

Effects of Normative and Instrumental Factors on Compliance, Cooperation, and Obedience in South Korea

Jeong L. Kim, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
Department of Social Sciences
Mercy College

*Hyungjin Lim, Ph.D.**
Assistant Professor
Division of Police Science
Baekseok University

Ryung Nam Kim, J.D.
Associate Attorney
Waller Lansden Dortch & Davis, LLP

Abstract

In recent years, studies began to pay attention to Tyler's process-based model of regulations, which is one of the efforts emphasizing the importance of normative practices to encourage people to obey the law over instrumental practices. Following Tyler's model, the current study tests procedural justice theory by investigating impacts of normative factors of procedural justice, normative alignment, and obligation to obey, along with instrumental factors of perceived police effectiveness and perceived risk of sanctions on citizens' compliance with the law and cooperation with the police. For this purpose, we collected data by surveying 520 individuals in South Korea between July 2017 and August 2017, using a questionnaire used by the European Social Survey (ESS). Data analyses demonstrate that compliance is negatively influenced by procedural justice, but positively influenced by normative alignment and perceived effectiveness; cooperation is positively influenced by perceived effectiveness and perceived risk of sanctions; finally, obligation to obey is positively influenced by procedural justice, normative alignment, and perceived risk of sanctions. These findings support the procedural justice theory partially. Discussion, implication, limitations are followed.

Keywords

Procedural Justice, Normative Alignment, Compliance, Cooperation, Obligation to Obey

* Correspondence concerning this article may be addressed to Hyungjin Lim, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Division of Police Science, Baekseok University; e-mail: limhj@bu.ac.kr

* <http://dx.doi.org/10.36889/IJCJ.2020.12.2.2.002>

* Received 28 April 2020; Received in revised form 8 July 2020; Accepted 8 July 2020

INTRODUCTION

Among the major governmental institutions which sustain our society, the police are second to none in drawing the public attention. As an institution created to maintain essential social infrastructure, the police are obligated to handle socially inharmonious occurrences efficiently and effectively (Novak, Smith, Cordner, & Roberg, 2017). Inevitably, the nature of police work interferes with citizens' lives, and the police often face unfriendly responses from citizens that make their job harder (Kim, 2014). In order to achieve its institutional goals, it is important for the police to figure out how to perform their duties in ways that are accepted favorably by the citizens (Tyler, 2006b).

A substantial number of empirical studies demonstrate that the public perceptions toward and assessment of the police are significant in shaping police working environments (Dai, Frank, & Sun, 2011; Wells, 2007). For instance, citizens are more likely to support and cooperate with the police and less likely to commit crimes when they feel that the police are working legitimately and fairly (Tyler, 2006b). The citizens' perceptions of police legitimacy and fairness are promoted by the process-based model of regulation that emphasizes the importance of procedurally fair treatment and practices; and these perceptions in turn influence the citizens' willingness of compliance and cooperation with the law and authorities (Fagan & Tyler, Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tankebe, 2009).

Likewise, a substantial number of studies show that the citizens are more likely to be interested in how police do what they do, rather than what they actually do or what the results of their performances are: in other words, procedural factors appeal more to citizens than substantive ones (Fagan & Tyler, 2005; Reisig & Mesko, 2009; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006b). Therefore, the police can benefit from discovering what factors have an influence on the public perception and assessment on police performance, especially in terms of procedural aspects (Walters & Bolger, 2019). For that purpose, factors determining the public perceptions and assessment of police activities are worth being disclosed and empirically measured.

One of the concerns about procedural justice studies comes from generalizability. Since most of the procedural justice studies so far have been conducted in Western nations, a generalizability concern across the countries with

different histories, cultures, and legal backgrounds surfaces (Johnson, Maguire, & Kuhns, 2014). Hence, more geographically diverse studies are warranted to contribute to the existent studies about the influence of procedural justice on compliance and cooperation. In an effort to expand a research site, the current study examined a dataset collected in South Korea, one of the far-east Asian countries.

Since the establishment of the modern organization, the South Korean police have undergone many insufferable hardships in terms of its official capacity and political neutrality (Kim, J., Wells, W., Vardalis, J., Johnson, S. & Lim, H., 2016). For example, while Imperial Japan ruled the Korean peninsula (1910-1945), Korean colonial police were utilized as a brutal apparatus to control Koreans and crack down on the efforts to achieve independence (Woo, Maguire, & Gau, 2018). The brutal, corrupted, and politicized impressions of the colonial police lasted longer even after the Korean peninsula was liberated from Japan in 1945 due primarily to turbulent political situations, such as the Korean war (1953 – 1953), military coups (1961 and 1979), military regimes (1961 – 1992), and multiple suspected election frauds (see Moon, 2004; Woo et al., 2018). For pro-democratic civilians were inaugurated as presidents since 1992, the South Korean police were considerably eased from the blame of a minion of the regime (Kim et al., 2016); still its nationally centralized structure and president-appointed leadership cast doubts over political neutrality of the police (Lee, 2004). In this vein, process-based policing may have implications for the South Korean police to the efforts of restoring its legitimacy and regaining public trust.

In order to examine the process-based model of policing in South Korea, especially focusing on the influence of police legitimacy fostered by procedural justice factors on the public compliance and cooperation with the law and the police, this study adopted the modified European Social Survey (ESS) which has been utilized to analyze the public attitudes, beliefs, and behavioral patterns in a number of prior U.S. studies (Tyler, 2006a; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

PREVIOUS STUDIES

Theoretical Frame Note

Traditionally, laws and policies have been established and enforced by professionally educated and trained personnel in centralized groups (Tyler, 2006b). This practice is based on an idea of hierarchical bureaucracy with a pyramidal social structure. In this frame, while the power elite at the top level suggests, establishes, and directs the law and policy, the lower level bureaucrats carry them out, and those at the bottom level of the pyramid are ruled accordingly (Tyler, 2006b). Compliance with the enforcement of law is guaranteed by punishing the disobedient, specifically law violators (Piquero & Pogarsky, 2002). However, in the modern democratic society, which is philosophically based on the social consensus, citizens' unconditional obedience to the authority's intention is losing its antiquated foundation (Novak et al., 2017). While the traditional criminal justice system still relies heavily on hedonistic utilitarianism which instrumentally encourages people to obey the law in order to avoid pain (punishments), alternative efforts on the criminal justice system based on Kantianism have emerged which encourages people to behave morally and in turn, abide by the law voluntarily because it is the right thing to do (Sandel, 2010).

In his seminal work, *Why people obey the law*, Tyler (2006b) encapsulated these two perspectives. He accounted for the reasons why people obey the law with two principal approaches: an instrumental approach which compels people to obey the law by punishing law violators; or a normative approach which persuades people to comply with the law by promoting voluntary obedience (Tyler, 2003). The instrumental approach is mainly based on cost-benefit analysis. If the cost is greater than the effect of behavior, e.g., if a person feels a higher risk of sanctions with fewer rewards as a result of the behavior, then the person would give up the act; however, if the benefit of a behavior is greater than the cost, e.g., a lower risk of sanctions with more rewards as a result of the behavior, then the person would go for it (Bottoms, 2002; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). In this vein, in order to deter a potential criminal, an instrumental approach tries to raise a risk of sanctions via possibly effective criminal justice institutions with severe punishments (Johnson et al.,

2014; Tyler, 2003). On the other hand, in order to facilitate a sense of morality, a normative approach attempts to enhance legitimacy via the procedural justice model in regulations, possibly with normative alignment (Tyler, 2003).

If a normative approach could induce citizens to voluntarily comply with the law, then the police can perform their jobs better with the same quantity of resources or even less (Tyler, 2006b). On the other hand, the police must continually monitor citizens and punish lawbreakers under an instrumental approach, which will likely be more pricey than the voluntary-based policing (Tyler, 2006b). Therefore, implementing the normative approach would be more promising for achieving favorable goals in policing strategies. This procedural justice theory, however, is still under development in exploring the influence of legitimacy via procedural justice on the public compliance and cooperation with the law and legal authorities (Woo et al., 2018). The current study investigates the impacts of normative factors of procedural justice, normative alignment, and obligation to obey, along with instrumental factors of perceived police effectiveness and perceived risk of sanctions on citizens' compliance and cooperation with the law and legal authorities.

Compliance with the Law

Voluntary compliance, an external appearance of a sense of duty to obey the law, is one of the key concepts in legitimacy study (Johnson et al., 2014). The traditional legal system assumes that people would follow the law passively to avoid punishment for violating it (Tyler & Jackson, 2014). However, as people have become to be considered as beings who interact actively with their environments, a new approach of the legal system has emerged. Instead of considering citizens as passive beneficiaries of the legal system, this new perspective sees people as active participants who provide feedback by interacting with the system (Tyler, 2006b). In this type of interaction, people do not accommodate the authority unconditionally, but examine it critically and react accordingly. Therefore, instead of soliciting citizens for unconditional compliance, the modern authority is motivated to seek citizens' agreement to accomplish a favorable goal in policing (Reiner, 2000).

Cooperation with Legal Authority

In addition, the extent to which citizens assess the legitimacy of the police has a significant impact on their cooperation with the police and acceptance of the police work (Jackson, Huq, Bradford, & Tyler, 2013), respect for the police (Tyler & Huo, 2002), observing the rules, and supporting the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Beetham (1991) argues that legitimacy provides a moral justification to people in obeying the authority. Murphy and Cherney (2012) found that when the level of citizens' recognition of the police legitimacy was higher, their willingness to cooperate with the police increased in Australia. Sunshine and Tyler (2003) confirmed similar findings in New York City. On the other hand, Tankebe (2009) demonstrated that, in Ghana, citizens' perceptions of the outcomes of police performance had a bigger impact on their willingness to cooperate with the police than their perceptions on police legitimacy.

Obligation to Obey

Tyler (2003) posits that obligation to obey directly represents legitimacy. Two components in legitimacy are perceived moral appropriateness of the institution and internalized sense of consent to the authority (Tyler, 2003). Perceived moral appropriateness of the institution is a matter of judgment on whether the agency has a rightful authority and exercise it normatively. When citizens believe the agency exercises its authority properly and fairly in line with their expectations, then citizens would have a sense of obligation to obey the agency (Jackson et al., 2012). An internalized sense of consent to the authority is a matter of judgment on whether the agency is entitled to dictate how citizens behave. When citizens recognize that an agency is legitimately entitled to dictate their behavior, they would follow the directions and obey the law voluntarily (Hough, Jackson, & Bradford, 2016). On the other hand, Tankebe (2013) suggests that obligation to obey is a *component* of legitimacy, not *antecedent*.

Normative Factors: Procedural Justice and Normative Alignment

Being frequently considered as an antecedent of legitimacy, procedural justice is typically conceptualized and operationalized with quality of treatment and decision making (Gau, 2011; Johnson et al., 2014). Legitimacy is defined as “a

quality possessed by an authority, a law, or an institution that leads others to feel obligated to obey its decisions and directives voluntarily” (Tyler & Huo, 2002, p. 102), and it is considered to promote the public compliance and cooperation with the law and legal authorities via the sense of obligation to obey (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Woo et al., 2018). Baker, Meyer, Corbette, and Rudoni (1979) found that equal treatment in procedure was especially important in increasing satisfaction with the police, evaluation of effectiveness in police performance, and assessment of police respect for civil rights. However, Tankebe (2013) argues that procedural justice is a component of legitimacy, not an independent antecedent. As the dimensions or components of the legitimacy of law and legal authorities in the previous studies, the majority of studies posit that procedural justice facilitates the sense of obligation to obey, which is one of the core components of legitimacy (Woo et al., 2018).

Some studies consider that, in procedural justice theory, procedural justice and normative alignment are the most crucial elements in cultivating or preserving institutional legitimacy (Hough et al., 2013; Jackson et al., 2012). Conceptualizing normative alignment as a belief that citizens and police officers’ share the same purposes, goals, and values in the community, Tyler and Jackson (2014) found that normative alignment is significantly associated with compliance with the law, helping the police, obligation to obey, and trust and confidence. Normative alignment is relevant to the effect of what people view as just and morally contrasted with their self-interest (Tyler, 2006b). People who have a sense of normative alignment are more likely than people without it to abide by law and order voluntarily regardless of instrumental considerations (Tyler, 2006b). Some elaborated that, in researching procedural justice, normative alignment along with procedural justice is the most crucial factor to cultivate and preserve institutional legitimacy (Hough, Jackson, & Bradford, 2013; Jackson et al., 2012).

Instrumental Factors: Perceived Effectiveness and Risk of Sanctions

Theories and research on procedural justice explain that people who are inspired by procedurally fair police behavior are more likely to have a higher sense of obligation to obey, and the sense, in turn, increases the level of voluntary compliance and cooperation with law and legal authorities via normative

judgments (Tyler, 2006b). On the other hand, alternative explanations suggest that people behave based on a hedonistic calculus which causes a sense of obligation to obey, complying and cooperating with the law and legal authorities on behalf of self-interest via instrumental judgments (Johnson et al., 2014; Woo et al., 2018). While, in their study with 25 European countries, Hough et al. (2016) found in most countries that perceptions on the effectiveness of police performance were significantly related with perceptions on procedural fairness, Bradford (2014) uncovered that both evaluations of effectiveness in police performance and procedural fairness were significantly associated with citizens' cooperation with the police. In his study in Ghana, Tankebe (2009) found that perceived police effectiveness was associated with public cooperation with the police while legitimacy was not. In addition, citizens' perceptions about the risk of sanctions are a potential factor that can have an influence on citizens' perceptions of legitimacy and their social behavior. Kaiser (2016) found that, for the police, procedurally just interactions with citizens have more impact on citizens' social behavior than threatening them with potential sanctions.

Current Study

Basic conceptual model

Given the unique conditions the Korean police are placed in, as well as the presumed association between the legitimacy of the law/legal authorities and citizens' behavior toward them, it is hypothesized that exogenous variables of procedural justice, normative alignment, obligation to obey, perceived police effectiveness, and perceived risk of sanctions have positive impacts on endogenous variables of compliance with the law, cooperation with the police, and obligation to obey. Obligation to obey is included in exogenous variables and endogenous variables since it is considered as a mediator. Such a causal relationship is represented by a single-headed arrow in Figure 1, basic theoretical model. In addition to the direct effect, which is consistent with Tyler's procedural justice theory that authority figures' procedurally just manner inspires citizens' sense of obligation to obey and in turn enhances their behavior, we also investigate the indirect effects of procedural justice, normative alignment, perceived police effectiveness, and perceived risk of sanctions mediated by obligation to obey on

compliance with the law and cooperation to the police. Also, the impacts of a series of observed control variables of age, gender, family monthly income, and education on cooperation and compliance are examined.

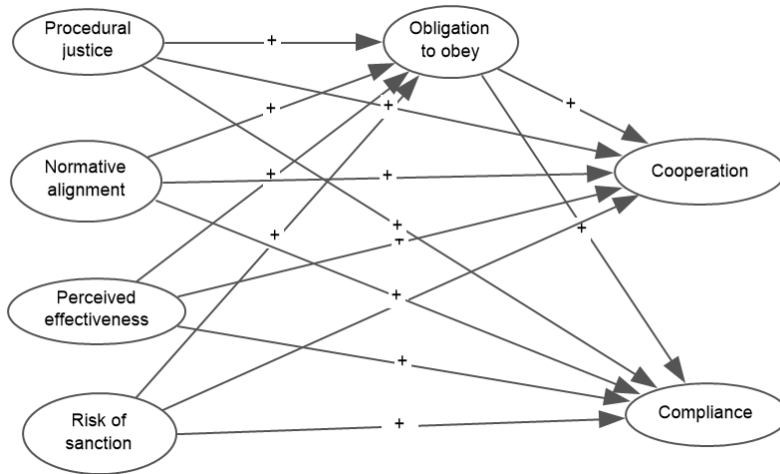


Figure 1. Basic Theoretical Model

Research hypotheses

The current study inspects the basic conceptual model with research hypotheses below:

1. People who perceived a higher level of procedural justice are more likely to (1) comply with the law (2) cooperate with the police, and (3) have a sense of obligation to obey.
2. People who normatively align themselves with the police are more likely to (1) comply with the law (2) cooperate with the police, and (3) have a sense of obligation to obey.
3. People who highly evaluate police performance are more likely to (1) comply with the law (2) cooperate with the police, and (3) have a sense of obligation to obey.
4. People who perceive a higher risk of sanctions are more likely to (1) comply with the law (2) cooperate with the police, and (3) have a sense of obligation to obey.
5. The sense of obligation to obey mediates impacts of procedural justice, normative alignment, perceived police effectiveness, and perceived risk of sanctions on compliance with the law and cooperation with the police.

METHODOLOGY

Survey Instrument

The current study utilized a modified version of the European Social Survey (ESS) to conduct research in South Korea. Since 2002, the ESS continues to collect data from about 25 to 30 European countries every two years to analyze the public attitudes, beliefs, and behavioral patterns (Jowell, R., Roberts, C., Fitzgerald, R., & Eva, G., 2007). The survey questionnaires, which already used in a number of prior procedural justice studies in the United States (Tyler, 2006a; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), translated in Korean is composed of 104 items to examine the public perceptions toward police activities. Before conducting the survey, we had five pilot test sessions with 20 Koreans to deal with issues from translating English in Korean.

Sample

Data were collected across the country through Do It Survey (DIS), a Korean online survey company, for a month from July 2017 to August 2017. To raise the survey's representativeness based on the census data, the survey was proportionately assigned to 16 regions among various groups of gender and age. Survey participants who already had memberships with the DIS were notified of our survey via DIS website and emails and participants were given cashable points for taking the survey. When assigned gender and age in a certain region were filled, the survey for the region was closed. As a result, 520 participants completed the survey. Among 520 participants, 49.4% were male, and 50.6% were female; in terms of age, 16.9%¹⁾ were 20-29, 17.5% were 30-39, 22.5% were 40-49, 34.4% were 50-59, and 8.7% were 60 and above; as for family monthly income, 29.5% were below \$3,000, 42.9% were \$3,000-\$59,999, 27.7% were \$60,000 and above¹⁾; with regard to education level, 28.1% were high school graduate and below, 19.6% were two years college graduate or studying in a four years college, 45.4% were four years college graduate, 6% had master's degree, and 1% had Ph.D. degree (Table 1).

1) The currency rate was calculated as 1,000 Korean won for \$1.

Table 1. Sample Demographic Characteristics (N = 520)

Variable	Frequency (%)	Mean	SD
Gender (male = 0, female = 1)		.51	.50
Male	257 (49.4)		
Female	263 (50.6)		
Age (1 – 5)		3.00	1.24
20 – below 29	88 (16.9)		
30 – below 39	91 (17.5)		
40 – below 49	117 (22.5)		
50 – below 59	179 (34.4)		
60 and above	45 (8.7)		
Family monthly income (1 – 7)		3.91	2.05
Less than \$2,000	83 (16.0)		
\$2,000 – \$2,999	70 (13.5)		
\$3,000 – \$3,999	89 (17.1)		
\$4,000 – \$ 4,999	78 (15.0)		
\$5,000 – \$5,999	56 (10.8)		
\$6,000 – \$6,999	58 (11.2)		
\$7,000 and above	86 (16.5)		
Education (1 – 5)		2.32	.98
High school	146 (28.1)		
2-year college grad or withdraw from 4-year college	102 (19.6)		
4-year college grad	236 (45.4)		
Master	31 (6.0)		
Doctoral	5 (1.0)		

Masures

Predicted variables

Compliance. Compliance with the law was measured using a five-point Likert scale with the question, “How often have you done each of the following five criminal activities in the last five years?” (Never; once; twice; 3-4 times; 5 times or more; do not know). Three crimes were measured by asking about the following: “Making an exaggerated or false insurance claim,” “Buying something you thought might be stolen,” and “taking something from a store without paying for it.” When the compliance items were factor analyzed, all loaded on a single factor (factor loadings $>.90$), demonstrating unidimensionality of the construct. Cronbach’s alpha demonstrated an excellent reliability ($\alpha = .90$).

Cooperation. Cooperation with the police was measured by three survey items: How likely would you be to “Call the police to report a crime,” “Report a suspicious person near your home,” and “Provide information to help police to find a suspected criminal.” Respondents were given answer choices with a four-point Likert scale: (1) not at all likely to (4) very likely. When factor analyzed, all the items loaded high ($>.75$) on a single factor, and Cronbach’s alpha demonstrated an acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .70$).

Obligation to the police. The following questions were administered to measure the variable of obligation to the police: “You should support the decisions of police officers even when you disagree with them,” “You should do what the police tell you even if you do not understand or agree with the reasons,” “You should do what the police tell you to do even if you do not like how they treat you,” and “The police in your community are legitimate authorities so you should do what they tell you to do.” Respondents were given a four-point Likert scale choice: (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) disagree, (4) strongly disagree. When factor analyzed, all the items loaded high ($>.82$) on a single factor, and Cronbach’s alpha demonstrated a good reliability ($\alpha = .87$).

Explanatory variables

Procedural justice. Participants were given eight questions: How often do the police “Make fair and impartial decisions in the cases they deal with,” “Give people a chance to tell their side of the story before they decide what to do,” “Make decisions based upon the law and not their personal biases or opinions,” “Treat people with dignity and respect,” “Respect people’s rights,” “Try to do what is best for the people they are dealing with,” “Explain their decisions and actions in ways that people can understand,” and “make decisions that are good for everyone in the community” with a four-point Likert scale (never to always). When factor analyzed, all the items loaded high ($>.90$) on a single factor, and Cronbach’s alpha demonstrated an excellent reliability ($\alpha = .90$).

Normative alignment with the police. Participants were given the questions of: “The police generally have the same sense of right and wrong that you do,” “The

police stand up for values that are important to you,” “The police usually act in ways consistent with your own ideas about what is right and wrong,” “You and police want the same things for your community,” “The values of most police officers who work in your community are similar to your own,” “The police stand up for values that are important to you” with a four-point Likert scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree). When factor analyzed, all the items loaded high ($>.72$) on a single factor, and Cronbach’s alpha demonstrated an excellent reliability ($\alpha = .90$).

Perceived effectiveness. Two items were measured with an 11-point Likert scale ranging from (1) Extremely unsuccessful to (11) Extremely successful: “How successful are the police at preventing crimes where violence is used or threatened in your community?” and “How successful are the police at catching people who commit house burglaries?” One item was measured by an 11-point Likert scale ranging from (1) Extremely slowly to (11) Extremely quickly: “If a violent crime were to occur near your home and the police were called, how soon would they arrive at the scene?” When factor analyzed, all the items loaded high ($>.81$) on a single factor, and Cronbach’s alpha demonstrated a good reliability ($\alpha = .84$).

Perceived risk of sanctions. The questions were: How likely are you to be caught and punished for “Making an exaggerated or false insurance claim,” “Buying something you think might be stolen,” “Taking something from a store without paying for it, with a four-point Likert scale (very unlikely to very likely). When factor analyzed, all the items loaded high ($>.86$) on a single factor, and Cronbach’s alpha demonstrated a good reliability ($\alpha = .85$).

Control variables

The current study controls four demographic characteristics, gender, age, family monthly income, and education level, to avoid a bias in the detected estimates in the multivariate analyses (See Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Reisig, Tankebe, & Mesko, 2012; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). Bivariate zero order correlations between key variables are presented in table 2. We have investigated multicollinearity among key variables using SPSS 26 and found that no Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) value was above 3.0, which indicated no multicollinearity concern in our data (Kline, 2005).

Table 2. Zero Order Correlation Between Key Variables

	COMP	COOP	OBLI	PJUC	NOAL	PEFF	PRIS
COMP	1						
COOP	.001	1					
OBLI	.012	.115*	1				
PJUC	-.043	.170**	.406**	1			
NOAL	.065	.108*	.403**	.409**	1		
PEFF	.054	.210**	.257**	.394**	.460**	1	
PRIS	.027	.158**	.093*	.013	.025	.050	1

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Note: **COMP**: Compliance, **COOP**: Cooperation, **OBLI**: Obligation to obey, **PJUC**: Procedural justice, **NOAL**: Normative alignment, **PEFF**: Perceived effectiveness, **PRIS**: Perceived risk of sanctions

Statistical Analyses

To measure the relationship among predicted, explanatory, and control variables, descriptive statistics, zero-order correlation analyses, multivariate regression analyses, and path analyses using structural equation modeling (SEM) were conducted.

DATA ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

Results of Multivariate Analyses: Structural Equation Modeling

The multivariate analysis for this study is structural equation modeling (SEM) via Mplus 7.4. Our hypothesized SEM is described graphically in Figure 1, basic theoretical model. The hypothesized model appears to be a good fit to the data. The RMSEA is .037 which indicates an excellent fit; CFI is .954 and TLI is .948 both indicate a good fit (CFI, TLI > .95); and SRMR is .046 which also indicates a good fit (SRMR < .08) (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2005). Therefore, we accept the measurement models and proceeded with the structural models. The results of data analyses are displayed in figure 2.

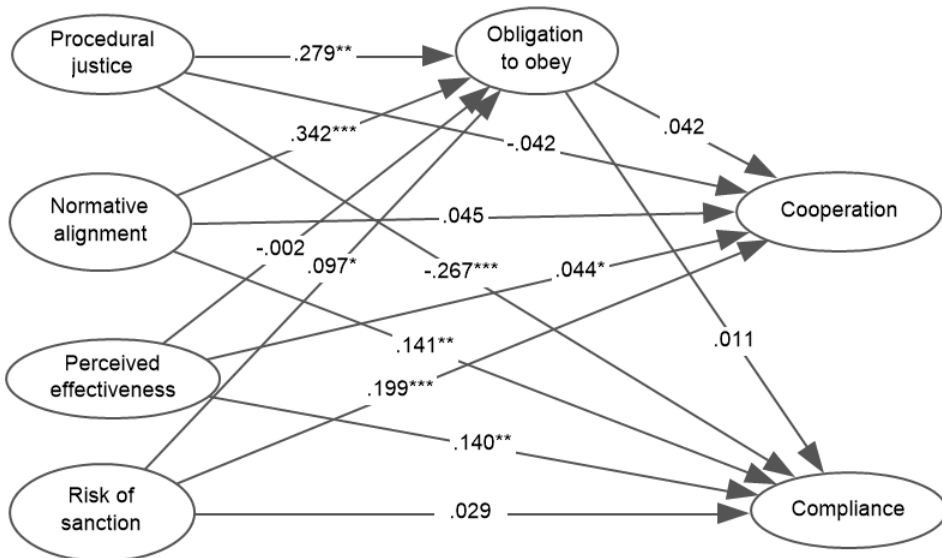


Figure 2. Path Model of The Effects of Normative and Instrumental Factors on Compliance, Cooperation, and Obedience

Note: $\chi^2 = 836.341$ 492 d.f., $p < .001$, CFI = .954, RMSEA = .037 (confidential interval = .032 – .041); p = two-tailed value (* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$).

We begin by presenting the SEM results for compliance with the law (see Table 3). The predictors included in the model explain 8.9% of the variation in compliance ($p < .01$). Three of the four exogenous variables exerted a statistically significant direct effect on compliance: two normative factors of procedural justice

and normative alignment, and one instrumental factor of perceived effectiveness. Respondents who perceive that the police behave in procedurally right manner are less likely to comply with the law than those who view that the police behave in procedurally unjust manner ($\beta = -.315$, $p < .001$). This finding is not expected since typical effect of procedural justice on compliance found in this body of research is positive (Tyler, 2003, 2006; Walters & Bolger, 2019). By analyzing data collected from South Korea, Woo et al. (2018) also found negative impact of procedural justice on compliance, albeit the impact was not statistically significant at the conventional alpha level of .05 ($\beta = -.220$, $p = .079$). They interpreted the negative association between procedural justice and compliance with speculation that South Korean people might take process-based policing as lenient policing and take advantage of it. In other words, when people see the police treat citizens with respect and dignity, they may think that they can get away with what they have done and, even in the worst case, the police would not shift to use of force mode, such as physically enforcing the law including arrest. Compared to American police, South Korean police are relatively tolerant to citizens' resistance and are slow to using force. Some of the reasons might come from an ethnic homogeneity in population, a sense of common identity, strict gun policy, and multiple controls on the police. Ethnically, most of population in South Korea is Koreans who share more than 3,000 years-long history and culture. Gun possession is strictly prohibited by law with extremely limited exceptions, and the police are under multilayered monitoring of Police Headquarter, Prosecutor Office, Board of Audit and Inspection, Office of Prime Minister, and unofficial monitoring of mass media. In this context, South Korean people believe that the police would not use lethal force to them; and the Korean police are relatively hesitant to use force because police use of force is particularly sensitive issue and frequently undergo exhaustive internal and external investigations. These circumstances may provide citizens with a room to test police tolerance, which sometimes emerge as deviant behavior. More research is warranted on this negative relationship between procedural justice and compliance.

Normative alignment has a significant effect on compliance, which means that respondents who identify themselves with the police, thinking they share similar social norms, values, and virtues with the police are more likely to comply with the law than those who do not think so ($\beta = .182$, $p < .01$). Perceived effectiveness

also has a significant effect on compliance with the law, which indicates that respondents who perceive that the police work effectively are more likely to comply with the law than those who feel that the police work less effectively ($\beta = .046$, $p < .01$). The mediator variable, i.e. obligation to obey, did not exert a statistically significant effect on compliance with the law. One of the four control variables exerted a statistically significant effect on compliance with the law: gender. The significant positive coefficient for gender ($\beta = .121$, $p < .01$) indicates that females are more likely than males to comply with the law. The remaining controls, age, family monthly income, and education, did not have a statistically significant effect on compliance.

The second model shows the results for cooperation with the police (see Table 3). The predictors included in the model explain 13.5% of the variation in willingness to cooperate with the police ($p < .001$). Two of the four exogenous variables exert a statistically significant direct effect on cooperation with the police: perceived effectiveness and perceived risk of sanctions, both instrumental factors. This result means that respondents who perceive that the police work effectively are more likely to cooperate with the police than who perceive that the police work less effectively ($\beta = .044$, $p < .05$). In addition, respondents who think that there is a high chance to be caught and punished if one violates the law are more likely to cooperate with the police than those who evaluate the chance is low ($\beta = .199$, $p < .001$). The mediator variable of obligation to obey, however, does not exert a significant effect on willingness to cooperate with the police. Among the four control variables, only gender exerted a statistically significant effect on cooperation with the police. The significant positive coefficient for gender ($\beta = -.011$, $p < .05$) indicates that males are more likely than females to cooperate with the police.

In the SEM results for obligation to obey the police shown in Table 3, the predictors included in the model explain 26.4% of the variation in obligation to obey ($p < .001$). Three exogenous variables exert a statistically significant effect on obligation to obey: two normative factors of procedural justice and normative alignment, and one instrumental factor of perceived risk of sanctions. The results imply that South Korean people who perceive that the police behave procedurally right feel a stronger sense of obligation to obey the police ($\beta = .279$, $p < .01$). Also, those who think that their norms and values align with those of the police

tend to feel more sense of obligation to obey police directives ($\beta = .342$, $p < .001$). In addition, those who think that there is a high chance to be caught and punished if one violates the law are more likely to feel a sense of obligation to obey than those who evaluate the chance is low ($\beta = .097$, $p < .05$). Two of the four control variables exerted a statistically significant effect on obligation to obey: gender and education. The significant negative coefficient for gender ($\beta = -.86$, $p < .05$) indicates that males feel more obligation to obey than the females. The significant negative coefficient for education ($\beta = -.103$, $p < .05$) indicates that people with higher levels of education are less likely to feel an obligation to obey. The remaining controls, age and family monthly income, did not have a statistically significant effect on the obligation to obey the police.

Table 3. Structural Equation Modeling Results

Description	Compliance		Cooperation		Obligation to obey	
	<i>b</i>	β	<i>b</i>	β	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Latent variables</i>						
Procedural justice	-.315***	-.267	-.009	-.042	.362**	.279
Normative alignment	.182**	.141	.003	.045	.485***	.342
Perceived effectiveness	.046**	.140	.055*	.044	-.001	-.002
Perceived risk of sanctions	.022	.029	.150***	.199	.073*	.097
Obligation to obey	.010	.011	.043	.042		
<i>Control variables</i>						
Age (in years)	.002	.044	.000	-.021	.004	.081
Gender (0=male, 1=female)	.125**	.121	-.011*	-.104	-.090*	-.086
Family income (year)	.007	.026	-.002	-.043	.012	.044
Education	.000	.000	.004	.045	-.059*	-.103
<i>Explained variance (R^2)</i>		.089**		.135***		.264***
<i>Model fit statistics</i>						
RMSEA	.037					
CFI	.954					
TLI	.948					
SRMR	.046					

Notes: N = 520 for all models; *b* = unstandardized coefficient, β = fully standardized coefficient; *p* = two-tailed *p*-value ($p^* < .05$, $p^{**} < .01$, $p^{***} < .001$).

Finally, Table 4 shows that no exogenous variable has a statistically significant indirect effect on the exogenous variables via obligation to obey. In summary, our first research hypothesis in this study, which predicted that people who perceived higher level of procedural justice are more likely to (1) comply with the law, was proven to be false, (2) cooperate with the police, was also proven to be false and (3) obey the police, was proven to be true. Second research hypothesis, which predicted that people who normatively align themselves with the police are more

likely to (1) comply with the law, was proven to be true (2) cooperate with the police, was proven to be false and (3) obey the police, was proven to be true. Third hypothesis, which predicted that people who highly evaluate police performance are more likely to (1) comply with the law, was proven to be true (2) cooperate with the police, was proven to be true and (3) obey the police, was proven to be false. And the fourth hypothesis, which predicted that people who perceive a higher risk of sanctions are more likely to (1) comply with the law, was proven to be false (2) cooperate with the police, was proven to be true and (3) obey the police, was also proven to be true. Finally, the fifth hypothesis, which predicted that the sense of obligation to obey mediates impacts of procedural justice, normative alignment, perceived police effectiveness, and perceived risk of sanctions on compliance with the law and cooperation with the police, was proven to be false.

Table 4. Indirect Effects via Obligation to Obey

Exogenous variable	Mediator	Endogenous variable	<i>b</i>	S.E.	Est./S.E.	<i>p</i>
Procedural justice	Obligation to obey	Compliance	.008	.013	.634	.526
		Cooperation	.009	.015	.623	.533
Normative alignment		Compliance	.016	.025	.663	.057
		Cooperation	.019	.030	.634	.526
Perceived police effectiveness		Compliance	.000	.001	.422	.673
		Cooperation	.000	.001	.421	.674
Perceived risk of sanctions		Compliance	.003	.004	.634	.526
		Cooperation	.003	.005	.617	.537

DISCUSSION

The current study assessed the applicability of Tyler's theory of procedural justice with a sample of Korean citizens. Since the relationships between citizens and the police in South Korea are different from those in the United States and Western European countries, the current study tests the universality of procedural justice theory in one of the Asian countries. Within Tyler's model, our findings are focused on the impacts of normative elements (procedural justice, normative alignment, and obligation to obey) and instrumental elements (perceived police effectiveness and perceived risk of sanctions) on citizens' compliance with the law

and cooperation with the police. Some of our findings are consistent with previous studies in Western countries, such as normative elements of procedural justice and normative alignment have positive impacts on the sense of obligation to obey (see Donner, Maskaly, Fridell, & Jennings, 2015). While procedural justice shows a negative impact on compliance with the law and a positive impact on obligation to obey, it does not show any impact on cooperation with the police. The normative alignment demonstrates a positive impact on compliance with the law and obligation to obey, but it does not have any impact on cooperation with the police. As aforementioned, the negative affiliation between procedural justice and compliance with the law might come from South Korean citizens' confusion of procedural justice with lenient policing and relatively lenient police response to citizens' non-compliant behavior, which likely stems from different ethnical, cultural, and socio-political settings from the United States and Western European countries. While our finding supports Woo et al.'s (2018) study in South Korea, Sun et al.'s study (2017) in China found that procedural justice was linked with willingness to cooperate with the police. Mazerolle et al.'s study (2013) also found that procedural justice was correlated with both a person's willingness to comply with the law and cooperate with the police, but they evaluated cooperation and compliance together rather than separately (Walters & Bolger, 2019). More studies with a solid methodology in international settings are desired to test the generalizability of procedural justice theory. Findings of the positive influence of normative alignment on compliance and obligation to obey are consistent with previous studies (Hough et al., 2013; Jackson et al., 2012). Woo et al.'s study (2018) in South Korea discovered that procedural justice only exerted a significant direct effect on obligation to obey but no effect on compliance and cooperation. However, consistent with the procedural justice theory, they found indirect effects of procedural justice on willingness to cooperate with the police. Still, we did not find indirect effects of procedural justice or normative alignment on compliance and cooperation as shown in Table 4. These our findings deviate from Tyler's process-based model of regulations. Interpretation of our findings is tentative, but possibly a social atmosphere to avoid legal engagement in South Korea may shed some light on it. Recently, in South Korea, increasing retaliation crimes against witnesses and/or complainants have caused national anxiety (Choi, 2016). Along with the conviction that the

current legal and physical protections by legal authorities for crime victims, witness, and complainants are not adequate enough, daunting criminal justice procedure which citizens will face once involved in a criminal case can make them reluctant to engage in the cases including cooperate with legal authorities. This might be one of the reasons why procedural justice and normative alignment did not elicit cooperation with the police via promoted obligation to obey in South Korea. To locate the exact reason for the broken link between obligation to obey and willingness to cooperate with the police in South Korea, more research using constructs of individual concerns for troubles accompanied by cooperation with the legal authorities would be insightful. A part of theoretical frame of this study borrowed from Tyler's process-based model of regulations is that, as a civic duty, obligation to obey promoted by procedural justice and normative alignment would inspire citizens' willingness to comply with the law and cooperate with the police. However, our study findings show no statistical significance of obligation to obey on compliance and cooperation, and this is a major deviation from the theoretical expectations. This deviation also might be explained by unique South Korean contexts stated above.

While one instrumental factor of perceived effectiveness predicts compliance and cooperation but obligation to obey, another instrumental factor of the perceived risk of sanctions predicts cooperation and obligation to obey but compliance with the law. These findings are partially consistent with deterrence perspectives, i.e., people comply with the law and cooperate with the police when they recognize a threat of arrest and punishment by effective policing for illegal conducts (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tankebe, 2009). These findings indicate that police effectiveness affects citizens' compliance with the law and cooperation with the police, but not their obligation to obey. Given that the obligation to obey is an intrinsically normative concept, it may not be generated by an instrumental factor of police effectiveness. However, as we see that another instrumental factor of perceived risk of sanctions affects obligation to obey, it seems that fear of sanctions leads a person to obey the law and legal authorities and deters a possible criminal behavior. The degree of impact on obligation to obey was in the order of normative alignment ($\beta = .342$), procedural justice ($\beta = .279$), and perceived risk of sanctions ($\beta = .097$). While previous procedural justice studies emphasize the significance of normative factors over institutional factors on

citizens' normative behavior (Tyler, 2006b; Tyler & Jackson, 2014), the current study based on South Korean sample shows that not only normative factors but also instrumental factors are valuable in securing citizens' normative behaviors.

Our findings suggest several policy implications, primarily on the lines of policing practice. If police officials would like to guarantee citizens' compliance with the law, they should perform their work in a procedurally just manner (procedural justice) while sending out a clear signal to the citizens that the use of force could be an option if they do not comply with police directives. In addition, the police need to identify themselves with citizens so that, in turn, the citizens would align themselves with the police (normative alignment) too. In order to let citizens perceive police effectiveness, the police need to improve their systems and job skills as well as develop a public relations (PR) plan (perceived effectiveness). If police officials are interested in citizens' cooperation with the police, they need to work on perceived effectiveness and letting citizens perceive that lawbreakers must be caught and punished (perceived risk of sanctions). To promote cooperation with the police, convincing legal and practical protections of crime victims, witnesses, and complainants should be established. If the police would like to inspire citizens' sense of obligation to obey, they need to target the enhancing of procedural justice, normative alignment, and perceived risk of sanctions. To make these implications happen, procedural justice and normative alignment should be incorporated in police training, including police academy and in-house training, and community-oriented policing. Performance evaluations for police officers should be developed to reflect officer's normative activities. Simultaneously, institutional efforts on perceived police effectiveness and perceived risk of sanctions by elaborated PR should not be neglected. Most of all, to save time and resources, all these efforts should be performed with empirically proved practices.

The current study is not free from limitations. The data used for the current study were collected by a non-random sampling method, which causes generalizability concern. More specifically, the survey was conducted by an internet-based survey company on its already existing members. As a result, only a person who was a member of the company and had internet access could participate in the survey, hence causing a representativeness concern. The survey used for the current study is translated in Korean from English; this may have

resulted in subtle differences in study findings. The current cross-sectional data are rarely able to disclose causal relationships between independent variables and dependent variables (Babbie, 2017). Finally, like other studies relying on a survey questionnaire, the current study may not be free from human memory errors or insincere answers. Studies in the future are desired to adopt a random sampling method to ensure the representativeness in its findings. In addition, the sophistication of translation in the survey questionnaire should be guaranteed. In terms of data, instead of cross-sectional data, time-series data should be collected to discover more accurate causal relationships among independent and dependent variables. Finally, more sophisticated research methods should be applied to overcome human recollection errors and insincere responses.

CONCLUSION

Efforts to enhance citizens' perceptions toward the law and legal authorities employing evidence-based practices are promising approaches. Tyler's process-based model of regulations, which mostly developed in the United States and Western European countries, has been considered as a useful tool to support the efforts to enhance citizens' perceptions. Recently, test sites of procedural justice have been geopolitically and socioculturally expanded and built-up global findings, which are adding more dynamic shape to the body of procedural justice research. Based on South Korea, one of the countries located in far-east Asia, which has unique historical, political, and oriental culture backgrounds, the current study increases the number of studies on the generalization of procedural justice theory. Findings state that citizens' voluntary-basis law abiding behaviors, compliance with the law, cooperation with the police, and obligation to obey, could be promoted by two approaches: normative approach and instrumental approach. Although, in changing people's legal behaviors, a substantial number of studies of procedural justice theory put more weights on normative factors over instrumental factors, our study found that on citizens' perceptions toward the law and legal authorities, not only normative factors are influential, but also instrumental factors have solid impacts. These findings can be utilized for the public health policy since policing is one of the public safety and health matters.

References

- Babbie, E. (2017). *The basics of social research* (7th ed.). Boston, MA: Cengage Learning.
- Baker, R., Meyer, F. A., Corbette, A. M., & Rudoni, D. (1979). Evaluation of police service in medium-sized cities. *Law & Policy*, 1(2), 235-248.
- Beetham, D. (1991). *The legitimization of power*. London, U.K.: Macmillan.
- Bottoms, A. (2002). Compliance and community penalties. In A. Bottoms, L. Gelsthorpe, & S. Rex. (Eds.), *Community penalties: Change and challeges* (pp. 87-116). Portland, OR: Willan.
- Bradford, B. (2014). Policing and social identity: Procedural justice, inclusion, and cooperation between police and public. *Policing and Society*, 24(1), 22-43.
- Cao, L., Frank, J., & Cullen, T. F. (1996). Race, community context and confidence in the police. *American Journal of Police*, 15(3), 1-22.
- Choi, J. (2016, September 19). *Rapidly increasing retaliation crimes since 2015*. Chosun Ilbo. Retrieved from <https://news.chosun.com>.
- Dai, M., Frank, J., & Sun, I. (2011). Procedural justice during police-citizen encounters: The effects of process-based policing on citizen compliance and demeanor. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 39(2), 159-168.
- Donner, C., Maskaly, J., Fridell, L., & Jennings, W. (2015). Policing and procedural justice: A state-of-the-art review. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 38(1), 153-172.
- Fagan, J., & Tyler, T. (2005). Legal socialization of children and adolescents. *Social Justice Research*, 18(3), 217-241.
- Fagan, J., & Tyler, T. (2004). Policing, order maintenance and legitimacy. In G. Mesko et al, Eds., *Policing in Central and Eastern Europe: Dilemmas of Contemporary Criminal Justice*. Slovenia: University of Maribor.
- Gau, J. (2011). The convergent and discriminant validity of procedural justice and police legitimacy: An empirical test of core theoretical propositions. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 39(6), 489-498.
- Hough, M., Jackson, J. & Bradford, B. (2013). Trust in justice and the legitimacy of legal authorities: Topline findings from a European comparative study. In Body-Gendrof, S., Hough, M., Levy, R. Kerezsi, K. & Snacken, S. (Eds.), *European Handbook of Criminology* (pp. 243-265). London: Routledge.

- Hough, M., Jackson, J., & Bradford, B. (2016). Policing, procedural justice and prevention. In A. Sidebottom & N. Tilley (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety* (2nd ed.). Oxon: Routledge.
- Hu, L., & Bentler, P. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indices in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 6(1), 1-55.
- Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Hough, M., Myhill, A., Quinton, P., & Tyler, T. R. (2012). Why do people comply with the law? Legitimacy and the influence of legal institutions. *British Journal of Criminology*, 52(6), 1051-1071.
- Jackson, J., Huq, A. Z., Bradford, B., & Tyler, T. R. (2013). Monopolizing force? Police legitimacy and public attitudes toward the acceptance of violence. *Psychology, Public Policy and Law*, 19(4), 479-497.
- Johnson, D., Maguire, E., & Kuhns, J. (2014). Public perceptions of the legitimacy of the law and legal authorities: Evidence from the Caribbean. *Law & Society Review*, 48(4), 947-978.
- Jowell, R., Roberts, C., Fitzgerald, R., & Eva, G. (Eds.). (2007). *Measuring attitudes cross-nationally: Lessons from the European Social Survey*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kaiser, K. A. (2016). *Procedural justice and legal socialization among serious adolescent offenders: A longitudinal examination*. (Ph.D. dissertation), Arizona State University.
- Kim, J. (2014). *Examination of six aspects of police officer stress: Looking into organizational stressors for police occupational stress in South Korea*. (Ph.D. dissertation), Sam Houston State University.
- Kim, J., Wells, W., Vardalis, J., Johnson, S., & Lim, H. (2016). Gender difference in occupational stress: A study of the South Korean National Police Agency. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 44, 163-182.
- Kline, R. (2005). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling*. New York, NY: The Guildford Press.
- Lee, C. M. (2004). Accounting for rapid growth of private policing in South Korea. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 32(2), 11-122.
- Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S., & Tyler, T. R. (2013). Shaping citizen perceptions of police legitimacy: A randomized field trial of procedural justice. *Criminology*, 51(1), 33-63.
- Moon, B. (2004). The politicization of police in South Korea: A critical

- review. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 27(1), 128-136.
- Murphy, K., & Cherney, A. (2012). Understanding cooperation with police in a diverse society. *British Journal of Criminology*, 52(1), 181-201.
- Novak, K., Smith, B., Cordner, G., & Roberg, R. (2017). *Police and society* (7th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Piquero, A. & Pogarsky, G. (2002). Beyond Stafford and Warr's reconceptualization of deterrence: Personal and vicarious experiences, impulsivity, and offending behavior. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 39(2), 153-186.
- Reiner, R. (2000). *The politics of the police* (3rd ed.). Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press.
- Reisig, M. D., Tankebe, J., & Mesko, G. (2012). Procedural justice, police legitimacy, and public cooperation with the police among young Slovene adults. *Journal of Criminal Justice and Security*, 14(2), 147-164.
- Sandel, M. (2010). *Justice: What is right thing to do?* New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). Moral solidarity, identification with the community, and the importance of procedural justice: The police as prototypical representatives of a group's moral values. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 66(2), 153-165.
- Sun, I., Wu, Y., Hu, R., & Farmer, A. (2017). Procedural justice, legitimacy, and public cooperation with police: Does Western wisdom hold in China? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 54(4), 454-478.
- Tankebe, J. (2009). Public cooperation with the police in Ghana: Does procedural fairness matter? *Criminology*, 47(4), 1265-1293.
- Tankebe, J. (2013). Viewing things differently: The dimensions of public perceptions of police legitimacy. *Criminology*, 51(1), 103-135.
- Tyler, T. R. (2003). Procedural justice, legitimacy, and the effective rule of law. *Crime & Justice*, 30, 283-357.
- Tyler, T. R. (2006a). Psychological perspectives on legitimacy and legitimation. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57, 375-400.
- Tyler, T. R. (2006b). *Why people obey the law*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tyler, T. R., & Huo, Y. J. (2002). *Trust in the law: Encouraging public cooperation with the police and courts*. New York: Russell-Sage

Foundation.

- Tyler, T. R., & Jackson, J. (2014). Popular legitimacy and the exercise of legal authority: Motivating compliance, cooperation, and engagement. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 20(1), 78-95.
- Walters, G. & Bolger, P. (2019). Procedural justice perceptions, legitimacy beliefs, and compliance with the law: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 15(3), 341-372.
- Wells, W. (2007). Type of contact and evaluations of police officers: The effects of procedural justice across three types of police-citizen contacts. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 35(6), 612-621.
- Woo, Y., Maguire, E., Gau, J. (2018). Direct and indirect effects of procedural justice on cooperation and compliance: Evidence from South Korea. *Police Practice and Research*, 19(2), 168-185.

Appendix A. Means (Standard deviations) for Variables in The Study

Variable	Range	High means	Number of cases	Mean (SD)
Compliance with the law	1 – 5	Comply	519	3.86 (.52)
Cooperation with the police	1 – 4	Will help	512	3.09 (.65)
Obligation to obey	1 – 4	High	508	2.67 (.67)
Normative alignment	1 – 4	High	507	2.50 (.58)
Perceived police effectiveness	1 – 11	Effective	520	5.57 (1.87)
Perceived risk of sanctions	1 – 4	High risk	516	2.84 (.79)