and

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[135] Niederhoffer, A., *Behind the Shield: Police in Urban Society*. (NJ: Doubleday, 1967).
[136] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption," p. 85- 99.
[137] Niederhoffer, *Behind the Shield.*
[138] Ibid.

isolated from the public. However, it must be understood that not all police officers and departments exhibit this cynicism and system of classifications. On the contrary, many police departments combat these approaches and try to strengthen the police-public relationship by applying various methods such as community policing. It is widely accepted that the police can not be successful at their job without public support.

Secrecy

The police subculture fosters an appropriate ambiance for secrecy.[139] Generally, police work that has the potential for generating corruption occurs in places and circumstances insulated from third parties. Such interactions generate opportunities for involvement in corrupt activities. In order to guarantee one's peaceful existence within the organization officers opt in most circumstances to be silent about witnessed cases or rumors of misconduct.[140] They follow tacit guidelines for keeping involved officer(s) or group(s) out of trouble.[141] Explanations for the secrecy involve institutional isolation of the public due to ideology, fear of retaliation from fellow officers, loyalty, bonds of friendship, etc. Accordingly, the resulting ambiance is powerful enough to override the officer's oath of office, personal conscience, departmental regulations and criminal laws.[142]

Discretion

The organizational culture approach draws attention to the wide discretionary police powers that go mostly unnoticed. However, the role of these powers in facilitating

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[139] Muir, W., *Police: Streetcorner Politicians.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).
[140] Knapp, "Report of the Commission."
[141] Reuss-Ianni, E., *Two Cultures of Policing: Street Cops and Management Cops*. (Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1993).
[142] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention."

police work and its secondary effects is a contested topic. Some scholars [143] mention the crucial importance of delineating the borders of their responsibility area whereas others [144] propose giving some latitude to officers in crafting their art. A review of the actions of a police officer in a given situation may indicate that his authority was clearly misused, but that his actions were consistent with those taken by his fellow officers under similar circumstances and consistent with the instructions or the expectations of his superiors.[145] According to Pollock,[146] the use of discretion is guided by personal ethics instead of a mechanistic implementation of the law.

Discretion creates freedom of movement for the officers to solve problems on the spot, as they arise. Responding to the criminal activities requires a great deal of autonomy that may lead the police officers to involve in corruption. Discretion sometimes might be a necessary evil that allows being both good and bad police. Manning [147] argues that police deviance arises from this structure of police work. He makes the observation that the state gives the police broadly defined authority that empowers them to take immediate and decisive actions. Sometimes this power creates interpretations of the law that can lead to overstepping the boundaries of legitimate authority. When police apply the law arbitrarily and capriciously, that broad use of discretionary power may violate the rule of law, because discretion is exactly at the center of policing.[148]

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[143] Kelling, G. and Coles, C., Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in Our Communities. (New York: Free Press, 1996); Sherman, L.W., Police Corruption: A Sociological Perspective. (NY: Anchor Press, 1974).
[144] Skolnick, J., Justice without Trial: Law Enforcement in a Democratic Society. (New York: Wiley, 1966)
[145] Goldstein, H., "Police Discretion: The Ideal versus the Real." *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (1963): p. 140-148.
[146] Pollock, J. M., "Ethics in Law Enforcement," in R. G. Dunham & G. P. Alpert (Eds.). *Critical Issues in Policing: Contemporary Readings* (4th ed.) Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2001), p. 356-373.
[147] Manning, P. K., "Structure and Control: Deviance in Police Organizations". *Research in the Sociology of Work,* 8, (1999): 117-138.
[148] Finckenauer, "Laws, Rules, and Police Policy," p.161–166.

Loyalty

Loyalty to colleagues is another element of the police subculture.[149] It is the same type of loyalty which causes administrators to ignore or cover up improper police actions.[150] Especially for police systems that recruit for managerial posts from their own organization, supervisors that promote to upper echelons know the system very well and successfully cover the wrongdoings of their subordinates. In consequence, any attempts to discover the wrongdoings within the department face the resistance of the top levels that may have turned a blind eye on some misconduct or are a part themselves in such conduct.

Additionally, to gain acceptance into a group, officers may sometimes test new recruits by pressuring them to drink alcohol on duty, use drugs, falsify reports, plant evidence or commit other illegal behaviors.[151] These acts of pressure or hazing rituals of some fellow officers might be other motivators associated with police corruption.

Organizational Aspects of Police Work and Corruption

Organizational level explanations of police corruption have created new approaches for the exploration of police behaviors toward corruption. In this context, many studies have contained the perceptions of police officers regarding police corruption cases. The studies of Klockars et al.,[152] Chan et al.,[153] Pogarsky & Piquero,[154]

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[149] Sherman, L., "Learning Police Ethics," *Criminal Justice Ethics*, 1, (1982): p. 10-19.
[150] Hollady, R.E., The Police Administrator. A Politician? *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, Vol. 53, No. 4, (1962): p. 526-529.
[151] Mollen, "Report of the Commission."
[152] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.
[153] Chan et al., Fair Cop Learning the Art of Policing.
[154] Pogarsky and Piquero, "Studying the Reach of Deterrence," 371-386.

and Ivkovic & Shelley [155], are some of the examples of this approach at the national and international level. In their studies, the researchers also focused on the organizational aspects of police work such as length of service, size of the department, rank, and the type of the police work with respect to the socio-demographical aspects of the participants such as race, gender, and educational level (including attending ethics courses). Some of the organizational aspects of police work that might be associated with corruption or influence the perceptions of police officers about corruption will be discussed in the following pages.

Vulnerability and Opportunities

Punch [156] states that "people with the authority to influence important decisions are potential targets for corrupters." Police officers who affect people through their decisions of whether to use force, restrain individual freedom, or pursue convictions are the main targets of people who tend to break the law.[157] Policing is a unique occupation which creates a context vulnerable to corruption and misconduct. It is not uncommon for police officers to encounter an offer of money or other benefit to do something that is obviously against their duty.[158] According to Weitzer: [159]

> Police work has often been called 'dirty work.' Officers constantly deal with problem situations – upset and traumatized victims, unruly or violent offenders and drivers annoyed at being stopped. Some view police intervention as harassment or as an infringement of their rights and act belligerently toward officers.

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[155] Ivkovic, K.S., & Shelley, T.O., "The Contours of Police Integrity Across Eastern Europe. The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Czech Republic." *International Criminal Justice Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1, (2008): 59-82.
[156] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention."
[157] Ibid.
[158] Pogarsky and Piquero, "Studying the Reach of Deterrence," 371-386.
[159] Weitzer, "Can the Police Be Reformed?" p. 21.

Situational factors are encounters that police officers experience while performing their daily work activities. In the course of their work routine, the police often find themselves in situations that offer opportunities for corruption. Crime Opportunity theories identify the crime contexts and environmental factors that create opportunities for crime to occur. In their milieu, police officers perform duties in an unsupervised and isolated working environment that exposes them to widespread opportunities conducive to corruption.

According to the Rational Choice theory, offenders carefully assess the immediate aspects of the offense they contemplate committing as well as calculate the actual probability of getting caught rather than consider the punishment they will be sentenced to. If the probability of getting caught is low, then they commit that offense.[160] The literature reports that when police officers, referred to as street –level bureaucrats by Lipsky,[161] perform their routines and duties prescribed by the law, they frequently use their authority and discretion under the lack of departmental supervision and control. They are expected to perform their job with integrity and in accordance with both laws and departmental instructions, and many do. Nonetheless, the absence of fear of getting caught in these unsupervised settings in which officers work offers them opportunities to give into the temptation to participate in corruption.[162]

The extant literature underlines the fact that police work naturally puts its practitioners into various situations in which they are oftentimes exposed to temptation to

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[160] Cornish, D. B.and Clarke, V. R., *The Reasoning Criminal: Rational Choice Perspectives on Offending.* (New York: Springer, 1986).
[161] Lipsky, M., *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services.* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1980).
[162] Dailey, J.D., Withrow, B. L., A Model of Circumstantial Corruptibility. *Police Quarterly*, 7 (2), (2004): 159-178; Kappeler et. al., *Forces of Deviance*; Macintyre, S.and Prenzler, T., "The Influence of Gratuities and Personal Relationships on Police Use of Discretion." *Policing & Society*, 9 (2), (1999): 181- 201; Raymond and Terrance, "Police Ethics: Organizational Implications."

engage in corruption. The absence of adequate supervision and the level of discretion used by police officers during their daily tasks are common facilitators of abusing their official power and authority.[163]

Tiffen [164] argues that the sources of police corruption derive from the nature of police work:

> The scope for secrecy and relatively unaccountable power is always conducive to corruption. In addition, the inherent difficulties of policing, including the need in both intelligence and enforcement to be regularly dealing with a range of characters operating on the fringes of respectability and/or beyond the law, presents more opportunities and temptations than the rest of the population is normally subjected to.

Punch [165] identifies this scale as "the metaphor of the slippery slope" and explains that "once you are on the slope you begin to slide inevitably and irreversibly into increasingly serious forms of deviance." According to him, the moral decay resulting from deviant activities leads the officer to move up the rungs of the deviance ladder. A police officer suffers discomfiture and struggles with his/her conscience at the lower steps, but then deviant behaviors get easier as they continue to 'climb.'[166] Other police officer testimony confirms that once the line abandoning integrity was crossed without penalty, the abuse of authority made corruption easy.[167] Officers know that such behavior is wrong; however, the thought of having extra income and other benefits pushes discomforting thoughts out of their minds. Furthermore, other dirty cops encourage them to continue and not blow the whistle. Punch [168] argues that these kinds of socially deviant

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[163] Barker, "Peer Group Support for Police"; Macintyre, S. and Prenzler, "The Influence of Gratuities"; Raymond and Terrance, "Police Ethics: Organizational Implications"; Vicchio, J. S. "Ethics and Police Integrity." Keynote Address Presented in National Symposium on Police Integrity in Washington D.C., in July 1996 cited from Roleff, L. T. (ed.) *Police Corruption*, (Farmington, MI: Greenhaven Press, 2003).
[164] Tiffen, "Tip of the Iceberg or Moral Panic?"
[165] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention," p.315.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Mollen, "Report of the Commission."
[168] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention."

behaviors are fashioned in small groups within the context of the police culture and organization and are further shaped by perceptions of society. The suggested solution is intervention—and the earlier the intervention in the process, the better the success. Thus, training and mentoring of recruits and more direct supervision in small groups are important key factors for the prevention of this kind of corruption in the law enforcement organization.[169]

So-called victimless crimes are another opportunity for police officers to engage in corruption easily; these include abortion, prostitution, drug use, gambling, and illegal alcohol consumption. To call them 'crimes without a complainant' might be a more accurate term, because nobody tends to complain about these offenses to the authorities. The high demand/popularity of such acts despite official prohibition raises the prices of related goods and services and thus increases profits for the criminal organizations involved. With these types of crime, police officers may enact the code in a passive or aggressive way. Some officers may choose to personally benefit from such kinds of offenses by taking money, sexual benefits, or drugs for themselves. Additionally, other police officers may not morally disapprove of the prohibited act; thus, they do not want to contribute to the policing of them and so ignore them.[170]

On the other hand, police officers may have close relationships with informants while on duty, or with criminals, especially the members of organized crime groups or drug dealers, while they are performing undercover work. The officers may be affected

[169] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention."
[170] Tiffen, "Tip of the Iceberg or Moral Panic?"

by the world-view of criminals and want to gain some benefits for themselves in these encounters.[171]

When there is inflexible, cumbersome bureaucracy, citizens may try to find shortcuts to obtain services, including those that involve law enforcement. Verma [172] cites the example of India where there is a huge practice of bribery, especially for drivers' licenses and vehicle registrations, because of the bureaucratic red-tape. The lack of computerization of records, extremely slow paper work processing, high costs of official documents, low penal fines, and lack of enforcement on crowded Indian roads lead most citizens to drive unregistered cars and use improper drivers' licenses, as well as to bribe their way out, if caught. For the citizens to solve registration and license problems in court is another nightmare because it is a time consuming and costly process, all of which makes them wary of encouraging the police to uphold the laws.[173]

Similarly, obtaining special permits to cross the borders of states by paying tariffs for the goods (corruption also makes smuggling easier at these points), having permission to drive public transportation or tolerating private transport on the roads without a permit (only the state transportation vehicles are allowed on most of the roads or on shorter and economical traffic routes) are other widespread lucrative situations for the police officers in India. Therefore, the power of police to pursue the criminal cases, to check the vehicles on the roads, and to arrest anyone on mere suspicion enables them to extort money easily.[174] Until the system/red tapism is changed in India, people will continue to

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[171] Kappeler et. al., *Forces of Deviance*.
[172] Verma, A., "Cultural Roots of Police Corruption in India." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 22(3), (1999): 264-279.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.

prefer the cheaper, convenient, but corrupt way rather than pursuing the honest and legal procedures, and corruption will remain rampant.

Deficiencies in the Organization

The Lack of Administrators and Supervisors

Police corruption has motivations peculiar to its organizational structure. Another common factor associated with police corruption in organizational structures is the deficiency of effective headquarters and supervisors.[175] The administrators' lack of desire for intervention and prevention of corruption is a common finding in many police corruption reports. More problematic is when the administrative upper echelon conspires to hide it. For example, when a scandal was revealed in NYPD's 77th precinct in 1986, prosecutors wanted to investigate other precincts for corruption as well. However, police commissioner Benjamin Ward wanted to stop all investigations immediately and said: "Leave my department alone, my department is clean. I do not want to hear about any more corruption." [176]

Often, fear of negative media attention is a main reason for the departmental cover-ups. Some police chiefs see corruption scandals as damaging to their departments and careers. In their opinion, corruption investigations are obstacles to police work and should be closed as soon as possible. On the other hand, corruption scandals and subsequent investigations often come about only after the press reports on the allegations and make them public knowledge. This administrator weakness discourages integrity among police officers. That supervisors tolerate corrupt acts and engage in ineffective

[175] Pogarsky and Piquero, "Studying the Reach of Deterrence," 371-386.
[176] McAlary, M., *Good Cop, Bad Cop: Detective Joe Trimboli's Heroic Pursuit of NYPD Officer Michael Dowd*. NY: Pocket Books, 1994, p.55.

internal investigations serves only to increase the corruption in police departments.[177] Corruption reflects the lack of institutional accountability and occurs when supervisors tolerate the police's corrupt acts. In some police organizations, when a police officer is involved in a corruption case, supervisors sometimes collude or turn a blind eye to it, make justifications for that behavior, and encourage the activity.[178]

According to Goldstein,[179] "a sloppy, lax, poorly equipped, badly supervised and weakly led unit or organization creates the critical conditions within which the social and psychological conditions are present for taking the first steps towards corruption." The lack of departmental field supervision is also a common factor that leads to corruption. As discussed earlier, officers have considerable authority and broad discretion that they often find themselves in isolated and unsupervised situations while on patrol. These environmental factors can encourage misconduct.[180] Unless police organizations penalize the corrupted officers, a culture of corruption that causes deception and greed in the departments cannot be stopped. Without clear signals that the behavior will not be tolerated at any level and will be punished, this deviant culture arises in the organization and encourages some police officers who have a spotless record to become involved in corruption.

A 1999 corruption case in the Ramparts division of the LAPD is a prime result of supervisory negligence. Officer Rafael Perez was accused of stealing a million dollars' worth of cocaine from police evidence storage. He then implicated 70 fellow corrupt officers who were planting illicit drugs and doing illegal searches in the same department.

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[177] Pogarsky and Piquero, "Studying the Reach of Deterrence," 371-386.
[178] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption."
[179] Goldstein, H., *Police Corruption: A Perspective on Its Nature and Control.* (Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 1975), p.47.
[180] Kappeler et. al., *Forces of Deviance*.

That case revealed that the division had an openly corrupt environment in which the poorly performing supervisors ignored the signs of corruption.[181] Another example of this is from the NYPD: Former officer Dowd and his 10 or 15 colleagues easily escaped from their patrol duty, met at secret locations and conducted obvious and highly corrupt acts many times without any supervisor noticing, according to the Mollen Commission Report.[182]

Punch [183] argues that poor officer performance, officer incompetence, weak supervision and lack of leadership lead to police misconduct and corruption in the departments. He gives the example of Dutroux, a convicted rapist released early from a prison in Belgium. After leaving prison, he abducted four young girls, used them for prostitution, and then killed them and another. According to Punch: [184]

> Institutional rivalries, lack of co-operation and communication, political interference with promotions and with investigations, poorly motivated leaders and a culture of incompetence at some levels, combined to form a context within which police and justice officials were inadequate to cope with Dutroux and were unable to prevent the deaths of four young girls.

If the Belgian police and justice departments had been more professional and well organized, five people would be alive today. Although some people further claim that Dutroux had a corrupt relationship with some police officers and highly-placed officials, at the very least, the non-performance and incompetence of the officials are related to deviance and corruption.[185]

The formal controls of police departments by internal investigation units, prosecutors, citizens, media, and scholarly studies are very important elements for

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[181] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption."
[182] Mollen, "Report of the Commission."
[183] Punch, "Police Corruption and Its Prevention,"
[184] Ibid, p. 311.
[185] Ibid, 301-324.

building and maintaining integrity and fighting corruption. Johnson [186] indicates that the control mechanisms of police in Japan are so infrequent and weak that police have nothing to fear as an institution. The newspapers or mainstream journalists do not write investigative reports about the police, scholars do not seriously study them, and citizens and taxpayers usually do not try to check on the police. Japanese law does not allow plea-bargaining and granting immunity, thus breaking through the blue wall of silence is made more difficult. Japanese prosecutors are not willing to pursue the cases of police wrongdoers because they largely depend on the police for case information. This means that the police control themselves and are responsible only to the head of the National Police Agency.[187] This autonomous structure of the Japanese police organization is a very clear example of a systemic lack of supervision and control stemming from cultural values.

Unknown Rules and Regulations

Organizational rules refer to whether departmental rules and regulations are properly communicated to the personnel and to what extent those rules are known by the personnel. It is the responsibility of police administrators and departments to create an environment and agency culture in which those rules are properly communicated to the personnel and are shown to be followed, that by no means are rule-breakers overlooked or any misbehavior tolerated. In the course of establishing an agency in which integrity prevails, apart from the prescription of the rules and regulations regarding misbehavior, expected ethical behaviors should also be communicated to the police.[188]

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[186] Johnson, D.T., "About the Law? Police Integrity in Japan." *Social Science Japan Journal*, 6(1), (2003). 19-37

[187] Johnson, "About the Law?", 19-37.

[188] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

In a study conducted among 988 citizens and 665 police officers in Ohio, more than three fourths of the police officers and almost one fifth of the citizens surveyed did report that they had seen police officers accepting free coffee or food in the previous year.[189] That so many officers witnessed such behavior is because most of them viewed free coffee or food as acceptable or 'approved deviance.' [190] The police peer groups may not identify some types of police behavior as corrupt, instead viewing them as normal or non-deviant within certain situational contexts.[191]

This pattern exists across cultures and countries. Beck and Lee [192] found similar results in their research in a Russian police institute. According to 62% of the participants, "speeding off duty and showing a badge to get off from punishment" is acceptable, 47% of the respondents indicated that "getting a spouse's driving license back without a fine (speeding offence) was appropriate, and 31% of the participants felt that "accepting a free computer after awarding a police tender" was morally acceptable behavior. All police officers should clearly understand that they can not accept anything other than their paychecks.[193] These studies reveal that police organizations around the world should pay more attention to various behaviors and clarify moral confusion. However, the definition of what constitutes moral behavior will vary depending on the countries and cultures.

Poor Selection

[189] Son and Rome, "The Prevalence and Visibility."
[190] Barker, "Peer Group Support for Police."
[191] Barker, T. and Roebuck, J.B. *An Empirical Typology of Police Corruption*, (Springfield, 1973).
[192] Beck, A. and Lee, R., "Attitudes To Corruption Amongst Russian."
[193] Ibid.

Delattre [194] also proposes that corruption is the result of poor selection practices that fail to screen out applicants who are unsuitable for the police organization. Some police organizations do not make sufficient background checks, nor do they administer fair examinations, or give in-depth psychological tests to recruits to determine whether they are eligible for police work.[195] Many societies can offer examples of police officers who have relationships with psychopaths or criminals. For example, in 2000, it was revealed that in Mexican police departments, many recruits had inappropriate connections with drug dealers or thieves.[196] Thus, there should be adequate and fair criteria and procedures employed while selecting new officers.

The Lack of Ethical Training

The lack of ethical training is another organizational deficiency in some police departments. Training may mitigate some wrongdoings of officers and provide protection against corruption by reminding them of integrity, the limits of their authority, the sense of self-control and the rule of law.[197] According to Finckenauer,[198] "ethics training for the police, both pre-service and in-service could be and often is an element of plans for addressing police lawlessness." These trainings should not be seen as a waste of time for the police who are assumed to already know the difference between wrong and right. Everybody should learn the rules through the training; departments must be held accountable for impeding wrongdoers. Building and keeping respect for the rule of law is a very important issue for all societies. Having and enforcing sanctions is one way to maintain that respect, but not the only one. All people should believe in the moral validity

[194] Delattre, *Character and Cops: Ethics in Policing*.
[195] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption."
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Finckenauer, "Laws, Rules, and Police Policy," p. 163.

of the rules, should participate as much as possible in making the rules, and should benefit from the fairness and legitimacy of the rules. While most people obey the rules, some violate them due to a perception of a lack of participation, fairness or belief in the rules.[199] Trautman[200] states that lack of ethical training is a recipe for corruption. In addition, Harrison[201] indicates that ethics training in law enforcement is paramount to get rid of corruption.

To illustrate the importance of ethical training: in Argentina, in the late 1990s, police officers were accused of being involved in terrorist groups, mafia organizations, drug trafficking and were responsible for one third of the killings in Buenos Aires. Human rights groups in Argentina claimed that this illegal involvement happened due to police training which was insufficient in emphasizing self control, modeling appropriate moral behaviors, or providing clear and exact definitions and limitations of police authority and the rules.[202] A similar example is the existence of Mexico's *"dirty cops"* who violate the rules instead of keeping them. Because of lenient Mexican police trainers and an inadequate police training system, integrity, human rights, and the rule of law are not clearly and consistently taught to new recruits. Some veteran officers supersede trainers and initiate new colleagues in illegality and rituals of corruption.[203]

Assignment Type

The Knapp Commission revealed that 'the area where an officer is assigned' is also an important factor that encourages or discourages the officers to commit corruption.

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[199] Finckenauer, "Laws, Rules, and Police Policy," p. 163.
[200] Trautman, N.E., "The Corruption Continuum: How Law Enforcement Organizations Become Corrupt." *Public Management*, 82(6), (2000): 16-20.
[201] Harrison, B. "Noble Cause Corruption and the Police Ethic." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, 68(8), (1999): 1-7.
[202] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption."
[203] Sullivan, K., "Mexican Police Put Bite into Crime." *Washington Post*, September 7, 2000, p. A.16.

Departments located in certain problematic areas in a city or neighborhood are more vulnerable to corruption than others in safer zones. The problem areas usually involve corruption-prone activities. For example, officers working in drug-infested areas encounter temptations of corruption each day. Other precincts are located in business districts where corruption centers on owners paying off officers.[204] Officers working different jobs have different opportunities to engage in corruption. For example, detectives who are working in organized crime and drug units have more opportunity to engage in corruption than officers working in the records department in the NYPD.[205]

Knapp Commission Report indicated traffic-related corruption in New York City as well. According to the report, several car companies made regular payments to the police officers who provided them copies of the stolen car lists every day. The companies contacted with the owners and offer them special rates for car purchase or rental by using the names and addresses of the cars' owners on those lists. Another kind of traffic-related corruption in NYPD revealed by Knapp Commission is retrieving seized autos, which were kept as evidence for the crimes, from auto storage yards by making payoffs to policemen.[206]

A group of faculty members from the Turkish National Police Academy conducted a research among the traffic police officers and citizens in Turkey about their perceptions of ethics and bribery.[207] They found that there was a general tolerance towards minor corruption cases among the lower and high ranking officers. According to

[204] Knapp, "Report of the Commission."
[205] Mollen, "Report of the Commission."
[206] Knapp, "Report of the Commission."
[207] Cerrah, I., Cevik, H., Goksu, T., & Balcioglu, E., "Ethical Conduct in Law Enforcement: A Study of Routine Corruption in Traffic services of Major Cities in Turkey." *Academic Research Report*, (Ankara: Turkish Ethics Council, 2009).

their report, traffic police departments are the public institutions that were reported to be one of the most affected by petty bribery in Turkey.[208]

The level of corruption and temptation depends on the unit in which a police officer works. While a patrol officer might be faced with the opportunity for a free meal, an officer at the Security Unit might have an opportunity to steal something very valuable. On the other hand, some of the studies which investigated differences in specialization of job assignment in police organizations couldn't find significant difference between how they operate their duties in specialized and non-specialized units.[209]

Actually, determining which department is more likely to be involved in corruption may change according to the police organization or country. As mentioned previously, any given culture's mores and organizational infrastructure shape the parameters of the corruption context. For example, in India, traffic departments are very attractive units for corrupt officers. The officers even offer money to the authorities to be transferred to those departments.[210]

Department Size

Departmental practices vary to some degree between small – and large- sized divisions and large sized divisions. The perception of police corruption may also change with division size. Some behaviors might not be considered corrupt acts and thus be tolerated in some larger divisions. Small divisions tend to have more transparency, tighter

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[208] Cerrah et al., "Ethical Conduct in Law Enforcement."
[209] Mastrofski, S.D., Worden, R.E., & Snipes, J.B., "Law Enforcement in a Time of Community Policing." *Criminology*, 33(4), (1995): 539-603; Novak, K., Hartman, J., Holsinger, A.J., & Turner, M.G., "The Effects of Aggressive Policing of Disorder on Serious Crime." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 22(2), (1999): 171-190.
[210] Verma, "Cultural Roots of Police Corruption," 264-279.

supervision and administrative practices. Conversely, because of their complexity, greater difficulties exist in administration and supervision of large police organizations, which leads to police corruption occurring more frequently in large departments than in smaller units.[211]

Klinger [212] indicates that organizational factors such as size of agency or the number of patrolling police officers in a neighborhood may affect the police officers' behavior. Riksheim and Chermak[213] analyzed five articles that examine whether there are any relations between the departmental size and police behavior. According to their analyze, four out of five study found either positive or negative impacts of departmental size on police behavior, whereas only one study found no relationship. For example, a few studies found that police officers who work in smaller agencies conduct more traffic stops than others.[214] On the other hand, a research that was conducted 1970's showed that police officers who work in larger agencies were more likely to arrest and use of force than police officers in smaller agencies.[215] The findings of these studies shows that size of agencies may affect police officers behavior either positive or negative but, it is not conclusive and the impact of agency size on the officers' behavior is not consistent.

Rank, Position, and Experience in Policing

Chiefs of police are leaders entrusted to control and improve the mechanisms designed to combat corruption and misconduct in police departments.[216] But, this very administrative power and management authority sometimes leads police chiefs to misuse

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[211] Sener, N., *Tepeden Tirnaga Yolsuzluk*. (Metis Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2001).
[212] Klinger, D.A., "Environment and Organization: Reviving a Perspective on the Police." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 593, (2004): 119-136.
[213] Riksheim E.C., and Chermak, S.M., "Causes of Police Behavior Revisited." *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 21, (1993): 353-382.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Klinger, "Environment and Organization," 119-136.
[216] Barker and Carter, *Police Deviance.*

and cooperate with corruption cases; their power and authority may create more opportunities for corruption compared to low level ranked police officers. For example, they may assign their own trusted officers to a post that has more opportunity for corruption and then take a share of the 'benefits'. Or, they may personally benefit while using the departmental budget by providing favor to some companies. In some countries, they may have extra opportunities to indulge in corruption by virtue of being the police chief. Verma [217] illustrates with an example from India:

> In several places it is not uncommon to find a large number of police personnel engaged at the farms and personal establishments of the senior officers. In Bihar, a director general had almost 100 police personnel tending his large garden and orchards!

Research indicates that officer rank influences the amount of a bribe. The Knapp Commission [218] found that the higher the rank, the greater the payoff. A patrol officer might get a $5 pay off, a sergeant might get $10 and a lieutenant would get more. Rank also affects the direction and control of corrupt activity and the opportunity to determine payment figures. It has been found that more experienced officers commit higher numbers of corrupt acts.[219]

Several studies indicate that there are significant differences between the perceptions of line officers and ranking officers regarding the seriousness of corruption. For example, in Australia, among the officers who have various lengths of experience and rank in police departments, research [220] shows that both the rank and experience matter in officer evaluation of the level of seriousness of corrupt behavior. According to the study, newcomers expressed the highest evaluations of seriousness, followed by the

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[217] Verma, "Cultural Roots of Police Corruption," p. 274.
[218] Knapp, "Report of the Commission."
[219] Ibid.
[220] Huon, G.F., Hesketh, B.L., Frank, M.G., McConkey, K.M., McGrath, G.M., *Perceptions of Ethical Dilemmas*, (National Police Research Unit, Payneham, 1995).

constables, senior constables, and sergeants. Line officers made the most tolerant evaluations about the seriousness of corruption among all the officers.

Huon et al.[221] also found that rank has more weight for the evaluation in comparison to the length of experience in service. Researches by the Australian Criminal Justice Commission [222] and McConkey et al.[223] parallel the findings of Huon et al. These two studies revealed that when given an example of a corrupt case, the recruits ranked it most severely, followed by supervisors or commissioned officers, while the line officers showed the lowest evaluations of seriousness. Ivkovic[224] examined police officers' evaluations of seriousness of misconduct across the US, Croatia and Finland. She found that rank has significant impact on officers' perception of seriousness in all three countries. The supervisors from Croatia, Finland and the US have the common understanding of corruption seriousness and they approach to the misconduct cases more seriously than line officers.[225]

Riksheim and Chermak[226] analyzed about a hundred thirty-five articles that examine the arrest, use of force, detection and service behavior of police officers. Approximately twenty-five out of a hundred thirty-five articles investigated whether there were any relations between the length of service and police behavior. Their analyze showed that fifteen out of twenty-five studies couldn't find any impacts of length of service on police behavior, whereas ten studies found either positive or negative

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[221] Huon et al., *Perceptions of Ethical Dilemmas*.
[222] Criminal Justice Commission, Ethical Conduct and Discipline in the Queensland Police Service: The Views of Recruits, First Year Constables, and Experienced Officers, Brisbane, (1995).
[223] McConkey et al., Practical Ethics in the Police Service.
[224] Ivkovic, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Corruption."
[225] Ibid.
[226] Riksheim and Chermak, "Causes of Police Behavior Revisited," 353-382.

relationship. Catlin and Maupin's[227] research indicates that new recruits are more likely to be idealistic in their ethical orientation than the officers with at least one year or more experience in service.

Hickman[228] indicates that when officers enter the force they have low levels of cynicism and it increases during the first ten years in service. According to him, there is no significant relationship between years of service and cynicism. Trautman's[229] research shows that average age of officers who commit ethics violation is 32 years old with five to ten years of experience. Cao et al.'s[230] study which tested Ludman's theory of organizational deviance using citizen complaints against police officers indicates that the longer a police officer served, the lower the citizen complaint rate. McElvain and Kposowa's[231] study showed that police officers, who had five to nine years of experience in the police forces, were twelve times more likely to be investigated for abuse of force than the police officers who had twenty years or more experience in the force.

A Final Word on the Organizational Approach

At the organizational level, Williams [232] makes some suggestions regarding the prevention of police corruption. He states that "appropriate monitoring procedures must be established to ensure that police serve the public in accordance with the law, rather than becoming a law unto themselves." [233] There should be a strong code of ethics in the

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[227] Catlin, D.W. and Maupin, J.R., "A Two Cohort Study of the Ethical Orientations of State Police Officers." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 27(3), (2004): 289-301.
[228] Hickman, M.J., Piquero, N.L., & Piquero, A.R., "The Validity of Niederhoffer's Cynicism Scale." *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 32(1), (2004):1-13.
[229] Trautman, N.E., *The National Law Enforcement Officer Disciplanary Research Project*. National Institute of Ethics, (1997).
[230] Cao L., Huang, B., Determinants of Citizen Complaints Against Police Abuse of Power. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 28, (2000): 203-213.
[231] McElvain and Kposowa, "Police Officer Characteristics."
[232] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption."
[233] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption." p.97.

police departments and its importance should be strengthened and reinforced by in-service and on-the-job training. Rules and regulations, such as the code of ethics and the police code of conduct that police officers must follow and comply with are typically prescribed by the central headquarters and communicated to the police departments. In addition, discipline procedures to detect and suppress corruption cases should be effected at the earliest stages and continue throughout the process. Although preventative measures against corruption may not always be 100% effective, they serve to restore the public trust in police and justice.[234]

In addition to pre-service, in-service, and on-the-job training, police departments should implement the strategies of "mismatch and conflict," "participation," and "legal continuity." Mismatch and conflict strategy reshape the current mindset of police officers and supervisors by avoiding the violations of the rules. This strategy, in other words use of role modeling, may also work for the officers who have problems abiding by the rules. If a role model police officer is assigned as a partner of a problematic officer, it may help that officer to respect the rules.[235] Community policing creates the "participation" opportunity for the police officers who work the streets to develop their own local cultural rules governing police discretion. According to Finckenauer: [236]

> Expanding the traditional notion of training, innovative in-service training using such methods as role playing could be used to increase awareness of the continuity among individual values, departmental rules, the criminal law, and constitutional principles. In this way, an individual officer's personal sense of justice and fairness could be capitalized on to link it to be significance of the rule of law.

[234] Ibid. p.85-99.
[235] Finckenauer, "Laws, Rules, and Police Policy," p. 161–166.
[236] Ibid, p. 165.

Even when the best training and supervision is provided, all acts of police corruption may not be detected. However, maintaining a policy of randomly rotating officers through different locations might be effective to fracture corruption opportunities. Such a policy breaks the ties between corrupt police officers and criminals, especially for acts of organized corruption. However, the rotation may create obstacles for the police to get to know their neighborhood and to build a sense of community for good cooperation.

As for the deterrence effect of punishment on police corruption, similar to Rose-Ackerman's [237] and Klitgaard's [238] research Pogarsky and Piquero [239] examined the perceptual influence of deterrence theory on police officers' decisions to engage in police deviant behavior. They found that both disciplinary and criminal sanctions as well as informal sanctions such as shame and embarrassment had a deterrent effect that reduced the probability of a police officer's choosing deviant behavior. They concluded that these perceptions can be increased by improving the probability of being caught and by making both criminal and disciplinary penalties more severe. However, caution should perhaps be taken in increasing punitive measures: according to the research of Bowles and Garoupa,[240] higher fines imposed on convicted criminals and corrupt police officers served only to increase the proportion of corrupt officers. Their research showed that an increase in the fine had a negative impact on reducing corruption; thus, the optimal fine may not be the maximal fine for effectiveness.

Societal Level Explanations

[237] Rose-Ackerman, S., *Corruption: A Study in Political Economy*. (New York, Academic Press, 1978).
[238] Klitgaard, R., *Controlling Corruption*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988).
[239] Pogarsky and Piquero, "Studying the Reach of Deterrence," 371-386.
[240] Bowles and Garoupa, "Casual Police Corruption and the Economics of Crime."

According to the societal level approach, police corruption is the result of certain widespread actions of society and it happens to some extent beyond the control of the police. At this level, O. W. Wilson [241] explains police corruption as: "the same kind of special consideration that citizens were buying for small amounts, could, by the same logic, be purchased by criminals and crime syndicates for larger amounts." In addition, he states that the societal structure is at fault for police corruption.

The societal approach to corruption involves external pressures such as family, neighbor, politicians, etc. Pollock [242] argues that police departments usually reflect the general characteristics of the communities especially in homogeneous societies. When a citizen gives a gratuity to a police officer, either as a matter of hospitality or for a small favor, that citizen contributes to the corruption problem by opening a door for that police officer. Then, this behavior leads the officer to accept larger amounts of money or personal gain for bigger favors.[243]

Cross-national studies as well as national studies involving different countries with their respective cultural, legal, societal, and political backgrounds' characteristics play a significant role in the perception of seriousness or reporting behavior of corrupt behavior. Comparative study results [244] also indicate the difference between police organizations' (as well their societies') perception of petty corruption. Ekenvall's [245] study points out that in societies where people were sensitive about alcohol related misconduct, police officers were also strict in their grading about the seriousness of case

[241] As cited by Delattre, *Character and Cops: Ethics in Policing*, p.79.
[242] Pollock, "Ethics in Law Enforcement."
[243] Delattre, *Character and Cops: Ethics in Policing*.
[244] Ekenvall, "Police Attitudes."
[245] Ibid.

scenarios with respect to comparing other countries that are studied (e.g. Croatia and the US).

In parallel, Beck and Lee,[246] in their study involving Russian police cadets' and graduates' attitudes toward corrupt behavior, focused on aspects such as moral acceptability of the act or process, underlying motivational aspects, and justifications for getting involved or not into corruption. Their findings emphasize how police trainees perceived the linkages between economic, cultural and organizational factors that facilitate the perpetration of corrupt behavior. The findings yield evidence that a considerable number of study participants perceived corruption as justifiable or morally acceptable in specific circumstances or in order to attain specific goals. The research was particularly important in terms of deciphering factors such as economical factors, organizational or external pressures, and close family friendship ties that facilitate turning a blind eye on corrupt activities despite the existence of institutional or individual level norms prescribing such behavior.[247]

Accordingly, the reluctance in terms of reacting to such corrupt transactions by the relevant portion of the society may encourage police officers not to enforce specific regulations and take advantage of the current implementations. When members of society agree to adopt wrongdoings for themselves, it becomes a real challenge for the police officers to ensure equal implementation of law to the population. More specifically, police units dealing with sensitive issues such as vice, drugs, and games may become involved in a variety of opportunities that have the propensity of procuring benefits for individual or group level stake holders. This may not be solely because of the inherent

[246] Beck, A. and Lee, R., "Attitudes To Corruption Amongst Russian."
[247] Ibid.

tempting nature of these types of ambiances or actions but because of the lack of enforcing of related laws and regulations by the entire criminal justice system; or the tolerance of society toward those who transgress these rules. As a result the police tend to rationalize their involvement in corrupt interactions claiming such cases as victimless crimes.

Another belief within the societal level explanations is that police officers become corrupt because other sectors of the system are corrupt. For example, when police officers see judges taking bribes to thwart justice, they might assume that if a judge can do profit from such behavior, so can they.[248]

In addition to the individual, organizational, and societal level, corruption instances in police organizations, even the minor ones, may have multiple causes and merit a multidimensional approach. Punch [249] draws attention to the mostly intertwined nature of the problem and proposes that behavior is learned in small groups within the context of police culture, work and organization, and is shaped by perceptions of society. Accordingly, police officers have to be initiated into these practices, rationalizations have to be produced to accept them, supervisors have to collude or turn a blind eye, justifications have to be sought to continue them, and organizations have either in some way to condone or encourage these activities-or else fail to tackle them.[250]

Time has shown that none of these explanations of police corruption are totally independent from the others. As Delattre [251] pointed out "the most effective means for dealing with corruption is to not be blind to the potential merits and pitfalls that each

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[248] Delattre, *Character and Cops: Ethics in Policing*.
[249] Punch, M., *The Social Construction of Police Deviance*.
[250] Williams, "Core Factors of Police Corruption."
[251] Delattre, *Character and Cops: Ethics in Policing*, p.88.

theory gives. The answer to corruption, likely, lies in a combination of these theories." Thus, it is important to look at potential factors relevant to multiple levels that include the greater, surrounding organizational context and considering individual and societal characteristics, as a whole.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

It is very difficult to determine the nature and extent of corruption in a quantitative and empirical manner. The exploration and measure of corruption is a specific methodological challenge particularly in law enforcement agencies due to the nature of occupational culture and difficulties in reaching public officials. However, researchers use various techniques to deal with this problem.

Some researchers use official data for corruption studies, but many corruption cases are not reported or recorded. For example, as mentioned in the literature, victimless crimes are one of the great opportunities for police officers to engage in corruption easily. These include abortion, prostitution, drug use, gambling, and illegal alcohol consumption. These crimes could be called 'crimes without a complainant' and usually nobody tends to complain about these offenses to the authorities. Although some officers personally benefit from such kinds of offenses by taking money, experiencing sexual benefits or acquiring drugs for themselves, these kinds of "crimes" often cannot be revealed or reported.[252] Therefore, the official data may not reflect the actual nature of corruption.

The qualitative research method through observations (disguised or participant) or/and interviews is another way of data collecting for corruption studies but it may not always be the most acceptable way from the ethical point of view. Individuals tend to be reluctant to allow the observation of their own behaviors due to the sensitive nature of the

[252] Tiffen, "Tip of the Iceberg or Moral Panic?"

topic.[253] Besides, they would not involve themselves in corrupt behaviors since they know that they are being observed. The face-to-face interview presents difficulties as well because individuals might be reluctant to reveal their opinions about a sensitive issue like corruption. Police officers may hesitate to talk honestly because they may not trust assurances of confidentiality and do not want to take the risk of being labeled *"rat"* by colleagues. Some of them may also want to keep their own corruption practices secret or do not let outsiders know the extent of the practices they engage in.[254]

Cross-sectional research design is the proper way to describe or explore a "phenomenon by taking a cross-section of it at one time and analyzing that cross-section carefully." [255] If the purpose of a study is to collect data of many variables from a large population that is located in large geographical areas, cross-sectional design is the preferred data collection method of researchers due to its quick and relatively economic nature depending on the survey design.[256]

The cross-sectional designed surveys that are applied to selected groups are widely used and accepted as a functional research method for the study of ethics in general,[257] and in police ethics specifically.[258] However, this method still has some limitations and weaknesses when it comes to determining the actual extent of corruption within a particular environment.[259] The use of surveys has several distinct strengths along

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[253] Trevino, L. K., Ethical Decision Making in Organizations: A Person-Situation Interactionist Model. *Academy of Management Review, 11*(3), (1986): 601-617.
[254] Johnson, "About the Law?", 19-37.
[255] Babbie, E. R., & Maxfield, M. G., *Research Methods for Criminal Justice and Criminology.* (4th ed.). (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Thomson Learning Inc, 2005), p. 96.
[256] Bachman, R., & Schutt, R. K.., *The Practice of Research in Criminology and Criminal Justice*. (3rd ed.). (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 2007).
[257] Butterfield, K. D., Trevino L. K., & Weaver, G. R., Moral Awareness in Business Organizations: Influences of Issue-Related and Social Context Factors. *Human Relations, 53*(7), (2000), 981–1018.
[258] Ivkovic, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Corruption."
[259] Ivkovic, "Measuring Police Corruption."

with some possible weaknesses that can be minimized if not completely eliminated. Although the respondents may give untrue answers, the use of surveys still provides very valuable data that are not reachable for official statistics or qualitative methods, such as attitudes, opinions, perceptions and views for certain phenomena. The researchers who select the survey method mostly use scales that enable data for quantitative statistical analyses. Therefore, a survey questionnaire along with hypothetical scenarios seems to be one of the most appropriate data collection techniques for this type of study.

In the literature of ethics, many researchers often use a survey questionnaire along with hypothetical scenarios which describe various misconduct situations as a data collection method.[260] Considering the advantages and disadvantages of other research designs, in this study, a cross-sectional survey research design including a survey questionnaire along with hypothetical scenarios, which are well-suited to the study of police corruption, was used to collect data from the TNP.

In this study, the American and Turkish police officers' perceptions and tolerance for corruption were compared by using primary and secondary data. The data of Klockars, et al.[261] was used as secondary data for the perceptions of American police. The dataset of Klockars, et al's study, "Police Corruption in Thirty Agencies in the United States" is publicly available and downloadable from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) database. The same questionnaire

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[260] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*; Kohlberg, L., "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive Development Approach to Socialization" in D. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research* (Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1969), p. 347-480; Randall, D. M., & Fernandes, M.F., "The Social Desirability Response Bias in Ethics Research." *Journal of Business Ethics, 10,* (1991): 805-817; Rest, J. R., *Moral Development: Advances in Research and Theory*. (New York: Praeger, 1986); Butterfield et al., "Moral Awareness in Business Organizations"; Chappell, A. T.& Piquero, A. R., "Applying Social Learning Theory to Police Misconduct." *Deviant Behavior,* 25, (2004): 89-108; Piquero, A., & Hickman, M., "An Empirical Test of Tittle's Control Balance Theory." *Criminology, 37,* (1999): 319-341.

[261] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

employed in Klockars, et al's study excluding three scenarios was administered to the Turkish police officers. Thus, the data for the Turkish police officers were collected from partially replicating the research of Klockars, et al.[262]

The abovementioned data were used to compare the American Police with the Turkish Police in their perceptions of police corruption. The study of Klockars, et al. has eleven hypothetical case scenarios and seven core questions for each scenario to assess police integrity and misconduct in thirty agencies in the US. Many researchers have employed, adapted and modified these scenarios and questionnaires both nationally and internationally in countries including Austria (Edelbacher and Ivkovich), Croatia (Ivkovich and Klockars), Britain (Westmarland), Hungary (Kramer), Japan (Johnson), Finland (Puonti, Vuorinen, and Ivkovich), Netherlands (Punch, Huberts, and Lamboo), Pakistan (Chattha and Ivkovich), Poland (Haberfeld), Slovenia (Pagon and Lobnikar), Sweden (Torstensson-Levander and Ekenvall), and the US (Klockars, Ivkovich, and Haberfeld). (See Table 2 for the countries and sample sizes)

This work aims to provide a common level of knowledge and understanding of police corruption. It is not an aim of this report to provide an assessment of the current extent or nature of police corruption in Turkey or the US.

[262] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

Table 2 Country Names and Sample Sizes of the Previous Similar Studies

COUNTRIES	SAMPLE SIZES
Austria	1,853
Canada	455
Croatia	1,649
Finland	378
Hungary	610
Japan	182
The Netherlands	795
Pakistan	499
Poland	1,477
Slovenia	767
South Africa	107
Sweden	1,590
UK	275
US	3,235
TOTAL	**13,872**

Research Questions

1. How seriously do the police officers in the US and Turkey approach police corruption cases?

2. How do the police officers in the US and Turkey evaluate appropriate discipline for the police corruption cases?

3. How willing are the police officers in the US and Turkey to report police corruption cases?

4. Are there any relations among the seriousness perception, appropriate discipline and willingness to report of the Turkish and American police officers?

5. What are the differences/correlations between the TNP and US police officers' perceptions of seriousness in police corruption cases?

6. What factors influence the seriousness perceptions of police corruption among the Turkish and American police officers?

Study Variables

Officers' perception of offense seriousness is the dependent variable of this study. Appropriate and expected discipline and willingness to report were examined to control the answers to the offense seriousness. They were measured by eight indicators, which are hypothetical case scenarios excerpted from the Klockars, et al.[263] scenarios. These include a range of misconduct behaviors from minor rule breakings (which would not indicate an actual financial motive in the officers) to cases of bribery.[264]

As discussed in the literature review, differences in individual characteristics might be influential on police officers' approaches to corruption incidents. Personal and occupational characteristics of police officers that have been revealed to be correlates of police corruption and police organizational culture in the existing literature were used as independent variables. This study includes twelve independent variables which are age, gender, marital status, employment status of spouse, educational level, year of service, rank, current and prior assignment, income level, satisfaction of income and training on ethics. The study also observed to what extent these personal and demographic variables influenced the officers' perceptions about corruption. (See table 3 for the study variables)

[263] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.
[264] Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*.

Table 3 Operationalization of Variables

Variable	Measurement Level	Options	Operational Measurement
Dependent Variable			
Officers' perception of offense seriousness	Ordinal	1=Not at all serious 2=Not too serious 3=Not sure or clear 4=Serious 5=Very serious	Eight hypothetical case scenarios describing a range of corrupt police behavior. **Question 1.** How serious do you consider this behavior to be? **Question 2.** How serious do most police officers consider this behavior to be?
Control Variables			
Appropriate and expected discipline	Ordinal	1=None 2=Verbal Reprimand 3=Written Reprimand 4=Period of suspension without pay 5=Demotion in rank 6=Dismissal	Eight hypothetical case scenarios describing a range of corrupt police behavior. **Question 4.** If an officer in your department had engaged in this behavior what, if any, discipline do you think WOULD follow if the citizen in this case had filed a complaint against this officer? **Question 5.** If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow?
Willingness to report	Ordinal	1=Definitely Not 2=Not Likely 3=Not sure or clear 4=Likely 5=Definitely Yes	Eight hypothetical case scenarios describing a range of corrupt police behavior. **Question 6.** Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? **Question 7.** Do you think most police officers in your agency would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?
Independent Variables			
Age	Ratio	Number of Years	What is your age?
Gender	Nominal	1=Male 2=Female	What is your gender?
Marital Status	Nominal	1=Single 2=Married 3=Divorced 4=Widow	What is your marital status?
Employment Status of Spouse	Nominal	1=Yes 2=No	If you are married, does your spouse work?
Educational Level	Ordinal	1=Less than High School 2=High School 3=Two-year college 4=Bachelor of arts/science 5=Master of arts/science 6=Doctoral Degree	What is the highest degree you completed?

Year of Service	Ratio	Number of Years	How long have you been in the TNP as a sworn police officer?
Rank	Ordinal	1=Police Officer 2=Sergeant 3=Lieutenant 4=Captain 5=Superintendent 6=Assistant division director 7=Division director 8=Deputy chief 9=Chief of police	What is your current rank?
Assignment	Nominal	1=Crime control/prevention 2=Organized crime/Narcotics 3=Anti-terror/Intelligence 4=Special Assignment 5=Office work 6=Riot police 7=Training Units 8=Traffic 9=Police Station 10=Others	What is your current assignment?
Prior Assignment	Nominal	1=Crime control/prevention 2=Organized crime/Narcotics 3=Anti-terror/Intelligence 4=Special Assignment 5=Office work 6=Riot police 7=Training Units 8=Traffic 9=Police Station 10=Others	What was your previous assignment?
Income Level	Ratio	The amount of money	What is your average monthly household income? (Please include salaries and incomes of all household members)
Satisfaction of Income	Ordinal	1=Not at all satisfied 2=Not satisfied 3=Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 4=Satisfied 5=Completely satisfied	To what degree are you satisfied with your income?
Training on Ethics	Nominal	1=Yes 2=No	Since becoming a sworn officer, have you ever taken any training courses on police ethics?

Research Instruments

The ability to measure the integrity of police has been an attractive topic for researchers and police administrators. Performing quantitative cross-cultural and national comparative studies on police perceptions of corruption is in fact very difficult. However,

the survey instrument that was developed by Klockars, et al.[265] has enabled doing such comparisons. The scenarios were created as culturally neutral as possible to make the questionnaire suitable for cross-cultural applications. The scenarios of the survey are easily recognizable, fairly universal and look like real temptations that officers might be faced with in the daily work. In fact, as mentioned before, the questionnaire was successfully applied in fourteen other countries that are Austria, Canada, Croatia, United Kingdom, United States, Finland, Hungary, Japan, Netherlands, Pakistan, Poland, Slovenia, South Africa and Sweden.[266]

The case scenarios of this study are consistent with the police corruption definition of Barker & Roebuck [267] which is "any proscribed act that involves the misuse of the officer's official position for current or potential material reward or gain." According to this definition, the hypothetical scenarios of this study contain three main elements: (1) being forbidden by some norm, regulation or law; (2) involving the misuse of the officer's official position; and (3) involving a material gain regardless of its value.[268] However, the scenarios involve examples related to petty corruption, specifically, gift giving and bribery.

The questionnaire of this study includes two sections. In the first section, an attempt to measure the perceptions of the officers about corruption was made by using the hypothetical scenarios developed by Klockars, et al.[269] In their research; Klockars, et al. collected 3,235 individual responses from thirty different agencies in the US. The questionnaire of the study has eleven hypothetical scenarios of police misconduct cases

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[265] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.
[266] Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*.
[267] Barker and Roebuck, "A typology of Police Corruption."
[268] Barker, "Peer Group Support for Police."
[269] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

such as free meals, off-duty private business, bribes for speeding, free gifts, stealing, drinking on duty, and use of excessive force. Nine out of the eleven scenarios regard corrupt behavior, one regards intentional use of excessive force, and one regards behavior involving the conducting of an off-duty, security business.[270] Barker and Roebuck's typology of police corruption [271] has been employed for the scenarios. These scenarios reflect and accurately present realistic cases of police work and details of situations that are common to the police, which enabled successful implementation of the instrument in fourteen different countries.

It was assumed that the police officer in the scenarios has been in service for five years and has no bad discipline records. Eight of the eleven hypothetical scenarios were used as the main instrument of data collection in the TNP. The three scenarios were excluded, because they were not meaningful due to their inapplicable nature in the TNP context. One of the excluded scenarios was about a police officer's own private business in which he sells and installs security devices. The second scenario excluded from the study was about an officer who has a second job. The third scenario excluded from the study was about use of excessive force on a car thief. The first two scenarios were excluded because police officers are not allowed to work on a second job within the TNP. The third scenario was excluded because use of force is not considered a corruption issue; rather, it is evaluated as a case of violation of human rights in the TNP. Except for excluding these three items, the remaining eight scenarios fit perfectly into the context of policing in Turkey. (See Table 4 for the scenarios)

[270] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.
[271] Barker and Roebuck, "A typology of Police Corruption."

Table 4 Case Scenarios

Scenario 1: Free meals, discounts on beat
A police officer routinely accepts free meals, cigarettes, and other items of small value from merchants on his beat. He does not solicit these gifts and is careful not to abuse the generosity of those who give gifts to him.
Scenario 2: Bribe from speeding motorist
A police officer stops a motorist for speeding. The officer agrees to accept a personal gift of half of the amount of the fine in exchange for not issuing a citation.
Scenario 3: Holiday gifts from merchants
A police officer is widely liked in the community, and on holidays local merchants and restaurant and bar owners show their appreciation for his attention by giving him gifts of food and liquor.
Scenario 4: Crime scene theft of watch
A police officer discovers a burglary of a jewelry shop. The display cases are smashed and it is obvious that many items have been taken. While searching the shop, he takes a watch, worth about two days pay for that officer. He reports that the watch had been stolen during the burglary.
Scenario 5: Auto repair shop 5 percent kickback
A police officer has a private arrangement with a local auto body shop to refer the owners of the cars damaged in the accidents to the shop. In exchange for each referral, he receives a payment of 5% of the repair bill from the shop owner.
Scenario 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident
At 2 A.M. a police officer, who is on duty, is driving his patrol car on a deserted road. He sees a vehicle that has been driven off the road and is stuck in a ditch. He approaches the vehicle and observes that the driver is not hurt but is obviously intoxicated. He also finds that the driver is a police officer. Instead of reporting this accident and offense, he transports the driver to his home.
Scenario 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close
A police officer finds a bar on his beat which is still serving drinks a half hour past its legal closing time. Instead of reporting this violation, the police officer agrees to accept a couple of free drinks from the owner.
Scenario 8: Theft from found wallet
A police officer finds a wallet in a parking lot. It contains the amount of money equivalent to a full day's pay for that officer. He reports the wallet as lost property, but keeps the money for himself.

For each scenario the officers were asked to evaluate how serious each misconduct case was, what would be the likely sanction for this misconduct and what should be the proper discipline, whether officers support the discipline of the agency for

the misconduct and whether they were willing to report it. The participants were asked to respond anonymously to seven core questions about each hypothetical scenario. The response categories were designed as various Likert type scales for this research. The case scenario assessment scales are presented in the tables below.

The first and second questions were asked to measure the participants' own and other officers' perceptions of the seriousness of each case. (Table 5)

Table 5 The First and Second Questions for the Scenarios

1. How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
2. How serious do MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5

The third question was asked to determine whether the described behavior in the scenario is a violation of official policy in their agency. (Table 6)

Table 6 The Third Question for the Scenarios

3. Would this behavior be regarded as a violation of official policy in your agency? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5

Table 7 The Fourth and Fifth Questions for the Scenarios

4. If an officer in your department had engaged in this behavior what, if any, discipline do you think WOULD follow if the citizen in this case had filed a complaint against this officer? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Demotion in rank 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
5. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow. 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Demotion in rank 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal

The fourth and fifth questions were asked to measure the severity of discipline one should and would receive for each misconduct behavior in the scenarios. (Table 7)

The sixth and seventh questions were asked to measure their own and other officers' willingness to report the misconducts described in the case scenarios. (Table 8)

Table 8 The Sixth and Seventh Questions for the Scenarios

6. Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?				
Definitely not				Definitely yes
1	2	3	4	5
7. Do you think MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?				
Definitely not				Definitely yes
1	2	3	4	5

As Babbie and Maxfield[272] suggest, questions about the socio-demographic characteristics of police officers were placed at the last section of self-administered questionnaire. The items in this section include age, gender, marital status, employment status of spouse, educational level, year of service, rank, current and prior assignment, income level, satisfaction of income and training on ethics and two validity questions.

The age of the respondents and their years in service in the TNP were collected in the survey. Gender was categorized as male (coded as 1) and female (coded as 0). The rank of the TNP employees was divided into nine categories which cover all the ranks in the TNP. Information on the total household income of the participants was collected to find out their economic status. The instrument precisely asked to reveal the average monthly household income of officers rather than their monthly salaries. Since the average monthly household income includes all income sources of the family (spouse's income, interests, stocks and incomes from other sources), it is a better indicator of the

[272] Babbie and Maxfield, *Research Methods in Criminology*.

economic status of an officer and have better correlation with officer's perceptions about police corruption than solely the monthly salary of the officer. Besides, a question about satisfaction of income was asked to find out to what extent officers are satisfied or not with their income.

The variable of "the unit assignment of officers" has ten categories: Crime prevention (crime control, crime scene investigation), organized crime/ narcotics, anti-terror/intelligence, special assignments (human trafficking, special operations, security, and protection units), office work (logistic, communication, information technologies, investigation laboratories, administrative etc.), riot police, training units, traffic, police stations and others. Finally, the education level of officers is categorized as less than high school, high school, two-year college, bachelor of arts/science, master of arts/science, and doctoral degree. In addition, at the end of the questionnaire, two more questions were asked to the participants in order to evaluate the validity of responses.

Study Site

One of the goals of this study is to identify attitudinal differences on police corruption, if there are any, between police officers in Turkey and the United States. As mentioned before, the data on police attitudes toward police corruption in the United States came from Klockars, et al.'s study[273] and are publicly available on the ICPSR's web site.

The data from Klockars, et al.'s study were collected from a convenience sample, through a survey of 3,235 officers who work in thirty different police agencies from eleven different states , which are not named due to the promises of anonymity, across the United States. These police agencies included in the study were chosen among the

[273] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

agencies where the investigators had established contacts. These are mainly municipal police agencies and mostly from the Northeast, although the data contain one or more sheriff's agencies, county police agencies and agencies from the South, the Southeast, and the Southwest. The nature and characteristics of the sample of the Klockars, et al. study are described in table 9.

Table 9 Characteristics of the U.S. Police Agencies Sample*

Agency Size (number of sworn officers)	Percentage of National Sample	Sample Size	Supervisory Percentage	Percentage Patrol/ Traffic	Mean Length of Service (in years)
Very Large (500+)	59.9	1,937	14.8	64.2	9.18
Large (201–500)	19.7	638	23.2	60.3	12.05
Medium (76–200)	9.0	292	29.9	59.0	12.29
Small (25–75)	8.5	275	30.8	66.1	11.70
Very Small (<25)	2.9	93	35.9	64.8	11.29
Total/Average	100.0	3,235	19.8	63.1	10.30

* Source: Klockars, et al.[274]

The data on police attitudes toward police corruption in Turkey were collected through a survey of sworn officers in the TNP. The target population of this survey was the sworn police officers actively working in various departments of the TNP across Turkey. The TNP is the national police organization serving the urban population in eighty-one provinces of Turkey. The organization is directed by a General Director under the Ministry of the Interior in Ankara. The TNP has a highly centralized structure and all the members are recruited, trained, and appointed to eighty-one provinces of the country. The officers are rotated among the departments in certain periods. Chiefs of police in the provinces are responsible to the General Directorate of Security in the headquarters in

[274] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*, p.7.

Ankara and the governor of their respective province, who is a representative of the central government. Currently, there are about 198,000 sworn officers working for the TNP in Turkey. Population wise, the TNP is responsible for the security of about sixty-five percent of the population of Turkey.[275]

Data Collection

In order to reach a sufficient number of officers from various departments and units of the National Police across the country and to obtain participation representative of the population as much as possible, the researcher conducted a self-administered mail-in survey. The survey responses were filled out through computer assistance on the Internet. The computer-assisted self interviewing method increased confidentiality of the survey and the willingness of the subjects to participate in the study.

The survey was translated into Turkish to collect data from the TNP. In order to provide a flawless Turkish translation, the survey was reviewed by Captain Oguzhan Omer Demir (PhD) and Superintendent Mehmet Dayioglu (PhD) of the TNP. The survey instrument was pretested on a convenience sample of Turkish police officers and finalized based on the feedback from the reviewers and the pre-test participants.

The questionnaire was uploaded to the www.questionpro.com website in order to make it accessible via the Internet. The respondents were guaranteed anonymity; the consent form and all necessary information about the study were provided at the beginning page of website. After publication of the questionnaire on the Internet, an e-mail message inviting officers to participate in the survey with the URL link of the web-based questionnaire was sent to the selected TNP officers' e-mail addresses. Brief

[275] Dayioglu, M., *Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Use Of Force in the Turkish National Police.* Doctoral Dissertation. CUNY John Jay Criminal Justice College, (2007).

information about the study and its purposes were provided in these emails. If the participants choose to participate in the study, a link to the study website was offered and the participants were asked to follow the link and complete the survey. The majority of the participants could be reached via e-mail because most of the members of the TNP use email in their correspondence in the organization. However, some officers were not able to check their e-mails regularly or respond promptly. The website of the survey remained open for two months from the date of email solicitations and all the information stored in a hard disk for the various analyses. In order to maximize the response rate, two follow-up emails to non-respondents were sent at two-week intervals after their receipt of the survey.

The e-mail addresses of the participants were obtained in several ways. First, the researcher contacted the moderators of Police Academy Alumni Associations and acquired the e-mail addresses of group members. These alumni associations are established on a class basis and are restricted to the members of a respective class. The members work for TNP in the various cities and departments. Since the researcher is one of the alumni of the Police Academy and a member of one of those alumni associations, no difficulties in gaining access to those lists happened. The researcher got permission to access the e-mail lists of the classes of 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006 and 2009 (These years were picked randomly among the years from 1990 to 2009). The membership rates for these groups vary between 50% and 70%. The total number of officers in these five email groups was 1,457.

Second, the members of the Turkish National Police who are pursuing or already achieved their masters and doctoral degrees abroad were invited to fill out the survey.

These officers have an e-mail group that allows them to share their field experiences and intellectual work on policing. The group had a total of 128 members, and unlike alumni associations the group includes officers of different ranks. The e-mail list of the members was obtained from the Foreign Affairs Department at the Headquarter of the TNP.

Table 10 The Sampling Procedure

Target Population (Sworn Police Officers in the Turkish National Police) N=198,000			
⬇			
Sampling Frame N=1,763[a]			
⬇			
List-1 The Members of Five Police Academy Alumni Associations **N=1,457[b]**	**List-2** The Graduate Students of TNP in the US and Europe **N=128**	**List-3** High-ranking Police Administrators in TNP **N=57**	**List-4** Personal Connections of Researcher **N=121**

a. Sampling frame size is the total number of officers from mailing lists 1, 2, 3and 4.
b. Total number of members from 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006 and 2009 classes.

Third, in order to include high level people in the sampling frame, the researcher created a list of senior administrators of the TNP. The e-mail addresses of the senior administrators were obtained from the department websites and through personal connections. The number of the senior administrators that were contacted in this survey was 57.

Finally, a list of police officers in the TNP was produced through a network of personal connections of the researcher. Officers in this network were asked to participate and also inform their colleagues and invite them to participate in the study. Another 121 officers were reached through this way.

Human Subjects

There was no direct or indirect risk of harm to the subjects in this research. Participation in the study was completely voluntary, and there was no pressure on the participants by any means. An informed consent form covering detailed information about the study was provided to the participants before they were asked to fill out the survey instrument.

The confidentiality of participants was assured during the data collection, processing, and reporting stages; the name and address information of the participants weren't collected in the survey. Data files do not contain personal information that could reveal participants' identities. The computer-assisted self-administered interviewing increased the confidentiality of the participants. As the goal of this study is measuring police officers' perceptions about police misconduct, the confidentiality of the participants was very important in order to obtain more reliable and honest information.

Data Analysis Process

The data of this study were analyzed by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The demographic and organizational characteristics of the participants were described in frequency tables. Measures of central tendency, dispersion and other descriptive statistics of the study variables were explored to summarize and organize the data at this level.

Bivariate statistical techniques were used to investigate the relationships between study variables. Cross-tabulations were used in order to examine potential associations between the perception of police corruption and demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Finally, results of the univariate and bivariate statistical information gathered from the American and Turkish data sources were reviewed and compared to answer the research questions in the light of relevant literature. All findings, concerns and considerations revealed from the study were evaluated and recommendations are provided.

Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

The honesty of participants when responding to the questions is exceedingly important for the validity of this research. A number of measures that were suggested by Klockars, et al.[276] were employed in order to improve the validity of this study.

First, the participants were asked only about their attitudes, not about their or other officers' actual behaviors or experiences. Asking police officers directly whether they have experienced any corruption cases leads them to be reluctant or to give unreliable answers. The instrument included hypothetical scenarios rather than well-known or controversial actual police corruption cases. Asking non-threatening questions on hypothetical scenarios reduced the potential pressure on the participants and prevented respondent bias.

Second, the survey was anonymous - the name or the badge numbers of the participants were never requested at any part of the survey. The participants were guaranteed that their responses would remain confidential. It was also assured that the researcher would not share or discuss any information obtained from the respondents with any staff members of the organization. Minimal officer background information was collected in order to further assure officers that their identities could not be discovered from the research data by tracking back their responses to personal questions.

[276] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

Third, at the end of the survey, two questions were asked to the respondents to evaluate the validity of their responses. The first one is, "Do you think most police officers would give their honest opinion in filling out this questionnaire?" and the second one is, "Did you give your honest opinion in filling out this questionnaire?" 94.3 percent of the participants responded that they think most police officers would give their honest opinion in answering the questionnaire. For the second question, 98.8 percent of the participants responded that they gave honest opinion in answering the questionnaire. The responses of the 1.2 percent of participants (13 officers) who reported that they did not give their honest opinions were excluded when the survey results were analyzed.

Fourth, the survey instrument that will be used in this study has been administered internationally in fourteen countries including Austria, Canada, Croatia, Finland, Hungary, Japan, Netherlands, Pakistan, Poland, Slovenia, South Africa United Kingdom, United States and Sweden. The reliability and validity of the questionnaire have been tested and improved by replicating the same study in these countries.

Fifth, the internal consistency approach was used in order to estimate the reliability of the measurements in the study. Internal consistency requires a high correlation between the items measuring the same underlying concept. Correlations between officers' responses to perceived seriousness of misconduct, proper disciplinary action and willingness to report the case help the researcher to test the consistency of responses, and evaluate validity of the responses. Cronbach's alpha coefficient was used as a measure of reliability to determine the internal consistency of the responses. It is the most commonly used method to determine inter-item reliability.[277] Morgan et al.[278] state

[277] Gliner, J. A. & Morgan, G. A., *Research Methods in Applied Settings: An Integrated Approach to Design and Analysis,* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000).

that, "alpha should be positive and usually greater than .70 in order to provide good support for internal consistency reliability." Most scholars agree that a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.70 indicates an acceptable value of reliability in social science researches. [279]

Limitations and Strengths of the Study

Limitations

This study has several limitations. One of its shortcomings is that the convenience sample of the study cannot be considered as representative of police agencies nationwide. The US data were collected through a survey of 3,235 officers working in thirty different police agencies from eleven different states across the United States. Considering the fact that there are approximately 20,000 police agencies in the US, the findings from the US study cannot be generalized to the population. However, a special feature of the TNP (as mentioned before, the highly centralized structure of it creates identical police agencies all over Turkey) allows us to some extent to make general assessments about the TNP. The researcher employed a convenience sampling procedure as drawing a random sample was not feasible within the constraints of this study.

Second, the sensitive subject of the study may cause another threat to its validity. The study asked the participants to answer questions regarding their perceptions of corruption. As Randall and Fernandes [280] state, ethics research is naturally vulnerable to a social desirability bias due to the sensitivity of the topics studied. The social desirability

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[278] Morgan, G., Leech, N., Gloekner, G., & Barrett, K.C.. *SPSS for Introductory Statistics: Use and Interpretation*, (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2005), p.122.

[279] Gliner and Morgan, *Research Methods in Applied Settings*; Gliem, J. A., & Gliem, R. R., "Calculating, Interpreting, And Reporting Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient For Likert-Type Scales." *Midwest Research to Practice Conference in Adult, Continuing, and Community Education*, retrieved February 5, 2008 from https://scholarworks.iupui.edu/bitstream/handle/1805/344/Gliem%20&%20Gliem.pdf?s.., (2003); Carmines, E. G., & Zeller, R. A., *Reliability and Validity Assessment*. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1979); Kent, R., *Data Construction and Data Analysis for Survey Research*. (Palgrave: NY, 2001).

[280] Randall and Fernandes, "The Social Desirability Response Bias," 805-817.

bias may lead the police officers to give answers in the desired direction. Although the anonymity of participants was assured, some participants still might not feel comfortable enough to answer honestly all the questions or might not give their best answers. Some of the officers might be reluctant to expose their opinions about this sensitive issue.

Third, the original survey questionnaire was prepared in English and translated into Turkish. The two languages have their own cultural and sociological settings and therefore there might be some slight loss of meaning in the translation. As a precaution, bilingual reviewers reviewed the translated version of the questionnaire in order to decrease translation problems. The translated version of the instrument was pretested and necessary revisions were made before it was used on the Internet.

Strengths

Despite the methodological limitations described above, the current study has major strengths. First, the study approaches the corruption problem as an organizational issue considering individual and societal level explanations, rather than as an individual level phenomenon alone as was done before. The literature on police culture and ethics primarily focuses on individual police officers in what is referred to as the 'bad apple theory'. The bad apple theory has been criticized by many scholars [281] for disregarding the organizational aspects of police integrity. The international project on police integrity initiated by Klockars, et al.[282] has shifted the literature focus from the individual level to the occupational and organizational level. This cross-cultural study examined the

[281] Stoddard, E. R., "The Informal Code of Police Deviancy: A Group Approach to Blue-Coat Crime." In V. E. Kappeler (Ed.), *The Police and Society.* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1968), 181-202; Reiss, A.J., *The Police and the Public.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971); Sherman, *Police Corruption: A Sociological Perspective*; Goldstein, *Policing in a Free Society*.
[282] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

problem on the basis of organizational level explanations and analyzed the primary and secondary data with respect to individual and societal approaches.

Second, the data set of Klockars, et al.[283] is unique. Its size, the number of dependent and independent variables, and data from both individual and organizational levels are extremely valuable. In addition, the questionnaire in this study that was created to be as culturally neutral as possible to make it suitable for cross-cultural applications by Klockars, et al.[284] has enabled cross-cultural comparisons between police forces in different countries.[285] As mentioned before, the survey instrument has been adapted, modified and employed both nationally and internationally in fourteen different countries. The scenarios in the survey instrument have been commonly accepted as realistic cases of police work that police officers face in a routine work day. The Klockars, et al.[286] study is still one of the most important, highly credible and widely accepted works in the field of police integrity.

Third, in order to increase confidentiality and the willingness of the respondents, this study used a computer-assisted self- interviewing (CASI) method. The responses of the participants are strictly confidential between the researcher and the participants during all the stages of study. Data files do not contain names, addresses and potentially identifying information of the participants.

Additionally, the primary researcher of this study has had a professional background in the TNP for eighteen years, and has been studying the subject of policing at the graduate level in the US for the last five years. The field experiences of the

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[283] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ekenvall, "Police Attitudes."
[286] Klockars et al., *The Measurement of Police Integrity*.

researcher as a practitioner and his academic background as a graduate student contributed in designing the research framework, performing data collection, and analyzing and dealing with the concerns about the cultural context of the Turkish society as well as the police organization in Turkey.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND FINDINGS

The findings of this study are presented in three main parts. The first part primarily includes response rates, sample distributions and reliability analyses. The second part covers descriptive analyses, beginning with a description of the personal and occupational characteristics of the respondents. Then, it continues with a presentation of the descriptive findings on the key variables of the study, including perceived seriousness of corruption, proper discipline and willingness to report of corrupt behavior. The third part looks at factors affecting officers' perceptions of corrupt behavior. These analyses include both bivariate (independent sample t-test and one way ANOVA) and multivariate techniques (multiple regression). This part also covers a cross-cultural analysis, comparing Turkish and American police officers' attitudes toward police corruption.

Primary Data Analysis

The target population of this study was 198,000 sworn officers who work for the TNP in 81 provinces of Turkey. The convenience sample of the study was selected from the target population through email solicitations. The sampling frame size was 1,763 officers (the sum of the number of officers listed in the different email groups), and 1,654 officers actually received the survey invitation via email.

Overall, 1,077 of 1,654 officers who received the invitations participated in the study, for a response rate of 65.1% (Table 11). Considering the difficulty of studying police corruption and the sensitivity of the target population towards the research topic, 65.1% is considered to be a reasonable response rate.

Table 11 Distribution of the Collected Data

(Sworn Police Officers in the Turkish National Police) **N=198,000**			
⬇			
Sampling Frame **N=1,763**[a]			
⬇			
List-1 The Members of Five Police Academy Alumni Associations **N=1,457**[b]	**List-2** The Graduate Students of TNP in the US and EU **N=128**	**List-3** High-ranking Police Administrators in TNP **N=57**	**List-4** Personal Connections of Researcher **N=121**
⬇			
Number of confirmed recipients who received email invitations **N=1,654**			
⬇			
Number of officers who viewed the survey **N=1,542**			
⬇			
Number of officers who started the survey **N=1,326**[c]			
⬇			
Number of officers who completed the survey **N_{TOTAL}=1,077**			
⬇			
List-1 **$N_{RESPONDENTS}$: 867** **Response Rate : 60%**	**List-2** **$N_{RESPONDENTS}$: 91** **Response Rate : 72%**	**List-3** **$N_{RESPONDENTS}$: 32** **Response Rate : 56%**	**List-4** **$N_{RESPONDENTS}$: 87** **Response Rate : 72%**
⬇			
Total Response Rate of the Study **65.1%** [d]			

a. Sampling frame size is the total number of officers from mailing lists 1, 2, 3 and 4.
b. Total number of members from 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006 and 2009 classes.
c. Drop-out rate is 18.8% (249/1,326).
d. Total response rate of the study is 65.1% (1,077/1,654).

Reliability of the Data

Police corruption is a sensitive topic and reliability of data is an important concern. As a safety precaution, officers' attitudes towards corruption are measured by using simple short scenarios each describing a corrupt behavior. Each scenario is followed by a number of questions measuring officers' attitudes towards corruption from a different perspective. In fact, these different questions are measuring the same underlying concept of an officer's perception of corruption. Reliability of data requires consistency between responses to the questions following each case scenario. In statistical terms, internal consistency requires a high correlation between the items measuring the same underlying concept. Cronbach's alpha was computed to look at internal consistency between the responses to the questions following the hypothetical scenarios.

Table 12 Distributions for Cronbach's Alpha Values of Scenarios

Scenarios	Cronbach's Alpha Value
Scenario 1.	0.85
Scenario 2.	0.76
Scenario 3.	0.90
Scenario 4.	0.78
Scenario 5.	0.90
Scenario 6.	0.90
Scenario 7.	0.82
Scenario 8.	0.81

Table 12 presents Cronbach's alpha values computed for the responses following the eight case scenarios. The alpha values vary between .76 and .90. In social science research, Cronbach's alpha values over .70 are generally considered as good support for

internal consistency and reliability. Overall, these findings show that the measurement of perceived police corruption, as operationalized in the survey instrument, is reliable.

Descriptive Analyses

Sample Characteristics of the Turkish Data

Demographic Characteristics of the Officers:

The data from the Turkish National Police covered the following demographic variables:

- Gender
- Age
- Educational level
- Marital status (married vs. not married)
- Spouse work
- Income level
- Income satisfaction.

Table 13 shows the frequency distributions for the demographic variables. One hundred seventy six of the 980 respondents (18%) were between 21 and 30 years old, 659 respondents (67%) were between 31 and 40 years old, and 145 respondents (14.8%) were between 41 and 51 years old. As shown in the table 13, the age category covering respondents from 31 to 40 years old represents the largest portion of the respondents, while the 41-51 age category is the smallest portion. The mean age for the sample was 35.6 years.

About 9% of the sworn officers in the Turkish National Police are female. As seen in the table 13, descriptive statistics indicated that there were 74 female officers

corresponding to 7.6% percent of the respondents. This shows that the gender distribution in the sample is close to the gender distribution in the TNP.

Table 13 Demographic Characteristics of Turkish Respondents

Variables	N	Values		Frequency	Percent
GENDER	976	0	FEMALE	74	7.6
		1	MALE	902	92.4
AGE	980	1	21-30	176	18.0
		2	31-40	659	67.2
		3	41-51	145	14.8
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	981	1	HIGH SCHOOL OR LESS	102	10.4
		2	SOME COLLEGE (Associate Degree)	321	32.7
		3	COLLEGE	347	35.4
		4	GRADUATE DEGREE	211	21.5
MARITAL STATUS	985	0	SINGLE	94	9.5
		1	MARRIED	891	90.5
SPOUSE WORK	897	0	NO	591	65.9
		1	YES	306	34.1
INCOME LEVEL	981	1	1700-2500 TL	591	60.2
		2	2501-3000 TL	117	11.9
		3	3001-3500 TL	111	11.3
		4	3501-4000 TL	103	10.5
		5	4001 OR HIGHER	59	6.0
INCOME SATISFACTION	983	1	NOT AT ALL SATISFIED	87	8.9
		2	NOT SATISFIED	284	28.9
		3	SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	144	14.6
		4	SATISFIED	395	40.2
		5	VERY SATISFIED	73	7.4

One hundred and two respondents, corresponding to 10.4 percent of the sample, had an educational attainment level of high school or less. Three hundred twenty one respondents (32.7%) hold associate's degree (two-year colleges) and three hundred forty seven respondents (35.4%) hold bachelor's degree. Two hundred eleven respondents (21.5%) hold a graduate degree. It is important to note here that the TNP requires a bachelor's degree for ranking officers, and, starting from 2003, requires at least an associate degree for line officers.

Eight hundred ninety one of the officers in the sample, accounting for 90.5%, were married, and ninety four of the respondents were single (9.5%). Five hundred ninety one of the respondents, corresponding to 65.9% of the sample, reported that their spouses do not work, whereas three hundred and six of the participants (34.1%) reported that their spouses have a job and contribute to the family income.

Five hundred ninety one respondents (60.2%) fall into 1,700 TL-2,500 TL per month income bracket - 1 Turkish Lira is approximately equal to .70 U.S. Dollars. This group constituted the largest portion of the sample. One hundred seventeen respondents (11.9%) had monthly income between 2,501 TL and 3,000 TL; one hundred eleven respondents (11.3%) had monthly income between 3,001 TL and 3,500 TL; one hundred and three respondents (10.5%) had monthly income between 3,501 and 4000; and fifty nine respondents (6%) had monthly income over 4,000 TL. Sworn officers in the TNP are not allowed to have a second job. Salaries vary by rank, assignment type, province and years of service.

When asked about income satisfaction of the officers, six hundred twelve respondents, representing 62.3%, reported that they were "somewhat satisfied,"

"satisfied" or "very satisfied." On the other hand, three hundred seventy one respondents (37.7 %) were "not satisfied" or "not at all satisfied" with their financial situation. Income satisfaction is potentially particularly significant in influencing both participating in corruption and in views of such participation.

Occupational Characteristics of Officers:

The survey instrument covers the following variables concerning the occupational characteristics of the officers:

- Length of Service
- Rank (Supervisor vs. non-supervisor)
- Current assignment
    - Crime Control Unit vs. others
    - Organized Crime Unit vs. others
    - Traffic Unit vs. others
- Prior Assignment
    - Crime Control Unit vs. others
    - Organized Crime Unit vs. others
    - Traffic Unit vs. others
- Training on Ethics.

Table 14 shows the frequency and percentage distributions across occupational characteristics of the Turkish police officers.

The length of service for the sample varied between 1 and 30 years. One hundred four of the 966 respondents (10.8%) had been in service for 5 years or less; two hundred respondents (20.7%) had been in service for 6 to10 years; four hundred thirty two

respondents (44.7%) had been in service for 11 to15 years; one hundred fifty five respondents (16%) had been in service for 16 to 20 years; and seventy five respondents (7.8%) had been in service in the TNP for 21 years or more. The average years in service for the sample was 12.9.

Table 14 Occupational Characteristics of Turkish Respondents

Variables	N	Values		Frequency	Percent
LENGTH OF SERVICE	966	1	1-5 YEARS	104	10.8
		2	6-10 YEARS	200	20.7
		3	11-15 YEARS	432	44.7
		4	16-20 YEARS	155	16.0
		5	21 OR HIGHER	75	7.8
SUPERVISOR	981	0	LINE OFFICER	587	59.8
		1	SUPERVISOR	394	40.2
PRESENT ASSIGNMENT	982	1	CRIME CONTROL UNIT	356	36.3
		1	ORGANIZED CRIME UNIT	60	6.1
		1	TRAFFIC UNIT	74	7.5
		0	OTHER	492	50.1
PRIOR ASSIGNMENT	982	1	CRIME CONTROL UNIT	637	59.1
		1	ORGANIZED CRIME UNIT	72	6.7
		1	TRAFFIC UNIT	119	11.0
		0	OTHER	154	23.2
ETHICS TRAINING	981	0	NO	443	45.2
		1	YES	538	54.8

The sample includes officers from different units of the TNP. The officers working in crime control, organized crime and traffic units are potentially more likely to

be exposed to corruption cases, since these officers work on the streets and have a great deal of interaction with the public. Therefore, the study pays special attention to the officers who work in these units. Three hundred fifty six of the nine hundred eighty two respondents (36.3%) were deployed in crime control units. These officers are basically assigned to patrol, crime investigation or crime prevention duties in precincts or bureaus. Sixty officers, corresponding to 6.1% of the sample were assigned in organized crime units dealing with narcotics and smuggling related crimes, and seventy four officers, corresponding to 7.5% of the respondents were assigned in traffic units. It is important to note that contrary to many US police agencies, the TNP authorizes the officers deployed in traffic units alone to issue citations for traffic violations.

Five hundred eighty seven of the nine hundred eighty one respondents (59.8%) were line officers, three hundred ninety four of the participants (40.2%) were supervisors. Five hundred thirty eight respondents, representing 54.8% of the participants have taken some training on police ethics. 45.2% of the respondents reported that they have not received any training on police ethics.

As mentioned earlier, 1077 police officers, selected from various departments of the TNP, participated in the study. The response rate for the study was 65.1%. Working with a convenience sample might be considered a limitation of the study and in fact it is to some extent. However, there is a need for understanding the structure of the TNP in order to understand the extent of this limitation. The TNP has a highly centralized structure. The personnel are recruited, trained and assigned to provinces by the order of the General Directorate of the Police in Ankara. The personnel are also rotated among the eighty-one provinces of the country and different departments in certain periods. The

recruitment, training and rotation policies of the centralized organization increase the homogeneity of the personnel in the organization. Despite the fact that the study does not employ a random sample, the homogeneous structure of the organization reasonably tolerates working with a convenience sample. The study sample is believed to be large and wide-ranging enough to get valuable information about the members of the Turkish National Police and their perceptions of police corruption.

Sample Characteristics of the US Data

As it was mentioned in the methodology section, the data from the Klockars, et al.[287] study consisted of 3,235 officers from 30 police agencies across the USA. The data were collected at the individual and agency level. The study had a convenience sample covering various types of police agencies across the US. Due to the decentralized structure of US police agencies and the convenience sampling methodology used in the study, the results of the Klockars, et al study cannot be generalized to police officers or organizations across the USA. However, the findings from the Klockars, et al study are valuable and have been a significant contribution to the literature on police corruption.

The response rate for the Klockars, et al study varied from 16% to 93% across the participating police agencies. The overall response rate for the data was 55.5%. Although there were high variations in response rates across the agencies, statistical analyses revealed that variations in response rates across the agencies have no significant impact on officers' perception of corruption.[288]

[287] Klockars, B. C., Ivkovic, K. S., Haberfeld, R. M., *The Contours of Police Integrity.* (Sage Publications Thousand Oaks, CA: 2004), p. 272.
[288] Ibid.

Table 15 shows the occupational characteristics of the American police officers. Over two thousand (2,557) of the 3,190 respondents (80.2%) were line officers, and six hundred thirty six respondents (19.8%), about one in five respondents, were supervisors.

Table 15 Occupational Characteristics of American Respondents

Variables	N	Values		Frequency	Percent
LENGTH OF SERVICE	3185	1	1-5 YEARS	875	27.5
		2	6-10 YEARS	777	24.4
		3	11-15 YEARS	522	16.4
		4	16-20 YEARS	448	14.1
		5	21 OR HIGHER	563	17.7
SUPERVISOR	3190	1	LINE OFFICER	2557	80.2
		2	SUPERVISOR	633	19.8
AGENCY SIZE	3232	1	VERY LARGE (500+)	1934	59.8
		2	LARGE (201–500)	638	19.7
		3	MEDIUM (76–200)	292	9.0
		4	SMALL (25–75)	275	8.5
		5	VERY SMALL (<25)	93	2.9
TYPE OF ASSIGNMENT	3176	1	PATROL/TRAFFIC	2014	63.1
		0	OTHERS	1162	36.9

The majority of the respondents from the US work in very large agencies. One thousand nine hundred thirty four 1,934 officers, corresponding to 59.8% of the respondents, work in very large agencies (agencies employing over 500 sworn officers). Six hundred thirty eight officers, corresponding to 19.7%, work in large agencies (agencies employing 201 to 500 sworn officers). Two hundred ninety two officers, about 9% of the sample, work in medium size agencies (agencies employing 76 to 200 sworn

officers). Two hundred seventy five officers, about 8.5% of the sample, work in small size agencies (agencies employing 25 to 75 sworn officers), and finally, the remaining 93 officers, corresponding to 2.9% of the sample, work in very small agencies (agencies employing less than 25 sworn officers).

The average length of service for the American respondents was 10.3 years. Eight hundred seventy five of the 3,185 respondents, (27.5%) had less than 5 years of service. Seven hundred seventy five respondents (24.4%) had 6 to 10 years of service. Five hundred twenty two of respondents (16.4%) had 11 to 15 years of service. Four hundred forty eight of respondents (14.1%) had 16 to 20 years of service, and 563 of respondents (17.7%) had 21 years or more service in their agencies.

Perceived Seriousness of Police Corruption

The dependent variable of this study is perceived seriousness of police corruption. The concept is measured by the same question following the eight hypothetical case scenarios in the survey: “How serious do you consider this behavior to be?”

Turkish Police Officers’ Perceptions of Seriousness

Table 16 presents the findings for the Turkish sample. The table outlines the perceived seriousness of various police misbehaviors described in eight different case scenarios. The findings are ordered from the least to the most serious scenario.

Table 16 Perceived Seriousness of Police Misconduct-Turkish Data (Rank ordered)*

SCENARIOS	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank	Scale	Frequency	Percent
Scenario 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	1004	3.47	1.112	1	Not at all serious	37	3.7
					Not too serious	192	19.1
					Not sure or clear	230	22.9
					Serious	353	35.2
					Very serious	192	19.1
Scenario 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	1040	3.72	1.104	2	Not at all serious	22	2.1
					Not too serious	176	16.9
					Not sure or clear	163	15.7
					Serious	393	37.8
					Very serious	286	27.5
Scenario 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	1074	3.98	1.036	3	Not at all serious	20	1.9
					Not too serious	129	12
					Not sure or clear	81	7.5
					Serious	468	43.6
					Very serious	376	35
Scenario 5: Auto repair shop 5% kickback	1013	4.43	0.774	4	Not at all serious	4	0.4
					Not too serious	35	3.5
					Not sure or clear	50	4.9
					Serious	353	34.8
					Very serious	571	56.4
Scenario 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	993	4.68	0.534	5	Not at all serious	1	0.1
					Not too serious	2	0.2
					Not sure or clear	21	2.1
					Serious	269	27.1
					Very serious	700	70.5
Scenario 8: Theft from found wallet	985	4.81	0.423	6	Not at all serious	0	0
					Not too serious	3	0.3
					Not sure or clear	3	0.3
					Serious	173	17.6
					Very serious	806	81.8
Scenario 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	1059	4.85	0.411	7	Not at all serious	2	0.2
					Not too serious	2	0.2
					Not sure or clear	5	0.5
					Serious	132	12.5
					Very serious	918	86.7
Scenario 4: Crime scene theft of watch	1024	4.90	0.346	8	Not at all serious	0	0
					Not too serious	3	0.3
					Not sure or clear	5	0.5
					Serious	86	8.4
					Very serious	930	90.8

* From the least serious to the most serious.

The average seriousness scores for the scenarios varied between 3.47 and 4.90. The highest possible score was 5. On average, Turkish police officers rated the majority of the police misconduct behaviors described in case scenarios as serious or very serious. The respondents indicated that "theft of a watch from crime scene" (Scenario 4) was the most serious offense with a 4.9 average seriousness score. This behavior was considered to be very serious by 930 respondents, representing 90.8% of the participants. The respondents rated the case of "bribe from speeding motorist" (Scenario 2) as the second most serious offense with a 4.85 average seriousness score. Nine hundred eighteen respondents described the behavior in Scenario 2 as very serious, representing 86.7% of the participants. The third most serious case was the "theft from found wallet" (Scenario 8) with a mean of 4.81. The behavior described in the Scenario 8 was considered to be very serious by 806 respondents, representing 81.8% of the participants.

Turkish police officers participated in the study evaluated the case of "cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6) as the least serious police misconduct. The average seriousness score for this scenario was 3.47. Only 19.1% of the respondents perceived the behavior described in Scenario 6 as very serious. The participants rated the behavior in the case of "holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3) as the second least serious police misbehavior, with a 3.72 average score. Twenty seven point five percent of the respondents considered the behavior described in case Scenario 3 as very serious. The behavior described in the case of "free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1) was considered as the third least serious misconduct, with a 3.98 average score. About 35 of the respondents considered the behavior described in case Scenario 1 as very serious. The

behavior described in the case of "auto repair shop 5% kickback" (Scenario 5) was rated to be very serious by 56.4% of the participants. The average score for Scenario 5 was 4.43. Seventy point five percent of the respondents evaluated the behavior described in the case of "drinks to ignore late bar close" (Scenario 7) as very serious. The average score for Scenario 7 was 4.68. Scenarios 1, 3, 5, and 7 describe cases where police officers use their authority to take advantage of others for personal gain.

Turkish Police Officers' View about Seriousness Perceptions of Their Colleagues

Following the case scenarios, police officers who participated in the study were also asked "How serious do most police officers in your agency consider this behavior to be?" While controlling for the redundancy of officers' responses, the question also aimed at exploring attitudes toward police misconduct at the organizational level by asking officers' view of their colleagues.

Analysis showed that respondents' views of their colleagues' perceptions follow a path parallel to their own perceptions of police misconduct. The participants consider that their colleagues have a view of police misconduct similar to their perceptions. The differences between average scores on the two items were relatively small. Except for two cases, Scenario 2 (bribe from speeding motorist) and Scenario 8 (theft from found wallet), the rank order of the average scores on the two questions did not change (See Table 16).

American Police Officers' Perceptions of Seriousness

Table 17 summarizes American police officers' perceptions of police misconduct. The findings are rank ordered from the least serious to the most serious cases.

Similar to their Turkish counterparts, police officers from the US reported that the police misconduct described in Scenario 4, the case of "theft of a watch from crime scene," was the most serious offense, with an average seriousness score of 4.93. This behavior was considered to be very serious by 3,094 respondents, representing 96.7% of the participants. The respondents rated the behavior in Scenario 2, the case of "bribe from speeding motorist," as the second most serious offense. The average score for this item was 4.90. Three thousand and four respondents described the behavior in Scenario 2 as very serious, representing 93.9% of the participants. Scenario 8, "theft from found wallet," was the third most serious police misconduct case according to the American police officers. The average score for this scenario was 4.83. The behavior described in the Scenario 8 was considered to be very serious by 2,881 respondents, representing 90% of the participants.

The number four most serious case in American police officers' list was Scenario 7, the case of "accepting drinks to ignore late bar close." Seventy one point four percent of the respondents evaluated the behavior described in Scenario 7 as very serious. The number five case on the list was Scenario 5, the case describing "auto repair shop 5% kickback." Scenario 5 was rated to be very serious by the 2,190 of the participants, representing 68.5% of the participants.

Table 17 Perceived Seriousness of Police Misconduct-US Data (Rank ordered)*

SCENARIOS	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank	Scale	Frequency	Percent
Case 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	3198	2.59	1.338	1	Not at all serious	858	26.8
					Not too serious	811	25.4
					Not sure or clear	727	22.7
					Serious	395	12.4
					Very serious	407	12.7
Case 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	3184	2.84	1.386	2	Not at all serious	723	22.7
					Not too serious	677	21.3
					Not sure or clear	698	21.9
					Serious	572	18.0
					Very serious	514	16.1
Case 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	3184	3.01	1.391	3	Not at all serious	590	18.5
					Not too serious	636	20.0
					Not sure or clear	748	23.5
					Serious	558	17.5
					Very serious	652	20.5
Case 5: Auto repair shop 5% kickback	3197	4.47	0.933	4	Not at all serious	73	2.3
					Not too serious	97	3.0
					Not sure or clear	264	8.3
					Serious	573	17.9
					Very serious	2190	68.5
Case 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	3190	4.51	0.939	5	Not at all serious	93	2.9
					Not too serious	82	2.6
					Not sure or clear	203	6.4
					Serious	534	16.7
					Very serious	2278	71.4
Case 8: Theft from found wallet	3201	4.83	0.605	6	Not at all serious	35	1.1
					Not too serious	22	0.7
					Not sure or clear	81	2.5
					Serious	182	5.7
					Very serious	2881	90.0
Case 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	3198	4.90	0.462	7	Not at all serious	23	0.7
					Not too serious	9	0.3
					Not sure or clear	34	1.1
					Serious	128	4.0
					Very serious	3004	93.9
Case 4: Crime scene theft of watch	3200	4.93	0.419	8	Not at all serious	23	0.7
					Not too serious	6	0.2
					Not sure or clear	26	0.8
					Serious	51	1.6
					Very serious	3094	96.7

* From the least serious to the most serious.

The American police participants evaluated the behavior described in Scenario 1, the case of "accepting free meals and discounts on the beat," as the least serious police misbehavior. The average score on this item was 2.59. Only 12.7% of the participants considered this behavior as very serious. Scenario 3, "accepting holiday gifts from merchants," was rated as the second least serious misbehavior, with an average score of 2.84. Sixteen point one percent of the respondents rated the behavior described in Scenario 3 as very serious. The officer conduct described in Scenario 6, "cover-up of police DUI accident," was the number three least serious item on the list with a mean score of 3.98. Twenty point five percent of the participants rated this case as very serious.

American Police Officers' View about Seriousness Perceptions of Their Colleagues

Following the case scenarios, Klockars, et al asked the participants "How serious do most police officers in your agency consider this behavior to be?" Analysis showed that American police officers believe that their colleagues' attitude towards police misconduct is not different from their own attitudes. The ranking of the American respondents' own and estimated perception of others match each other at a very high rate with relatively small differences in the mean scores. The participants assumed that other officers would consider the case scenarios as serious as themselves. While the average seriousness scores for officers' own view is slightly higher than officers' perceptions of others' views, the differences are minor and scores fall in to the same seriousness category. (See table 17)

Appropriate Discipline for the Misbehaviors in the Scenarios

The perception of appropriate discipline was measured by a question asking "If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what, if any, discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow?"

Turkish Police Officers' Perceptions of Appropriate Discipline

Descriptive analysis was performed to identify the percentages and proportions of the Turkish police officers for each of the eight indicators in the scenarios. (See table 18) The scenarios are placed in the table from the least serious to the most serious.

The respondents indicated that the behavior described in the case of "theft of a watch from crime scene" (Scenario 4) should be subjected to the most severe discipline. Eight hundred ten respondents, representing 79.3% of the participants, rated that this behavior deserves dismissal. The case of "bribe from speeding motorist" (Scenario 2) was the second scenario that required most discipline. Six hundred thirty eight respondents, representing 60.5% of the participants, rated that the behavior described in Scenario 2 should receive dismissal for discipline. The behavior described in the case of "theft from found wallet" (Scenario 8) was the third most serious case. According to 495 respondents, representing 50.4% of the participants, the police misconduct described in this scenario deserves dismissal.

Table 18 Turkish Police Respondents' Perceptions of Appropriate (Opinion) Discipline, Ranked by Officers' Perceptions of Case Seriousness*

SCENARIOS	N	Mode	Mean /Std. Dev.	Rank	Scale	Frequency	Percent
Scenario 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	996	Verbal Reprimand	3.22 1.533	1	None	157	15.8
					Verbal Reprimand	226	21.0
					Written Reprimand	218	20.2
					Suspension Without Pay	136	13.7
					Demotion	182	18.3
					Dismissal	77	7.7
Scenario 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	1031	Verbal Reprimand	2.95 1.599	2	None	222	21.5
					Verbal Reprimand	264	25.6
					Written Reprimand	214	20.8
					Suspension Without Pay	90	8.7
					Demotion	155	15.0
					Dismissal	86	8.3
Scenario 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	1069	Verbal Reprimand	3.12 1.420	3	None	100	9.4
					Verbal Reprimand	319	29.8
					Written Reprimand	306	28.6
					Suspension Without Pay	135	12.6
					Demotion	113	10.6
					Dismissal	96	9.0
Scenario 5: Auto repair shop 5% kickback	1006	Demotion	4.38 1.512	4	None	57	5.7
					Verbal Reprimand	81	8.1
					Written Reprimand	166	16.5
					Suspension Without Pay	103	10.2
					Demotion	319	31.7
					Dismissal	280	27.8
Scenario 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	986	Demotion	4.44 1.263	5	None	12	1.2
					Verbal Reprimand	64	6.5
					Written Reprimand	178	18.1
					Suspension Without Pay	183	18.6
					Demotion	327	33.2
					Dismissal	222	22.5
Scenario 8: Theft from found wallet	982	Dismissal	5.15 1.076	6	None	3	0.3
					Verbal Reprimand	23	2.3
					Written Reprimand	73	7.4
					Suspension Without Pay	117	11.9
					Demotion	271	27.6
					Dismissal	495	50.4
Scenario 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	1054	Dismissal	5.30 1.080	7	None	9	0.9
					Verbal Reprimand	18	1.7
					Written Reprimand	76	7.2
					Suspension Without Pay	77	7.3
					Demotion	236	22.4

					Dismissal	638	60.5
Scenario 4: Crime scene theft of watch	1022	Dismissal	5.70 0.719	8	None	4	0.4
					Verbal Reprimand	8	0.8
					Written Reprimand	11	1.1
					Suspension Without Pay	35	3.4
					Demotion	154	15.1
					Dismissal	810	79.3

* From the least serious to the most serious.

The Turkish participants believed that the behavior in the case of "holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3) should be subjected to the least discipline. Twenty one point five percent of the respondents considered that this behavior deserves no discipline at all, 25.6% of the respondents viewed that verbal reprimand discipline is enough for it. Fifty eight point four percent of the respondents replied that the behavior in the case of "free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1) deserves either verbal reprimand or written reprimand. The behavior in the case of "cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6) was evaluated as deserving either verbal reprimand or written reprimand by the 44.6% of the respondents.

Fifty nine point five percent of the participants thought that the behavior described in the case of "auto repair shop 5% kickback" (Scenario 5) deserves either demotion or dismissal, whereas 24.6 of the respondents evaluated the case as deserving either verbal or written reprimand. The behavior described in the case of "drinks to ignore late bar close" (Scenario 7) was rated to receive either demotion or dismissal by the 55.7% of the respondents.

Turkish Police Officers' Perceptions of Expected Discipline

"If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow?" was asked to the participants to find out the officers' experience, competence and organizational knowledge.

Descriptive analysis showed that, except for only one case, appropriate and expected discipline match each other with relatively small differences in their means. According to the Turkish police participants, the only difference is that written reprimand was implemented for the behavior described in the scenario 6 (cover- up of police DUI accident) but, they thought that verbal reprimand should be given for that behavior. (See table 22)

American Police Officers' Perceptions of Appropriate Discipline

Table 19 shows the percentages and proportions of the American police officers for each of the eight indicators in the scenarios. The scenarios are placed in the table from the least serious to the most serious.

The respondents indicated that the behavior described in the case of "theft of a watch from crime scene" (Scenario 4) should be subjected to the most severe discipline. Two thousand six hundred eleven respondents, representing 80.8% of the participants, rated that this behavior deserves dismissal. The behavior described in the case of "theft from found wallet" (Scenario 8) was evaluated as deserving dismissal discipline by the 1,867 respondents, representing 57.8% of the participants. One thousand five hundred ninety five respondents, representing 49.4% of the participants, rated to be imposed dismissal discipline for the behavior in the case of "bribe from speeding motorist" (Scenario 2).

Table 19 American Police Respondents' Perceptions of Appropriate (Opinion) Discipline, Ranked by Officers' Perceptions of Case Seriousness*

SCENARIOS	N	Mode	Std. Dev.	Rank	Scale	Frequency	Percent
Scenario 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	3,191	Verbal Reprimand	2.13 1.029	1	None	936	29.0
					Verbal Reprimand	1,351	41.8
					Written Reprimand	576	17.8
					Suspension Without Pay	265	8.2
					Demotion	22	0.7
					Dismissal	41	1.3
Scenario 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	3,179	Verbal Reprimand	2.53 1.264	2	None	768	23.8
					Verbal Reprimand	933	28.9
					Written Reprimand	805	24.9
					Suspension Without Pay	515	15.9
					Demotion	30	0.9
					Dismissal	128	4.0
Scenario 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	3,174	Suspension Without Pay	2.80 1.317	3	None	689	21.3
					Verbal Reprimand	632	19.6
					Written Reprimand	773	23.9
					Suspension Without Pay	912	28.2
					Demotion	37	1.1
					Dismissal	131	4.1
Scenario 5: Auto repair shop 5% kickback	3,186	Suspension Without Pay	4.38 1.324	4	None	78	2.4
					Verbal Reprimand	156	4.8
					Written Reprimand	436	13.5
					Suspension Without Pay	1,371	42.4
					Demotion	101	3.1
					Dismissal	1,044	32.3
Scenario 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	3,183	Suspension Without Pay	3.99 1.181	5	None	61	1.9
					Verbal Reprimand	211	6.5
					Written Reprimand	655	20.3
					Suspension Without Pay	1,588	49.1
					Demotion	93	2.9
					Dismissal	575	17.8
Scenario 8: Theft from found wallet	3,193	Dismissal	5.06 1.219	6	None	45	1.4
					Verbal Reprimand	46	1.4
					Written Reprimand	193	6.0
					Suspension Without Pay	984	30.4
					Demotion	58	1.8
					Dismissal	1,867	57.8
Scenario 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	3,191	Dismissal	4.89 1.188	7	None	25	0.8
					Verbal Reprimand	42	1.3
					Written Reprimand	228	7.1
					Suspension Without Pay	1,254	38.8
					Demotion	47	1.5

					Dismissal	1,595	49.4
Scenario 4: Crime scene theft of watch	3,170	Dismissal	5.62 0.867	8	None	21	0.6
					Verbal Reprimand	11	0.3
					Written Reprimand	31	1.0
					Suspension Without Pay	451	14.0
					Demotion	45	1.4
					Dismissal	2,611	80.8

* From the least serious to the most serious.

The American participants believed that the behavior in the case of "free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1) should be subjected to the least discipline. Twenty nine percent of the respondents evaluated that this behavior deserves no discipline at all; 41.8% of the respondents viewed that verbal reprimand discipline is enough for it. Fifty three point eight percent of the respondents replied that the behavior in the case of "holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3) deserves either verbal reprimand or written reprimand. The behavior in the case of "cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6) was evaluated as deserving either verbal reprimand or written reprimand by the 43.5% of the respondents.

Forty two point four percent of the participants thought that the behavior described in the case of "auto repair shop 5% kickback" (Scenario 5) deserves suspension without pay; 32.3 of the respondents evaluated it deserving as dismissal. The behavior described in the case of "drinks to ignore late bar close" (Scenario 7) was rated to receive suspension without pay by 49.1% of the respondents.

American Police Officers' Perceptions of Expected Discipline

As was mentioned before, the following question was asked to the participants to find out the officers' experience, competence and organizational knowledge: "If an officer

in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow?"

Descriptive analysis showed that, except for only one case, appropriate and expected discipline match each other with minor differences in their means. According to the American police participants, the only difference is that written reprimand was implemented for the behavior described in the case of "holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3) but, they thought that verbal reprimand should be given for that behavior. (See table 22)

Willingness to Report for the Misbehaviors in the Scenarios

Following each hypothetical case scenario, willingness to report misbehaviors described in the scenarios was measured by asking "Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?"

Turkish Police Officers' Willingness to Report

Table 20 shows descriptive findings from the Turkish sample. The scenarios are ordered from the least serious to the most serious.

Seven hundred and five of the respondents, representing 69% of the participants, indicated that they definitely would report the behavior described in the case of "theft of a watch from crime scene" (Scenario 4). Five hundred sixty two respondents, representing 53.4% of the participants, replied that they definitely report the behavior in the case of "bribe from speeding motorist" (Scenario 2). The behavior described in the case of "theft from found wallet" (Scenario 8) was the third case that the participants would most likely to be willing to report. Five hundred sixty five respondents, representing 57.5% of the participants reported that they would report this misconduct.

Table 20 Turkish Police Respondents' Willingness to Report, Ranked by Officers' Perceptions of Case Seriousness*

SCENARIOS	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank	Scale	Frequency	Percent
Case 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	1000	3.02	1.125	1	Definitely Not	62	6.2
					Not Likely	316	31.6
					Not sure or clear	277	27.7
					Likely	226	22.6
					Definitely Yes	119	11.9
Case 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	1036	3.06	1.081	2	Definitely Not	38	3.7
					Not Likely	349	33.7
					Not sure or clear	282	27.2
					Likely	252	24.3
					Definitely Yes	115	11.1
Case 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	1067	3.16	1.155	3	Definitely Not	53	5.0
					Not Likely	337	31.6
					Not sure or clear	212	19.9
					Likely	320	30.0
					Definitely Yes	145	13.6
Case 5: Auto repair shop 5% kickback	1009	3.96	1.057	4	Definitely Not	14	1.4
					Not Likely	112	11.1
					Not sure or clear	164	16.3
					Likely	329	32.6
					Definitely Yes	390	38.7
Case 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	988	4.11	0.961	5	Definitely Not	9	0.9
					Not Likely	73	7.4
					Not sure or clear	136	13.8
					Likely	357	36.1
					Definitely Yes	413	41.8
Case 8: Theft from found wallet	983	4.41	0.821	6	Definitely Not	5	0.5
					Not Likely	34	3.5
					Not sure or clear	80	8.1
					Likely	299	30.4
					Definitely Yes	565	57.5
Case 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	1053	4.27	0.973	7	Definitely Not	18	1.7
					Not Likely	63	6.0
					Not sure or clear	97	9.2
					Likely	313	29.7
					Definitely Yes	562	53.4
Case 4: Crime scene theft of watch	1022	4.56	0.771	8	Definitely Not	8	0.8
					Not Likely	25	2.4
					Not sure or clear	55	5.4
					Likely	229	22.4
					Definitely Yes	705	69.0

* From the least serious to the most serious.

Three hundred seventy eight of the respondents, representing 37.8% of the participants, were not willing to report the behavior described in the case of "cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6). Six hundred sixty nine of the respondents, representing 66.6% of the participants, were either not willing or not sure or clear to report the behavior described in the case of "holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3). For the behavior described in the case of "free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1), six hundred and two of the respondents, representing 56.5% of the participants, were either not willing or not sure or clear to report it.

The behaviors described in the cases of "auto repair shop 5% kickback" (Scenario 5) and "drinks to ignore late bar close" (Scenario 7) would be reported by the 71.3% and 77.9% of the respondents respectively.

Turkish Police Officers' View about Willingness of Their Colleagues

The question of "Do you think most police officers in your agency would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?" was asked to the participants to find out how respondents view willingness of their colleagues about the same behaviors in the scenarios.

The respondents believed that their colleagues would be a little bit less willing to report the misbehaviors in the scenarios than they would be. However, the mean differences are small. (See table 20)

American Police Officers' Willingness to Report

Table 21 shows the distribution of American police officers across categories of willingness to report for each scenario. The scenarios are ordered from the least serious to the most serious. (See table 21)

Two thousand five hundred and two of the respondents, representing 77.4% of the participants, indicated that they definitely would report the behavior described in the case of “theft of a watch from crime scene” (Scenario 4). The behavior described in the case of “theft from found wallet” (Scenario 8) would be definitely reported by 2,052 respondents, representing 63.5% of the participants. Two thousand and three respondents, representing 62% of the participants, replied that they would definitely report the behavior in the case of “bribe from speeding motorist” (Scenario 2)

Two thousand three hundred forty one of the respondents, representing 72.4% of the participants, were not willing to report the behavior described in the case of “free meals discounts on beat” (Scenario 1). Six hundred sixty nine of the respondents, representing 66.6% of the participants, were either not willing or not sure or clear to report the behavior described in the case of “cover-up of police DUI accident” (Scenario 6). For the behavior described in the case of “holiday gifts from merchants” (Scenario 3), one thousand eight hundred ninety eight of the respondents, representing 58.7% of the participants, were either not willing or not sure or clear to report it.

The behaviors described in the cases of “auto repair shop 5% kickback” (Scenario 5) and “drinks to ignore late bar close” (Scenario 7) would be reported by 68.4% and 77.9% of the respondents respectively.

Table 21 American Police Respondents' Willingness to Report, Ranked by Officers' Perceptions of Case Seriousness*

SCENARIOS	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank	Scale	Frequency	Percent
Case 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	3,197	1.93	1.273	1	Definitely Not	1,762	54.5
					Not Likely	579	17.9
					Not sure or clear	410	12.7
					Likely	198	6.1
					Definitely Yes	248	7.7
Case 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	3,179	2.36	1.415	2	Definitely Not	1,289	39.9
					Not Likely	609	18.8
					Not sure or clear	532	16.5
					Likely	360	11.1
					Definitely Yes	389	12.0
Case 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	3,176	2.32	1.447	3	Definitely Not	1,378	42.6
					Not Likely	557	17.2
					Not sure or clear	501	15.5
					Likely	311	9.6
					Definitely Yes	429	13.3
Case 5: Auto repair shop 5% kickback	3,189	3.93	1.374	4	Definitely Not	339	10.5
					Not Likely	224	6.9
					Not sure or clear	415	12.8
					Likely	544	16.8
					Definitely Yes	1,667	51.6
Case 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	3,186	3.71	1.429	5	Definitely Not	402	12.4
					Not Likely	321	9.9
					Not sure or clear	477	14.8
					Likely	593	18.3
					Definitely Yes	1,393	43.1
Case 8: Theft from found wallet	3,194	4.20	1.278	6	Definitely Not	259	8.0
					Not Likely	167	5.2
					Not sure or clear	294	9.1
					Likely	422	13.1
					Definitely Yes	2,052	63.5
Case 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	3,186	4.17	1.281	7	Definitely Not	265	8.2
					Not Likely	140	4.3
					Not sure or clear	374	11.6
					Likely	404	12.5
					Definitely Yes	2,003	62.0
Case 4: Crime scene theft of watch	3,194	4.51	1.085	8	Definitely Not	176	5.4
					Not Likely	85	2.6
					Not sure or clear	169	5.2
					Likely	262	8.1
					Definitely Yes	2,502	77.4

* From the least serious to the most serious.

American Police Officers' View about Willingness of Their Colleagues

The question of "Do you think most police officers in your agency would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?" was asked to the participants to find out how respondents predict the willingness of their colleagues about the same behaviors in the scenarios.

The respondents believed that their colleagues would be less willing to report the misbehaviors in the scenarios. However, there were relatively no big differences in their means. (See table 23)

Table 22 Turkish Police Officers' Perceptions of Offense Seriousness, Appropriate and Expected Discipline, and Willingness to Report, Ranked by Officers' Perceptions of Case Seriousness*

SCENARIOS	Seriousness				Discipline						Willingness to Report			
	Own View		Others		Should Follow			Would Follow			Own View		Others	
	M	R	M	R	MO	M	R	MO	M	R	M	R	M	R
Scenario 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	3.98	3	3.38	3	VP	3.12	2	VP	2.95	2	3.16	3	2.81	1
Scenario 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	4.85	7	4.50	6	D	5.30	7	D	5.26	7	4.27	6	3.76	6
Scenario 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	3.72	2	3.17	2	VP	2.95	1	VP	2.86	1	3.06	2	2.85	2
Scenario 4: Crime scene theft of watch	4.90	8	4.75	8	D	5.70	8	D	5.60	8	4.56	8	4.26	8
Scenario 5: Auto repair shop 5% kickback	4.43	4	4.11	4	DE	4.38	4	DE	4.25	4	3.96	4	3.64	4
Case 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	3.47	1	3.08	1	VP	3.19	3	VP	3.33	3	3.02	1	2.99	3
Scenario 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	4.68	5	4.33	5	DE	4.44	5	DE	4.34	5	4.11	5	3.74	5
Scenario 8: Theft from found wallet	4.81	6	4.62	7	D	5.15	6	D	5.05	6	4.41	7	4.13	7

* Scores are based on officers' responses to the survey questions

VP: Verbal Reprimand **WR**: Written Reprimand **D**: Dismissal **DE**: Demotion
M: Mean **R**: Rank **MO**: Mode

Table 23 American Police Officers' Perceptions of Offense Seriousness, Appropriate and Expected Discipline, and Willingness to Report, Ranked by Officers' Perceptions of Case Seriousness*

SCENARIOS	Seriousness				Discipline						Willingness to Report			
	Own View		Others		Should Follow			Would Follow			Own View		Others	
	M	R	N	R	MO	M	R	MO	M	R	M	R	M	R
Scenario 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	2.59	1	2.31	1	VP	2.13	1	VP	2.36	1	1.93	1	1.83	1
Scenario 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	4.90	7	4.81	7	D	4.89	6	D	4.83	6	4.17	6	3.91	6
Scenario 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	2.84	2	2.64	2	VP	2.53	2	WR	2.82	2	2.36	3	2.28	2.5
Scenario 4: Crime scene theft of watch	4.93	8	4.88	8	D	5.62	8	D	5.54	8	4.51	8	4.32	8
Scenario 5: Auto repair shop 5%	4.47	4	4.26	4	SWP	4.38	5	SWP	4.44	5	3.93	5	3.69	5
Scenario 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	3.01	3	2.86	3	SWP	2.80	3	SWP	3.19	3	2.32	2	2.28	2.5
Scenario 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	4.51	5	4.28	5	SWP	3.99	4	SWP	4.06	4	3.71	4	3.46	4
Scenario 8: Theft from found wallet	4.83	6	4.69	6	D	5.06	7	D	5.00	7	4.20	7	3.94	7

* Scores are based on officers' responses to survey questions.

VP: Verbal Reprimand **WR**: Written Reprimand **MO**: Mode
D: Dismissal **SWP**: Suspension without pay **M**: Mean
R: Rank

Bivariate Analyses

Correlations between Perceived Seriousness, Appropriate Discipline and Willingness to Report

First, the researcher created two small data sets (one for Turkish police officers, one for American police officers) in SPSS by putting rank order numbers (from 1 to 8) of seriousness, discipline and willingness to report separately. Then, Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to find out whether there are any relations between perceived seriousness, appropriate discipline and willingness to report.

According to the findings from the Turkish data, there are significant relations between perceived seriousness, appropriate discipline and willingness to report (See table 24). There is a strong positive correlation between perceived seriousness of police misconduct and appropriate discipline ($r = .976$, $n = 8$, $p<0.01$). The more the Turkish officers consider corruption cases serious, the more they approve severe discipline for those cases. Turkish police officers' assessment of appropriate discipline and willingness to report is also positively correlated ($r = .905$, $n = 8$, $p<0.01$). The more the Turkish officers approve severe discipline for corruption cases, the more they are willing to report them. Another significant relation is between seriousness and willingness to report. ($r = .881$, $n = 8$, $p<0.01$) As the level of seriousness of corruption cases increases, Turkish police officers are more willing to report them.

Table 24 Rank Order Correlations (TR)

		Seriousness Own	Appropriate Discipline	Willingness to Report
Seriousness Own	Pearson Correlation	1	.976*	.881*
	N	8	8	8
Appropriate Discipline	Pearson Correlation	.976*	1	.905*
	N	8	8	8
Willingness to Report	Pearson Correlation	.881*	.905*	1
	N	8	8	8
*** p<0.01**				

Similar to the findings from the Turkish data, the findings from the American data show that there are significant relations between perceived seriousness, appropriate discipline and willingness to report (See table 25). There is a strong positive correlation between seriousness and appropriate discipline ($r = .952$, $n = 8$, $p<0.01$). The more American police officers consider the cases serious, the more they approve severe discipline. Another strong and positive correlation is between appropriate discipline and willingness to report. ($r = .976$, $n = 8$, $p<0.01$) American police officers are more willing to report the cases, which they believe that require severe discipline. There is also a strong and positive correlation between seriousness and willingness to report ($r = .929$, $n = 8$, $p<0.01$). American police officers are more willing to report corruption cases that are more serious.

Table 25 Rank Order Correlations (US)

		Seriousness	Appropriate Discipline	Willingness to Report
Seriousness	Pearson Correlation	1	.952*	.929*
	N	8	8	8
Appropriate Discipline	Pearson Correlation	.952*	1	.976*
	N	8	8	8
Willingness to Report	Pearson Correlation	.929*	.976*	1
	N	8	8	8
*** p<0.01**				

Comparison of the Turkish and American Officers' Seriousness Perceptions

In order to find out whether there are statistically significant differences between Turkish and American police officers with respect to their approach towards the seriousness of corruption, bivariate statistical techniques were employed. The researcher first merged Turkish and American data and then, run an independent samples t-test to look at the differences between the samples on each hypothetical scenario.

Scenario 1

There is a significant difference between Turkish and American police officers responses to the first scenario ($t=35.213$, $df= 2361.9$, $p<0.05$) (Table 26). Turkish respondents considered the behavior described in the first scenario more serious compared to their American counterparts.

Table 26 Comparison of Seriousness between American and Turkish Respondents For the Scenario #1

Scenario #		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	
Scenario 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	TR	1074	3.98	1.036	35.213*	* p<0.05
	US	3198	2.59	1.338		

Scenario 2

The analyses showed a significant difference between Turkish and American police respondents with respect to their perceptions of seriousness for the second scenario (t=-3.243, df= 2009.8, p<0.05) (Table 27). However the difference is too small to indicate any practical meaning.

Table 27 Comparison of Seriousness between American and Turkish Respondents For the Scenario #2

Scenario #		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	
Scenario 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	TR	1059	4.85	.411	-3.243*	* p<0.05
	US	3198	4.90	.462		

Scenario 3

Turkish police officers' evaluation of seriousness of the third scenario was significantly different from the American police respondents' evaluation of the same scenario (t=20.897, df= 2192.8, p<0.05) (Table 28). Turkish respondents considered the behavior described in the third scenario more serious than American respondents.

Table 28 Comparison of Seriousness between American and Turkish Respondents For the Scenario #3

Scenario #		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	
Scenario 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	TR	1040	3.72	1.104	20.897*	* p<0.05
	US	3184	2.84	1.386		

Scenario 4

For the fourth scenario, the analyses revealed a statistically significant difference between Turkish and American police respondents' perceptions of seriousness. (t=-2.746, df= 2067.4, p<0.05) (Table 29) American respondents considered the behavior described in the fourth scenario more serious than Turkish respondents. However, this scenario was considered to be the most serious police misconduct by the officers from both countries.

Table 29 Comparison of Seriousness between American and Turkish Respondents For the Scenario #4

Scenario #		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	
Scenario 4: Crime scene theft of watch	TR	1024	4.90	.346	-2.746*	* p<0.05
	US	3200	4.93	.419		

Scenario 5

Turkish and American police officers agree on the seriousness of scenario five. There is no significant difference between Turkish and American police officers on perception of seriousness of the fifth scenario. (t=-1.233, df= 2022.1, p>0.05) (Table 30)

Table 30 Comparison of Seriousness between American and Turkish Respondents For the Scenario #5

Scenario #		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	
Scenario 5: Auto repair shop 5% kickback	TR	1013	4.43	.774	-1.233	p>0.05
	US	3197	4.47	.933		

Scenario 6

There is a significant difference between Turkish and American police respondents with respect to their responses to the sixth scenario (t=10.602, df= 2078.2, p<0.05) (Table 31). Turkish respondents considered the behavior described in the sixth

scenario more serious than American respondents. However, the averages for the two groups fall into the same seriousness category and, the difference that was observed indicates no practical meaning.

Table 31 Comparison of Seriousness between American and Turkish Respondents For the Scenario #6

Scenario #		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	
Scenario 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	TR	1004	3.47	1.112	10.602*	* p<0.05
	US	3184	3.01	1.391		

Scenario 7

The data analyses showed that there is a significant difference between Turkish and American police respondents on their perceptions of seriousness of Scenario 7 (t=6.954, df= 2963.5, p<0.05) (Table 32). Turkish respondents perceived the behavior described in the seventh scenario more serious than American respondents. However, the averages for the two groups place in the same seriousness category.

Table 32 Comparison of Seriousness between American and Turkish Respondents For the Scenario #7

Scenario #		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	
Scenario 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	TR	993	4.68	.534	6.954*	* p<0.05
	US	3190	4.51	.939		

Scenario 8

There is no significant difference between the Turkish and American police officers' approach to the seriousness of the behavior in Scenario 8 (t=-.922, df=4184, p>0.05) (Table 33).

Table 33 Comparison of Seriousness between American and Turkish Respondents For the Scenario #8

Scenario #		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	
Scenario 8: Theft from found wallet	TR	985	4.81	.423	-.922	p>0.05
	US	3201	4.83	.605		

Factors Contributing to Seriousness Assessments of Police Officers

Bivariate statistical techniques were used to investigate factors contributing to seriousness assessments of police officers. Independent sample t-test and one way ANOVA were used in order to examine potential associations between the seriousness perception of police corruption and personal and occupational characteristics of the respondents. All the tests were performed at 0.05 alpha level.

Seriousness Index

The dependent variable in the following analysis is the seriousness index of police corruption. An index of seriousness was computed by using officers' responses to the first question following the eight case scenarios in the survey ("How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be?"). The averages of participants' scores on eight case scenarios were used as the seriousness index score for the purpose of following analyses. In this index the lowest possible score is "1= Not at all serious," and the highest possible score is "5= very serious".

Reliability of Seriousness Indexes

Cronbach's alpha was computed to determine the consistency of the seriousness index. Cronbach's alpha value for the seriousness index of Turkish data was .73. The Cronbach's alpha value computed for the seriousness index for the US data was .74. The reliability analysis showed that both seriousness indexes were satisfactory since all

Cronbach's alpha values over 0.70, commonly considered as the acceptable value of reliability in social science research.

Seriousness Index for Turkish Data

Actual scores on the index varied between 2.38 and 5.00. The distribution of scores is presented in the following histogram.

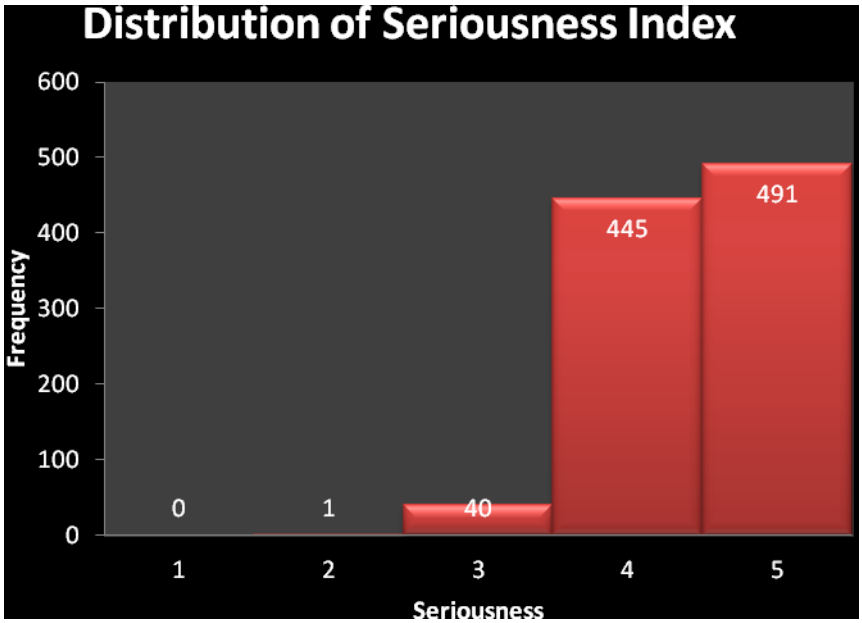

Figure 1 Distribution of Seriousness Index for Turkish Data

Overall, the majority of the officers, 95.8 percent (936 officers) considered the behaviors in case scenarios as "serious" or "very serious." Only 4.2 percent of the officers described case scenarios as "Not sure or clear" (40 officers) or "not too serious" (1 officer). (See table 34)

Table 34 Frequency and Percentage Distributions of Seriousness Index for Turkish Data

	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Scores	Scale	Frequency	Percent
Seriousness Index	977	4.35	0.463	1.00 - 1.49	Not at all serious	0	0
				1.50 - 2.49	Not too serious	1	0.1
				2.50 - 3.49	Not sure or clear	40	4.1
				3.50 - 4.49	Serious	445	45.5
				4.50 - 5.00	Very serious	491	50.3

Seriousness Index for the US Data

The distribution of scores is presented in the following histogram.

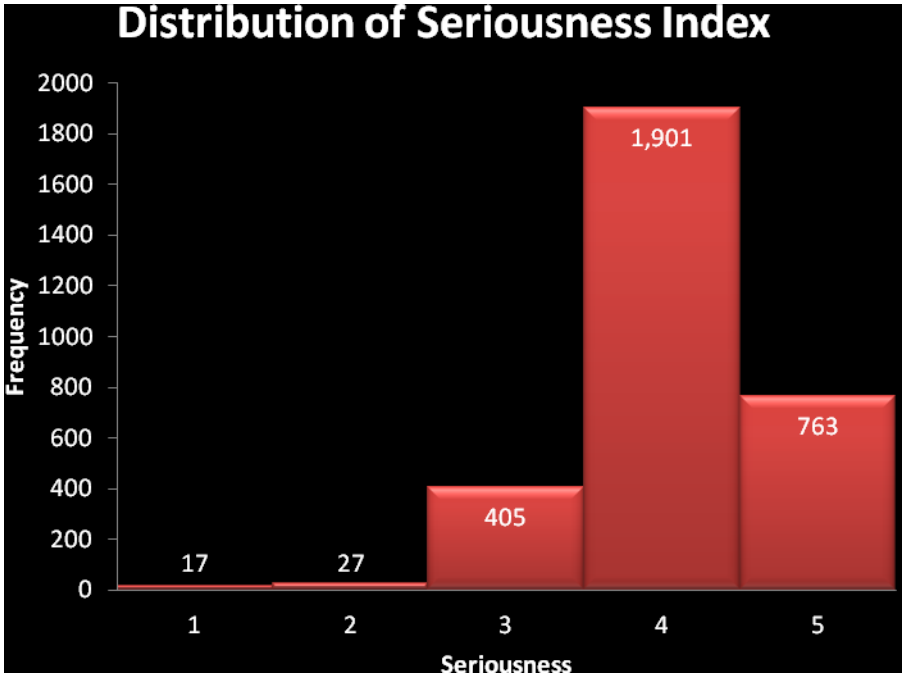

Figure 2 Distribution of Seriousness Index for US Data

The majority of the American officers, 85.6 % (2,664 officers) considered the behaviors in case scenarios as “serious” or “very serious.” Only 1.4% of the respondents (34 officers) evaluated the behaviors “not at all serious” or “not too serious.” (See table 35)

Table 35 Frequency and Percentage Distributions of Seriousness Index for American Data

	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Scores	Scale	Frequency	Percent
Seriousness Index	3,113	4.01	0.600	1.00 - 1.49	Not at all serious	17	0.5
				1.50 - 2.49	Not too serious	27	0.9
				2.50 - 3.49	Not sure or clear	405	13.0
				3.50 - 4.49	Serious	1,901	61.1
				4.50 - 5.00	Very serious	763	24.5

Factors Contributing to Seriousness Assessments of Officers (Turkey Case)

Below variables, which were addressed in the relevant literature, are included in the study in order to investigate the factors contributing to officers’ perceptions of corruption:

Occupational Characteristics of Officers:

- Length of Service,
- Rank (Supervisor vs. non-supervisor),
- Current assignment
    - Crime Control Unit vs. others,
    - Organized Crime Unit vs. others,
    - Traffic Unit vs. others

- Prior Assignment
    - Crime Control Unit vs. others,
    - Organized Crime Unit vs. others,
    - Traffic Unit vs. others
- Training on Ethics.

Personal Characteristics of Officers:

- Gender,
- Age,
- Educational level,
- Marital status (married vs. not married),
- Spouse work,
- Income level,
- Income satisfaction

Length of Service

Table 36 Length of Service and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Length of Service	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	F	Sig.
1-5 Years	104	4.3233	0.43147	1.229	0.297
6-10 Years	199	4.2965	0.46859		
11-15 Years	427	4.3615	0.47699		
16-20 Years	151	4.3841	0.43615		
21 or Higher	75	4.3983	0.45382		
Total	**956**	**4.3503**	**0.46264**		

p<0.05

Length of service has no significant impact on officer's perception of corruption ($F=1.229$, $df_1= 4$, $df_2=951$, $p>0.05$). Group means indicate that officers who have 11

years or higher experience in service perceive corruption cases more seriously compared to less experienced officers. However, the differences are not significant. (See table 36)

Supervisory Position

There is a significant relationship between being a supervisor and perception of corruption (t=-8.803, df= 949, p≤0.05). Supervisors and line officers are different with respect to their attitudes toward corruption. Supervisors are likely to take corruption cases relatively more seriously (Mean= 4.4955) than line officers (Mean= 4.2500). (See table 37)

Table 37 Supervisory Position and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Supervisory Position	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Line Officer	582	4.2500	0.48896	-8.803	948.8	0.000
Supervisor	389	4.4955	0.37786			

***p<0.05**

Current Assignment Unit

Crime Control Unit vs. Others

Table 38 Current Assignment Unit (Crime Control) and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Current Assignment Unit	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Others	622	4.3857	0.45135	3.515	969	0.000
Crime Control Units	349	4.2772	0.47841			

p<0.05

There is a significant relationship between an officer's unit assignment and perception of corruption (t=3.515, df= 969, p≤0.05). Officers who are assigned in crime control units are likely to take corruption cases less seriously (Mean= 4.2772) than officers who are assigned in other units (Mean=4.3857). (See table 38)

Organized Crime Unit vs. Others

Working in organized crime units has no significant impact on officers' attitudes toward corruption (t=.409, df= 969, p>0.05). (See table 39)

Table 39 Current Assignment Unit (Organized Crime) and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Current Assignment Unit	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Others	911	4.3482	0.46204	0.409	969	0.682
Organized Crime Units	60	4.3229	0.49537			

p<0.05

Traffic Unit vs. Others

There is a significant relationship between an officer's unit assignment and perception of corruption (t=2.162, df= 969, p≤0.05). Officers who work in traffic units are likely to take corruption cases less seriously (Mean=4.2348) than officers working in other units (Mean= 4.3559). (See table 40)

Table 40 Current Assignment Unit (Traffic) and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Current Assignment Unit	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Others	897	4.3559	0.46015	2.162	969	0.031
Traffic Units	74	4.2348	0.49740			

p<0.05

Prior Assignment Unit

Past Crime Control Unit Assignment vs. Others

Working in crime control units in the past has significant impact on officer's perception of corruption (t=2.894, df= 769, p≤0.05). Officers who worked in crime control units in the past (Mean= 4.3165) are likely to consider corruption cases less seriously than other officers (Mean= 4.4035). (See table 41)

Table 41 Prior Assignment Unit (Crime Control) and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Prior Assignment Units	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Others	347	4.4035	0.43463	2.894	769.2	0.004
Prior Crime Control Units	630	4.3165	0.47584			

p<0.05

Prior Organized Crime Unit vs. Others

Officers who worked in organized crime units in the past are not significantly different from officers who were deployed in other units with respect to their attitudes toward corruption (t=-0.889, df= 975, p>0.05). (See table 42)

Table 42 Prior Assignment Unit (Organized Crime) and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Prior Assignment Unit	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Others	905	4.3436	0.46292	-0.889	975	0.374
Prior Organized Crime Units	72	4.3941	0.46849			

p<0.05

Prior Traffic Unit vs. Others

Officers who worked in traffic units in the past are not significantly different from officers who were deployed in other units with respect to their attitudes toward corruption (t=0.783, df= 975, p>0.05). (See table 43)

Table 43 Prior Assignment Unit (Traffic) and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Prior Assignment Unit	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Others	858	4.3517	0.46202	2.162	969	0.682
Prior Traffic Units	119	4.3162	0.47301			

p<0.05

Training on Ethics

Table 44 Training on Ethics and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Ethics Training	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
No	437	4.3049	0.47416	-2.464	912.4	0.014
Yes	533	4.3788	0.45185			

p<0.05

Training on ethics has significant impact on officers' perceptions of corruption. Officers who participated in at least one ethics course in the past are likely to consider corruption cases more seriously (t=-2.464, df= 912, p≤0.05). (See table 44)

Gender

There is no significant difference between male and female officers with respect to their attitudes toward corruption (t=-1.117, df=963, p>0.05). Both groups equally consider officer behaviors described in case scenarios as "serious." (See table 45)

Table 45 Gender and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Gender	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Female	74	4.2889	0.40329	-1.117	963	0.264
Male	891	4.3514	0.46786			

p<0.05

Age

Table 46 Age and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Age	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	F	Sig.
21-30	175	4.2993	.42143	1.813	0.164
31-40	652	4.3675	.47146		
41-51	142	4.3195	.47512		
Total	**969**	**4.3482**	**.46378**		

p<0.05

Age of officer has no significant impact on officer's perception of corruption (F=1.813, df_1= 2, df_2=966, p>0.05). Perceptions of police misconduct do not vary by officer age (See table 46).

Education

Table 47 Educational Level and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Education	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	F	Sig.
High School or Less	102	4.2157	.51106	21.312	0.000
Some College	315	4.2421	.48917		
College	346	4.3707	.44384		
Graduate Degree	207	4.5374	.35414		
Total	**970**	**4.3482**	**.46358**		

p<0.05

There is positive and statistically significant relationship between an officer's educational level and perception of corruption. (F=21.312, df_1= 3, df_2=966, p≤0.05) As the education level increases, officers are likely to take corruption cases more seriously. Officers with a graduate degree take police misconduct cases more seriously than others (Mean= 4.5374), while officers with high school or less education take the cases less seriously than other officers (Mean= 4.2157) (See table 47).

Marital Status

Table 48 Marital Status and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Marital Status	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Single	94	4.2939	0.46291	-1.189	972	0.235
Married	880	4.3537	0.46371			

p<0.05

Marital status of an officer has no significant impact on officer's perception of corruption (t=-1.189, df= 972, p>0.05). Married and single (including divorced, widowed

and separated) officers are not different with respect to their attitudes toward corruption. (See table 48)

Spouse Work

Table 49 Spouse Work and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Spouse Work	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
No	582	4.3305	0.47584	-1.616	884	0.107
Yes	304	4.3836	0.44171			

p<0.05

Spouse's employment status has no significant impact on an officer's perception of corruption (t=-1.616, df= 884, p>0.05). (See table 49)

Income Level

Table 50 Income level and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Income Level	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	F	Sig.
1,700-2,500 TL	584	4.3119	0.48735	2.166	0.071
2,501-3,000 TL	116	4.3858	0.39651		
3,001-3,500 TL	110	4.3966	0.43954		
3,501-4,000 TL	101	4.4097	0.38855		
4,001 or Higher	59	4.4174	0.48999		
Total	**970**	**4.3469**	**0.46385**		

p<0.05

Family income level has no significant impact on an officer's perception of corruption (F=2.166, df_1= 4, df_2=965, p>0.05). Group means indicate that as income increases, officers are less tolerable of corruption. However, the differences are not significant. (See table 50)

Income Satisfaction

Income satisfaction has significant impact on officers' perceptions of corruption. ($F=8.524$, $df_1= 4$, $df_2=967$, $p\leq0.05$). As the income satisfaction increases officers are likely to take corruption cases more seriously. Officers who are very satisfied with their income perceive corruption cases more seriously than the others (Mean= 4.4670), whereas officers who are not satisfied with their income at all perceive the cases less seriously than others (Mean= 4.1379). (See table 51)

Table 51 Income Satisfaction and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Income Satisfaction	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	F	Sig.
Not At All Satisfied	87	4.1379	0.56645	8.524	0.000
Not Satisfied	278	4.2873	0.47276		
Somewhat Satisfied	143	4.3855	0.38527		
Satisfied	392	4.3992	0.44508		
Very Satisfied	72	4.4670	0.43856		
Total	**972**	**4.3468**	**0.46373**		

p<0.05

Factors Contributing to Seriousness Assessments of Officers (US Case)

The US data consists of minimal background information about officers including rank, length of service, unit assignment and supervisory position. Additionally, agency size was also included in bivariate analyses of US data.

Current Assignment Unit

Table 52 Current Assignment Unit (Patrol/Traffic) and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Assignment	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Others	1,126	4.1147	0.56282	7.383	3,075	0.000
Patrol/Traffic	1,951	3.9507	0.61055			

p<0.05

There is a significant relationship between an officer's unit assignment and perception of corruption (t=7.383, df= 3,075, p≤0.05). Officers who work in patrol/traffic units are likely to take corruption cases less seriously (Mean=3.9507) than officers working in other units (Mean= 4.1147). (See table 52)

Supervisory Position

Table 53 Supervisory Position and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Supervisory Position	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Line Officer	2,474	3.9453	0.59525	-12.880	1004.6	0.000
Supervisor	617	4.2703	0.55166			

p<0.05

There is a significant relationship between supervisory position and officers' perception of corruption (t=-12.880, df= 1004.6, p≤0.05). Supervisors and line officers are different with respect to their attitudes toward corruption. Supervisors are likely to take corruption cases more seriously (Mean= 4.2703) than line officers (Mean= 3.9453). (See table 53)

Length of Service

Table 54 Length of Service and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Length of Service	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	F	Sig.
1-5 Years	847	3.9104	0.60255	25.592	0.000
6-10 Years	751	3.9436	0.56616		
11-15 Years	433	4.0234	0.54385		
16-20 Years	513	4.0331	0.62081		
21 or Higher	542	4.2189	0.62177		
Total	**3086**	**4.0089**	**0.59993**		

p<0.05

Length of service has significant impact on officers' perceptions of corruption. ($F=25.592$, $df_1= 4$, $df_2=3081$, $p\leq0.05$). As the length of service increases officers are likely to take corruption cases more seriously. Officers who have 21 years or higher experience in service perceive corruption cases more seriously than other (Mean= 4.2189), whereas officers who have 1 to 5 years of experience in service perceive corruption cases the less serious than other (Mean= 3.9104). (See table 54)

Agency Size

Agency size has significant impact on officers' perceptions of corruption. ($F=25.472$, $df_1= 4$, $df_2=3,108$, $p\leq0.05$). Officers who work in very large agencies perceive corruption cases the less seriously than others (Mean= 3.9377), whereas officers who work in large agencies perceive corruption cases more seriously than others (Mean= 4.2082). (See table 55)

Table 55 Agency Size and Perception of Corruption Seriousness Index

Agency Size	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**F**	**Sig.**
Very Large (500+)	1,853	3.9377	.60197	25.472	0.000
Large (201–500)	616	4.2082	.54023		
Medium (76–200)	288	4.0816	.62222		
Small (25–75)	264	3.9820	.53715		
Very Small (<25)	92	4.0136	.71902		
Total	**3,113**	**4.0106**	**.59997**		

p<0.05

Multivariate Analyses

This section provides findings from multivariate analyses in order to explore the controlled effects of the independent variables on officers' attitudes toward seriousness of police corruption. Only the variables which were revealed to be significant in bivariate

analyses are included in the multivariate analyses. All the tests were performed at 0.05 alpha level.

Multivariate Analyses of the Turkish Data

As was indicated in the bivariate analyses part, the dependent variable in the following analyses is the seriousness index of police corruption. An index of seriousness was computed by using officers' responses to the first question following the eight case scenarios in the survey ("How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be?"). Again, the averages of participants' scores on eight case scenarios were used as the seriousness index for the purpose of following analyses. In this index the lowest possible score is "1= Not at all serious," and the highest possible score is "5= very serious" (See table 56)

Independent variables which were revealed to be significant in bivariate analyses are used in the multivariate analyses. The following variables are included in the multivariate analyses of Turkish data:

- Income Satisfaction,
- Educational Level,
- Supervisory Position,
- Current Unit of Assignment (Crime Control Units)
- Current Unit of Assignment (Traffic Units)
- Prior Unit of Assignment (Crime Control Units)
- Training on Ethics

Given the data and measures described above, the regression model was specified as:

$$Y_{1\ (\text{seriousness index})} = a + b_1\ (\text{educational level}_{\ i}) + b_2\ (\text{income satisfaction}_{\ i}) + b_3\ (\text{supervisor}_{\ i}) + b_4\ (\text{crime control unit – present assignment}_{\ i}) + b_5\ (\text{traffic unit – present assignment}_{\ i}) + b_6\ (\text{crime control unit – prior unit assignment}_{\ i}) + b_7\ (\text{Training on ethics}_{\ i})$$

Table 56 Dependent and Independent Variables for Multivariate Analyses of Turkish Respondents

Variables	***N***	***Values***		***Mean***	***Std. Dev.***
Dependent Variable					
Seriousness Index	977	1	Not At All Serious	4.35	0.463
		2	Not Serious		
		3	Not Sure or Clear		
		4	Serious		
		5	Very serious		
Independent Variables					
Educational Level	981	1	High School or Less	2.68	0.926
		2	Some College		
		3	College		
		4	Graduate Degree		
Income Satisfaction	983	1	Not At All Serious	3.08	1.156
		2	Not Serious		
		3	Somewhat		
		4	Satisfied		
		5	Very Satisfied		
Supervisory Position	981	0	Line Officer	0.40	0.490
		1	Supervisor		
Current Assignment/ Crime Control Unit	982	0	Other	0.36	0.481
		1	Crime Control Unit		
Current Assignment/ Traffic Unit	982	0	Other	0.08	0.264
		1	Traffic Unit		
Prior Assignment/ Crime Control Unit	977	0	Other	0.59	0.492
		1	Crime Control Unit		
Ethics Training	981	0	No	0.55	0.498
		1	Yes		

R^2

The R-squared statistic for the specified model was R^2 = .103 (n=977; df1=7; df2=946; F = 15.442; p< .05) and significant at .05 level. All the variables together in the

equation explain about 10% of the variation in the seriousness index for the population of police officers in Turkey.

The results of multivariate analyses showed that after controlling for other variables in the model "income satisfaction level" and "supervisory position" have significant impacts on officers' attitudes toward corruption (See table 57). As income satisfaction increases officers show less favorable attitude toward corruption (b = .062; t= 4.933; p< .05). According to the findings, Turkish police supervisors and line officers approach to the corruption differently. Supervisors are likely to take corruption cases relatively more seriously compared to line officers (b = .150; t= 3.461; p<0.05).

Table 57 Regression Coefficients (Police Officers' Attitudes toward Corruption: Turkey)

Variables	**B**	**Beta**	**Std. Error**	**t**	**Sig.**
(Constant)	4.003		.070	57.213	.000
Educational level	0.043	.085	.023	1.890	.059
Income satisfaction	0.062	.153	.013	4.933*	.000
Supervisory Position	0.150	.158	.043	3.461*	.001
Current Assignment/ Crime Control Unit	-0.033	-.034	.034	-.944	.345
Current Assignment/ Traffic Unit	-0.059	-.034	.057	-1.044	.297
Prior Assignment/ Crime Control Unit	-0.041	-.042	.033	-1.259	.208
Ethics Training	0.034	.036	.029	1.156	.248
R^2	0.103				
F	15.442				

p< .05

Income satisfaction level and supervisory position together explain about 10 percent variation in officers' attitudes toward corruption.

Multivariate Analyses of the US Data

As was indicated above, the dependent variable in the following analyses is the seriousness index of police corruption. Again, the averages of participants' scores on eight case scenarios were used as the seriousness index for the purpose of following analyses. (See table 58)

Table 58 Dependent and Independent Variables for Multivariate Analyses of American Data

Variables	***N***	***Values***		***Mean***	***Std. Dev.***
Dependent Variable					
Seriousness Index	3113	1	Not At All Serious	4.01	0.600
		2	Not Serious		
		3	Not Sure or Clear		
		4	Serious		
		5	Very serious		
Independent Variables					
Length of Service	3185	1	1-5 Years	2.70	1.450
		2	6-10 Years		
		3	11-15 Years		
		4	16-20 Years		
		5	21 or Higher		
Agency Size	3232	1	Very Large (500+)	1.75	0.482
		2	Large (201–500)		
		3	Medium (76–200)		
		4	Small (25–75)		
		5	Very Small (<25)		
Supervisory Position	3190	1	Line Officer	1.20	0.399
		2	Supervisor		
Current Assignment Patrol/Traffic Unit	3176	0	Other	0.63	0.482
		1	Crime Control Unit		

The independent variables which were revealed to be significant in bivariate analyses are used in the multivariate analyses. The following variables are included in the multivariate analyses of the US data:

- Supervisory Position,
- Length of Service,
- Type of Assignment
- Agency Size

Given the data and measures described above, the regression model for the US data was specified as:

$Y_{1\ (\text{seriousness index})} = a + b_1\ (\text{length of service}_i) + b_2\ (\text{agency size}_i) + b_3\ (\text{supervisory position}_i) + b_4\ (\text{present assignment-patrol/traffic units}_i)$

$\boldsymbol{R^2}$

The R-squared statistic for the specified model was $R^2 = .061$ (n=3113; df1=4; df2=3047; F = 49.514; p< .05) and significant at .05 level. All the variables together in the equation explain about 6% of the variation in the seriousness index for the population of police officers in the US.

Table 59 Regression Coefficients (Police Officers' Attitudes toward Corruption in the US)

Variables	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	3.670	.042		88.284	.000
Supervisory Position	.256	.030	.171	8.500*	.000
Length of Service	.024	.009	.059	2.829*	.005
Current Assignment/ Crime Control Unit	-.108	.023	-.087	-4.692*	.000
Agency Size	.020	.010	.036	2.048	.061
$\boldsymbol{R^2}$	0.061				
F	49.514				

p< .05

Bivariate analyses showed that American police officers' attitude toward corruption varies by officer's supervisory position, present unit assignment (patrol/ traffic units) and length of service.

The results from multivariate analyses showed that "supervisory position", "length of service" and "current assignment unit" remained significant in the multivariate analyses. (See table 59). The results indicated that supervisors are likely to approach corruption cases relatively more seriously compared to the line officers ($b = .256$; $t= 8.500$; $p<0.05$). Officers' length of service has significant impact on their behaviors toward corruption. As the length of service increases, officers take corruption cases less tolerable ($b = .024$; $t= 2.829$; $p< .05$). Working in patrol/traffic units has negative significant impacts on the officers' attitudes toward corruption ($b = -.108$; $t= -4.692$; $p< .05$).

Supervisory position, length of service and working in patrol/ traffic units explain about 6 percent variation in police officers' attitudes toward corruption in the US.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study will be discussed in this last chapter to answer all the research questions. Then, conclusion remarks and the potential implications for both police administrators and researchers will be taken into consideration.

Discussion of the Findings

Comparison of Turkish and American Respondents' Demographic Characteristics

It is important to note a major difference between the organizational structures of TNP and American police departments before discussing the findings from the analyses. As was mentioned in methodology part, the TNP is a national police organization and have highly centralized structure. The US has decentralized system that has over 20,000 police agencies. Another issue that needs to be considered prior to further discussions is that the US data have only the most minimal background information about officers, which limits the comparisons between the two samples. Due to the differences in ranking structure and organizational system between the US and Turkey, rank of respondents and size of agencies are not comparable. Therefore, the only comparable sample characteristics that were collected in both countries are length of service and supervisory position.

In terms of length of service, officers with less than five years of experience consisted the largest group of respondents for the American study (875 officers), while officers who had eleven to fifteen years of experience made up the largest group for the Turkish data (432 officers). The Turkish sample, on average, has 2.6 years more experience than their American counterparts (Mean year in service $_{\text{Turks}}$: 12.9 years, mean year in service $_{\text{Americans}}$: 10.3 years).

Turkish sample consisted of higher percentage of supervisors, compared to American sample. Approximately one in five officers from the US sample (%19.8) was a supervisor, compared to about two fifth of the Turkish sample (%40.2).

Comparison of Turkish and American Respondents' Perceptions of Police Corruption

Perception of offense seriousness is the dependent variable of this study. The participants were asked "How serious do you consider this behavior to be?" for each of eight hypothetical case scenarios to measure perception of the offense seriousness.

Since the researcher focused on the Turkish and American police officers' perceptions of offense seriousness, comparisons will be presented in two parts. In the first part, the results will be compared by using descriptive analyses. Then, statistically significant differences between Turkish and American police officers' approach towards the seriousness of corruption will be examined by using the results of independent sample t-test.

Comparison by Using Descriptive Analyses

American and Turkish police respondents almost completely agree on the rank order of the seriousness of the misconduct behaviors in the hypothetical scenarios with some differences in their means (See table 60). This agreement shows a consensus between the American and Turkish police officers perception about what they considered serious. The only seriousness rank difference between the officers' perceptions of both countries is "Cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6) and "Free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1).

When we focused on the mean values, considerable agreement was found on the most serious behaviors between both countries' respondents. According to the both

Turkish and American respondents, the behaviors described in "Crime scene theft of a watch" (Scenario 4), "Theft from found wallet" (Scenario 8) and "Bribe from speeding motorist" (Scenario 2) are the most serious offenses. The behaviors in these top three cases were clearly perceived as the most serious misbehaviors by many Turkish and American respondents. The behaviors in these three cases are related to a combination of abuse of authority and direct personal profit. These cases include illegal behaviors that cover bribery and theft.

The largest mean differences between the Turkish and American police participants appeared in the least serious deviances that were "Cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6), "Holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3), "Free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1). Interestingly, the Turkish officers considered all these three cases more serious than American counterparts. However, the ranking of misbehaviors were similar. Contrary of the three most serious scenarios, there is no direct economic profit in these scenarios. These three cases are related to the minor "perks" which are considered standard and informal benefits of being a police officer in many countries.[289] According to the Turkish and American participants, the behaviors in these three scenarios are tolerable. In other words, free meals, generous holiday gifts and cover up a drunk police driver could be judged as not serious as other personal profits.

The means of all the scenarios ranged between 2.59 and 4.93 for the American police officers. This range appeared between 3.47 and 4.90 for the Turkish police officers. The evaluations of seriousness about the behaviors in the scenarios can be categorized into three seriousness categories which are the most, intermediate and the

[289] Huberts, L., Lamboo, T. Punch, M., "Police Integrity in the Netherlands and the United States: Awareness and Alertness." *Police Practice and Research*, Vol. 4 (3), (2003): p. 217-232.

least serious based on their mean values. Although there were slightly ranking and mean differences, the seriousness evaluations of Turkish and American police respondents about the behaviors in the scenarios appeared in the same categories:

1. The Least Serious Behaviors:

Scenario 6- Cover-up of police DUI accident ($\bar{x}_{TURKS}$=3.47, $\bar{x}_{AMERİCANS}$=3.01),

Scenario 3- Holiday gifts from merchants ($\bar{x}_{TURKS}$ =3.72, $\bar{x}_{AMERİCANS}$ =2.84),

Scenario 1- Free meals discounts on beat ($\bar{x}_{TURKS}$ =3.98, $\bar{x}_{AMERİCANS}$ =2.59).

2. Intermediate Serious Behaviors:

Scenario 5- Auto repair shop 5% kickback ($\bar{x}_{TURKS}$ =4.43, $\bar{x}_{AMERİCANS}$=4.47),

Scenario 7- Drinks to ignore late bar close ($\bar{x}_{TURKS}$ =4.68, $\bar{x}_{AMERİCANS}$=4.51).

3. The Most Serious Behaviors:

Scenario 4- Theft of a watch from crime scene ($\bar{x}_{TURKS}$ =4.90, $\bar{x}_{AMERİCANS}$=4.93),

Scenario 2- Bribe from speeding motorist ($\bar{x}_{TURKS}$ =4.85, $\bar{x}_{AMERİCANS}$=4.90),

Scenario 8- Theft from found wallet ($\bar{x}_{TURKS}$ =4.81, $\bar{x}_{AMERİCANS}$=4.83).

Descriptive analysis showed that, except for only two cases, Turkish respondents' own and estimated seriousness perception of others match each other with relatively small differences in their means. On the other hand, the ranking of the American respondents' own and estimated seriousness perception of others completely match each other with relatively small differences in their means.

After comparing the seriousness approaches of Turkish and American police respondents towards the misconduct behaviors by looking at the ranking and mean values, in the following part, mean values of both countries' respondents are examined in bivariate analyses.

Comparison by Using Bivariate Analyses

As was mentioned in the methodology part, both Turkish and American data were merged one under the other in order to find out whether there are statistically meaningful differences between Turkish and American police officers' approach towards the seriousness of corruption cases. Independent sample t-test was conducted to explore the statistically significant differences between the perceptions of both countries' officers for each hypothetical scenario.

According to the results of t-test, there are significant differences between Turkish and American police respondents' perceptions of seriousness for the cases "free meals, discounts on beat" (Scenario 1), "bribe from speeding motorist" (Scenario 2), "holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3), "crime scene theft of watch" (Scenario 4), "cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6) and "drinks to ignore late bar close" (Scenario 7). On the other hand, Turkish and American police officers agree on seriousness of the cases "auto repair shop 5% kickback" (Scenario 5) and "theft from found wallet" (Scenario 8). There is no significant difference between Turkish and American police officers' approach to the seriousness of the misbehaviors in the fifth and eighth scenarios.

The data analyses showed that Turkish respondents considered the behaviors described in the first, third, sixth and seventh scenarios more serious than American counterparts. American respondents assessed the behaviors described in the second and forth scenarios more serious than Turkish participants. However, the fourth scenario was perceived the most serious behavior by the officers of both countries.

Comparison of Turkish and American Respondents' Perceptions of Proper Discipline

Following the hypothetical case scenarios, the participants were asked "If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow?" to measure the perception of appropriate discipline.

Both the Turkish and American respondents indicated that the behavior described in the case of "Theft of a watch from crime scene" (Scenario 4) had to be subjected to the most severe discipline. The Turkish participants believed that the behavior in the case of "holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3) should be subjected to the least discipline. The American respondents evaluated the least disciplinary action a little bit different from their Turkish colleagues. They indicated that the behavior in the case of "free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1) should be subjected to the least discipline. (See table 60)

The majority of the Turkish participants indicated that the behaviors described in the cases of "cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6), "holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3) and "free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1) deserve verbal reprimand. Misbehaviors in the cases of "auto repair shop 5% kickback" (Scenario 5) and "drinks to ignore late bar close" (Scenario 7) deserve demotion in rank. Misbehaviors in the cases of "theft from found wallet" (Scenario 8), "bribe from speeding motorist" (Scenario 2), and "theft of a watch from crime scene" (Scenario 4) deserve dismissal.

The majority of the American participants considered that the behaviors described in the cases of "holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3) and "free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1) deserve verbal reprimand. Misbehaviors in the cases of "auto repair shop 5% kickback" (Scenario 5), "cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6) and

"drinks to ignore late bar close" (Scenario 7) deserve suspension without pay. Misbehaviors in the cases of "bribe from speeding motorist" (Scenario 2), "theft of a watch from crime scene" (Scenario 4) and "theft from found wallet" (Scenario 8) deserve dismissal.

When we look at the mode results, both the Turkish and American participants agree on the disciplinary actions for the misbehaviors described in the first, second, third, fourth and eight scenarios. Comparing to the American police respondents, Turkish police respondents wanted more severe discipline for the behaviors described in the fifth and seventh scenarios. On the other hand, American officers wanted suspension without pay for the behavior described in the sixth scenario while Turkish officers wanted less severe discipline. (See table 60)

The question of appropriate discipline aimed at measuring the opinions of the respondents regarding misbehaviors in the scenarios. However, the question of "If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow?" aimed at exploring officers' experience, competence and organizational knowledge. The answers reflect the matter of facts instead of opinions and enable whether officers approve the disciplinary action of the organization.

According to the analysis of Turkish data, except for only one case (Scenario 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident), appropriate and expected discipline match each other with relatively small differences in their means. Similarly to the Turkish respondents, American participants indicated that except for only one case (Scenario 3: Holiday gifts

from merchants) appropriate and expected discipline are almost the same with relatively small differences in their means.

Comparison of Turkish and American Respondents' Willingness to Report for Police Misconduct

In order to measure officers' willingness to report of misbehaviors, the participants were asked "Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?" following each hypothetical case scenarios. While all other case scenario assessment questions were asking the officers about their opinions, this question about reporting a colleague's misconduct was asking the officers about their possible behavior if they would encounter such an instance.

The findings revealed that both the Turkish and American respondents are more willing to report serious behaviors described in "Theft of a watch from crime scene" (Scenario 4), "Bribe from speeding motorist" (Scenario 2), and "Theft from found wallet" (Scenario 8) scenarios. Behaviors that were considered to be moderately serious (i.e. "Auto repair shop 5% kickback" (Scenario 5), "Drinks to ignore late bar close" (Scenario 7)) were less likely to be reported compared to the serious cases. On the other hand, both the Turkish and American respondents are unwilling to report the least serious behaviors (i.e. "Cover-up of police DUI accident" (Scenario 6), "Holiday gifts from merchants" (Scenario 3), "Free meals discounts on beat" (Scenario 1) (See table 60).

The results of willingness to report show the existence of the code of silence and loyalty to the colleagues in the Turkish National Police and American police agencies. Average willingness to report scores are lower than average seriousness scores for all case scenarios. Although the respondents perceive most of the cases serious, they are not as willing to report them as much they consider them serious. The difference between the

perception on seriousness and the willingness to report indicate the existence of the "blue wall of silence" in the organizations and give some clues about the "height of the wall".[290] The results showed that seriousness of the misbehavior contribute officers' willingness to report of the misbehavior in both Turkish and American cases.

[290] Huberts et al., "Police Integrity in the Netherlands," p. 217-232.

Table 60 Differences Between Turkish and American Police Officers' Perceptions of Offense Seriousness, Appropriate Discipline, and Willingness to Report*

SCENARIOS	Seriousness				Discipline				Willingness to Report			
	Own View				Should Follow				Own View			
	US		TR		US		TR		US		TR	
	M	R	M	R	MO	M	MO	M	M	R	M	R
Case 1: Free meals, discounts on beat	2.59	**1**	3.98	**3**	VP	2.13	VP	3.12	1.93	1	3.16	3
Case 2: Bribe from speeding motorist	4.90	7	4.85	7	D	4.89	D	5.30	4.17	6	4.27	6
Case 3: Holiday gifts from merchants	2.84	2	3.72	2	VP	2.53	VP	2.95	2.36	3	3.06	2
Case 4: Crime scene theft of watch	4.93	8	4.90	8	D	5.62	D	5.70	4.51	8	4.56	8
Case 5: Auto repair shop 5% kickback	4.47	4	4.43	4	**SWP**	4.38	**DE**	4.44	3.93	5	3.96	4
Case 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident	3.01	**3**	3.47	**1**	**SWP**	2.80	VP	3.19	2.32	2	3.02	1
Case 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close	4.51	5	4.68	5	**SWP**	3.99	**DE**	4.44	3.71	4	4.11	5
Case 8: Theft from found wallet	4.83	6	4.81	6	D	5.06	D	5.15	4.20	7	4.41	7

* Scores are based on officers' responses to survey questions.

VP: Verbal Reprimand **DE: Demotion** **D**: Dismissal **SWP**: Suspension without pay
M: Mean **R**: Rank **MO**: Mode

Correlations between Seriousness Perception, Appropriate Discipline and Willingness to Report

The findings showed that officers' seriousness perceptions, appropriate discipline and willingness to report are positively correlated. According to the results of this study, as the level of perceived seriousness increases, officers' perception of appropriate discipline and willingness to report increase as well. The more serious both the American and Turkish police officers asses a misbehavior to be, the more severe they believe it should be disciplined and the more officers think they would be willing to report the misbehavior. In other words, when the American and Turkish police officers consider misbehaviors of their colleagues less serious, they believe the punishment should be less severe and they would be less willing to report them. It is clear that perception of seriousness is a key factor that affects the severity of discipline and willingness to report.

Factors That Influence the Seriousness Perceptions of Police Corruption Among the Turkish and American Respondents

Factors for Turkish Police Officers

Turkish data has twelve different independent variables that we could measure whether they have impacts on the Turkish police officers' perceptions of corruption seriousness. These variables include occupational and personal characteristics which were addressed in the relevant literature.

The Effects of Occupational Characteristics on Turkish Police Officers: Length of Service

This research showed that there is no significant relationship between the length of service and Turkish police officer's perception of corruption.

In the literature, there is no consistent association between years of experience and perception of police corruption. For example, the researches of Huon et al.[291] and Catlin and Maupin [292] revealed that newcomers are more likely to be idealistic and express the high evaluations of seriousness for the corruption cases. According to those studies, the behaviors of newcomers are impacted in the service negatively and they become more tolerable to the misbehaviors. In another study that was conducted by McElvain and Kposowa's, [293] it is argued that police officers, who had five to nine years of experience in the police forces, were twelve times more likely to be investigated for abuse of force than the police officers who had twenty years or more experience in the force.

The results of this study couldn't find meaningful association between the length of service and Turkish police officer's perception of corruption like the majority of past studies.

Supervisory Position

According to the results of analysis, having a supervisory position has significant impact on attitudes of the Turkish police officers' toward corruption. Turkish police supervisors take corruption cases more serious than the line officers.

The literature unanimously suggests that rank matters in comparing officers' view on corruption seriousness. [294] According to Ivkovic's[295] research, police supervisors from Croatia, Finland and the US have the common understanding of corruption seriousness

[291] Huon et al., *Perceptions of Ethical Dilemmas*.
[292] Catlin and Maupin, "A Two Cohort Study," 289-301.
[293] McElvain and Kposowa, "Police Officer Characteristics."
[294] Huon et al., *Perceptions of Ethical Dilemmas;* Criminal Justice Commission, *Ethical Conduct and Discipline*; McConkey et al., *Practical Ethics in the Police Service*.
[295] Ivkovic, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Corruption."

and they approach to the corruption cases more seriously than line officers. Supporting the findings of these prior studies in the literature, the analyses in this study revealed that police officers who have supervisory position take corruption more seriously than line officers. This is a relative outcome and does not mean that line officers tolerate corruption.

Current and Prior Assignment Unit

Officers working in different departments have different opportunities to engage in corruption. Knap Commission[296] stated that departments located in certain problematic areas are more vulnerable to corruption than others. For example, officers working in drug-infested areas in NYPD face temptations of corruption each day. Similarly, Mollen Commission[297] reported that officers working in organized crime and drug units have more opportunity to engage in corruption than other officers. On the other hand, Turkish Ethics Council[298] suggested that traffic units are the most vulnerable and potential divisions for the corruption. Police officers working in traffic units frequently contact with the drivers in their daily and routine traffic services. According to the study of Turkish Ethics Council, traffic police departments are the public institutions that were reported to be one of the most affected by petty bribery in Turkey.

Although New York commission reports and some of the past studies indicate association with officers' assignment type and their approach to corruption, the literature did not reveal a significant relation between a specific division and corruption. In fact, determining which department is more likely to be involved in corruption may change according to the police organization or country. As mentioned previously, any given

[296] Knapp, "Report of the Commission."
[297] Mollen, "Report of the Commission."
[298] Cerrah et al., "Ethical Conduct in Law Enforcement."

culture's moral and organizational infrastructure shape the parameters of the corruption context.

Despite the bivariate analyses revealed significant relationships between working in crime control and traffic units either currently or in the past and the Turkish police officers' perception of corruption, in multivariate analyses these two independent variables disappeared. After controlling for the impacts of all significantly associated variables with perceptions of corruption in the bivariate analyses, working in crime control and traffic units didn't remain significant.

The results of this research didn't support both Knapp Commission Report and study of Turkish Ethics Council. Supporting many prior studies in the literature, this study couldn't find significant relation between a specific division and police officers' perception of corruption.

Training on Ethics

Although bivariate analysis showed a significant relationship between training on ethics and Turkish police officers' perceptions of corruption, after controlling for the impacts of all significantly associated variables with perceptions of corruption in the bivariate analyses, training on ethics didn't remain significant.

Some studies[299] in the literature suggest that ethics training has a significant impact on the officers' behavior but this research didn't support this argument.

The Effects of Personal Characteristics on Turkish Police Officers:

Gender

The literature does not indicate significant association between gender of officer and perception of corruption. The findings of this study, supporting the literature, did not

[299] Harrison, "Noble Cause Corruption," 1-7; Trautman, "The Corruption Continuum," 16-20.

reveal any significant differences between the approaches of male and female police officers toward corruption in Turkey.

Age

The analysis showed that age does not have significant impact on police officer's perception of corruption. According to the mean values, police officers who are more than 30 years old perceive corrupt behaviors more serious than junior officers who are less than 30 years old. However, the analysis did not reveal statistically significant relationship between age and perception of offense seriousness.

Education

Bivariate analyses revealed that education has significant effect on the Turkish police officers' perceptions of seriousness about corrupt behaviors but, after controlling for the impacts of all significantly associated variables with perceptions of corruption in the bivariate analyses, education didn't remain significant. In Turkey, all the police supervisors must have a graduate degree. It is assumed that one of the significant independent variable of this study that is "supervisory position" affected the independent variable "education" in multivariate analyses. That's why; this research couldn't find significant relation between education and police officers' perception of corruption.

Income Level

Family income level of officer has no significant impact on officer's perception of corruption. Considering most economic theories which argue low income may lead a person to accept free food or bribe, one may expect a police officer with low income to be more likely tolerable for the corrupt behaviors. But, this study showed that economic

conditions do not have significant impacts on the Turkish police officers' perception of corruption.

Marital Status and Spouse Work

Neither marital status of an officer nor spouse's employment status has any significant impact on officer's perception of corruption. There is no difference between married and single (including divorced, widowed and separated) Turkish police officers' perception of corruption.

Since spouse work affects family income level of officer, the researcher asked whether officer's spouse has a job or not. The findings revealed that spouse's employment status has no significant impact on officer's perception of corruption.

Income Satisfaction

Income satisfaction is considered separately from actual level of income. Since expectations of life and quality of life concepts vary individually, actual level of income may not always be the correct indication of fulfillment of individual expectations. Income satisfaction concept, to some extent, is inclusive of limits of desires or expectations of life. Personal desires or expectations of life, rather than the quality of life one can live with his actual income, is expected to be the major drive behind tolerating corrupt behavior. Therefore the researcher explored whether income satisfaction has effect or not on the officers' perception of corruption. The analysis showed that there is statistically significant relationship between income satisfaction and perception of corruption. As the income satisfaction increases, officers are likely to take corruption cases more seriously. Officers, who are very satisfied with their income, perceive corruption cases the most

seriously, while officers, who are not at all satisfied with their income, perceive the least seriously.

Factors for American Police Officers

The US data have only the most minimal background information about officers. The variables include rank, length of service, unit assignment and supervisory position. Klockars et al. study included small police agencies and asking detailed background questions to the participants, such as age, gender race etc., would threaten the anonymity of the study and decrease the validity of the findings while decreasing participation rates.[300]

Current Unit Assignment

The results of bivariate analysis indicated statistically significant association with the current unit assignment and American police officers' perception of corruption. Police officers who work in patrol/traffic units are likely to take corruption cases less serious than police officers working in other units. Contrary to the findings of Turkish data, the US data supported Knapp Commission Report and the study of Turkish Ethics Council and revealed that working in patrol/traffic units has negative impacts on officers' perception about corruption.

Supervisory Position

Supporting the findings from prior studies in the literature, the results from the current study revealed a statistically significant relationship between supervisory position and American police officers' perception of corruption. American police supervisors are likely to take corruption cases relatively more serious than line officers.

[300] Klockars et al., *Enhancing Police Integrity*.

The findings of US data supported the literature [301] and showed that rank matters in comparing officers' view on corruption seriousness. Again, this is a relative outcome and does not mean that line officers tolerate corruption.

Length of Service

Contradicting to the findings from the Turkish data, US data showed that the length of service have significant impact on American police officers' attitudes towards corruption. As the length of service increases, American police officers take corruption cases more seriously.

The US data did not support the researches of Huon et al.[302] and Catlin and Maupin[303] which indicate that newcomers are more likely to be idealistic and express the high evaluations of seriousness for the corruption cases. The findings of US data showed that new recruits who have 1 to 5 years experience in service perceive corruption cases the least seriously. As they get more experience in the force, their behaviors are impacted positively and take corruption cases more seriously than before.

In addition, in-service trainings and the rules in the US police agencies might have positive effects on the American police officers' perception of corruption.

Agency Size

Bivariate analyses showed that agency size has significant effect on the American police officers' perceptions of seriousness about corrupt behaviors but, after controlling for the impacts of all significantly associated variables with perceptions of corruption in the bivariate analyses, agency size didn't remain significant.

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[301] Huon et al., *Perceptions of Ethical Dilemmas*; Criminal Justice Commission, *Ethical Conduct and Discipline*; McConkey et al., *Practical Ethics in the Police Service*; Ivkovic, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Corruption."
[302] Huon et al., *Perceptions of Ethical Dilemmas*.
[303] Catlin and Maupin, "A Two Cohort Study," 289-301.

The findings from prior studies indicated that size of agencies has impacts on police officers' behavior either positive or negative but, they were not conclusive and consistent. The analysis of American data showed that agency size is not a statistically significant factor which influences the American police officers' perception of corruption.

Conclusions

Corruption is a growing problem of the society that threatens social, economic and political development. With growing globalization, any corruption cases in any place have received much attention from the world. It is hard to find a nation which is immune to corruption. However, the types and magnitude of corruption may vary according to countries.

Although police are one part of the law and justice system and expected to maintain public faith in government, police corruption is still a near universal problem of the world.

Wrongdoings of police officers dishonor both themselves and the justice system. Despite the improving professionalism and reform efforts in policing, corruption is still common in police organizations and sometimes even the most competent and idealistic police officers may fall into this trap. Conducting research about corruption in police organizations is a very challenging topic for researchers due to the nature and extent of the problem. Questioning about corruption in the organizations is mostly done when societies become aware of scandals, and when those societies reach a certain democratic maturity so as to discuss the causes and consequences of the misconduct.

Until a couple of decades ago, most studies and most police administrators tried to explain police corruption with individual level factors (bad apple or rotten apple theories) alone. The problem had been seen as the result of a few morally defective individual police officers' corrupt actions. When police administrators needed an explanation for corruption in their agencies, the bad apple became a scapegoat for them.

As opposed to the individualistic approach, this cross-cultural study examined the police corruption problem on the basis of organizational level explanations, considering individual and societal level approaches. Since the problem may have multiple causes, none of the explanations of police corruption are totally independent from the others. This study emphasized a multidimensional approach rather than the traditional limited view.

Since measuring the nature of police corruption in a quantitative manner is very difficult and complex, researchers have used various techniques to deal with the research approach problem. In this study, a cross-sectional survey research design including a survey questionnaire, along with hypothetical scenarios based primarily on temptations faced by officers in their daily work was used. Since the structure of the scenarios in the survey was as culturally neutral as possible, easily recognizable and fairly universal, this study enabled the phenomenon of police corruption to be more transparent in a comparative sense. It is expected that the findings of this research will contribute to taking more effective prevention strategies against corruption.

This cross-national study compared the views of police officers from a developed and developing country. It is the first study that has compared the perceptions of Turkish

and American police officers about police corruption. It is also the first known empirical research about the perceptions of TNP members on police corruption.

This study did not aim to measure the extent of police corruption in any police agency of Turkey or the US, but tried to shed light on some scientifically unexplored aspects of the police corruption phenomena in the US and Turkey. It was not the purpose of this research to identify the corrupt or honest police officers or to cover any real dishonest or abusive practices.

According to this research, agreements and disagreements of Turkish and American police officers about the perception of seriousness varies across the cases. The opinions of Turkish and American police officers are quite close especially for the most serious cases. The most disagreements between the police officers of both countries were found on the least serious cases. When we look at the differences in details, American police officers perceive the most serious cases which are clearly known as misbehaviors in police organizations (eighth, second and fourth scenarios) to be more serious than their Turkish counterparts. On the other hand, Turkish officers perceive the least serious cases which have no direct economic profit (sixth, third and first scenarios) to be more serious than the American officers.

Although bivariate analyses revealed some differences on the seriousness evaluation of some cases, there is almost complete agreement between the American and Turkish police officers' rank order of the seriousness regarding the misbehaviors in the hypothetical scenarios, with some differences in their means. Despite the economic, social, political and cultural differences between Turkey and the US, the police officers of both countries share a common understanding of corruption seriousness. While the

Turkish and American police officers come from different environments and different organizational structures, the findings of this research revealed a strong consensus among the police officers of both countries about what they considered as being "serious." According to these findings, it could be said that the police subculture in both countries is very strong. In other words, subcultural factors have more effects than the society-wide factors on the Turkish and American police officers' perceptions of corruption.

This research also revealed that there is a general tolerance towards minor corruption cases among the Turkish and American police officers. For example, police officers in both Turkey and the US view the "cover-up of a police DUI accident" to be at a line between extending a courtesy to fellow police officers and actual misbehavior. According to the many Turkish and American respondents, accepting free drinks, meals or small gifts are tolerable behaviors, and should not be judged and reported as much as other misbehaviors.

The results of this research showed that 'the code of silence' and 'loyalty' to colleagues exist in the TNP and American police agencies. The classical dilemma between reporting a fellow officer's misbehavior and loyalty was recognized by the respondents of both countries. This research confirmed that police officers are not willing to report all the misbehaviors of their colleagues even when they perceive those behaviors as being unethical. The organizational subculture is a very powerful form of informal social control through enforcement of 'the code of silence'. While an occupational subculture is not unique to the police profession, the police subculture may have stronger effects on police behaviors than the formal rules, and shape the police officers' characteristics at every phase of their career.

The study showed that there is a significant and positive relationship among the officers' seriousness perceptions, appropriate discipline and willingness to report. That is to say that as the level of perceived seriousness increases, the American and Turkish police officers' perception of appropriate discipline and willingness to report increases as well. When the American and Turkish police officers consider misbehaviors of their colleagues more serious, they believe the punishment should be more severe and they would be more willing to report them. This relationship demonstrated that perception level of seriousness has a critical role in determining the severity of discipline and willingness to report.

About ninety six percent (96%) of the Turkish officers and eighty six percent (86%) of the American officers considered the behaviors identified in the case scenarios as "serious" or "very serious." At first glance, the findings do not indicate a large variance among officers' perceptions of corrupt behavior. Over all, the majority of the officers do not approve the officer behaviors defined in the case scenarios and consider them as "serious" cases that need to be paid attention. Fortunately, from this perspective there is no "unimportant" case of corruption. Actually, if the perceptions of officers of the corruption cases were mostly that they were not serious, we should have started to ring the alarm bells immediately for the police organizations in the US and Turkey.

In this research, from taking a free cup of coffee to stealing from a crime scene a wide range of officer actions were all considered "serious" enough "to keep an eye on them." On the other hand, the seriousness index scores still showed some variation that needs to be explained. Although almost all of the participants consider the cases as "serious," not all of them take the cases equally "serious." While they work at the same

organization, under the command of the same police chiefs and are subject to the same laws, police officers' perceptions of "serious cases" may not always be at the level that requires investigation. That's why this research also investigated factors contributing to officers' conceptions of "more serious corrupt behavior" or relatively "less serious corrupt behavior."

Bivariate analyses of Turkish data revealed that police officers' attitudes toward corruption vary by officer's educational level, income satisfaction, supervisory position, officer's present unit assignment (crime control units and traffic units), prior unit assignment (crime control units) and training on ethics. After controlling for the impacts of all significantly associated variables with perceptions of corruption in our bivariate analyses, only two variables -- income satisfaction level and supervisory position -- remained significant. The findings suggest that income satisfaction level of officers has a significant impact on Turkish police officers' attitudes toward corruption. As income satisfaction level increases, Turkish police officers show a less tolerable attitude toward corruption. The findings also revealed that supervisors and line officers have different attitudes toward corruption. Turkish police supervisors take the corruption cases relatively more seriously compared to the line officers.

On the other hand, bivariate analyses of American data illustrated that "supervisory position," "type of assignment," "length of service" and "agency size" have significant effects on the American police officers' attitudes toward corruption. These significant independent variables were included in the multivariate analyses. After controlling for the impact of all the variables which were significantly associated with police perceptions of corruption in the bivariate analyses, three variables - "supervisory

position," "length of service," and "current assignment unit" - remained significant in the multivariate analyses. Again, the findings showed that supervisors and line officers have different attitudes toward corruption. Supervisors are likely to take corruption cases relatively more seriously compared to the line officers. "Officers' experience" is another significant variable that affects the American police officers' attitudes toward corruption. As the length of service increases, officers show a less favorable attitude toward corruption. The findings revealed that "working in patrol/traffic units" is also another significant predictor of officers' attitudes toward corruption. Working in patrol/traffic units has negative impacts on the officers' attitudes toward corruption. Officers working in patrol/traffic units are more likely to perceive corruption cases as more tolerable compared to the officers working in other units.

Implications

Implications for Police Administrators

A good understanding of police officers' perceptions about corruption may lead the administrators to take successful corruption control measures. The results of this study revealed essential information for policy makers and police administrators, as well as police practitioners. Quantitative outcomes of the study provided important information about the American and Turkish police officers' perception of corruption seriousness and the factors that affect their perceptions. While administrators are determining the policy of their agencies, they can benefit from the combination of actual corruption investigations and the analyses of officers' perceptions of corruption. By knowing the police officers' views about corruption cases, police administrators may evaluate the effectiveness of agency rules, training, and their policies.

The findings of this study suggest the need for increasing police officers' perceptions of the seriousness regarding the unethical behaviors of their peers. The results revealed a strong and positive relationship among perceptions of seriousness, severity of discipline and willingness to report. The more serious the American and Turkish police officers consider the misbehavior, the more severely they believe it should be punished, and the more they believe they would be willing to report it. Thus, ways for increasing perceptions of the seriousness about the misbehaviors should be explored. For example, the ethical environment in the organization and income satisfaction affect the officers' perceptions of corruption seriousness positively.

According to the results of this research, supervisory position and income satisfaction for Turkish officers; and, type of assignment, length of service and supervisory position for American officers have significant effects on their perceptions of seriousness about corruption. As discussed in the literature review earlier, officers have considerable authority and broad discretion that they often find themselves in isolated and unsupervised situations while on patrol. That is why more direct supervision in small groups is an important factor for the prevention of this kind of corruption in both Turkish and American police organizations. Turkish administrators also should find ways of increasing income satisfaction among the police officers. The officers believe that they do not get enough financial benefits (i.e. salaries, overtime payments and health insurance aid) in terms of what they deserve compared to other government officials.

The results of the Turkish data, as well as the majority of past studies, have not found a consistent association between the length of service and police officer's perceptions of corruption. But the results of American data showed that "officers'

experience" in the force positively affects the American police officers' attitudes toward corruption. American police officers who have more years of experience in the service show less favorable attitudes toward corruption than others. This means that American police agencies are doing something in the forces that has a positive impression on the officers regarding corruption. Thus, Turkish administrators should examine the American police structure and practices, such as in-service training, disciplinary actions, etc. The American data also illustrated that American police officers working in patrol/traffic units are more likely to regard corruption cases more tolerably compared to the officers working in other units. The police officers working in these units have frequent contact with citizens in their daily and routine services. Thus, the American police administrators should focus on patrol and traffic units to reduce the negative impacts of service in these units on the officers' attitudes toward corruption.

Police administrators have to take initiatives to increase the understanding and awareness of police officers about police integrity by organizing training and mentoring of recruits. The training, both pre-service and in-service, has to cover the importance of ethical principles. The officers should be well-informed about the risks that they may face both inside and outside the work.

Police officers in both Turkey and the US view some of the misbehaviors of their peers tolerably and think they should not be judged and reported as much as other serious misbehaviors. In fact, in some societies, accepting gratuities is seen as a normal social behavior that contributes to social and friendly relations between citizens and police. Some police officers might have considered the acceptance of gratuities as a usual way of social communication between themselves and citizens. On the other hand, in some

countries, minor perks still seem to be one of the benefits of being a police officer. If these gratuities are not to be acceptable, police administrators should indicate this as a written rule and tell it to the officers clearly. They should create an organizational environment that has clear organization rules, certain discipline and enforcement of official rules. In this environment, all the organizational rules should be properly communicated to all personnel and misbehaviors at any level should not be tolerated. On the other hand, ethical behaviors of the officers should be rewarded as well. Each member of the agency should believe that every wrongdoing or good behavior is considered by the administration of the organization.

The results also showed the existence of the code of silence and loyalty to colleagues in both the Turkish National Police and American police agencies. This means that the Turkish and American police officers are not willing to report every serious corrupt behavior of their colleagues. The informal code has stronger effect on police behavior than the formal rules and regulations in most police organizations. Police administrators should take into consideration these unwritten rules and values of police in addition to the written rules when making decisions. They should not only make efforts to increase the ethical habits of police officers, but also they should try to reduce the strength of the negative effects of the police organizational subculture and loyalty. They may benefit from this subculture to increase cooperation and brotherhood in the organization. They have to establish strong social networks and trust within the organization and between the police and the public; but those things should be controllable by the administrators.

Implications for Researchers

Police corruption is a very complex and multidimensional phenomenon -- thus the survey of this study does not cover all facets of it. The vignettes of this study were developed by Klockars and his colleagues in 1997. Since then, there have been a number of changes in the nature of police work as well as changes in society. In addition, police officers of different countries may be confronted with different types of police corruption. Future research should renew the hypothetical case scenarios by updating and covering other forms of police corruption.

The changes and improvements in communication, such as the internet, increase the sensibility of societies and governments about corruption; and organizational and educational changes in the police agencies may affect the perception of police officers positively. That is why these kinds of researches have to be done periodically to see the changes and determine the new measures. In addition, police statistics, internal affairs investigations and citizen complaints about the corruption cases of police officers can be used as supplementary data sources.

A longitudinal study might be used to find out whether there are any differences and changes in police officers' perceptions of corruption seriousness over time and assignments. If there are some variations or new policy implementation in the organization, the effects of these on the officers' perceptions could likewise be considered.

Since the US does not have a nationwide and centralized police agency, it is difficult to get a national sample or to generalize the results of research to all police officers. Future research should obtain a more representative national sample of the US

police agencies. Moreover, how the perceptions of seriousness vary across types of police agencies, geographic location, agency size, etc. might be investigated.

The findings of this research of course cannot be generalized to the whole population. However, these findings provide invaluable predictions and information about how Turkish and American police officers in general perceive police corruption.

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A: Questionnaire Informed Consent Form of the Research Project

You are invited to participate in a research study that is being conducted by Yusuf Sarikaya, who is a Doctoral Student of The Rutgers Division of Global Affairs, Newark-New Jersey-USA. The purpose of this research is to compare the perceptions and tolerance of the Turkish National Police (TNP) officers and American police officers about police corruption by using primary and secondary data. For the perceptions of American police, a secondary data will be used; therefore the data only will be collected from the TNP members. In order to qualify for this study, you must be sworn police officer in the TNP.

If you are qualified person and decide to participate to this research, you will be asked to fill out a computer assisted questionnaire available at www.questionpro.com. The instrument covers eight hypothetical scenarios of police misconduct followed by seven questions for each scenario asking participant's opinion about the hypothetical case. Each scenario in the instrument simulates various police misconduct incidents to assess police integrity and misconduct. The survey instrument also covers additional questions asking demographic information about the officers. The questionnaire will take approximately fifteen minutes to complete. We anticipate that between 700 and 1,100 people will participate in this study. It is important that you be as honest as you can in answering the questions.

There is no foreseeable direct or indirect risk to the participants, and no direct benefits to the participants but this research is an opportunity for participants to make a

significant contribution to the TNP and literature of police corruption. The TNP has been criticized for corruption over the years. However, despite the long term concerns and great deal of interest on the topic, no empirical study in the literature has ever been directed toward exploring police corruption in Turkey. Understanding more about the contours of police corruption in Turkey can provide a good response to these criticisms and also may help revising organizational policies, practices, and training programs.

Participation in this study is voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating in the study. If you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer any particular question by selecting "do not want to answer" option provided for every question or discontinue participation at any time by selecting "exit without saving my responses" option provided at the end of each page. There is no penalty for not answering any particular question or canceling participation. Withdrawal from the study will in no way prejudice your future interactions with the personnel administering or supervising the study, or with Rutgers University.

Information gathered from you will be stored in a website and after the data gathered it will be deleted from the website. The responses of the participants will be confidential during all the stages of study. The name and address information of the participants will not be collected in the survey. Data files will not contain potentially identifying information. We assure that the survey company will keep IP addresses of the participants and not reveal these to the researcher.

By online submission of this questionnaire you have read and understood the above information, have had any questions answered satisfactorily, and you willingly consent to participate in this study. If you have any questions about the study or study

procedures, you may contact me by email at sarikaya@andromeda.rutgers.edu, or you can contact my study coordinator, Dr. James Finckenauer by email (finckena@newark.rutgers.edu), or by phone at +1 (973)-353-3311.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator, Michelle Gibel, at Rutgers University at:

Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
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Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

APPENDIX B: Questionnaire of the Research Project

SURVEY INSTRUCTIONS

On the following pages you will be asked to evaluate eight descriptions of police officer behavior that may depart from official department policy.

In each instance you should assume that the officer in question has been a police officer for five years, has not been previously disciplined, and that the officer has a satisfactory work record. Please do not make any other assumptions about the incident or the officer.

For each incident you will be asked the same set of seven questions. These questions ask you to give your opinion about the seriousness of the behavior, the discipline, if any, it merits, or the likelihood it would be reported.

To do so, you must select a number on the five-point scale that appears beneath each question.

Please remember that we are only asking for your PERSONAL OPINIONS on these matters. Your answers do not in any way imply that you have participated in or are aware of any such behavior in your agency.

Section 1- Case Scenarios and Questions

Scenario 1: Free meals, discounts on beat				
A police officer routinely accepts free meals, cigarettes, and other items of small value from merchants on his beat. He does not solicit these gifts and is careful not to abuse the generosity of those who give gifts to him.				
1. How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be?				
Not at all serious				Very serious
1	2	3	4	5
2. How serious do MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY consider this behavior to be?				
Not at all serious				Very serious
1	2	3	4	5
3. Would this behavior be regarded as a violation of official policy in your agency?				
Definitely not				Definitely yes
1	2	3	4	5
4. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow?				
1. None		4. Period of suspension without pay		
2. Verbal Reprimand		5. Short term suspension		

3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
5. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
6. Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
7. Do you think MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
Scenario 2: Bribe from speeding motorist
A police officer stops a motorist for speeding. The officer agrees to accept a personal gift of half of the amount of the fine in exchange for not issuing a citation.
1. How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
2. How serious do MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
3. Would this behavior be regarded as a violation of official policy in your agency? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
4. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
5. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
6. Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
7. Do you think MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
Scenario 3: Holiday gifts from merchants

A police officer is widely liked in the community, and on holidays local merchants and restaurant and bar owners show their appreciation for his attention by giving him gifts of food and liquor.
1. How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
2. How serious do MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
3. Would this behavior be regarded as a violation of official policy in your agency? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
4. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
5. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
6. Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
7. Do you think MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
Scenario 4: Crime scene theft of watch
A police officer discovers a burglary of a jewelry shop. The display cases are smashed and it is obvious that many items have been taken. While searching the shop, he takes a watch, worth about two days pay for that officer. He reports that the watch had been stolen during the burglary.
1. How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
2. How serious do MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
3. Would this behavior be regarded as a violation of official policy in your agency? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5

4. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow?

1. None	4. Period of suspension without pay
2. Verbal Reprimand	5. Short term suspension
3. Written Reprimand	6. Dismissal

5. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow?

1. None	4. Period of suspension without pay
2. Verbal Reprimand	5. Short term suspension
3. Written Reprimand	6. Dismissal

6. Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?

Definitely not				Definitely yes
1	2	3	4	5

7. Do you think MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?

Definitely not				Definitely yes
1	2	3	4	5

Scenario 5: Auto repair shop 5 percent kickback

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

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

Not at all serious				Very serious
1	2	3	4	5

2. How serious do MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY consider this behavior to be?

Not at all serious				Very serious
1	2	3	4	5

3. Would this behavior be regarded as a violation of official policy in your agency?

Definitely not				Definitely yes
1	2	3	4	5

4. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow?

1. None	4. Period of suspension without pay
2. Verbal Reprimand	5. Short term suspension
3. Written Reprimand	6. Dismissal

5. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow?

1. None	4. Period of suspension without pay
2. Verbal Reprimand	5. Demotion in rank
3. Written Reprimand	6. Dismissal

6. Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior?

Definitely not				Definitely yes
1	2	3	4	5

7. Do you think MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
Scenario 6: Cover-up of police DUI accident
At 2 A.M. a police officer, who is on duty, is driving his patrol car on a deserted road. He sees a vehicle that has bean driven off the road and is stuck in a ditch. He approaches the vehicle and observes that the driver is not hurt but is obviously intoxicated. He also finds that the driver is a police officer. Instead of reporting this accident and offense he transports the driver to his home.
1. How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
2. How serious do MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
3. Would this behavior be regarded as a violation of official policy in your agency? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
4. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
5. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
6. Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
7. Do you think MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
Scenario 7: Drinks to ignore late bar close
A police officer finds a bar on his beat which is still serving drinks a half hour past its legal closing time. Instead of reporting this violation, the police officer agrees to accept a couple of free drinks from the owner.
1. How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
2. How serious do MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY consider this

behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
3. Would this behavior be regarded as a violation of official policy in your agency? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
4. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
5. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
6. Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
7. Do you think MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
Scenario 8: Theft from found wallet
A police officer finds a wallet in a parking lot. It contains the amount of money equivalent to a full-day's pay for that officer. He reports the wallet as lost property, but keeps the money for himself.
1. How serious do YOU consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
2. How serious do MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY consider this behavior to be? Not at all serious Very serious 1 2 3 4 5
3. Would this behavior be regarded as a violation of official policy in your agency? Definitely not Definitely yes 1 2 3 4 5
4. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think SHOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay 2. Verbal Reprimand 5. Short term suspension 3. Written Reprimand 6. Dismissal
5. If an officer in your agency engaged in this behavior and was discovered doing so, what if any discipline do YOU think WOULD follow? 1. None 4. Period of suspension without pay

2. Verbal Reprimand 3. Written Reprimand	5. Short term suspension 6. Dismissal
6. Do you think YOU would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not 1 2 3 4 Definitely yes 5	
7. Do you think MOST POLICE OFFICERS IN YOUR AGENCY would report a fellow police officer who engaged in this behavior? Definitely not 1 2 3 4 Definitely yes 5	

Section 2- Background Questions

1	**How long have you been in the TNP as a sworn police officer?**
2	**What is your current rank?**
	1. Line officer (non rank) 2. Lower management (sergeant, lieutenant, captain) 3. Middle management (superintendent, assistant division director) 4. Upper management (chief of police, deputy chief, division director)
3	**What is your current assignment?**
	1. Crime control/prevention 2. Organized crime/Narcotics 3. Anti-terror/Intelligence 4. Special Assignment 5. Riot police 6. Traffic
4	**What was your previous assignment?**
	1. Crime control/prevention 2. Organized crime/Narcotics 3. Anti-terror/Intelligence 4. Special Assignment 5. Riot police 6. Traffic
5	**Since becoming a sworn officer, have you ever taken training course on police ethics?**
	1. Yes 2. No
6	**What is your age?**
	1. Male 2. Female
7	**What is your Gender?**
8	**What is the highest degree you completed?**
	1. Less than high school 2. High school 3. Two year college

	4. Bachelor of arts/science 5. Master of arts/science 6. Doctoral degree
9	**What is your marital status?** 1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Widow
10	**If you are married, does your spouse work?** 1.Yes 2. No
11	**What is your average monthly household income? (Please include salaries and incomes of all household members)** 1. 1700-2500 TL 2. 2501-3000 TL 3. 3001-3500 TL 4. 3501-4000 TL 5. 4001 or above
12	**Are you satisfied with your household income?** 1. Not at all satisfied 2. Not satisfied 3. Somewhat satisfied 4. Satisfied 5. Completely satisfied
13	**Do you think that most police officers would give their honest opinions in filling out this questionnaire?** 1. Yes 2. No
14	**Did you give your honest opinion in filling out this questionnaire?** 1. Yes 2. No