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The Muzzling of the Sheepdog: A Mixed-Methods Case Study of the Impacts of Media Reporting on Police Officer Performance

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The Muzzling of the Sheepdog: A Mixed-Methods Case Study of the Impacts of Media

Reporting on Police Officer Performance

A Dissertation by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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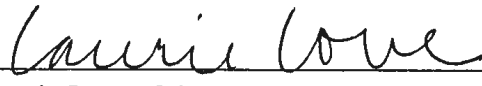
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When I die, I want the gifts, skills, experiences, and wisdom granted to me by God to be fully used up in a way that leaves the world a better place for future generations of Americans. This passion to be an agent of change has often required the greatest sacrifices to be made by those closest to me. Without them, none of this would be possible. I would like to acknowledge all those who helped make my dissertation journey possible.

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work within each of us to transform our world. Thank you for being a part of my

journey. Onward and upward!

ABSTRACT

The Muzzling of the Sheepdog: A Mixed-Methods Case Study of the Impacts of Media
Reporting on Police Officer Performance

by Christopher T. Landavazo

Purpose. The purpose of this mixed-methods case study was to understand:

> Questions 1 and 2: How do police officers in major metropolitan law enforcement
> organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impacts of
> the media coverage on them personally/professionally?

> Questions 3 and 4: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how
> media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major
> cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender/race?

Methodology. The study used a phenomenological mixed-methods case study approach
collecting both quantitative and qualitative data.

Findings. An analysis of the data resulted in ten major findings and two dominant
themes related to police roles and reactions. The theory of the "muzzling of the
sheepdog" states that police officers if muzzled by policy, politics, and media, will
become unwilling to protect the sheep. The study explored media's scrutiny of police
officers as well as the negative impacts this muzzling effect is having on police officers'
satisfaction, performance, and productivity and the implications of these effects on crime.

Conclusions. As a result, the following conclusions were formed: Solutions rest in our
nation's ability to partner academic knowledge and scientifically proven best policing
practices, void of news media sensationalism, to unmuzzle our nation's police officers,
who strongly agree both the "Ferguson Effect" and the effects of sensationalized

reporting are affecting their motivation, safety, willingness to enforce laws, and causing them to operate in career survival mode. Police officers state their motivation and satisfaction with law enforcement is negatively impacted by decriminalization of laws, referred to by this researcher as "legalization by legislation," and dissatisfaction with organizational leadership, policies, pay, and workload.

Recommendations. Based upon the findings, it is recommended law enforcement executives, policy advisors, elected officials and community groups abate the muzzling factors causing police officers to become less proactive and hesitant to ensure the safety of our communities by focusing on research from the police officers' perspective, fostering accurate news portrayals versus infotainment, promoting policies that do not seek to legalize by legislation, and increasing law enforcement executive support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

There is limited literature on the effects of negative media reporting on police officers' actions in the field. Over the past 10 years, Americans witnessed the deterioration of trust in law enforcement officers and the criminal justice system, and an increase in violent crimes across America (Sanburn, 2015). Elected officials, law enforcement executives, activists, and communities continue to wrestle with solving issues of inequality, police abuses of authority, and finding a balance in the criminal justice system.

The ability of the United States Government to maintain a peaceful society is predicated upon the way the nation addresses great divides in perceived and actual racial inequalities (Bain, Robinson, & Conser, 2014). Greater scrutiny from the media resulted in unintended consequences, such as the "Ferguson Effect," now being realized. These consequences included a significant rise in violent crimes across the nation, police reacting to a resurgence of Title 42 § 14141 cases brought against them for alleged abuses of power, police officers becoming less proactive because of the media, and brutal attacks on law enforcement nationwide (Mac Donald, 2016; Sanburn, 2015; Silveira, 2004).

The fabric of the "Great Experiment" was torn apart by catastrophic divides in equity, the media's portrayed treatment of minorities by police officers, and the American criminal justice system in crisis. The role of police officers radically evolved since Sir Robert Peel enumerated the "Peelian Principles" 188 years ago, which shaped modern policing (Lentz & Chaires, 2007). In the past 23 years, the balance of policing powers and the public's perception of police officers' ethics sharply shifted. Media coverage in

the United States also became more critical since the controversial beating of Rodney King by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) in 1992 (Katz, 2016). In addition to facing increased media scrutiny, police officers in America today are also challenged by issues such as nationwide increases in substance abuse, mental health disorders, and poverty. The basis for the current study was to identify the underlying causes of the U.S. policing crisis to develop solutions to address and restore national trust in the law enforcement profession.

Background

A major shift occurred when America's attention sharply focused on bias in policing in 1992 as Americans watched the horrific images of police officers from the LAPD beating Rodney King. Since that incident, academic focus primarily centered on use of force reforms and use of force accounting strategies geared toward the reduction of the use of force by police officers (Prenzler, Porter, & Alpert, 2013). In recent years, cases reported by the media involving the killing of unarmed Black people by police officers ignited controversy and protest in the United States over police motives and tactics (Quah & David, 2015). Cases like Freddie Gray, who died of spinal cord injuries incurred during transport after his arrest in Baltimore in 2015, and Eric Garner, who died after a physical altercation during his arrest by police in New York in 2014, increased tensions between the Black community and police officers. The breaking point in relations was the acquittal of George Zimmerman (an insurance fraud investigator), who shot and killed Trayvon Martin in 2012; this gave rise to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement on social media (Garza, 2014). The origins of the BLM movement, which started as a hashtag (#BlackLivesMatter) created by three "Queer" women (Alicia Garza,

Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi), quickly moved beyond social media into the mainstream media, and then into the streets following the shooting death of Michael Brown by a White police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014 (Garza, 2014; Quah & David, 2015).

Media widely covered the topic of police use of force reforms, much to the dismay of police officers who experienced heightened media scrutiny. Lovell (2001) stated, "In an era when guns, drugs, and gangs occupy city streets, media may very well prove to be law enforcement's most formidable foe" (p. 1). This review of the literature examines the effects of negative media reporting on police officer decision-making in the line of duty.

Police Officers' Roles in Society

Volumes were written since the beginning of standardized policing practices, which were first established by Sir Robert Peel upon founding of the Metropolitan Police Services in London in 1829 (J. B. Doherty, 2016a). Peel overcame resistance and fear that a centralized police force would essentially be an arm of the British military. Peel's vision centralized and professionalized policing, and set a code of conduct known today as Peelian Principles (Lentz & Chaires, 2007). Peel's principles since governed the role of police in the United States (J. B. Doherty, 2016a; Lentz & Chaires, 2007).

The role of law enforcement in the U.S. is to maintain a peaceful and lawful society. The powers required to enforce and uphold the laws of the land are found directly in the United States Constitution. The Constitution establishes the Executive Branch of government and prescribes the balance of powers between the three branches (Vollmer, 1932). Together, Peelian Principles and the Constitution constructed the role

of law enforcement in America and in maintaining law and order (Lentz & Chaires, 2007).

Peelian Principles

The American policing system is currently based on Peel's principles (Lentz & Chaires, 2007). However, the American roots of policing were planted in a dark past, rooted in hate and the recovery of runaway slaves in the South (Durr, 2015). American law enforcement evolved from *slave police* to modern-day policing agencies, yet the stains of the past caused a deep-seated mistrust of law enforcement in many communities of color (Durr, 2015).

Although the Peelian Principles served law enforcement well, the complex nature of crime and punishment led to numerous breakdowns in the American criminal justice system. These breakdowns led to civil unrest and violence in cities across the nation (Berg, True, & Gertz, 1984). The core issues provoking these clashes between government and citizens were: bias policing, use of force, drug criminalization, sentencing disparities between Caucasians and minorities, and racial profiling (Durr, 2015).

Current State of Law Enforcement

Peel's vision of an ethical police force helped centralize and professionalize policing (Lentz & Chaires, 2007). A disconnect between citizens and police was found to drive violent crimes, targeting of police officers by citizens seeking to cause them harm, and increase racial tension throughout the nation (Sanburn, 2015). Broadcasts by news media-fueled public outcry in communities of color. The resulting riots in Los Angeles spurred law enforcement reforms across the nation (Wihbey & Kille, 2016). Ever since,

public scrutiny of police officer actions and opposing viewpoints over the use of force remained a constant source of discourse between law enforcement officers and community members (Cothran, 2001a). Ironically, this discourse culminated in increased tensions, specifically between the BLM movement and law enforcement community; however, little research examined the root causes of this growing divide now affecting police officer actions in the field (Wolfe & Nix, 2016). These issues were compounded for police officers frustrated by laws such as California's Proposition 47, Proposition 57, and increases in crime, substance abuse, mental illness, and poverty that affect the cycle of incarceration and media scrutiny of police officer use of force (Bronson, Stroop, Zimmer, & Berzofsky, 2017; Griffith, 2016; Saslow, 2015).

Media's Role in Framing National Dialogue on Law Enforcement

Media used a variety of communication platforms, such as print, digital, and broadcast, to create, store, and disseminate information to wide audiences. Media played a pivotal role in the framing of the national dialogue on policing and use of force by police officers. Frequently, the "newshole," space allocated to editors for news in print and media broadcast after the allocation of space for advertising, (Drew & Wilhoit, 1976) reflected an ethos of Blue versus Black (McKissack, 2015). Increased media scrutiny of law enforcement and the propensity for media sources to publish unverified information and fake news raised concerns among many members of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) and elected officials in cities experiencing crime spikes; media scrutiny was affecting law enforcement's performance of their duties (Lowery, 2015).

Chicago was just one of several cities experiencing a significant increase in homicides and violent crimes across the United States (Sanburn, 2015). In October 2015

during a meeting with former Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director James Comey, addressing Black Lives Matter (BLM), Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel declared the widening divide between law enforcement and communities of color:

> "We have allowed our police department to get fetal, and it is having a direct consequence…they have pulled back from the ability to interdict…they don't want to be a news story themselves, they don't want their career ended early, and it's having an impact" (Lowery, 2015).

Prominent media sources cited a lack of police officer discretion and training as the cause of this divide (Capehart, 2015). Festinger (1957) noted a solid case could be made for supporting the notion that the root cause of this discourse was the result of cognitive dissonance experienced by and between the two communities. Recently, this divide resulted in the brutal mass killings of police officers in the United States by African American suspects retaliating against police brutality and the mistreatment of minorities. The growing number of police officers murdered continued to add to the national spike in violent crimes (Davey & Smith, 2015).

The current state of growing mistrust and negative public perceptions of citizens regarding policing in the United States is cause for concern. Evidence suggested the growing divide and mistrust by citizens stemmed from law enforcement's inability to effectively communicate with the communities they served (Lowery, 2015). Several factors affected public perceptions of law enforcement, including fairness in policing, the portrayal of law enforcement by the media, and the impact of social media, specifically in minority communities (Bain et al., 2014).

Media attention increasingly focused on the at-risk population of persons with mental health conditions. In September 2012 and March 2013, participants in a survey of young men answered questions about their experiences with police and police contacts (A. Geller, Fagan, Tyler, & Link, 2014). The survey was conducted using 1,261 young men aged 18 to 26 years old living in New York. Respondents reported feeling increased trauma and anxiousness as the number of police contacts increased. The conclusion of the study advocated for less invasive police tactics for people displaying mental health symptoms. The analysts stated implementation of these tactics would reduce any psychological harm to individuals stopped by police (A. Geller et al., 2014). Members of law enforcement, forced to deal with highly volatile mentally ill individuals due to the lack of funding for state-run mental health facilities, believed the media consistently undermined police self-legitimacy. They further expressed the media made their working conditions worse by praising police when they break from officer safety tactics to bring resolve without injury to situations involving mentally ill people, but harshly criticize them when they use proper police officer tactics that result in injury or death (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2013; Herzberg, Maunser, & Snyderman, 1959).

Police Officers' Perceptions: Cause and Effect

In the 1990s, policing strategies were based on the Broken Windows Theory, which helped bring about significant declines in crime (Gimber, 2007); however, Gimber (2007) stated academic research did not support the claims that strategies used in the 1990s were responsible for the major decreases. Rather, academics indicated social, educational, and financial factors were responsible for the major declines in the social construct of society (Gimber, 2007). Yet, police officers working in the field asserted

that when they aggressively arrested people under the influence of illegal substances,

property crimes decreased. The academic world and practitioners of law enforcement

continue to be at odds, just as there continues to be a widening gap in the discourse over

police officers, media reporting, and the use of justified force (Harmon, 2008; Lowery,

2015).

As a nation, we have tried several remedies to police abuse of powers. These

included civil lawsuits against individual police officers, the implementation of data

management systems to track and quantify police-citizen contacts, and punitive rulings

geared toward curbing and punishing police officers for misconduct (Ross & Parke,

2009). A prime example was the Supreme Court *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961) ruling that

established the exclusionary rule. This ruling enacted case law that allowed court

magistrates to exclude evidence in cases where police officers violated a defendant's

Fourth (search and seizure), Fifth (self-incrimination), or Sixth (right to counsel)

Amendment rights ("Mapp v. Ohio, 367 U.S. 643," 1961; Pardesi, Mangi, & Pardesi,

2013; Ross & Parke, 2009). In 1994, the United States Congress passed Title 42§ 14141

Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, which authorized the Department of

Justice (DOJ) to sue police departments that showed patterns of police misconduct

(Harmon, 2009). Yet, a decade later this procedural amendment, which showed great

promise, was failing as a result of the punitive measures and increased media scrutiny

having a muzzling effect on police performance in the field (Wolfe & Nix, 2016).

The effect of media reporting on police performance was highly debated, yet few

studies attempted to quantify or qualify the impacts. As recent as 2016, the DOJ pointed

toward the Ferguson Effect as the cause for murder rate spikes in the U.S. (Kaste, 2016a).

The New York Times published the article titled "Murder Rates Rising Sharply in Many U.S. Cities" (Davey & Smith, 2015), which stated "More than 30 other cities have also reported increases in violence from a year ago" (para. 2). Concurrently, Huffington Post columnist Tom Mullen stated the "narrative in right-wing media was cop killings are increasing due to Obama's tacit support for anti-cop activist groups," but he also declared, "Cop killings are way down during Obama's presidency" (2015). During his presidency, President Obama was highly critical of law enforcement, which also put a wedge between the top leader in the Executive Branch of government and the police officers who served as agents of the same branch (Ward, 2009). All entities had conflicting points of view but if properly examined produced a clear picture of the disconnect and confusion within the media itself, which influenced the masses, politicians, and law enforcement members.

The national narrative created by the Obama administration and media held that police were killing African Americans at a higher frequency than Caucasians. However, statistics gathered by The Washington Post stated otherwise; the 385 fatal police shootings in 2015 were: 181 White, 109 Black, 57 Hispanic, 6 Asian, 3 other, and 34 unknown (Kindy, 2015). The fatal shooting statistics were public knowledge, yet the number of police officer executions and ambushes continued to increase since 2011 with relatively little intervention by the Obama administration (Porter, 2016). This riff between President Obama and law enforcement came to a head in the summer of 2009. On July 22, 2009, in a White House conference regarding the arrest of Harvard Professor Henry Gates, President Obama admitted he did not have all the facts, yet stated he believed Sergeant James Crowley and the Cambridge Massachusetts Police Department

"acted stupidly," officially marking the day law enforcement died in America (Ward, 2009). Other high-profile cases prompted the formation of the BLM and "Hands Up, Don't Shoot" movements. Their influence was strongly echoed by the Obama administration's Presidential Task Force in the promulgation of policy objectives outlined in the *Final Report of President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (DOJ, 2015), which added to the stress and disconnect felt by police officers (Justice, 2015b; Lowery, 2015).

In the U.S. today, a fundamental disconnect exists between those who promulgate policing policy and the peace officers who must adhere to policies derived from recommendations outlined in the *Final Report of President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (Justice, 2015b). The recommended goals made by this Task Force were aimed at bridging the growing divide between communities and police officers over police misconduct. However, officers policing the streets balked at the recommendation saying, "Law enforcement culture should embrace a guardian—rather than a warrior—mindset" (Justice, 2015b).

The warrior mindset President Obama spoke of had origins closely tied to Lieutenant Colonel (Lt. Col.) Dave Grossman's sheepdog analogy. Homeland Security expert Lt. Col. Dave Grossman, U.S. Army (Ret.) coined the phrase, *Sheepdog* as a metaphor to describe law enforcement officers in relation to the public they protect and serve (Grossman, 2015). Grossman (2015) described the societal roles as follows: sheepdogs are vigilant peace officers whose role is to fight to the death against wolf packs, wolves are criminals who prey on flocks of sheep, and the sheep are law-abiding citizens who go about their day unaware of the true dangers posed by the wolves or

wolves-in-sheep's-clothing because of the protections provided by the sheepdogs. Although sheepdogs will fight to protect the flock, they are not fully beloved by the sheep. Perhaps it is because the sheepdog's role was to nip at the heels of sheep when they strayed (Grossman, 2015). On the other hand, if a sheepdog is muzzled, it became unwilling to risk its life to protect the flock against the wolves. Applied to law enforcement, officers were being muzzled because of fear of negative media coverage, potentially lowering their morale and job satisfaction. This new attitude among law enforcement warrants exploration due to its possible relationship to the significant increase in homicides and violent crimes across the United States (Sanburn, 2015).

Theoretical Framework

The muzzled and broken spirit, manifested in reduced motivation among law enforcement officers, impacted law enforcement officers' job satisfaction and personal well-being (Clark, 2016; Roufa, 2017). According to the police self-legitimacy theory, power-holders first claimed legitimate authority and the audience, in turn, responded to that claim. Power-holders interpreted the audience response and altered their claim to legitimacy accordingly (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2013; Nix & Wolfe, 2017). As was the case with media reporting police officers were overly assertive, Gerbner (1998) stated there were "numerous other inaccurate beliefs about crime and law enforcement" (Gerbner, 1998). With increased scrutiny of police officers by the media, political forces weighed in on police officers and their ability to do their job. The personal and professional impacts of these forces on police officers were explored using Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Herzberg's motivator-hygiene theory.

Police Officer Job Satisfaction

In addition to studying the impacts of negative media reporting on police officers professionally, this study focused on the invisible impacts negative media reporting had on police officers personally. Of specific interest was police officer job satisfaction and motivation based on satisfaction theory and motivation to work theory (Herzberg et al., 1959; Magny, 2012). With mounting external pressures from citizen groups and elected officials, it appeared these pressures caused an internal clash between police administrators and the line-level patrol staff they supervised. Magny (2012) stated, "Agencies are taking away resources from the officers with the expectation that the officers will still perform with the same efficiency" (p. 19).

According to Herzberg et al. (1959), two distinctive categories: motivational factors and hygiene factors, affected job satisfaction. Motivators, which were inherent to work and considered intrinsically rewarding, were comprised of psychological needs such as recognition, responsibility, meaningful work, growth and promotional opportunities, and a sense of achievement. Herzberg et al. (1959) used a scale that placed satisfaction on one side of the spectrum, opposite to no satisfaction. The theory held that motivators yielded positive satisfaction, which in turn resulted in an employee's feelings about work. The second category, which did not lead to positive employee satisfaction long-term, were called hygiene factors. Here, Herzberg used a scale that placed no dissatisfaction on one side of the spectrum, opposite to dissatisfaction. Although these factors did not lead to long-term satisfaction, the theory stated the lack of hygiene factors resulted only in dissatisfaction (Herzberg et al., 1959).

Maslow, on the other hand, presented a theory that suggested human behavior was predicated on a hierarchy of needs. Abraham Maslow presented the hierarchy of needs theory in his 1934 paper *A Theory of Human Motivation*. In his theory, Maslow (1954) presented a five-level pyramid of needs that ascends from the first level (comprised of basic physiological needs such as food, water, clothing, and shelter) to the highest-order need termed as self-actualization. The five levels in Maslow's model, starting from the lowest to the highest were: physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, and self-actualization (McLeod, 2017). Maslow suggested that for humans to be motivated to achieve the next level in the pyramid, they needed some satisfaction of lower-level needs (Maslow, 1954; McLeod, 2017).

Negative media coverage had the potential to lower police officers' motivation to perform their duties. According to a Rasmussen Reports (2015) poll, 58% of Americans agreed there was a war on police. Additionally, 77% of those who said there was a war on police believed comments by politicians increased the level of danger for officers (Rasmussen Reports, 2015). Although police officers stated they felt under attack, liberal-leaning news media sources suggested the data on police officers killed by gunfire in 2015 did not support the claims made by police officers. CNN contributor Ray Sanchez (2015) reported police shooting deaths were down 16%, although the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund told a different story. In Sanchez's (2015) article, University of Pittsburg School of Law professor David Harris was quoted saying police officers felt under siege, "But there's no evidence of the so-called Ferguson effect…that police are hesitating to do their jobs…or that criminals are being emboldened by the rhetoric" (Sanchez, 2015). Yet in 2017, nearly two years later, cities like Chicago,

where the police were the focus of sharp negative media scrutiny over their treatment of citizens, saw drastic spikes in violent crimes, reported a 24% drop in arrest rate from the year prior and an overall 44% drop since 2011 (Cherone & Nitkin, 2017).

Wolfe and Nix (2016) suggested police officer performance was affected by negative media reporting. In large part, the aspects of police officer job satisfaction with respect to the impact of negative media reporting were unknown. However, topics like the ability to recruit new police officers, retain police officers, and serious issues like police officer suicides were becoming increasingly studied topics (Clark, 2016). Exploring the effects of negative reporting on police officers and the internal impacts could shed new light on this problem and equip police unions and administrations with more effective strategies to address them.

<div align="center">**Statement of the Research Problem**</div>

Law enforcement in the United States of America is in crisis (Hook, 2015). A fundamental disconnect, fueled by media reporting, existed between groups that promulgate policing policies and the peace officers who must adhere to the policies despite their limiting nature. Many new policies affecting law enforcement agencies across the nation were derived from recommendations developed by progressive policymakers outlined in high-level directives, like the *Final Report of President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (Justice, 2015b). The policies, in the eyes of law enforcement professionals, made a difficult line of work nearly impossible to perform. Many members of law enforcement were experiencing less interest in enforcing laws and job burnout (Coleman, 2012; Herzberg et al., 1959). Nationally, the police attrition rate was 14% and many departments across the U.S. were seeing many police officers

walking out the door (Roufa, 2017). Without solutions, the United States could experience catastrophic disturbances.

Today in America, law enforcement officers are expressing a feeling of being muzzled because of media reporting and the fundamental disconnect between policymakers, community, and law enforcement practitioners. The solutions to bring the United States back from the brink of catastrophic disturbances rests with the ability to partner academic professionals working on restorative justice initiatives with academic law enforcement professionals. This strategic partnership must sharply focus on causation factors such as imprisonment, poverty, lack of education, and bias policing practices (Stuntz, 2006). Additionally, police administrators must begin to explore the personal impact negative media reporting has on their officers to reduce police officer suicides, increase productivity, and retain good police officers in the ranks (Roufa, 2017).

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this mixed-methods case study was to understand and describe how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008. A secondary purpose was to determine if there was a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender and race.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study:

RQ1: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them personally?

RQ2: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them professionally?

RQ3: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on gender?

RQ4: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on race?

Significance of the Problem

Over the past 10 years, Americans witnessed the rapid deterioration of trust in law enforcement officers (Plowden, 2016). In that timeframe, media coverage on law enforcement became extensive amidst internal skepticism by journalists saying, "news reports are full of factual errors and sloppy reporting" (Rosenstiel, Kovach, & Mitchell, 1999). The 24-hour news cycle and media sensationalism fueled the growing divide between citizens and the police, yet little research was conducted to evaluate the effect media reporting had on community policing and on the men and women sworn to protect and serve. Symptoms of the American criminal justice system in crisis included violent

crime spikes, civil unrest, and attacks on police officers (Lydersen, 2015; Sanburn, 2015). Without careful study, evaluation, and remedy, this crisis could prove catastrophic to the U.S. government's ability to peacefully govern.

Speculation among police officers indicated negative media reporting was driving public mistrust of the police. The impact of good versus bad police-citizen encounters on public satisfaction with police was evaluated (Li, Ren, & Luo, 2016). They found "when equal measures of good and bad are present, the psychological effects of bad events outweigh those of the good ones" (Li et al., 2016). Over the course of the past three years, the media produced dozens of negative articles, broadcast stories, and social media posts about police actions. Several media reports on high profile cases, such as the Michael Brown, Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner, and Freddie Gray cases, brought sharp criticism of law enforcement officers by elected officials, community leaders, and people across the United States (Quah & David, 2015). Yet, police officers argued hundreds, if not thousands, of positive police-citizen contacts each day, never made headline news.

In response to increased media scrutiny and reporting, police officers may be responding by changing their behavior in their daily patrol duties in ways that could put communities at risk. Media-driven public mistrust of police officers in the United States had a negative effect on police officers' willingness to police proactively and a nexus to the national spikes in violent crimes could exist (Sanburn, 2015; Wolfe & Nix, 2016). In addition to the professional impact of media reporting on police officers, there could be a connection to a deep, personal impact on police officers, including lower job satisfaction, increased suicides, and decreased resilience (Collins & Gibbs, 2003; Marx, 2016).

The muzzling of the sheepdog theory, developed by this researcher, sought to further explain this emerging phenomenon and to explore the impact media reporting had on the rise in violent crimes and homicides across the United States. This emerging theory was an evolution of retired Lt. Col. Dave Grossman's (2015) metaphor, in which the sheepdog's (referring to law enforcement officers) "duty" is to defend and fight to the death against the wolf or pack of wolves (criminals) that seek to cause harm to the flock of sheep (citizens) who generally are unaware of the wolves or wolves in sheep's clothing. This researcher suggests in the current theory, sheepdogs are less inclined to protect the flock (citizens) when muzzled. Applied to law enforcement, fear of becoming the target of negative media reports effectively muzzled police officers, making them less inclined to protect the people. This study intended to explore this emerging theory and the current state of law enforcement.

Definitions

Crime Spike. A year-to-year increase or upward trend in criminal activity.

Fake News. Fake news is the "publication of intentionally or knowingly false statements of fact" (Klein & Wueller, 2017).

Hard News. Hard news is the timely (24-hours), fact-based reporting of local, national, and international matters of urgent or collective concerns such as politics, crime, war, disasters, and current events (Scott & Gobetz, 1992; Turow, 1983).

Major Metropolitan Law Enforcement Agency. Law enforcement agencies in geographic areas with at least one urbanized area or urban cluster, based on U.S. Census Bureau Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSA's) serving a population of at least 250,000 or more people.

Media. Media is an aggregate of communication formats used to create, store, and disseminate information to wide audiences. Media is comprised of a wide array of platforms, such as print (e.g., newspapers), digital/broadcast (e.g., television, Internet, podcast, livestream), film, and advertising.

Muzzling of the Sheepdog Effect. Factors that create fear, frustration, demotivation, reduced proactivity, unwillingness to serve, and hesitation within police officers to provide fundamental duties to ensure the safety of communities which include: (a) research on policing that does not accurately portray the lived experience of police officers, (b) infotainment news media, (c) political influence and decriminalization (referred to by this researcher as "legalization by legislation," (d) lack of law enforcement executive support, and (e) counterproductive policies.

News. News is reporting of actual and current events by a media outlet (Mercadal, 2017; Scott & Gobetz, 1992).

Newshole. Newshole is space allocated to editors for news in print and media broadcast after the allocation of space for advertising (Drew & Wilhoit, 1976).

Police Managers/Executives. Police managers/executives are higher-level law enforcement leaders who impose discipline; manage budgets; and formulate missions, goals, policies, and deployments of organizational resources to meet the expectations and needs of employees and clients (e.g., community members, elected officials) affected by police activities (R. Roberg, J. Kuykendall, & K. Novak, 2002).

Police Officers. Police officers work 8- to 12-hour patrol shifts with the mission of protecting lives and property. They pursue and apprehend people who break the law using physical manpower, technological databases, and judicial orders. They then warn,

19

cite, or arrest persons who violate criminal statutes and laws. Police officers patrol

jurisdictions and investigate suspicious activity in areas designated by city, state, and

federal authority. They also respond to emergency and nonemergency calls for service,

conduct traffic stops, issue traffic citations, and render first aid to victims of accidents or

trauma (Magny, 2012; Statistics, 2015).

Police Sergeants. Police Sergeants serve as first-level law enforcement

management who rank above police officers and corporals. A sergeant is responsible for

the supervision of police officer performance and adherence to laws and department

policies (Magny, 2012; R. Roberg et al., 2002).

Soft News. Soft news is situational reporting on background information

including opinion and color commentary (Scott & Gobetz, 1992; Turow, 1983).

Delimitations

The following factors delimited this study:

1. The law enforcement agencies used in this study were identified on the

   Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) list of 15 largest local police departments.

2. The law enforcement agencies used in this study served cities with a population

   of 250,000 or more.

3. The participants in this study were delimited to full-time, sworn personnel.

4. The study was delimited to cities that experienced crime spikes between 2008

   and 2016.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized in five chapters. Chapter I provided an overview of the

problem statement and foundation for the study. Chapter II provides a thorough review

of the literature related to the historical perspective of policing, its current challenges, and the media. Chapter III contains the research methodology used in this study. Chapter IV identifies the results of the data collected from survey instruments. Chapter V analyzes the findings and ends with a conclusive summary describing the themes for future action and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to examine how negative media reports affected police officers professionally and personally. To understand the context of law enforcement, media coverage, and motivation, the researcher conducted a comprehensive literature review using terms and keywords such as *police and media, policing and effects of social media,* and *policing and perceptions*. The term *policeman* was not included because of its gender-bias toward male officers (Else-Quest, Higgins, Allison, & Morton, 2012). A refined search produced a total of 21,167 sources.

A synthesis matrix of research pertinent to this study was developed and used to guide the literature review (Appendix A). This chapter is organized into six parts. Part I explores police officer roles in society through a historical perspective, the ethos of Peelian Principles, and police officer ethics. Part II includes an overview of the current state of law enforcement and race relations, violence, crime spikes, police use of force, substance abuse, mental illness, and poverty. Part III provides an in-depth look at the media's role in framing national dialogue on law enforcement, the 24-hour news cycle, vetting of information, sensationalism, and negative media reporting. Part IV explores police officers' perceptions about the media and media reporting, the community, the administration, crime spikes, community expectations, and use of force. Part V includes an overview of police enforcement, effects in the field, proactivity, victimization, and threats to national security. Part VI introduces police officer job satisfaction, the theoretical background on Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Herzberg's motivator-hygiene theory, effects of current conditions in policing on job satisfaction, and the effects on officer recruitment, daily motivation, and police officer suicide.

Police Officers' Roles in Society

Police officers are government employees who enforce laws, maintain order, protect lives and property, and serve the community. The origin of both military and non-military groups of men used to provide protection for citizens, extinguish fires, quell riots, capture thieves, and provide protection to the state was traced back to ancient societies. The modern-day term *police* found its origins in Greece and France, and first appeared in English print as *polles* in the Magna Carta (Coke, 1642). The following sections provide an in-depth look at the origins and evolution of law enforcement in the United States.

Historical Origins and Impacts of Sir Robert Peel

The framework of policing in the United States took root in the reformed British Metropolitan Police Department, which Sir Robert Peel founded in 1829; Peel standardized policing practices in London (J. B. Doherty, 2016a). Peel overcame public resistance and fear that a centralized police force would essentially be an arm of the British military. In addition to Peel's vision of centralizing policing, it also professionalized policing with the institution of a code of conduct known today as *Peelian Principles* (Lentz & Chaires, 2007). Peel's principles since governed the role of police and professional service in the United States (J. B. Doherty, 2016a; Lentz & Chaires, 2007).

The role of law enforcement in the U.S. is to maintain a peaceful and lawful society. The powers required to enforce and uphold the laws are found directly in the United States Constitution. The Constitution established the Executive Branch of government and prescribed the balance of powers between the three branches (Vollmer,

1932). Together, Peelian Principles and the Constitution constructed the role of law enforcement in America (Lentz & Chaires, 2007).

Although the Peelian Principles served law enforcement well, the complex nature of crime and punishment led to numerous breakdowns in the American criminal justice system. These breakdowns led to civil unrest and violence in cities across the nation (Berg et al., 1984). The core issues provoking these clashes between government and citizens were: bias policing, use of force, drug criminalization, sentencing disparities among Caucasians and minorities, and racial profiling (Durr, 2015).

Origins of Policing in the United States – Peelian Principles

The earliest policing systems in the United States were rooted in the English system that consisted of sheriffs, constables, watch, and wards (Marion & Oliver, 2012). The sheriffs' and constables' roles were reactive and generally consisted of addressing complaints brought before them. The watch consisted of local men who patrolled the streets at night to warn of fires. The watch and wards were ill-equipped, poorly paid, poorly trained, and did not take an active role in the apprehension of criminals or suppression of crime (Marion & Oliver, 2012).

In the early 1600s, American policing systems were similar in the northern and southern states. Some historians identify the amalgamation of police departments in major cities during the mid-1800s as the birth of modern policing in America (Durr, 2015). However, other historians argued the first publicly funded American beginnings of policing were planted in a dark past and rooted in hate – the recovery of runaway slaves in the South (Durr, 2015; Walker, 1998). Walker (1998) cited the birth of American law enforcement with South Carolina's founding of slave patrols in 1704.

These patrols, made of up of White men known as Paddy Rollers, gave rise to modern-day police beats and were rewarded for the capture and return of runaway slaves (Durr, 2015; Walker, 1998). The stains of the past left a deep-seated mistrust of law enforcement by many communities of color that remained long after Reconstruction.

Shortly after the Revolutionary War, the colonists, emboldened by the passage of the Bill of Rights in 1791, rejected many of the systems, including sheriffs and constables, put in place by the King of England (Marion & Oliver, 2012). However, the explosive growth of cities, massive influx of immigrants, and weakening of informal social control mechanisms – like the church asserting its moral authority, families asserting control over their children, and townsfolk knowing every member of the community – gave rise to disorder, crime, and riots with no formal authority to restore peace and justice (Marion & Oliver, 2012).

In 1838, after four years of violent, destructive, and deadly riots breaking out in Boston, Massachusetts, the people demanded the government do something to restore order in the streets and correct the issues of corrupt policing practices of the past (Marion & Oliver, 2012). Boston, which looked across the Atlantic Ocean to the London Metropolitan Police Department, became the world's first bona fide organization under the reforms of Sir Robert Peel (Lentz & Chaires, 2007; Marion & Oliver, 2012). New York City followed suit with the founding of its police department in 1845. Although these new police departments were modeled after the London Metropolitan Police Department, the desire of citizens for a limited government presence resulted in police departments that were severely understaffed, under supervised, and poorly, if at all,

uniformed (Marion & Oliver, 2012). These issues were met with sweeping policy eras that each sought to change and improve policing in America.

In the United States, three eras of police policy evolution and a debated fourth were recognized: The Political Era (1840-1920), The Professional Era (1920-1970), The Community Era (1970-Present), and the Homeland Security Era, which author Oliver (2004) argued began with the terrorist attacks on American soil on September 11, 2001.

The Political Era (1840-1900). This era was named as such because of the closely linked ties between political leaders and police officers (Kelling & Moore, 1988). This era was ushered in by a massive influx of immigrants, rising crime and violence, and a call by the people for political leaders to put an end to the mayhem (Marion & Oliver, 2012). Although the period was mainly noted for political corruption, cronyism, and the appointment of officers with little to no formal training or supervision, it also boasted a period of close ties of police officers with the community, a force of officers who reflected the racial make-up of the areas they policed, and the extensive use of police foot beats (Kelling & Moore, 1988). The results of the Political Era of policing were a system tarnished with corruption, a lack of professionalism, inefficiency, and brutality, which required reform (Kelling & Moore, 1988; Marion, 2002).

The Reform Era (1900-1970). This era marked various attempts to professionalize the police force and to free it from the control of politicians (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Authors like August Vollmer and O.W. Wilson were largely responsible for advocating for these reforms (Ward M. Oliver, 2004). This era ushered in sweeping reforms of hiring practices, formalized academy training, and emphasized enforcing laws over the more social service role police adopted during the political era. The Reform Era

also saw technological advances for police, including the 911 system and two-way radios allowing police to work more efficiently. However, some authors argued these advances made police less effective because they became more reliant on the technology and patrol car and less reliant on foot beats and citizen contact (Kelling & Moore, 1988; Marion & Oliver, 2012).

Despite new advances in technology, hiring practices, and the expansions of many police departments, police were still unable to control crime or prevent increases in crime across the nation (Willard M. Oliver & Hilgenberg, 2006). The 1960s proved extremely challenging for law enforcement as they faced the escalation of the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, and claims by students and minority communities (especially the African American community) of disparate treatment, which often prompted protest and civil unrest (Marion & Oliver, 2012). For the first time in history, television and news reporting of events allowed viewers across the nation to observe police live on TV, which prompted backlash and caused some to question the legitimacy of police and their role (Marion & Oliver, 2012; Willard M. Oliver & Hilgenberg, 2006). The tensions sparked discussion about weak relations between police and communities and a movement toward improving these bonds.

The Community Era (1970-Present). This era is the last recognized by most scholars. This era was ushered in by President Johnson's administration's passage of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 and creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration under the DOJ (Marion & Oliver, 2012). This funneled federal grants to local county and state police departments who committed to implementing the tenets of police-community relations. Team policing programs

sprouted around the U.S. in the early 1970s; however, the impacts were negligible and the programs quickly withered as a result of little federal guidance and departments only allocating small teams of officers to these details (2012).

In the early 1980s, a renewed focus on what worked with the policies of Crime Control and Safe Streets Act facilitated a shift from traditional, reactive policing toward a model of partnership with community and police to reduce the fear of crime, prevent crime, and promote proactive community policing. Although the policy referred to several strategies, the main ideas of community policing were credited to John Q. Wilson's and G. L. Kelling's broken windows theory (Marion & Oliver, 2012; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). This groundbreaking policing theory of proactive prevention and community partnership laid the foundation for the creation and passage of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (Marion & Oliver, 2012). This Act included federal funding for the creation of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) under the DOJ and rewarded city and state agencies that adopted COPS with grants to hire additional police officers, purchase equipment, and obtain training for COPS (Marion & Oliver, 2012). The COPS program became the prevailing police policy and theory for most police agencies in the United States.

The Homeland Security Era. This is a theoretical era proposed by authors like Marion and Oliver (Marion & Oliver, 2012; Ward M. Oliver, 2004). These authors argued the Community Policing Era ended when the United States was attacked by terrorists on September 11, 2001. They collectively pointed toward a shift in funding from COPS toward antiterrorism and counterterrorism under the creation of the Office of

Homeland Security and the subsequent passage of the USA PATRIOT Act (Ward M.

Oliver, 2004).

Although the Peelian Principles served law enforcement well throughout each era

of policing in the United States, the complex nature of crime and punishment led to

numerous breakdowns in the American criminal justice system resulting in civil unrest

and violence across the nation (Berg et al., 1984). The core issues provoking these

clashes between government and citizens were: bias policing, use of force, drug

criminalization, sentencing disparities among Caucasians and minorities, and racial

profiling (Durr, 2015). For each of these challenges, a policy was the driving force. The

history of American policing and the current status of policing highlighted the

complexities of the criminal justice system. As stated by Marion and Oliver (2012), it

was "easy to talk of the police, but when we define what we mean, we begin to

understand that police operate at many different levels" (p. 312).

Ethics

Ethics and standards of ethical behavior for police officers was rooted in the

belief that integrity was fundamental to building trust between police officers and the

communities they served. The COPS website published by the DOJ (2017) stated a

"police department can repair and strengthen community relationships by understanding

and training officers on three key concepts: procedural justice, bias reduction, and racial

reconciliation" ("*Ethics and integrity*," 2017). However, Grant (2002) indicated ethics

and standards of ethical behavior were increasingly technical and complex in the law

enforcement profession.

Public scrutiny and the expectation police officers operate in a professional and efficient manner, void of expressing personal emotions and views, added to the complexity of policing and the need for officers to strictly adhere to a code of ethics and conduct (Grant, 2002). In October 1957, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP, n.d.) adopted the *Law Enforcement Code of Ethics* at the 64th Annual IACP Conference and Exposition in Kentucky. The *Law Enforcement Code of Ethics* was revised in 1989 to reflect the values and norms of society and unanimously adopted in 1991.

The code, used pervasively throughout the United States as the oath of office during police graduations and appointment to public office, outlines the fundamental duties of a police officer: serving community; safeguarding lives and property; protecting the innocent against deception, the weak against oppression or intimidation, and the peaceful against violence or disorder; and respecting the constitutional rights of all to liberty, equality, and justice (Grant, 2002; "The law enforcement code of ethics," 1957). Pardesi et al. (2013) pointed out that although law enforcement adopted a code of ethics and code of conduct, the checks-and-balances mechanism as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States of America was necessary to provide oversight and ensure individual liberties were not violated.

Current State of Law Enforcement in the United States of America

Peel's vision of an ethical police force helped centralize and professionalize U.S. policing (Lentz & Chaires, 2007). Although the American law enforcement system evolved from its past, the stains left a deep-seated mistrust by many minority communities (J. B. Doherty, 2016b). A disconnect between citizens and police was

driving violent crimes, targeting police officers, and increasing racial tensions throughout the nation (Sanburn, 2015). This section explores the impact of media reporting on police officer performance in the field by discussing the Rodney King beating due to this incident being considered ground zero for the viral video movement. The video capturing the events of King's arrest by the LADP was widely accepted as the first viral video (Taylor, 2012).

Ground Zero: A Nation in Crisis

Linder (2001) and Cannon (1997) wrote about Rodney King, a Black male in Los Angeles (LA), California. King was observed on March 3, 1991, by California Highway Patrol (CHP) officers Tim and Melanie Singer. King was speeding on California State Route 210, Foothill freeway with his passengers, Bryant Allen (a.k.a. Pooh) and Freddie Helms, after spending the night drinking at a friend's house. Upon observing the speeding 1987 Hyundai Excel, the CHP officers attempted to conduct a traffic stop, but King refused to stop and led the officers on a high-speed pursuit on the freeway and surface streets, in excess of 117 miles per hour. King was reported to have run red lights and nearly caused an accident because of his erratic driving. CHP pursued King for nearly eight miles, during which time the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) joined the pursuit. King later admitted he attempted to evade the police because an arrest for driving under the influence would violate his parole terms for a previous conviction for robbery (Cannon, 1997). Toxicology reports confirmed King had consumed roughly twelve, 12-ounce "eight balls" (Slang term for the high-alcohol beer Olde English 800) (Whitman, 1993).

31

King finally exited the freeway and stopped the vehicle at the intersection of Osbourne Street and Foothill Boulevard. Linder wrote, "within seconds, three Los Angeles police cars and a police helicopter arrived on scene" (Linder, 2001). LAPD Officers Laurence Powell, Timothy Wind, Theodore Briseno, Rolando Solano, and Sergeant Stacey Koon intervened with CHP Officers Singer and Singer taking Rodney King into custody; this occurred after Sergeant Koon observed Officer Melanie Singer's "lousy tactic" of coming into close proximity of King with her gun drawn (Linder, 2001).

Just moments prior, an uncooperative King defied Officer Melanie Singer's repeated order to keep his hands where she could see them (Cannon, 1997; Linder, 2001). She reported King danced around, waved at the helicopter above, and "grabbed his right buttock with his right hand and he shook it" (Linder, 2001). Sergeant Koon also noted King's bizarre behavior and his spaced-out look, which led Koon to believe King was "dusted" using Phencyclidine Piperidine (PCP); however, Sergeant Koon's suspicion was later proved unfounded (Deutsch, 1993; Linder, 2001; Whitman, 1993). At the time of the incident, police officers considered PCP a dangerous hallucinogen that resulted in suddenly violent behavior and posed additional risks to officers (Deutsch, 1993). The LAPD officers, at the direction of Sergeant Koon, attempted to physically apprehend King, who stood at 6-foot 3-inches and 225-pounds, using a take-down tactic (Whitman, 1993). In the apprehension attempt, LAPD officers deployed two TASERS, which were non-lethal, conducted electrical weapons, developed to subdue PCP users ("Drug Categories," 2017; Linder, 2001). King defeated the take-down and managed to get back to his feet.

The noise, yelling, and lights from the police units awakened George Holliday, who retrieved a video camera and began recording the altercation between King and the LAPD officers (Cannon, 1997; Linder, 2001). The now notorious video footage, which captured just over a minute-and-a-half of the altercation, started off unfocused on King, who just regained his footing after the failed take-down. In the unfocused footage, Rodney was recorded charging at Officer Powell. Holliday's video came into focus as Officers Powell and Wind began striking King with their metal batons (Cannon, 1997; Linder, 2001).

In the following frames of video footage, Officers Powell and Wind were memorialized delivering over 50 baton strikes and several kicks. Officer Briseno was seen stomping on King's shoulder, causing King's head to strike the asphalt (Linder, 2001). Officer Solano was one of 17 LAPD officers at the scene who did not participate in the "beating" and who was not criminally charged ("Crisis in the LAPD: The Rodney King Beating: The Internal Affairs report," 1991). However, these officers were later criticized for watching King being beaten and failing to stop fellow police officers' misconduct.

On March 4, 1991, Holliday took the video footage he captured the night before to a local television station, KTLA (Linder, 2001). The news producers found the footage shocking and within a day of airing the footage on the local evening news, CNN picked up the story and carried it nationwide. Perhaps more shocking were the digital messages sent by Officer Powell, which carried boastful recounts of beating King and racial references to a disturbance call involving African Americans prior to the King incident in which Powell referred to the people involved as "gorillas in the mist" (Linder,

2001). Some members of the predominantly Caucasian and male LAPD force attempted

to minimize these comments by stating the banter was gallows humor (Morris, 2012).

However, the footage shocked people across the country who called it revolting

(Whitman, 1993).

Linder (2001) quoted CNN Vice President Ted Turner as saying "television used

the tape like wallpaper" (para. 11), and most news media outlets ran the footage without

the unfocused first seconds showing King charging toward Officer Powell. The edited

footage the media chose to air depicted King as a "helpless drunk" senselessly beaten at

the hands of the LAPD officers (Linder, 2001).

News media's deliberate editing of the King footage and its role in shaping the

national dialogue became critical in the weeks and months leading up to the LA riots

(Cannon, 1997; Linder, 2001). News media coverage of the court and commission

hearings geared toward reforming the LAPD was unprecedented. On April 29, 1992, LA

erupted into violence following the televised jury decision to acquit LAPD Sergeant

Koon and Officers Powell, Wind, and Briseno (Cannon, 1997; Whitman, 1993).

Linder (2001) wrote, "The media underappreciated the importance of the

composition of the jury. Perhaps placing too much confidence in the ability of the

videotape to secure a conviction, the media failed to adequately prepare the public for the

verdict" (2001). The spark that ignited the 1992 LA riots remained debatable. Some

authors stated the riots were sparked by a backlash to the acquittals and deep disdain by

the Black community for decades of police brutality and racism (Morris, 2012); however,

other authors claimed what sparked the LA riots was a flawed account based on half-

truths, misconceptions, and the "unsettling truth that incompetence, alcohol, greed, and hatred helped to make it happen" (1993).

Scholars still debate what spark ignited the 1992 LA riots. What was clear is the path of destruction left behind. After the dust settled, over 50 people, mainly Korean and Latino, lay dead; 2,300 people were injured and rioters inflicted $1 billion in property damage (Cannon, 1997; Linder, 2001; Whitman, 1993). What also became clear was news media's power to contribute to the "fear and prejudice among their audiences" and news media's ability to act as a powerful "watchdog in the public interest" with regards to criminal activity (Mercadal, 2017).

Race Relations

Broadcasts by news media of the events fueled public outcry in minority communities. The LA riots spurred law enforcement reforms across the nation (Wihbey & Kille, 2016). Ever since, public scrutiny of police officer actions and opposing viewpoints over the use of force was a constant source of discourse between law enforcement officers and community members (Cothran, 2001b). Ironically, this discourse culminated in increased tensions, specifically between Black Lives Matter (BLM) and the law enforcement community; however, little research examined the root causes of this growing divide now affecting police officer actions in the field (Wolfe & Nix, 2016).

Violence and Crime Spikes

Violence and crime spikes were a common theme in shifting policing policy in the United States (Marion & Oliver, 2012; Ward M. Oliver, 2004; Willard M. Oliver & Hilgenberg, 2006). Yet, the cause of recent spikes in crime and violence were highly

debated. Sanburn indicated 2015 marked the end to an almost 40-year decline of violent

crime in the U.S., which was credited to the urban revival in America. The downward

trend was halted in 2015 by a rise across the nation in homicides, prompting critics to

ponder how police forces moving away from heavy-handed tactics were going to address

the 15% increase in homicides in New York, 48% increase in Atlanta, 18% increase in

Chicago, and 82% increase in St. Louis (Davey & Smith, 2015; Sanburn, 2015).

University of Missouri at St. Louis criminologist Richard Rosenfeld (Sanburn,

2015) attributed the rise in violence to "increased police-community tensions related to

controversial police shootings" (p. 16). Chicago Police Superintendent, Gary McCarthy

(as cited by Davey & Smith, 2015), pointed to restorative justice initiatives that softened

sentencing, early release programs for prisoners, and loosened gun laws for the rise in

violent crime; he stated, "across the country, we've found it's not the individual who

never committed a crime before suddenly killing somebody. It's the repeat offenders.

It's the same people over and over again" (Davey & Smith, 2015). This sentiment was

also shared by a growing number of rank-and-file police officers across the nation who

believed decriminalization and a push toward less-aggressive policing by media, social

justice organizations, and liberal politicians emboldened criminals; this became known as

the *Ferguson Effect* (Davey & Smith, 2015; Kaste, 2016b; Lowery, 2015).

Attributing the source of increased crime and violence to repeat offenders caused

speculation that gang warfare was also a factor. A New York Police Department

(NYDP) spokesperson confirmed a large number of the city's homicides were gang-

related killings; however, in New Orleans, the Police Superintendent stated the cities rise

in homicides did not appear attributable to increased gang activity (Davey & Smith,

2015). Both suggested a shift in society that led to an uptick in violent killings involving

people who knew their victims and spur-of-the-moment murders resulting from disputes

(Davey & Smith, 2015). Data in Milwaukee, where most homicide suspects and victims

were Black men under 30, also supported the narrative that the common factor in these

homicides was not gang-related, but rather stemmed from an argument. Most of these

killings involved guns and both the suspects and victims typically had criminal records

and prior arrests (2015). Although the review of literature provided no clear, specific

cause for the rise in violence in the United States, there was a clear shift in American

society requiring law enforcement to identify the root causes and adapt policing strategies

to address emerging threats (Pyrooz, Decker, Wolfe, & Shjarback, 2016).

Police Use of Force

Wihbey and Kille (2016) indicated disparate views between citizens and police

overuse of force by officers in the United States. It was important to first define use of

force and the tools available to police officers in the scope of their duties. Terrill (2005)

defined force by police officers as "acts that threaten or inflict physical harm on citizens,

which includes forms of both verbal and physical force" (p. 115).

The use of force by a police officer could take many forms, including verbal

commands, physical force (e.g., control holds, punching, kicking), Oleoresin Capsicum

spray, electronic TASERS, impact weapons (e.g., batons, flashlights), and firearms

(Hoffman & Hickey, 2005). The 1989 Supreme Court set the legal precedent for justified

use of force by a police officer in the landmark case of *Graham v. Connor* (1989). The

standard, known as the objectively reasonable, states:

reasonableness of a particular use of force must be judged from the

perspective of a reasonable officer on the scene… the calculus must

embody an allowance for the fact that police officers are often forced to

make split-second judgments in circumstances that are tense, uncertain,

and rapidly evolving about the amount of force necessary in a particular

situation (*Graham v. Conner*, 1989, para. 22).

The reasonableness factor was perhaps the best-known cause for the incongruent views of

citizens and police officers regarding the use of force by officers.

More than two decades after Rodney King and the 1992 L.A. riots, allegations of

excessive force by police officers around the United State continued to generate national

headlines (Wihbey & Kille, 2016). More recently, the killing of Michael Brown in

Ferguson, Missouri, illustrated the stark racial divide with the reactions of Whites (37%)

versus Blacks (80%) who believed the case raised important issues about race (C.

Doherty & Weisel, 2014). Controversies over the acquittal of police officers in widely

covered cases by media involving the death of Black men generated concerns over equal

justice and questions about police officer use of force (Hook, 2015; Wihbey & Kille,

2016).

Although media focus concentrated on police officer use of force against African

Americans, Wihbey and Kille (2016) suggested confidence in law enforcement was

relatively low and expectations of excessive force on suspects was high in both Latino

and African American communities. The community's assessment of the use of force

was important to police as well as the community, "unfortunately for both, public

expectations of the police are at times unreasonable" (R. R. Roberg, J. Kuykendall, & K.

Novak, 2002). Although media presented one narrative of excessive abuse of power and use of force, the numbers told a different story.

Use of Force by the Numbers

An examination of data limitations fetters the understanding of police officer use of force, specifically deadly force. In the United States, police officers shoot and wound 1,200 people and kill on average approximately 600 citizens a year (R. Roberg et al., 2002). Geller and Scott (1992) stated that although the number of citizens injured due to resisting police authority was unknown, they estimated the number to be between 0.1 and 1%. Wihbey and Kille (2016) indicated the number was slightly higher with the percentage in 2005 reported at 1.6%. Although some argued citizens were at risk, a University of South Carolina study suggested police officers, rather than suspects, bore the brunt of injury when suspects resisted (M. R. Smith et al., 2010). The University of South Carolina study reported using physical force increased the odds of injury to police officers by more than 300% and to a suspect by more than 50% (2010).

Empirical analysis of racial differences. An analysis presented a narrative in stark opposition to that shared by media and groups like BLM that claimed a disproportionate number of Black people were killed at the hands of police officers (Garza, 2014; Kaste, 2016a; Quah & David, 2015). In 2016, Harvard University's Department of Economics Professor Roland G. Fryer published an analysis that reviewed national data of 1,332 police shootings that occurred between 2000 and 2015. Fryer (2016) recognized the historical injustices that remained unhealed supported healthy discourse about policy, law enforcement, and race. Fryer (2016) concluded:

On the most extreme use of force – officer-involved shootings – we find

no racial differences in either the raw data or when contextual factors are

taken into account. We argue that the patterns in the data are consistent

with a model in which police officers are utility maximizers, a fraction of

which have a preference for discrimination, who incur relatively high

expected cost of officer-involved shootings. (p. 35)

Hoffman and Hickey (2005) in a separate seven-year longitudinal study (1993-1999) of

large suburban police departments concluded there was no statistically significant

difference between female and male police officer use of force.

The case for body camera oversight. The demand for police departments to

have police officers use body-worn cameras was a hotly contested issue with mixed study

results since the inception of the idea. In 2014, the DOJ supported the mandatory

adoption of body-worn cameras for police officers, suggesting the device and video

footage would increase transparency regarding police officers' use of force between law

enforcement and the public (Miller, Toliver, & Forum, 2014). The Rialto Police

Department, in Rialto, California, was the first in the United States to equip their entire

force with body-worn cameras; they reported a 60% decrease in the use of force by

officers and an 88% drop in citizen complaints against officers (Mims, 2014).

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU; as cited by Mims, 2014) stated for

the body-worn cameras to be effective in deterring abuse of power, police officers must

turn them on in every encounter with citizens. Senior Policy Analyst for the ACLU, Jay

Stanley (2013), suggested policies for body-worn cameras ideally would require

"continuous recording throughout a police officer's shift, eliminating any possibility that

an officer could evade the recording of abuses committed on duty" (Stanley, 2013).

However, Saul (2017) disagreed with the ACLU and claimed police body-worn cameras

threatened the civil rights of minorities. A 2017 study headed by "Lab @ DC"

researcher, Anita Ravishankar, tracked 2,600 police officers in the Metropolitan Police

Department of the District of Columbia, each equipped with a body-worn camera. The

study was conducted to determine the effects body-worn cameras have on police officers'

behavior, citizen complaints, and police officers' use of force. Ravishanker reported,

"We found essentially that we could not detect any statistically significant effect of the

body-worn cameras" (Greenfieldboyce, 2017). The literature on body-worn cameras

suggested little agreement among scholars, citizens, and law enforcement practitioners on

the effects and value of body-worn cameras on police officers and their use of force.

21st Century Trends and Policing Challenges in the United States

On a national level, the current state of law enforcement is bleak and riddled with

media reporting on police officer misconduct. Concurrently, cities across the country are

dealing with financial woes, tightening budgets, and redistributing services (Stuntz,

2006). Stuntz (2006) argued the redistribution disproportionately made poor people the

target of overcriminalization at a cost disproportionate to the wealthier taxpayers. Police

officers were asked to do more with less, while little attention was given to the

overwhelming duties and responsibilities placed on law enforcement professionals.

Police officers continued to strive to meet the additional requests and had hundreds of

thousands of contacts with citizens daily; including several hundred in which police

officers met dangerous and hostile circumstances with a peaceful resolve - not deemed

newsworthy (R. Roberg et al., 2002). In addition to the traditional role of fighting crime

and preserving peace, police officers were faced with the challenges of restorative justice initiatives contrary to their role and navigating use of force with citizens during a time of increased substance abuse issues, mental illness, and conditions caused by poverty.

Restorative Justice Initiatives

The term *restorative justice* is ambiguous in that it refers to a range of alternative approaches to the traditional crime and punishment model rather than any single practice (Braithwaite, 2002). The wide diversity of restorative justice approaches, and lack of clear definition of what exactly restorative justice meant, made it difficult to discuss (Shapland, 2011). Marshall (1994) stated, "Restorative justice is a process whereby all parties with a stake in a particular offense come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offense and its implications for the future" (Marshall, 1996). Restorative justice approaches included mediation and conferences between the victim and the offender (Brooks, 2017).

In 1974, the United States Congress advanced the policy of restorative justice by creating the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) under the umbrella of the DOJ. Pavelka (2016) stated restorative justice was a system of justice comprised of two models seeking to repair the harm caused by delinquent acts by balancing the needs of the victim, offender, justice professionals, and community. The two models used in recent decades in the United States, which sought to reduce reoffending and cost of incarceration, and improve public confidence, were individual treatment/rehabilitation and retributive justice (Brooks, 2017; Pavelka, 2016).

Although Congress intended restorative justice models to be used to advance rehabilitation of juveniles in the United States, the models also took root in the adult

criminal justice system via drug diversion and alternative placement programs. This movement proved challenging for law enforcement to embrace because "there is no agreement on the actual nature of the transformation sought by the restorative justice movement" (2007). Braithwaite (2002) argued the restorative justice system needed systematic guidelines that allowed criminal cases to be referred back-and-forth between traditional court trials and punishment and restorative justice processes. However, Von Holderstein Holtermann (2009) argued any inclusion of traditional crime and punishment methods posed serious challenges to the restorative justice process.

Restorative Justice scholars came to some agreement on the orientation of restorative justice and favored informal over formal adjudication of crime. Brooks (2017) assessed restorative justice may be worth defending, stating the approach provided several benefits such as higher victim satisfaction, lower cost and more effective crime reductions, but concluded that the principal obstacle of restorative justice was the formulation of a program that boosts public confidence, overcomes the limitation of limited options of excluding prison and standardizes the measurement of what was considered restored and by which community.

Substance Abuse

The United States recently experienced epidemic surges in the use of illicit drugs such as methamphetamines, cocaine, heroin, prescription pain relievers (not used for medical conditions), opioids, and synthetic opioids. In 2016, the National Institute on Drug Abuse reported 64,000 Americans died from overdoses of illicit drugs (M. R. Smith et al., 2010). In a report released by the DOJ, data collected between 2007 and 2009 using the National Inmate Survey (NIS) showed approximately two-thirds (63%) of jail

inmates and over half (58%) of prison inmates met the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV) criteria for drug dependence or abuse (Bronson et al., 2017). Morotta (2017) conducted a study in 2017 exploring the relationship between substance abuse and delinquent peer groups and found a significant relationship between the use of drugs, peer groups, delinquency, and the commission of crimes such as burglary, theft, mugging, vandalism, extortion, and robbery.

Mental Health

Violent interactions between police and people with mental illness increasingly became a focus of the news media. In 1984, the American Psychiatric Association delivered sweeping critiques and blame, faulting politicians, civil libertarians, lawyers, and psychiatrists for the policies that deinstitutionalized America's mentally ill (Lyons, 1984). The failed national policy to close mental institutions began in California under Governor Edmund G. Brown's administration when 37,500 patients were housed in state-run mental hospitals and continued under every California Governor since Ronald Reagan (Lyons, 1984).

In 1963, Congress passed and President John F. Kennedy signed into law the Community Mental Health Act, which called for building 1,500 centers throughout the United States to house the more than 500,000 people committed to state-run institutions (USA Today, 2013). The legislation was fueled by quick-fix politicians reacting to political pressures over the cost of institutionalization to taxpayers, claims by drug companies of miracle tranquilizers that became the panacea for the mentally ill, and overreaction to the misplacement of persons in institutions who did not warrant placement (Lyons, 1984). In the end, many of the nation's mentally ill became homeless,

only half of the centers were built, and continued funding for the centers that were built never materialized (Lyons, 1984; USA Today, 2013).

Fuller (1995) reported jails and prisons were "quietly but steadily…replacing public mental hospitals as the primary purveyors of public psychiatric service" (p. 1,611). Fuller (1995) indicated in addition to police officers spending a significant amount of time dealing with and arresting mentally ill people for minor crimes, the data collected between 1977 and 1982 showed half of the inmates who attempted suicide while in custody were previously hospitalized for a mental disorder. In 2015, as the debate over the use of deadly force by police escalated, the Washington Post began "tracking every fatal shooting by a police officer acting in the line of duty" (Lowery et al., 2015). These authors also noted a pervasive problem, only now beginning to be recognized, was the lack of training for police officers dealing with mentally ill persons that often allowed a situation to escalate into a violent confrontation. Although the solutions to dealing with the aftermath of deinstitutionalization were debated among scholars, what was agreed upon was the lack of funding for treatment, lack of beds and facilities, and an increase of police officers ill-equipped to handle mentally-ill individuals in crisis (Fuller, 1995; Lowery et al., 2015; Lyons, 1984: USA Today, 2013).

Poverty

In the early 1960s, economist Mollie Orshansky began collecting and publishing statistics for the United States Social Security Administration (SSA) based on a model she created to measure poverty by assessing the average diet for a family and multiplying it by three (Auerbach, 2013). The Orshansky Poverty Measure became the standard by which federal, state, and local assistance programs calculated and responded to poverty

rates in a population (Auerbach, 2013). Tischauser (2014) suggested poverty existed in

three forms:

1. Social poverty: An economic inequality, or the lack of means to provide a

   minimally adequate standard of living

2. Pauperism: An inability of individuals to take care of themselves

3. Voluntary poverty: Self-induced poverty adopted for religious and

   philosophical reasons where one chooses to give up material possessions to

   pursue prayer, meditation, or art

In the United States, most of the poor fell into the first two categories and

included the unskilled, uneducated, and those with many children. Although poverty and

economics are two separate entities, Carpenter, McClellan, and Rees (2017) found strong

evidence that economic downturns led to national increases in the use of opioids and

other prescription pain relievers. The literature suggested a correlation existed between

race, drug usage, mental illness, and poverty.

Tischauser (2014) stated race did not cause poverty; however, he also stated racial

segregation and discrimination in America ensured a portion of African Americans

(approximately 27% in 2013) lived under the poverty line. Although many reports

suggested the figure of poverty in the United States to be higher, in 2013 the national

poverty rate reported by the federal government was 14.5%, which equated to 45.3

million Americans (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2014). Auerbach (2013) suggested

poverty was not limiting, but rather inclusive of education level, socieoeconomics,

employability, and locale. Tischauser (2014) described these factors as a *culture of*

poverty, a term referring to the pattern of life, set of beliefs, and typical behavior found among people living in an environment dominated by economic deprivation.

Media's Role in Framing National Dialogue on Law Enforcement

Media plays a pivotal role in framing national dialogue over police and uses of force. Increased media scrutiny of law enforcement and the propensity for media sources to publish unverified information affected law enforcement. Prominent news media critics cited the lack of police officer discretion and training as the cause of this divide (Capehart, 2015). Some argued the root cause of this discourse was the result of cognitive dissonance experienced by and between media and law enforcement (Festinger, 1957). Some scholars argued this cognitive divide resulted in the brutal mass killings of police officers by African American suspects retaliating against police brutality and the mistreatment of minorities (Cherone & Nitkin, 2017; Lydersen, 2015). The growing number of police officers murdered added to the national spike in violent crimes (Davey & Smith, 2015). The current state of growing mistrust and negative public perceptions of citizens regarding policing in the United States is cause for concern.

Evidence suggested the growing divide and mistrust by citizens stemmed from law enforcement's inability to effectively communicate with the populace. Several factors affect public perceptions of law enforcement, including fairness in policing, the portrayal of law enforcement by the media, and the impact of social media (Bain et al., 2014). These scholars suggested to overcome these hurdles, law enforcement must first recognize and support the need for changing how it communicates with the public. Specifically, law enforcement must engage via front-facing services (e.g., social media)

and focus efforts on engaging younger, at-risk populations as they will become the future consumers of policing services (Bain et al., 2014).

Media attention increasingly focused on the at-risk population with mental-health conditions. In September 2012 and March 2013, participants in a survey of young men answered questions about their experiences with police and police contacts (Geller et al., 2014). The survey was completed by 1,261 young men aged 18 to 26 years old living in New York. The survey found respondents reported feeling increased trauma and anxiousness as the number of police contacts increased (A. Geller et al., 2014). The conclusion of the study advocated for less invasive police tactics for people displaying mental health symptoms to reduce any psychological harm to individuals stopped by police. However, Cherone and Nitkin (2017) argued suggestions like less invasive police tactics and news media's willingness to promote these ideas to shape public perception led to drops in proactive policing.

24-Hour News Cycle

On June 1, 1980, Ted Turner gave birth to the 24-hour news cycle with the launch of the Cable News Network (CNN; History Channel, n.d.). At the time of the launch, Turner forbid commentators on CNN and only allowed the anchors to read the news, not comment on it (Leiser, 1988). Prior to the launch of CNN, TV news was dominated by the three major networks – ABC, CBS, and NBC – each with 30-minute nightly news broadcasts (History Channel). Upon launching, CNN's ability to fill the airwaves with 24-hour news in an effective way proved troublesome and earned it the name the *Chicken Noodle Network* due to its *winging it* manner of cutting back-and-forth between events many considered to be non-newsworthy (History Channel, n.d.; Leiser, 1988).

A decade later, CNN carried live coverage of the Persian Gulf War and gained significant traction in what was known as the *CNN effect* (Gilboa, Jumbert, Miklian, & Robinson, 2016). Cate (2002) described the CNN effect as TV and news media's ability to focus public support and response to humanitarian crises. CNN's influence in conflict reporting, coupled with the advent of the 24-hour news cycle, changed news media and its essential role in discussing and framing stories about conflict and peace (Gilboa et al., 2016). Cushion and Lewis (2009) assessed that since 1980, a proliferation of news channels, including CNBC, Fox News, and MSNBC, continued to compete with CNN for the 24-hour news audience.

Kovach and Rosenstiel (1999) argued the continuous 24-hour news cycle diluted the stream of accurate and reliable information because journalists were divorcing themselves of the classic functions of journalism to provide a reliable account of events by vetting information and sorting out fact from fiction. McNair (2000) and Compton (2004) held that for networks to be competitive, it became necessary for them to make themselves a valued commodity in the media market, which was rapidly flooding with outwardly similar brands. Jones (2012) argued news networks accomplished this feat by taking the notoriously expensive production of news and making it inexpensive by filling airtime with attractive on-air talent and a heavy reliance on talk and commentary.

The phenomenon created by the 24-hour cycle regarding fact versus fiction and vetting was perhaps best presented by Compton's explanation of cable news productions meeting the 24-hour news mandates by creating mediated cultural performances:

> Cultural performances are subject to the logic of promotion. Moreover,
> spectacular stories are integral to the profitability of 24-hour news

organizations. CNN, MSNBC, and the Fox News network survive on the

timely arrival and speedy, efficient exploitation of large-scale media

events. These news organizations need spectacular media events to

survive. Spectacular stories and their personalities increasingly have

become central to the business of journalism (p. 53).

Sherman (2011) bolstered Compton's argument in his article discussing Fox News

Chairman, Roger Ailes, making the network $900 million in 2010 and the political

meltdown surrounding the departure of news personality Glenn Beck, who was hired at

Fox News to reenergize the Fox audience after the election of Barack Obama in 2008.

Sherman (2011) pointed out that Roger Ailes, who became the most successful TV

executive and master of the 24-hour news cycle, also served as a media strategist for

Nixon, Reagan, and George H. W. Bush (2011).

With regard to police, news media shaped the American public's political views

and perceptions on crime and the criminal justice system (Marion, 2002; Marion &

Oliver, 2012). Unequivocally, scholars noted the power and influence of the news media

and the 24-hour news cycle.

Fact vs. Fiction and Vetting of Information

In 1999, the Pew Research Center published the report *Striking the Balance:*

Audience Interest, Business Pressures, and Journalists' Values, which suggests news

media professionals overwhelmingly state their profession has blurred the lines between

reporting and commentary, and news and entertainment (Rosenstiel et al., 1999). These

researchers found a growing number of news executives, reporters, and editors saying

sloppy reporting and factual errors were frequent in news reporting. In recent years, the

term *fake news* gained massive appeal and persuasion due to the election of Donald J. Trump as the 45th President of the United States of America (Ladhani, 2016). The origin of fake news was found in satirical literature; however, fake news evolved and became inclusive of communications from rumors, counter-knowledge, post-truths, misinformation, alternative facts, and flat-out lies, which found their way to every news media platform (Klein & Wueller, 2017). The research suggested deciphering fact from non-fact became increasingly difficult in the digital age of social media (Burkhardt, 2017).

A recent study conducted by the Pew Research Center reported two-thirds (67%) of adults in the United States accessed news on social media sites (Shearer & Gottfried, 2017). The largest distributor of fake news was Facebook due to the ease of users to comment, like, post, and widely share news stories within its network (Ladhani, 2016). The Pew Research Center report also suggested an increased consumption of news via social media by non-Whites (74%) and those with less than a bachelor's degree (69%) in 2017 (Shearer & Gottfried, 2017). Scholars stated although Facebook had the most fake news stories, other platforms such as Twitter, YouTube, and Snapchat also showed increases in usership accessing news on these platforms, which stemmed from developers figuring out how to monetize the branded media through the audiences using these social media entertainment platforms (Ladhani, 2016; Shearer & Gottfried, 2017).

Although some scholars suggested all non-factual news was fake news, Chan-Olmsted and Cha argued media platforms were in a critical race for market supremacy, ratings and profit, and become "news brand images" (p. 35) catering to specific political ideologies. Chozick (2012) took a less skeptical view of news media dumbing down

journalism for the masses, arguing news media transformed to meet the desires of the audience by becoming entertainment operations that generate revenue via productions on political life, just like any other reality show that produces content on beauty, real estate, or home makeovers. Chozick (2012) argued this was best demonstrated in 2012 when News Corporation announced the split of its enterprise in two – an entertainment company and a news and publishing company – housing FOX News on the entertainment side (2012). Scholars agreed bifurcation of news blurred the lines between hard news and news entertainment.

Hard news vs. news entertainment. Several scholars debated the underlying motivations for news media arguing media, especially reporting on crime, became a source of entertainment (Marion & Oliver, 2012). Jones (2012) agreed and further added news media became a corporate operation branding itself as hard news, yet it produced 24-hour political entertainment programming designed to enhance the financial bottom line and attract and retain new revenue-generating viewers. Jones (2012) further argued news media, in its quest for profits, used news primetime programming to increase the size of their audience through branded political entertainment masquerading as news.

Scholars presented two narratives regarding journalism and news media. The first narrative of *traditional journalism* was predicated on quintessential characteristics in the craft of journalism that serve as normative standards and conventions to ensure accurate and credible information output. These traditional journalistic standards included objectivity, accuracy, fairness, editorial judgment, and verification devoid of sensationalism, bias, speculation, assertion, and partisanship (Ben-Porath, 2007; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 1999; Rosenberg & Feldman, 2008). According to Jones (2012), the

second journalistic narrative, *infotainment*, focused on what replaced traditional journalism in what Jones (2012) called the "unholy marriage of information and entertainment" (p. 147).

Several scholars who discussed the transformation of journalism and news media labeled this new form of journalism as soft news, tabloidization, entertainmentization, and Foxification (Anderson, 2004; Baum, 2003; Cushion & Lewis, 2009; Graber, 1994; Thussu, 2008). These scholars agreed this shift was largely caused by dominant commercial pressures and entertainment strategies that shifted journalism toward sensational narratives, visuals, conflict, drama, celebrity, and spectacle, and away from traditional journalistic standards (Anderson, 2004; Baum, 2003; Cushion & Lewis, 2009; Graber, 1994; Thussu, 2008). Jones (2012) suggested the replacement of traditional journalism standards and norms with imperatives of entertainment stylistics and content, motivated by profit and ratings added to what he called an "impoverished news culture…detrimental to citizenship and democracy" (p. 147).

Marion and Oliver (2012) and Parenti (1992) further argued this narrative of news entertainment and information via infotainment, true-crime shows, and documentaries, like *A Current Affair, Cops, America's Most Wanted, Prime Time Live,* and *48 Hours,* produced stories about police, crime, and criminals, had the ability to frame public perception, and had significant influence and power over criminal justice in America. Parenti (1992) argued America's free and independent film and television industries were actually entities that promoted the ideas of the political and economic forces that controlled them (Parenti, 1992). He further argued these political and economic forces had the power to alter the public's views on class differences, race, sex, politics, and even

history without the viewer challenging the implicit prejudices in the programming; thus, prefabricated portrayals of xenophobia, ethnic bigotry, and militarism became more acceptable. Jones (2012) suggested the fix to Parenti's description of make-believe media was evaluation and qualifying news as either hard news or news entertainment, which required discussion about the proper frame. He emphatically argued the assessment of cable television news via the lens of journalism was a mistake (Jones, 2012).

McNair (2000) agreed with Jones. McNair's discussion of *fetishization of authority* discussed the means by which cable news media continued to poach the authority and legitimacy of traditional journalism by utilizing the generic banner of news and familiar conventions of presentation to the public viewing the content (McNair, 2000). Both authors argued the false claim of journalistic integrity used by news media allowed Fox, CNN, MSNBC, and other such network news sites to mask their goals and true intent of profiteering behind a false traditional journalistic frame (Jones, 2012; McNair, 2000).

Bedard (2011) presented a theory that stated cable news used rhetorical and textual conventions to convince viewers their productions were news (Bedard, 2011). Jones (2012) augmented this argument by suggesting cable news branded their media using taglines (e.g., CNN –The Most Trusted Name in News, Fox News – Fair and Balanced) and continuing to use the format of traditional hard news to appear credible. However, Jones (2012) vehemently argued cable news productions were not journalism, but rather cut-throat, hyper-competitive media enterprises focused on profit over content.

Schwarz (2015) presented national polling numbers that refuted CNN's sensationalized tagline, finding 29% of those polled trusted Fox News the most versus 22% for CNN.

Sensationalism

Sensationalism was described as presenting stories to elicit public interest without regard for accuracy. Marion and Oliver (2012) argued news sensationalism and the increase of crime reporting by 336% between 1990 and 1995 was best summed up in the saying, "if it bleeds, it leads" (p. 264). News reporting on crime is a durable staple of news media reporting and comprises 22-28% of all newspaper stories, 10-13% of all nationally televised news stories, and 20% of local news broadcasts (Beckett, 1994; Sacco, 1995; Surette, 1998).

Marion and Oliver (2012) stated there were generally two ways the news media presented police and crime. The first method consisted of news media self-generating stories by initiating coverage or news commentary. Marion and Oliver (2012) claimed this method led to news media creating artificial crime waves by linking various crime stories together. The second method was an informational style in which the news media acted as a conduit and passed news to the people. Marion and Oliver (2012) suggested debate existed over both methods' ability to relay accurate and unbiased information versus misrepresenting facts, distorting reality, and packaging it to the news media's liking.

In her book, *A Primer in the Politics of Criminal Justice,* Marion (1995) discussed how the media tended to distort or overinflate the perception of the public through repetition. As in the case of media reporting on police corruption, misconduct, and abuse of power, Marion (1995) suggested news media's propensity to show a story as it broke

and then relentlessly show it repeatedly inflated the public's reality of how often these incidents occurred. News media also distorted reality by selecting what they would and would not show to the public (Marion, 2002).

As in the Rodney King incident, MacDonald (2017), who coined the term Ferguson Effect, suggested the news media, BLM, and sports figures perpetuated rhetoric rather than fact. She further suggested the significant rise in homicides of Black people in 2016 (7,881), 900 more than 2015, were not due to being killed by the police or Whites, but by other Black people. She further pointed out, contrary to the BLM narrative, in 2015 police officers were "18.5 times more likely to be killed by a Black male, than an unarmed Black male was to be killed by a police officer" (MacDonald, 2017). Over the past decade, the data showed Black males accounted for 42% of cop-killers, yet only comprised 6% of the population (2017).

Negative Media Reporting and the Viewing Public

Mass media coverage on police officers led researchers to opposite conclusions, with some concluding the press hurt the police by distorting facts and some concluding the press helped police justify questionable uses of force (Wihbey & Kille, 2016). The symbiotic relationship between media and law enforcement was historically a love-hate relationship. In August 2014, negative media coverage of police officers reached an explosive frenzy following the fatal police shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri (Morgan & Pally, 2016; Nix & Wolfe, 2016). The media portrayal of Michael Brown as an unarmed Black youth savagely gunned down by a White officer was in sharp contrast to the law enforcement account of events leading up to Brown's death. Predominantly, liberal media outlets ran stories from BLM and scholars called into

question police tactics and underlying racial bias toward people of color nationwide (McKissack, 2015).

Media reports on the violent killing of Brown sparked nationwide community outrage and protest in major cities across the United States. Media reporting on protests and scrutiny of police officers for acts using videos caught on cell phones increased to the point officers began fearing being caught in the crosshairs of biased media reporting (McCullough, 2014). During this same period, violent crimes began rising in many major cities resulting in the theory about relational trends in crime, media reporting, and decreased police activity across the United States known as the Ferguson Effect (Morgan & Pally, 2016; Nix & Wolfe, 2016). The effects of media reporting on policing has yet to be fully explored. However, several theories explain the effects of media reporting on the viewing public, including cultivation analysis theory, play theory, and spiral of silence theory.

Cultivation analysis theory. Cultivation analysis theory describes the extremely important role television and other forms of media (mediated sources) versus direct experience on shaping how people view their world and sense of reality, especially with regard to violence (Gerbner, 1998). Gerbner (1998) suggested in American households, televisions were in use for more than seven hours a day. He furthered suggested a relationship existed between viewing time and the tendency of the viewer to hold exaggerated perceptions of the world and events. Gerbner (1998) labeled this phenomenon *resonance* and suggested viewers received a double dose of reality and television that amplified cultivation.

Play theory. Play theory emphasizes how people use media for satisfaction and how media brings changes in peoples' lives according to its contents (Stephenson, 1967). Stephenson (1967) based this theory on a continuum with pain (work) on one end and pleasure (play) on the opposite side. Play was self-contained and people played to achieve satisfaction, but they must also work to increase productivity. Play theory stated people were influenced both positively and negatively by media persuasion offered in the form of advertisements, characters, movie stars, and media influencers. In response to media, people were greatly influenced and developed fantasies or viewer's related to a media character, personality, or influencer who displayed or reinforced the viewer's emotions or beliefs (Stephenson, 1967).

Stam and Miller (2000) reinforced Stephenson's discussion on play theory by suggesting the media enticed the audience via flattery. In *Television and Its Spectators,* Stam and Miller (2000) stated:

> The first pleasure of the news, then, is narcissistic…we become, by virtue
> of our own subject position, the audio-visual masters of the world –
> television transforms us into armchair imperialist, flattering and
> reaffirming our sense of power…news programs are designed, on some
> levels, to enhance the self-image of His or Her Majesty the Spectator
> (p.365).

Spiral of silence theory. Spiral of silence theory states due to its enormous power, media had a lasting effect on public opinion (Noelle-Neumann, 1984). When combined with majority opinion, mass media worked to silence minority beliefs on cultural issues, which prompted fear and isolation among the minority. Noelle-Neumann

(1984) suggested out of real isolation, minority opinion holders examined the beliefs of

others and conformed to what they perceived to be the majority opinion. The authors of

Hostile News: Partisan Use and Perceptions of Cable News Programming found as cable

news continued to blur the lines between hard and soft news, partisanship emerged as a

driving force for the news network's programming and the public's perception of

information presented (Coe et al., 2008).

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Police Officers' Perceptions: Cause and Effect

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In reviewing the literature, few studies were conducted regarding police officer

perceptions on how police view their jobs, their motivation to work, and the effect of

media reporting. The following is a review of the existing literature.

Response to Media Reporting

Bain et al. (2014) suggested, as a result of a shift to reactive policing, people in

the community often only had contact with police officers in two distinct ways: (a) as

either a victim, witness, or suspect following their involvement with a crime; and/or (b)

through consumption of police actions via media reporting. Marion and Oliver (2012)

argued the media distorted reality by primarily focusing on stories involving violent

encounters rather than day-to-day encounters of police officers and citizens. Wentz and

Schlimgen (2012) stated the ability of police officers to effectively function in their

profession was often predicated on the image held by the general public. They further

suggested this image was predicated on public perception and that perception may not

align with reality (Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012). Lovell (2001) suggested since the Hoover

administration, the relationship between police and media placed law enforcement in the

role of gatekeeper to crime information. She further suggested this role significantly

shifted with the advent of newer media platforms that allow news media to generate content absent of police involvement and allow news media to drive narratives that shape public perceptions (Lovell, 2001).

Cohen presented the concept of "net widening" to explain how negative perceptions on policing can occur, by police officers providing services to high-demand areas such as: poorer communities, public housing locations, or those with large transient populations, that are often comprised of citizens who are semi-skilled, unskilled, under-educated, and poorer as a result of unemployment, underemployment or reliance on government assistance and welfare (Andy Bain & Parkinson, 2010; Cohen, 1985; Rhodes, 2008). Marion (1995) stated most people rely on the media to learn about criminal justice and that when media abuses its power to alter public perception and belief by what people see and read, that this can have unfortunate consequences for police officers and the criminal justice system.

Bain et al. (2014) suggested positive interactions with police officers would increase the positive public perception of police officers, whereas negative interactions would result in negative public perceptions. Cohen (1985) pointed out police officers are often in a Catch-22, whereby providing services to obtain desired outcomes of reducing crime by tackling problem areas often led to the discovery of greater incidents of criminal behavior. Cohen (1985) stated these discoveries also increased the possibility of negative or violent interactions with police officers. These stories of negative or violent police interactions with citizens become part of the durable news commodity narrative (Cohen, 1985; Marion & Oliver, 2012). Cherone and Nitkin (2017) suggested reporting on incidents by the news media left police officers afraid to do their jobs. Sutton (2015)

affirmed this argument suggesting when media and the community undermined the police

officers' pride for their work, they made "them the enemy because of personal or political

agendas…you will create a perfect storm that leads to de-policing" (para. 20).

Toward Community

In 2017, the Pew Research Center found 86% of police officers did not think the

public understood the risks officers faced (Morin, Parker, Stepher, & Mercer, 2017). The

study also found 83% of American adults said they understood the risk police officers

faced (2017). Perhaps this was best demonstrated by the discourse over resources police

felt were needed to do the job. J. Doherty (2016) suggested the lines between civilian

law enforcement and federal military forces were blurred, noting police officers divorced

the Peelian Principle of being of the people and adopted the mindset of military soldiers

vowing to never quit, never accept defeat, and destroy the enemy. Plowden (2016) cited

two specific points in American history where police felt the need to militarize. The two

points marking dramatic shifts in policing included: (a) the passage of the 1919 Volstead

Act, better known as prohibition where police felt the need for increased firepower to

deal with increased mob violence and (b) a traffic enforcement-stop in the summer of

1965, when an altercation between LAPD Officer Lee Minkus and the family of an

African American woman, Marquette Frye, who had been arrested for suspicion of

driving while intoxicated and driving without a license sparked six days of civil unrest,

known today as the Watts riots (Balko, 2013; Plowden, 2016).

In direct response to being outgunned and aggressed with guerilla tactics, LAPD

Chief Daryl Gates looked to the military and developed America's first Special Weapons

and Tactics (SWAT) team (Gates & Shah, 1992). Lydersen (2015) suggested police

officers in 2015 were again feeling under attack, facing new dangers, and feeling less

community support following the justifiable homicide of Michal Brown in Ferguson,

Missouri, which police officers believed led to violence against them, including the

gunning down of 26 officers in the streets since Brown's death. Plowden (2016)

presented other high-profile media events like Charles Whitman, who barricaded himself

in the bell tower at the University of Texas at Austin in 1966, that led to widespread

adoption of SWAT teams across the United States, suggesting police were reactive

toward issues arising in the community.

In 2017, the Pew Research Center conducted one of the first studies to assess how

police officers viewed their jobs following many recent fatal encounters between police

officers and African Americans in the United States (Morin et al., 2017). The study

found most police officers overwhelmingly felt high-profile fatal encounters with Black

citizens "made their jobs riskier, aggravated tensions between police and Blacks, and left

many officers reluctant to fully carry out some of their duties" (p. 4). Underscored by

conflicts with community members, these researchers found 51% of the police officers

said the job often frustrated them (2017). Sources of frustration were not limited to

verbal abuse or physical attacks from members of the public, but also included internal

frustration with administration.

Internally Toward Administration and Management

Morin et al. (2017) suggested police officers were satisfied with their respective

police departments, committed to making their agencies successful, and remained

strongly committed to the law enforcement profession. In the United States, police

officers and institutions like the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS)

voiced concern that budgetary restraints led to a reduction in sworn officers and policy changes left departments and police officers undertaking the same tasks, duties, and responsibilities with fewer staff and resources (DOJ, 2011). The Pew Study found 86% of police officers did not think departments had enough police officers to adequately police their communities and two-thirds stated they were moderately supportive to not supportive of the direction top management took in their organizations (Morin et al., 2017).

Yet, as departments were forced to do more with less, Simons (2017) pointed out a recent debate between police administration and police officers over wearing costly police body cameras as a point of frustration after the media sensationalized the deaths of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile, renewing claims of racism, police brutality, and calls for police body cameras. The shootings of both men were ruled justifiable and no charges were filed against the police officers involved; however, St. Anthony officials still terminated Officer Jeronimo Yanez who shot and killed Castile (Almasy, Yan, Lynch, & Levenson, 2017; M. Smith, 2017).

Nix and Wolfe (2016) stated in cases that receive Ferguson-type publicity, the department and administrations could shield their police officers from negative work-related outcomes by use of organizational justice. These researchers defined the construct of organizational justice as supervisors remaining fair, honest, objective, and respectful in communications with subordinates to impart the agency supported them even when it appeared the public did not. In the highly publicized study exploring the Ferguson Effect, Wolfe and Nix (2016) concluded police officers who perceived their agency as just and fair were more committed to engaging in community partnerships.

Of concern was that 53% of police officers questioned the fairness of their department's disciplinary procedures and 72% stated poorly performing police officers were not held accountable (Wolfe & Nix, 2016). Police officers also voiced positive approval ratings for training (39%), clearly communicating responsibilities (37%), and overall equipping them to perform their job (31%). However, police officers (54%), and especially women officers (63%), provided low approval ratings for their departments, asserting management rarely asked for input about decisions affecting them (Morin et al., 2017).

About Crime Spikes

Since the 2014 shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, many top police officials debated the Ferguson Effect. The Ferguson Effect is a theory about relational trends in crime, media reporting, and decreased police activity across the United States (Morgan & Pally, 2016; Nix & Wolfe, 2016). Scholars generally agreed there was not enough data to support the Ferguson Effect theory and available data did not support the idea (Pyrooz et al., 2016; Wolfe & Nix, 2016); however, these scholars did not completely dismiss this theory from having implications on police officer performance in their job duties or the relationship to crime trends. Pyrooz et al. (2016) stated any effects were generally constrained to large cities with high compositions of Black and socioeconomically disadvantaged residents, and historically high levels of violence. However, some authors argued new crime data shed new light.

Table 1

Violent Crime Offenses Figure in the U.S.
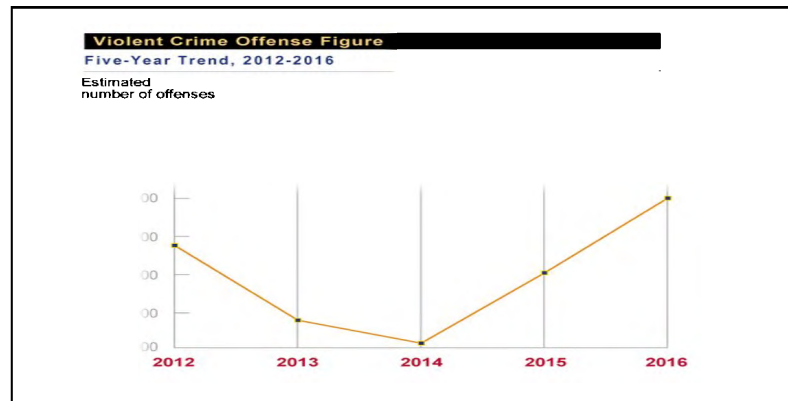
Violent Crime Offenses Figure in the U.S., (*Uniform Crime Report: Crime in the United States 2016*, 2016).

In fall of 2017, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) released its 2016 Uniform Crime Report (UCR) for violent crimes (offenses involving force or threat of force), which was composed of four specific offenses the FBI tracks nationally: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Racke (2017) noted that in addition to Chicago, where the department entered a consent decree following ACLU allegations police officers were targeting and too frequently stopping minorities, experienced a new high of 765 murders. Racke (2017) reported six other major cities also hit new highs for murders. Hagstrom (2017) also argued the Ferguson Effect was real, pointing to the 2016 UCR numbers showing a 4% increase nationally in violent crime. Hagstrom (2017) pointed out this is the second consecutive year of increased violent crimes and that America's Attorney General, Jeff Sessions and the Department of Justice have stated the 2016 UCR report, "reaffirms that the worrying violent crime increases that began in 2015 after many years of decline was not an isolated incident" is further proof that the data supports the "Ferguson Effect" theory.

Although scholars continued to debate the Ferguson Effect, police officers grew more callous toward people as a result of the emotionally difficult line of work (Morin et al., 2017). Additional factors not accounted for in the study of de-policing were (a) politicians passing legislation across the nation paving the way for de-criminalization of actions ranging from theft, vandalism, and drug possession to more serious offenses, such as rape, (b) the elimination of mandatory enhancements for suspects possessing assault weapons, and (c) the release of prison inmates through restorative justice early-release. Griffith (2016) suggested that in California in 2016, violent crimes increased 10% because of Proposition 47, which retroactively reclassified many drug and property crime offenses to misdemeanors and allowed 14,000 inmates to walk free. Sutton (2015) suggested the end result was police officers feeling, "under fire in the streets, in the media, in their own departments and from political leaders" (Sutton, 2015).

Toward Community Expectations

In 2015, the Obama White House delivered the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (DOJ, 2015). The task force was charged with identifying best practices and recommendations on how police could build public trust and achieve effective crime reduction (DOJ, 2015). In the report, the task force constructed recommendations for six pillars, emphasizing community expectations and strategies for law enforcement to achieve identified goals. The six pillars were: (a) building trust and legitimacy, (b) policy and oversight, (c) technology and social media, (d) community policing and crime reduction, (e) training and education, and (f) officer wellness and safety. The task force argued in building trust (under Pillar 1), police officer actions should procedurally be guided by the principles of treating people with

dignity and respect, demonstrating trustworthy motives, remaining neutral and

transparent, and giving individuals voice during encounters (DOJ, 2015).

Although police officers overwhelmingly supported the need for a detailed

knowledge of the people, places, and cultures in the areas where they worked (Morin et

al., 2017), Sutton (2015) and Schouten and Brennan (2016) argued recent events in

America raised the threat level for police officers and they increasingly became targets of

ambushes and acts of violence by criminal elements and extremists who expressed anti-

police views. Sutton (2015) further suggested it was nearly impossible for police officers

to meet the expectations set by the task force that crafts policy a world away in the safety

of a controlled environment when police officers are convinced threats of violence are

dramatically changed by the events unfolding around them. He further stated it was

understandable police officers made the conscious decision to only provide minimum

services while on patrol after seeing fellow Officer Darren Wilson persecuted after

justifiably killing Michael Brown in Ferguson when Brown attempted to take Wilson's

weapon (2015). Morin et al., (2017) reinforced the notion of police officers hesitating or

standing down, reporting 56% of police officers "worry about their follow officers

spending too much time diagnosing a situation before acting" (p. 45).

Toward Using Force

In May 1989, the United State Supreme Court in *Graham v. Connor* ruled when

evaluating incidents of police officer alleged use of excessive force, courts should use the

standard of "objective reasonableness." The Court found police officers were forced to

make split-second decisions about the amount of force necessary in uncertain and rapidly

unfolding situations. It further stated the Fourth Amendment reasonableness level of

scrutiny of a police officer's actions should be judged without regard to the police

officer's underlying intent or motivation; in light of facts and circumstances, they should

be judged using a reasonable officer's perspective on the scenes and not with 20/20

hindsight perspective afforded inquiry in a courtroom (Graham v Connor, 1989). Terrill

(2005) suggested determining what constituted reasonable force was not easy and often

required a person to determine why and how force must be applied.

Since the first viral video of the Rodney King incident in 1991, the use of force by

police officers came under increasingly greater scrutiny by media, politicians, community

organizations, and, in many cases, their own departments. Sutton stated in 2013, 126

police officers were killed and 50,000 were physically assaulted by combative suspects in

the course of the arrest. He further pointed out, for this reason, police officers were

trained to use the force necessary in physical altercations and there was always the

possibility of injury to the police officer, suspect, or both (Sutton, 2015). Scholars

accepted assaults on police officers could spontaneously occur during police contacts

with citizens, investigations, and as the result of suspect efforts to evade arrest, such as

fleeing or physically assaulting an officer in efforts to escape (Schouten & Brennan,

2016).

The Pew Research Center study found when officers were asked about the use of

aggressive, physical tactics regarding two specific situations (in certain areas of a city,

and with assertions some people could only be brought to reason the hard, physical way),

56% of police officers supported the first premise and fewer (44%) supported the second

(Justice, 2015b; Morin et al., 2017). Although the President's Task Force recommended

use of force training for police officers emphasizing de-escalation, alternatives to arrest,

and comprehensive policies for data collection and information sharing with the community, the Pew Research Center study suggested police officers were increasingly victims of verbal abuse (67%) by members of the communities they served (Morin et al., 2017).

Kaste (2015) discussed a new use of force data collection policy implemented in the New York Police Department (NYPD) by police commissioner Bill Bratton reflecting the department's adherence to the Task Force recommendations. Kaste (2015) suggested such policies were a favorite tool for police reformers because they believed administrations forcing their departments to track use of force sent a clear message to police officers to change their behavior. The Pew Report found nearly one-third of police officers reported having fought or physically struggled with a suspect resisting arrest within one month of the survey, and 37% of police officers in departments of 1,000 or more officers stated their use of force policies and guidelines were too restrictive (Morin et al., 2017). Although little direct input from police officers was gathered by researchers, scholars began to look at impacts the issues discussed had on police officer enforcement of laws.

Enforcement

In reviewing the literature, few studies were found on the effects of media reporting on police officer performance. However, two seminal studies pertaining to the Ferguson Effect and a study pertaining to how police officers view their jobs were reviewed.

Effects in the Field

The speculation of de-policing and spikes in violent crimes across the United States, which became known as the Ferguson Effect, is a topic currently being debated among scholars searching for answers to America's policing crisis. In 2017, Wolfe and Nix published a seminal study on the impacts of a string of violent and deadly police encounters with African Americans that generated sensationalized media coverage using cellphone videos posted to social media, the likes of which had not been seen since the 1991 LAPD Rodney King incident. Wolfe and Nix (2016) suggested news media's thirst for stories involving police use of force against African Americans began in the summer of 2014, after cellphone video of Eric Garner, who died in police custody, in a police officer's carotid hold saying, "I can't breathe" went viral and flooded newsrooms' airtime.

The flashpoint of the tension between police officers and the Black community was reached in August 2014 when media broke the news of the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri after assaulting Officer Darren Wilson who was attempting to detain Brown for fitting the description of a robbery suspect (Quah & David, 2015; Sim, 2014). News media, as in the Rodney King encounter where media intentionally ran the footage without the unfocused first seconds to shock viewers, helped proliferate a biased narrative by broadcasting unverified and false witness accounts claiming Brown's hands were raised in the air (later prompting the "Hands-up, Don't Shoot" false narrative) when Officer Wilson shot and killed Brown (Wolfe & Nix, 2016). Wolfe and Nix (2016) contended the Ferguson Effect was yet to show a statistically

significant impact on police officers' willingness to engage in community partnerships, although any effects of reduced motivation were of concern.

The effect of modern-day issues on police officers remains largely unstudied and requires inferences to be drawn from existing literature. This literature usually focused on police and citizen contact from the citizen perspective, leaving a gap in research on the officer perspective.

Productivity

Kaste (2015), Griffith (2016), and Saslow (2015) suggested police officer response toward new policies, like the use of force data collection policy currently used by NYPD and laws de-criminalizing certain actions or releasing inmates early, were poorly received and possibly led to job burnout. Job burnout referred to the syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment often experienced by workers in high-stress jobs (Gerrig & Zimbardo, 2002).

Regarding use of force data tracking, Kaste (2015) stated police officers complained about the number of new reports they had to write, and the time needed to assist with data tracking, which they believed could be better spent on patrol. Sutton (2015) and Wolfe and Nix (2016) suggested the issue of police officers using force and possible de-policing was further complicated by news media criticism, social media exploitation, threat of job loss, and lawsuits for police officers taking actions they believed reasonable at the time. Kaste (2015) and Sutton (2016) both suggested police officers responded to the reduction in resources, increased public demands, and increased media scrutiny by avoiding making stops altogether. These indicated police officers were experiencing an apparent lack of interest toward the enforcement of laws, which Coleman

(2012) stated is police officers' resolve that what is can't be changed, and that they were virtually giving up without making any effort to alter or improve an undesirable situation.

Braithwaite (2015), Brooks (2017), and Pèrez-Peña (2017) argued restorative justice and justice reform, such as alternatives to incarceration, decriminalization of drug laws, protection of sanctuary cities, and increased scrutiny of police officer use of force, could better address the resolution of public wrongs and non-serious offenses, and increase public trust in policing; yet, Griffith (2016), Kaste (2015), and Sutton (2015) suggested shifts in criminal justice policies could send a signal to law enforcement that these critical issues were not important to society and resulted in reduced enforcement or police officers turning a blind eye and not enforcing laws at all. A review of California drug arrest statistics from 2008, when California decriminalized marijuana laws, to 2017 (reducing some crimes to infractions), to two years after the passage of the Safe Neighborhoods and Schools Act (Prop. 47) in 2014 revealed total felony and misdemeanor arrests sharply declined from 270,363 to 219,990 (General, 2009, 2017).

Although Wolfe and Nix (2016) contended the Ferguson Effect was not empirically evident with regard to police officer willingness to engage in community partnership, others suggested the data were cause for concern and could possibly affect police officer productivity (Griffith, 2016; Hagstrom, 2017; Kaste, 2016a; Sutton, 2015).

Victimization

Schouten and Brennan (2016) asserted law enforcement was inherently a hazardous profession and most assaults on police officers by suspects occurred spontaneously during investigations, arrests, and pursuits. They further suggested that although some assaults could be opportunistic expressions of hostility by those who rejected police

authority, most were an unplanned action of violence stemming from a suspect's

resistance to arrest (Schouten & Brennan, 2016). The National Law Enforcement

Officers Memorial Fund (NLEOMF; 2017) reported the last complete set of figures

showed acts of hostility resulted in 51,548 assaults against law enforcement officers.

NLEOMF (2017) further reported in the past 10 years, 1,512 law enforcement officers

were killed in the line of duty – one every 63 hours on average.

Table 2

Law Enforcement Deaths, Assaults, and Assaults with Injuries

Over the Past Decade (2007-2016)

YEAR	DEATHS*	ASSAULTS**	ASSAULTS WITH INJURIES**
2007	202	61,257	15,736
2008	159	61,087	15,554
2009	135	57,268	14,948
2010	169	56,491	14,744
2011	178	55,631	14,798
2012	137	53,867	14,678
2013	116	49,851	14,565
2014	136	49,725	13,824
2015	137	51,548	14,453
2016	143	N/A***	N/A***
Average Per Year	151	49,672	13,330

* Source: National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund

** FBI/LEOKA Data

*** LEOKA Report Available Fall 2017

Updated April 10, 2017

National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund Facts and Figures ("Fact & figures: Deaths, assaults and injuries," 2017)

73

A Pew Research Center study suggested police officers thought policing changed as a result of high-profile incidents between African Americans and police officers (Morin et al., 2017). The study further suggested, "a majority of police officers (92%) are deeply skeptical of the motives behind those who are protesting high-profile deaths of Blacks at the hands of police" (Morin et al., 2017, p. 62). In opposition to claims by the news media and citizen groups who said police brutality was pandemic throughout law enforcement, Terrill (2005) suggested many instances in which police could have justifiably used more force, they chose not to and often gave the suspect a second chance to comply before escalating their force options. Terrill's (2005) research supported the claims of many police officers whose use of force was transactional.

Morin et al. (2017) found with growing tensions with the African American community and news media scrutiny, police officers reported a reluctance to stop and question suspicious people (72%) or to use force (76%) against a suspect, even when appropriate. Some in law enforcement questioned if this hesitation to act caused increased assaults on police officers. As the law enforcement community reflected on a deadly 2017, the words of the friends, family and Beverly Walker (mother), of Little Elm Police Department Detective Jerry Walker, who was one of the 44 law enforcement officers shot and killed in the line of duty, responding to a call of an armed man, captured the prevailing mood of why police officers still attempt to do their jobs:

> "He saw himself as a sheepdog that protected others. [A mission he tattooed on his body read] "There are wolves. There are sheep. I am the sheepdog." [His mother Beverly] "He's going to be out there on watch, making sure the wolf doesn't get the sheep." (Marinaccio & Melber, 2017).

Threats to National Security

The literature suggested scholars found little common ground on the issue of militarization of law enforcement, but they agreed law enforcement played an important role in the safety and security of the nation. Plowden (2016) argued several policy shifts, such as the wars on drugs and gangs, helped pave the way for the passage of the Military Cooperation with Law Enforcement Act in 1981 and ultimately, the War on Terrorism, which paved the way for the passage of the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (USA PATRIOT Act). Plowden (2016) argued high-profile cases, like Waco, Kent State, and Little Rock, Arkansas, demonstrated both good and bad resulted in the militarization of the police.

J. Doherty (2016) argued the militarization of police created an 'us vs. them' mindset within the law enforcement profession. However, Inserra (2017) suggested 98 law enforcement foiled terror plots since 9/11 made a case that police officers, in the post 9/11 and PATRIOT Act world, were succeeding.

As scholars debated the extent of the impacts of the Ferguson Effect and emerging issues such as immigration reform on law enforcement motivation and satisfaction, de-policing could pose a threat to national security and cause a rise in violent crimes. Hagstrom (2017) argued Chicago's 86% jump in homicides (765) in 2016 was the result of reforms that halted the 'stop and frisk' practice of the Chicago Police Department. The FBI (2016) reported Chicago was one of six major U.S. cities to see violent crime spikes in 2016. Heather MacDonald (as cited in Hagstrom, 2017) suggested theories for the spikes included slanted media coverage, BLM, civil unrest, and

police officers afraid of being vilified in the media or by civic leaders. MacDonald (as cited in Hagstrom, 2017) stated:

> Cops are backing off of proactive policing in high-crime minority neighborhoods, and criminals are becoming emboldened…having been told incessantly by politicians, media, and Black Lives Matter activists that they are bigoted for getting out of their car and questioning someone loitering on a known drug corner at 2 a.m., many officers are instead just driving by (para. 6).

One of the principal duties of police officers is to enforce laws, which they accomplish primarily by conducting investigative stops of suspicious persons or persons violating the law. In addition to police officers feeling the pressure from becoming targets and civil unrest in major cities across the United States resulting from the police shooting of Brown, the election of Donald J. Trump heightened the controversy over illegal immigration and police officer contacts with illegal immigrants. Pérez-Peña (2017) argued the data did not support Trump's views that "undocumented immigrants" were more likely to commit crimes or they committed a disproportionate share of crimes in the United States. However, Camarota (2018) and Cadman and Vaughan (2016) argued the numbers did not create a clear picture and the largest problem in studying immigrant crime was state and local governments did not track and in many cases police agencies were barred by sanctuary city restrictions to ask people arrested, convicted, or incarcerated about their citizenship status, country of birth, or legal status.

Johnson (2017) suggested police were divided over Trump's sanctuary city order, citing a divide between the nation's largest law enforcement organizations – the Fraternal

Order of Police (FOP), National Sheriff's Association, and the Major Cities Chief's

Association. Johnson (2017) suggested many local agencies felt caught in the middle

between political decisions of local and state elected officials and cooperation with

Trump's mandates, fearing the federal government would move to cut off all grants and

funding to cities instituting sanctuary city policies. The Center for Immigration Studies

(as cited by Cadman & Vaughn, 2016) suggested, "not a shred of evidence of a chilling

effect on immigrant crime reporting with local police cooperating with ICE (Immigration

and Customs Enforcement) exist in the federal or local government or police or

independent academic research" (p. 4).

False perceptions that police compliance with Trump's immigration policy erodes

public trust, causes immigrants to become fearful of reporting crime, and increases the

cost to local government were largely due to biased liberal media news sources and

political opponents (Cadman & Vaughn, 2016; Camarota, 2018). Camarota (2018)

further suggested tracking at the federal level, where legal status was tracked, found

21.4% of those convicted of crimes were non-citizens, which was approximately 2.5

times their share of the population. Executive Director of the National Sheriffs'

Association, Jonathan Thompson (as cited in Johnson, 2017), suggested law enforcement

was sandwiched in the middle of politics and enforcing the laws. Perhaps, as in the cases

of increased media scrutiny of use of force and tactics, immigration was yet another issue

causing police officers to become more callous (Morin et al., 2017). If police officers

suggested they themselves became less willing to stop and question suspicious persons, it

clearly could threaten national security.

Police Officers' Job Satisfaction and Motivation

Five generations of Americans composed the population of the law enforcement workforce. The generations represented were the Mature/Silent, Baby Boomers, Gen X, Millennial and Gen Z (Moore, Grunberg, & Krause, 2015). The law enforcement workplace has never been as diverse and complex. Moore, et. al. (2015) stated the diverseness was both a strength and weakness. While diverseness provided law enforcement organizations with the ability to see problems from differing perspectives, it also increased the likelihood solutions to each problem law enforcement encountered were vastly different. Although each generation has been provided similar training to be a member of law enforcement, the genesis of meaning for each generation is vastly different (R. Roberg et al., 2002) and finding meaningful solutions that created buy-in for all members of law enforcement was a challenge.

Two general categories of motivational theories exist: content and process. According to Roberg et al. (2002), content theories try to identify what (i.e., growth needs, money, social interaction) in the workplace motivates employee behavior. Process theories attempt to describe *how* motivation translated into employee performance and behavior (R. Roberg et al., 2002).

Defining Satisfaction and Motivation

Evaluating job satisfaction of an individual could be accomplished using different evaluation methods. A simplistic approach would be asking people if they were satisfied in their place of employment. However, this approach lacked rigor and detailed consideration of the numerous factors affecting levels of job satisfaction felt by employees (Green, 1989). Since 1959, organizational psychologists and scholars

78

conducting research to gain a comprehensive understanding of job satisfaction turned to conceptual models originally developed by Herzberg and his colleagues (Magny, 2012). Herzberg's conceptual theories of motivation were later advanced into empirically tested attitudinal scales created by Hackman and Oldham (1980).

A simplified definition of job satisfaction was the attitude of workers regarding their job, often expressed as a hedonic response toward the work itself, the rewards (e.g., pay, promotions, recognition), or the context, such as working conditions and relationships with colleagues (VandenBos, 2007). Locke (1968) provided a comprehensive definition, which defined job satisfaction as "a pleasurable emotional state resulting from the perception one's job fulfills or allows the fulfillment of one's important job values" (p. 1307). Overall job satisfaction appeared to play a significant role with respect to the motivational factors and job satisfaction for police officers. Pink (2009) suggested, based on a Gallup poll, that 50% of employees were not engaged at work and nearly 20% were actively disengaged. The cost of disengagement of American workers was approximately $300 billion a year, which Pink (2009) suggested was a sum larger than the gross domestic product of Portugal, Singapore, or Israel. In terms of seriousness for the nation with regard to police officers, the Pew Research Center reported in response to deadly encounters and public protests, 72% of police officers stated their departments were now less willing to stop and question people acting suspicious (Morin et al., 2017).

This revelation suggested the study of police officer job satisfaction and associated factors would be of paramount importance to investigate and understand (Dantzker, 1993). Dantzker (1993) presented that of the 1,007 articles on job satisfaction

published between 1974 and 1997, only 34 related to police officers. A review of the

literature strongly suggested police officer job satisfaction received little attention or

study (Buzawa, 1984; Dantzker, 1993; Love & Singer, 1988). The literature further

suggested the Ferguson Effect was a new factor in the discussion of police officer

motivation and job satisfaction. Researchers were quick to look at the impact of

Ferguson on citizens, but little was done to study if the media effects were harmful to

police officer self-legitimacy (Wolfe & Nix, 2016). Wolfe and Nix (2016) suggested

when supervisors were fair and cultivated confidence among their police officers, it

minimized the harmful effect of negative media; this was in stark contrast to Morin et al.

(2017) who found officers were divided on the fairness of their agency's disciplinary

process, which suggested additional studies of police officer motivation and job

satisfaction were required.

Motivation was defined as the force within an individual that initiates, directs, and

sustains a particular human behavior (Campbell, Dunnette, Lawler, & Weick, 1970); they

further suggest motivation could not be measured, but rather could only be inferred based

on observing human behavior because motivation was an internal force. Roberg et al.

(2002) suggested motivation was an important factor in individual performance, but also

stated performance was heavily influenced by an individual's personal ability. These

scholars stated ability could be defined as "an individual's talent for accomplishing work-

related tasks" (p. 186). They further suggested personal ability could be influenced by

several internal and external factors and had no direct correlation to motivation. These

authors proclaimed a "key principle of motivation states that a person's performance is a

function of ability and motivation" (R. Roberg et al., 2002, p 186): Performance = f (Ability x Motivation).

Roberg et al. (2002) suggested police managers must understand the basics of individual behavior to predict how employees reacted to internal and external organizational stimuli. They further suggested police managers must know how to effectively use stimuli and identify what motivated employees to perform or behave in certain ways on the job. Roberg et al. (2002) stated managers, supervisors, and leaders must possess a basic knowledge of theories of motivation.

Content Theories

Law enforcement, in the midst of exploring the Ferguson Effect, is currently faced with the challenge of transitioning from a command-and-control style of management to a more inclusive model that allows input from younger generations to garner their full support and continued employment (Moore, Grunberg, & Krause, 2015; R. Roberg et al., 2002). Management studies of motivation traditionally focused on separate human drives that motivate humans to work. Classical theorists viewed economic rewards as the primary motivation factor, whereas human relation theorists emphasized the importance of relationships, formal and informal, and social factors. Roberg et al. (2002) suggested three major theorists, Maslow, Herzberg, and McClelland, provided simplistic approaches to understanding the motivation process but argued they did not provide managers with an adequate understanding of the complex nature and work environments they now face.

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

In 1954, Abraham Maslow published his seminal theory on human motivation. The theory was illustrated by Maslow's *Hierarchy of Needs* pyramid, which showed the progression of motivation from one level to the next toward the pinnacle defined as self-actualization (Figure 1). Ramlall (2004) suggested Maslow viewed human potential as vastly underestimated and unexplained by researchers. He further suggested Maslow held the firm belief that all humans aspired to achieve one's full potential in what Maslow termed self-actualization (2004).
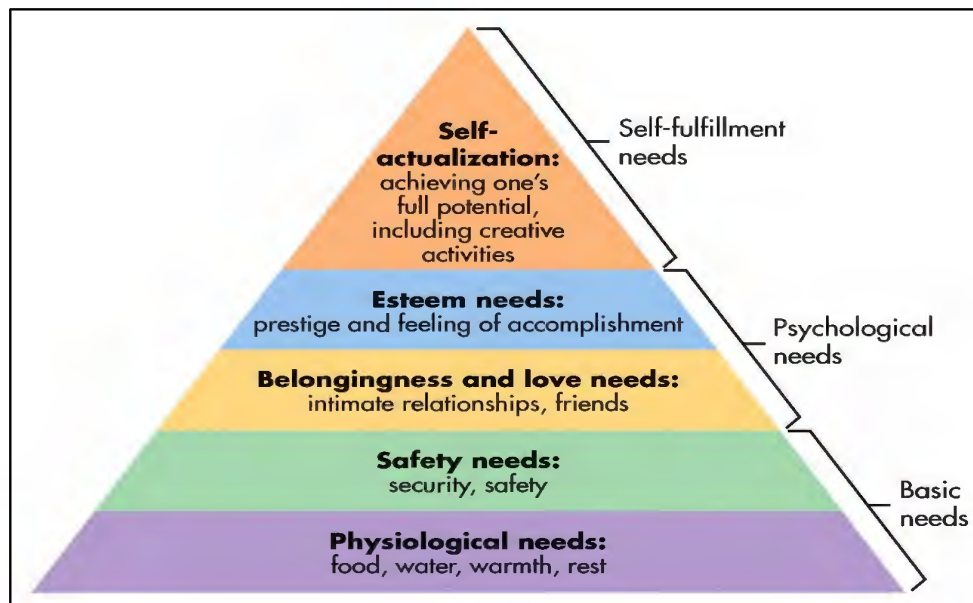
Figure 1. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (taken from McLeod, 2017).

Roberg et al. (2002) and McLeod (2017) stated Maslow believed there were at least five stages and goals, referred to as basic needs, that were physiological, safety, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization. According to Maslow (1954), the first two stages comprised of physical needs, whereas stages three, four, and five were intrinsic needs. Maslow (1954) stated humans' first-level needs involved physiological necessities such as food, water, air, sex, and excretion. Once those needs were satisfied,

the individual's motivation aspired to second-level needs, such as safety and security of body, resources, employment, family, health, prosperity, and morality. As the individual achieved a level of satisfaction within the second level, they aspired to achieve fulfillment in the third level of the pyramid, which included an individual's need to be loved and find belonging. With those needs met, people ascended to the fourth level labeled esteem needs, in which a person felt good about themselves and experienced confidence in their work. Maslow suggested fulfillment in level four led to the fifth and highest level of needs, in which humans achieved self-actualization by reaching their full potential (Maslow, 1954). Maslow (1954) further suggested the average person in society is most often partially satisfied and partially unsatisfied in all of one's wants. Roberg et al. (2002) suggested lower-level needs appeared to be more important during the early stages of life and higher-level needs tended to become more important as an individual matured.

Ramlall (2004) suggested Maslow viewed employees as individuals driven to accomplish and/or sustain various circumstances resulting in rudimentary gratifications. Humans were a perpetually wanting group and the desire for satisfaction in all levels of Maslow's hierarchy was not mutually exclusive. Regarding work, the implications Ramlall (2004) suggested were "for managers to find ways of motivating employees by devising programs or practices aimed at satisfying emerging or unmet needs" (p. 54). He further suggested both private and public sectors needed to take time to understand the needs of employees and establish focus groups geared toward assisting their workforces' ability to deal with issues such as stress – especially in difficult times. Referencing Steers and Porter, Ramlall (2004) suggested managers had a responsibility to create

proper organizational climates in which employees could develop their full potential. Collectively, they argued organizations and managers who failed at this task theoretically increased employee frustration, which resulted in poor employee performance, lower job satisfaction, and pronounced withdrawal from the organization.

Table 3 lists several examples managers and organizations could implement to sustain employee needs. Magny (2012) and Ramlall (2004) suggested the implementation of many of these suggestions could be easy and cost-effective, but others were expensive and problematic.

Table 3

Possible Solutions to Employee Needs

Need	Examples
Physiological	• Cafeterias, vending machines, drinks
Security-Economic	• Wage and salaries; fringe, retirement, medical benefits
Security-Psychological	• Clear job descriptions, praise/awards, avoid abrupt changes, solve employee problems
Security-Physical	• Working conditions, heating, and ventilation, rest periods
Affiliation	• Social interaction; team spirit, outside social activities, periodic praise, participation in decision-making
Esteem	• Challenging jobs, praise, awards, delegate responsibility, training, participation
Self-actualization	• Training, challenges, creativity

Note. Adapted from Ramlall, 2004.

Roberg et al. (2002) suggested early research on police officers indicated lower-level needs tended to be reasonably well-fulfilled by police work, but higher-level needs were not met, possibly due to the paramilitary design of police departments and a non-factoring of individual job potential growth needs of the individuals employed by police organizations.

Herzberg's Motivator-Hygiene Theory

In 1959, Frederick Herzberg published *The Motivation to Work*. In the book, Herzberg presented his Motivator-Hygiene Theory, also often referred to as the Hygiene Theory of Job Satisfaction (Kreitner & Kinicki, 2008). In this seminal study, Herzberg (1959) conducted 200 surveys of accountants and engineers and synthesized the findings into the initial framework of his theory of motivation. In his research, Herzberg (1959) discovered job satisfaction and dissatisfaction emanated from two separate sets of factors, classified as satisfiers or motivating factors, and dissatisfiers or hygiene factors. This bifurcation became known as the two-factor theory, which stated certain factors in the workplace caused job satisfaction, whereas a separate set of factors independently caused dissatisfaction (Herzberg et al., 1959). The following is a list of intrinsic and extrinsic first-level factors identified in Herzberg's study:

Intrinsic factors. According to Herzberg (1959), intrinsic factors, also known as motivators, were derived from an employee's more emotional needs and focused less on tangible ones. These higher needs related to Maslow's theory regarding esteem and self-actualization needs. Intrinsic motivators included recognition, achievement, growth opportunity, advancement, and responsibility.

Recognition. Recognition was the act of notice, praise, or blame (Herzberg et al., 2017). According to Herzberg, the major criterion for identifying this act was the source, which he stated could be almost anyone in a management position. More importantly, Herzberg et al. (2017) suggested recognition could be sub-classed into two categories, the first consisting of praise or acts of positive attribution and the second, called negative recognition, consisting of acts of blame or criticism.

Achievement. Achievement referred to the successful completion of a job, a solution to a problem, vindication, or positive results of one's work (Herzberg et al., 2017). The opposite of achievement was also part of Herzberg's theory, including failure and absence of success.

Growth opportunity. Possibility of growth referred to the inclusion of some objective factor, in which the achievement of the possibility had the potential to trigger a series of events indicating an increase or decrease in growth possibility within the organization (Herzberg, 1959). According to Herzberg (1959), the possibility of growth included two defining elements, the likelihood of upward or positive movement with an organization and situation or opportunities that support these likelihoods.

Advancement. Advancement referred to a person in an organization earning or being promoted to a higher status or position (Herzberg et al., 2017). According to Herzberg (1959), advancement only existed when there was an actual change in a person's position or status. Thus, a lateral advancement would not be considered advancement.

The work itself. The work itself referred to the specific tasks or activities required of the job (Herzberg, 1959). According to Herzberg (1959), this presented both positive and negative feelings regarding a task or duties. Furthermore, this could be a routine or varied opportunity to complete easy or difficult jobs in their entirety or a brief aspect of the job.

Responsibility. Responsibility related to factors of authority and responsibility given to an employee for which satisfaction was derived from being given greater responsibility. It was also the act of responsibility for one's own work or for the work of

others. Responsibility could be both positive or negative, as in increased responsibility or a lack of responsibility (Herzberg, 1959).

Extrinsic factors. According to Herzberg (1959), extrinsic factors, also known as hygiene factors, were derived from an employee's more basic needs. These basic physiological and safety needs related to Maslow's theory. These included external factors including salary, company policy and administration, interpersonal relationships, supervision, status, and working conditions.

Salary. Salary referred to monitory compensation in exchange for work. According to Herzberg (1959), this category included both an increase in salary or wage and unfulfilled expectations of increased salary or wage.

Company policy and administration. Company policy and administration determined the adequacy or inadequacy of company organization and management. Harmful and beneficial effects resulted from company policies (Herzberg, 1959). Herzberg (1959) stated this category described sequences of events in which some overall aspects of a company were a factor in motivation. When viewed negatively, policies were described as malevolent rather than ineffective.

Interpersonal relations. Interpersonal relations referred to the characteristics of the interactions, which might occur during work hours (but independent of job duties), between two individuals. These verbal interactions occur in one of three categories: superior, subordinate, and peers (Herzberg et al., 1959). According to Herzberg (1959), these interpersonal relations were not purely social.

Supervision-technical. Supervision-technical referred to a category that included remarks about competence or incompetence, fairness or unfairness of superiors,

willingness to teach or delegate, and propensity to perpetually criticize or nag (Herzberg, 1959). Herzberg (1959) stated the ability to code this characteristic was predicated on the ability of the researcher to divorce interpersonal relationships from the employee's behavior of carrying out job task.

Factors in personal life. Factors in personal life, such as a family's need for salary levels or problems stemming from the location of the job, affected employee feelings about their job (Herzberg et al., 1959). However, Herzberg (1959) stated purely personal events that had nothing to do with work, even though it could affect work, were not considered when coding factors in personal life.

Status. Status implied a sign of superiority or appurtenance gained by a title that constituted a level in reaction by an employee to a job title (Herzberg et al., 1959).

Working conditions. Working conditions referred to the physical conditions of work, amount of work, or facilities available for doing the work. These included the adequacy or inadequacy of ventilation, lighting, tools, space, and other such environmental characteristics (Herzberg et al., 1959).

Job security. Job security referred to tenure and company stability or instability. There were objective signs of presence or absence of job security (Herzberg, 2017).

According to Herzberg (1959), employees tended to describe satisfying experiences in terms of intrinsic factors of the work or job content, via rewards that resulted directly from performing job-related tasks. Ramlall (2004) noted these motivators included recognition, responsibility, advancement, growth, the work itself, and achievement. Conversely, dissatisfying experiences, called hygiene factors, resulted frequently from extrinsic, non-job-related factors such as an individual's relationship to the organizational

environment or job context, which Herzberg described as administration, company policy, supervision, salary, status, and working conditions (Ramlall, 2004; R. Roberg et al., 2002). Herzberg classified these factors as dissatisfiers because his research indicated they did not lead to job satisfaction or motivate employees to put forth any extra effort on the job (Herzberg et al., 1959; R. Roberg et al., 2002).

Roberg et al. (2002) stated Herzberg's two-factor theory of motivation related to Maslow's hierarchy of needs. They suggest Herzberg's hygiene factors correlated to Maslow's lower-level needs and motivators correlated to higher-level needs (2002). Lower-needs such as working conditions and salary were not effective motivators (1959). Roberg et al. (2002) argued police agencies seeking to improve police officer performance should not expect to do so by the fulfillment of dissatisfiers. They further argued to the contrary that police organizations with acceptable working conditions and salaries seeking to improve police officer motivation and job performance must emphasize higher-level needs, such as greater responsibility, recognition, and growth (R. Roberg et al., 2002).

Roberg et al. (2002) argued managers must understand how people are motivated and how job design can affect police officer motivation and behavior. In 1968, Herzberg published *One More Time: How Do You Motivate Employees*? He argued the secret to job enrichment was finding ways to remove some controls, yet retaining accountability among employees for their own work, and assigning employees to natural work units where they specialize and become experts. Herzberg (1968) presented seven principles supervisors could use to provide employees additional responsibilities: (a) removing controls while retaining accountability, (b) increasing accountability, (c) giving people

complete units of work, (d) granting more authority and freedom, (e) making reports to employees, (f) offering new and challenging tasks, and (g) assigning specialized tasks requiring additional expertise.

Table 4

Principles Used to Provide Additional Responsibility

Principle	Motivators Involved
a) Removing some controls while retaining accountability	Responsibility and personal achievement
b) Increasing the accountability of individuals for their own work	Responsibility and recognition
c) Giving a person a complete natural unit of work (module, division, area, and so on)	Responsibility, achievement, and recognition
d) Granting additional authority to an employee in one's activity; job freedom	Responsibility, achievement, and recognition
e) Making periodic reports directly available to the worker directly rather than to the supervisor	Internal recognition
f) Introducing new and more difficult tasks not previously handled	Growth and learning
g) Assigning individuals specific or specialized tasks, enabling them to become experts	Responsibility, growth, and advancement

From "*One More Time: How Do You Motivate Employees?*" by F. Herzberg, 1968, Harvard Business Review 46, p.58.

In 1998, Kreitner and Kinicki (2008) conducted a study that reinforced Hertzberg's argument for the fulfillment of employee's higher-level needs by supervisors providing employees with greater responsibilities. In the study, Kreitner and Kinicki (2008) found managers who partook in "horizontal loading" (providing employees with more tasks of similar difficulty) were less inclined to motivate employees than supervisors who used "vertical loading," which involved supervisors giving employees tasks with greater responsibility. Herzberg (1959) suggested these actions helped humans achieve their ultimate goal of self-realization. He further stated the deflection of humans from this goal resulted in them becoming what Carl Jung called a crippled animal (Herzberg, 1959).

Theory X and Theory Y. The ability to create meaningful work to motivate people to perform well challenges leaders across all sectors. Leaders must create meaning, develop purpose, carve out a legacy, and create cultures of consequence

(Mautz, 2014). To accomplish this, Mautz (2014) stated a leader must possess the ability to look inward, look outward, and actively engage in creating meaning for those they lead and for themselves.

Several leading theories and researchers hypothesized about which factors motivated human performance. Orpen (1979) showed a need in the workplace to shift toward a commitment-based model, centered on employee responsibility, autonomy, and empowerment. This shift would help improve the quality of people's jobs, increase internal motivation, and improve overall job satisfaction in the workplace (Mautz, 2014; Orpen, 1979).

In 1960, Douglas McGregor developed Theory X and Theory Y to explain his rationale on what motivated humans. McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y, which directly contrasted Maslow's, were well-known management theories in current use and he was considered by scholars as the foremost expert on motivation in the workplace. In McGregor's Theory X, he suggested average humans sought security above all else, had relatively little ambition, preferred to be directed by others, and attempted to avoid responsibility. He further suggested the average human possessed an inherent dislike for work and would attempt to avoid it at all cost. Thus, McGregor (1960) suggested for organizations to achieve their objectives, humans needed to be coerced, controlled, directed, and threatened with punishment to put forth sufficient effort (McGregor, 1960).

In McGregor's (1960) Theory Y, he suggested human commitment to objectives was a function directly related to the rewards offered for their achievement. He further suggested that, under the proper conditions, the average human learned, accepted responsibility, and sought out greater responsibility. Under modern industrial life

conditions, the intellectual potentialities of the average human were only partially utilized

and their ability to exercise a high degree of ingenuity, creativity, and imagination to

solve organizational problems was widely distributed throughout the population.

McGregor (1960) concluded in Theory Y that humans exercised self-control and self-

direction in the service of an objective they were committed to and that mental and

physical work was as natural as play or rest. Thus, the threat of punishment or external

controls were not the only means that organizations could use to bring about human

motivation to achieve organizational performance objectives (McGregor, 1960). The

following is a summary of McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y (1960):

Theory X	**Theory Y**
• Man is a beast	• Man is a self-actualizing being
• Evil is man's inherent nature	• Good is man's inherent nature
• Biology drives man	• Humanism drives man
• Force motivates man	• Voluntary cooperation motivates man
• Competition is man's basic mode of interaction	• Cooperation is man's basic mode of interaction
• Individual is man's social unit of importance	• Group is man's social unit of importance
• Pessimistic best describes man's view of man	• Optimistic best describes man's view of man

Achievement Motivation Theory

In 1985, David McClelland published his findings on achievement motivation

theory in which he states humans' need for achievement, referred to as *n Ach*, was the

desire to accomplish challenging tasks and achieve a high standard of performance in

those tasks (McClelland, 1985). McClelland (1985) suggested individuals and managers

wanting to motivate employees with high n Ach provided situations where they could:

1. Take responsibility for problem-solving

2. Set challenging, yet achievable, goals and take calculated risk

3. Receive identifiable and recurring feedback on how they performed

Roberg et al. (2002) suggested, contrary to popular belief, people with high n Ach were more inclined to avoid extremely challenging goals because of the increased risk of failure. For managers who supervise high n Ach employees where there was no fear of failure or for managers to overcome an employee's reluctance to fail, McClelland (as cited by R. Roberg et al., 2002) suggested managers:

1. Arrange tasks so employees receive periodic feedback on their performance, providing information that enables them to make modifications or corrections

2. Point out role models of achievement and identify and publicize accomplishments of achievement heroes (the winners)

3. Work with employees to improve their self-image by giving them moderate challenges and responsibilities

4. Encourage employees to think about setting realistic goals and how to accomplish them

Scholars widely acknowledged the important contributions made by these content theorists to the practice of management. However, Roberg et al. (2002) argued these theories provided managers and supervisors with the knowledge that allowed them to reevaluate the classical prescriptions that only hygiene factors or lower-level needs were important and employees were unequivocally motivated by far more than these needs.

Process Theories

In comparison to content theories, which attempted to identify *what* specifically motivated human behavior, process theories attempted to explain *how* behavior was energized, directed, sustained, and stopped (R. Roberg et al., 2002). These scholars

suggested process theories attempted to define major factors led to motivation and how these factors interacted to produce patterns of behavior through the exploration of the human cognitive processes used to decide how they behaved. The three most influential process theories remain expectancy theory, equity theory, and goal setting theory.

Expectancy Theory

In 1964, Victor Vroom published the most widely acknowledged expectancy theory of work motivation, which stated individual motivation was predicated on rational choices made by individuals who knew the reward they expected to receive before they engaged in work (Vroom, 1964). According to Roberg et al. (2002), Vroom's theory was supported by two basic assumptions:

1. Individuals had cognitive expectations about what outcomes were likely to result from their behavior

2. Individuals had preferences among these outcomes

Vroom's (1964) theory consisted of three main variables: expectancy, valence, and instrumentality.

Expectancy. Expectancy referred to the individual belief, ranging from certainty to uncertainty, that a particular outcome would follow a particular behavior (Vroom, 1964). Vroom (1964) suggested a strong relationship existed between first-level outcomes and second-level outcomes. Provided resources, skill level, and support exist, an example of expectancy would be a person's belief that if they worked harder, then the results would be better.

Valence. Valence related to the strength of individual preference, ranging from positive (resulting in greater effort) to neutral or negative (resulting in less effort) to gain

a particular outcome (Vroom, 1964). According to Vroom (1964), valence could also be viewed as the level of importance an individual placed on an expected outcome. For example, if a person was mainly motivated by monitory means, they may not value offers for additional time off from work.

Instrumentality. Instrumentality explored an individual's perceived relationship between first-level and second-level outcomes. First-level (performance outcomes) directly related to the behavior of performing the work itself and included factors such as absenteeism, turnover, and productivity. Second-level (result outcomes) were consequences the first-level outcomes were likely to produce and included factors such as praise, promotion, group acceptance, transfer, and pay increases (Vroom, 1964). Vroom (1964) stated the process as Motivation = Valence x Expectancy.

Roberg et al. (2002) stated an individual's preference for first-level outcomes were dictated by the extent they believed the attainment of second-level outcomes would occur. Thus, they suggested that if an individual did not perceive their efforts to be instrumental in producing the outcome they desired, they would demonstrate little motivation to perform a task well.

Equity Theory

In 1963, John Stacy Adams published his findings on the hypothesis that employees were affected by beliefs about how their employer rewarded the effort employees put into their work. Roberg et al. (2002) suggested the theory was based on the argument that individuals who worked for an organization, in exchange for rewards such as pay, recognition, benefits, or promotion (job outcomes), wished to be treated equally by the organization. Adams (1963) suggested employees continuously compared

their personal job inputs (e.g., skills, training, experience) and job outcomes against other

individuals in the organization with similar work or status and that equity existed when

employees perceived the ratio to their work (efforts and rewards) to be equal to the ratio

of others in the organization. Adams (1963) stated when these ratios were not perceived

as equal, a state of inequity existed, which depressed motivation to work.

According to Roberg et al. (2002), Adam's equity theory was supported by two

major premises:

1. The perception that inequality created tension

2. This tension made people want to reduce or eliminate it

Adams (1963) stated the motivation of employees to reduce inequity was directly

proportional to the perceptions held by employees about the extent of the gap. Adams (as

cited by R. Roberg et al., 2002) postulated that in direct response to perceived inequity,

employees resorted to the following options to restore a sense of equality:

1. **Change inputs.** Employees increased or decreased their efforts on the job to

   make their inputs more equitable with outcomes or rewards.

2. **Rationalize perceptions.** Employees rationalized their perceptions by

   deciding inputs or outcomes were greater or smaller than originally perceived

   or the outcomes received were of more or less value than previously thought.

3. **Change the comparison.** Employees changed their comparison person by

   making comparisons with other input-outcome ratios or another individual to

   restore feelings of equity.

4. **Change inputs or outcomes of the comparison person.** If the comparison

   person was in one's workgroup, then it may be possible to change his or her

input, for example, by asking a colleague to decrease or increase his or her efforts or responsibilities.

5. **Change the situation.** If the perceived inequality was strong enough, and none of the above alternatives worked, the individual may quit the job or transfer to another unit or location.

Roberg et al. (2002) suggested several areas in police work where perceived inequalities could exist, such as between units (e.g., patrol shifts, detectives, traffic details, special victims, major crimes). They further suggested one advantage of police organizations implementing community-oriented policing programs was the perception of equity created by the enrichment of job skills dispersed throughout the organization by units having to collaborate to solve community problems. This ability of supervisors to manage conflict and inequity, and to read the political shifting in the law enforcement culture would be key to the future advancement of law enforcement (White, Harvey, & Fox, 2016).

Goal Setting Theory

In 1968, Edwin Locke proposed the goal-setting theory and suggested a person's goals and intentions were the principal determinants of behavior. Roberg et al. (2002) asserted once a person intentionally decided to do something, he or she pursued a goal until it was achieved. Locke (1968) theorized goals with elevated difficulty resulted in enhanced performance if the goals were desired by the individual.

Locke (1968) suggested goal setting was directional and once a person's sights were set on a specific goal, they would direct their attention, efforts, and persistence toward developing strategies to achieve success. He further suggested the successful

achievement of goals via goal setting was predicated on the goals having the following

characteristics:

1. Measurable

2. Challenging yet attainable

3. Relevant to the work of the organization

4. Time-limited in the sense of when the goal must be accomplished

Although most scholars saw a positive aspect to goal setting, Gibson, Ivancevich,

and Donnelly (1991) argued goal setting worked for simple jobs but was less effective for

complex jobs; they claimed it was often difficult to sustain and could potentially foster

game playing, such as low-goal setting for easy achievement to look good for

management. Roberg et al. (2002) suggested goal setting, used under the right conditions

and correctly, could be highly motivational and an individual would commit to a goal if

there was a high likelihood of achieving the goal combined with a strong relationship

between goal accomplishment and reward. The literature on content and process theories

of satisfaction and motivation indicated managers and internal and external factors could

influence a police officer's levels of motivation and satisfaction.

Effects of Current Conditions on Officer Satisfaction and Motivation

Although the debate on the effects of the Ferguson Effect will continue, the

literature suggested clear evidence of reduced police officer motivation and satisfaction

stemming from both internal organizational forces and external factors. Sutton (2015)

suggested the nation was at a crossroads in which the public must choose either to stand

against the conditions and forces such as sensational media, decriminalization, and

retaliation on police officers that is leading to de-policing, or deal a big win to criminal opportunism, vigilantes, and thugs by choosing to do nothing.

Effects on Police Officer Recruitment

Lack of retention of officers by police departments may stem from stress. Stress was found to have a substantial effect on an employee's level of job satisfaction (Magny, 2012). Martelli et al. (1998) suggested police work suffered from a direct negative correlation between high levels of stress and low levels of job satisfaction. Roufa (2017) stated police departments across the United States were experiencing officers leaving in droves and pointed to the North Carolina Criminal Justice Analysis Center study, which concluded law enforcement's 14% attrition rate was higher than the attrition rates for teachers and nurses.

In a RAND study conducted using police officer recruits, researchers found respondents most frequently cited the threat of death or injury and insufficient pay as significant negative factors in their decision to become police officers (Castaneda & Ridgeway, 2010). Meaning and fulfillment for the older generations were defined by the amount of money in their checks at the end of the month (Moore et al., 2015). They were motivated to work greater amounts of overtime to have more financial means. The increase in financial means translated to less time with family and for self, but an increase in funds for grander expenditures by members of the older generation when they had time to spend with family. Because this generation was taught to derive meaning and worth by the amount of pay, it is inconceivable to them when Gen X or Gen Y members balked at working overtime (Moore et al., 2015).

Castaneda and Ridgeway (2010) stated older recruits (age 26 and above) valued job security, whereas Moore et al. (2015) suggest younger workers valued time off and meaningful work over just financial gain. This created dissonance among generations with many younger members of law enforcement leaving the paramilitary confinements of police work in search of meaningful employment (Roufa, 2017).

Roufa (2017b) further suggested lower pay and the abundance of other opportunities for qualified candidates were the most critical issue for the shrinking pool of potential law enforcement candidates. Like Griffith (2016) who suggested decriminalization efforts were laden with potential threats, Roufa (2017b) suggested due to society's evolving tolerance of minor crimes and legalization of illicit drug use, police departments found it increasingly more difficult to recruit new officers to fill growing vacancies.

Police Officer Suicide

The study of the Ferguson Effect is gaining greater interest as police leaders, government officials, and scholars search to find the relationship between police officer motivation in the field and spikes in reported violent crimes in several major cities across the United States. Although the study of the Ferguson Effect on police officers is gaining traction, and more researchers began to study officer motivation and satisfaction, Clark (2016) suggested the factors leading to the ultimate decline of police officer motivation and satisfaction, and police officer suicide, remained shrouded in mystery. The organization reported the rate for police officer suicide was higher than the national average, 16/100,000 compared to the public rate of 13.5/100,000 (Clark, 2016).

Crank and Caldero (1991) stated dangers of police work perpetuated the widely held belief that officer stress was caused by the work itself. Ron Clark (2016), Board Chairman of the Badge of Life, described law enforcement as "one of the most toxic, caustic, career fields in the world" (para. 13) and compared it to being in a war zone. The Badge of Life is a non-profit organization founded in 2008 with a mission to fill the void in criminal justice data collection by tackling and bringing awareness to police officer suicides in the United States. Clark (2016) stated the data collected by the organization was limited to full-time sworn police officers and did not include subcategories such as reserve officers, retirees, separated officers, animal control, or prisons and corrections officers.

Clark (2016) suggested the data collection and accurate accounting of police officer suicides was complicated and a number of suicide deaths evaded detection due to police agencies propensity to conceal information about them. In 2017, Clark reported a rise in the raw numbers, suggesting 102 self-inflicted deaths were identified, but stated when mathematical compensation for deliberately hidden or misreported deaths was factored in, the official number of police officer suicide deaths was closer to 140. Clark (n.d.) cited stigma and fear of financial obligation for a work-related death among the principal reasons for the deliberate dissociation of police agencies toward reporting of police officer suicide. Clark (n.d.) noted that since 2008, an average of 130 police officers committed suicide annually.

In 2017, the rate of police officers committing suicide was higher than the number of police officers killed in the line of duty (Clark, n.d.). Clark stated approximately 12 officers killed themselves a month. Based on the figures, the average officer committing

suicide was male (96%), 42 years of age with 16 years of service, and most likely used a firearm as the means to commit suicide. Clark (n.d.) suggested the common causes of police officer suicide were stress, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and depression.

Summary

The effect of negative media reporting on law enforcement officer duties in the field is an emerging theme within the criminal justice field. Several indicators showed loosening of laws, sentencing time, and the focus of media on only the most negative and sensationalized stories had a negative effect on law enforcement and their willingness to keep communities safe. The outcomes of negative media reporting on law enforcement activity were yet to be the subject of long-term research. However, recent events prompted researchers to increase the study of these effects on police officer motivation and satisfaction.

The review of literature examined the role of police officers in American society and the current events that shaped the 21st-century trends and challenges police officers face. An academic study of media suggested equally challenging factors for news media regarding efficacy. Media scrutiny of police officer performance in the field led scholars to develop the Ferguson Effect theory to explain the possible lack of police officer motivation. Two major categories: content theories and process theories, were identified as the principle theories by which scholars sought to understand motivation and satisfaction. These theories guided the current study seeking to understand the effects of media reporting on police officer performance.

Chapter II provided a review of relevant literature. Chapter III details the methodology used to conduct the study. Chapter IV presents findings, and Chapter V provides conclusions, implications for actions, recommendations for future research, and concluding remarks from the researcher.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the methodology and procedures used to conduct this study. The researcher restates the purpose of the study and the research questions. This chapter also details the research design and provides a description of the population and sample, instruments, field-testing, data collection procedures, statistical analysis, and limitations of the study.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this mixed-methods case study was to understand and describe how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008. A secondary purpose was to determine if there was a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender and race.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study:

RQ1: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them personally?

RQ2: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them professionally?

RQ3: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on gender?

RQ4: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on race?

Research Design

Since the beginning of time, people have sought to understand the world in which we live. According to Patton, "what makes us different from other animals is our capacity to assign meaning to things" (Mildred L Patten, 2012). Exploring mysteries of the universe in our quest to find meaning requires the ability to share these finding in ways that are meaningful and provide the context for others to share in the epistemological advances of humankind. The three research methodologies allowing researchers to gather and share knowledge are quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods (Patton, 2002). This section discusses how this researcher chose the method used in this study by narrating the exploration of the appropriate setting for the selection of each method.

Choosing the appropriate research methodology often is a personal choice made by the researcher conducting a study. Each methodology can help a researcher explain the topic of their study but in very different ways. A good test of the appropriate fit of a methodology is to look at the frame of the question a researcher wants to ask. Flipp (2014) asserted focused researchers can accomplish this task by answering if they want to

know the: what, how, how much, how often and is there a relationship between the differences of the last two questions.

According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010) and Creswell (2014), research typically falls into two main categories, quantitative and qualitative, and specific procedures are prescribed for each approach. McMillan and Schumacher (2010) stated research was the collection and logical analysis of data in a systematic, purpose-driven process. A research methodology supported this process by clarifying "the ways that data are collected and analyzed" (McMillan & Schumacher 2010, p. 8). Quantitative and qualitative research approaches hold distinctive characteristics that define and set them apart.

One defining characteristic of quantitative studies is the results are generally presented as a set of numbers or statistics. A secondary characteristic is that in this form of study, the researcher used a deductive approach to collect information and test possible hypotheses identified in the review of the literature. According to Patten (2012), this is considered a deductive approach because the researcher develops pre-conceived ideas based on existing theory and research (p. 19). Another defining characteristic of quantitative research is the ability to conduct analysis on large participant samples. The statistical analysis and data are often cultivated using structured questionnaires, multiple choice surveys, or structured interviews. Quantitative studies report on broad summaries that can be generalized to the broader population (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). This study used a mixed-methods case study design to capture both quantitative and qualitative data.

Mixed-Methods Design

According to Creswell (2014), the best understanding of a research problem is gained from using both types of data. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) stated mixed-methods is a hybrid research design that allows researchers to work within traditional research design and procedures but provides them the ability to embed both quantitative and qualitative data in the study design. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), selection of a mixed-method study requires three critical design method decisions: (a) deciding the specific order for using data, (b) deciding how much emphasis to place on each type of data, and (c) deciding relationship and how to mix the two types of data.

The mixed-methods case study research design was best suited for this study because the quantitative data, collected as the first step in the research, supported the collection of rich, descriptive data from the qualitative inquiry that followed. A mixed-methods design provided a detailed understanding of the research topic that could only be obtained using the combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Roberts, 2010). This mixed-methods study focused on collecting and analyzing data obtained using both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The researcher conducted in-person interviews using open-ended questions and initiated a survey offering participants fixed choices to closed-ended questions.

Quantitative Research Design

According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010), quantitative research emphasizes objectivity. A researcher using the quantitative method measures and describes phenomena by using numbers and statistics. McMillan and Schumacher (2010) suggested two types of quantitative research: experimental and nonexperimental.

Experimental research designs include true experiments, quasi-experimental studies, and single-subject studies. Nonexperimental research designs included descriptive, comparative, correlational, survey, ex post facto, and secondary analysis (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010).

Patten (2012) described quantitative research as a deductive process that began with a review of existing literature to find explanations of the subject under study. Once identified, the researcher conducted further analysis to identify relationships between variables. Patten (2012) further stated quantitative inquiry was appropriate when the researcher wished to generalize from the study sample to a broader population. In the case of this study, the quantitative portions consisted of both archival and survey data.

In this study, the archival crime data collected were maintained and provided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Archival data referred to information collected, stored, and maintained in an existing file. As in the case of FBI crime statistics published annually, data were often kept because of legal requirements and were used for reference and for internal and public purposes. With some minor exceptions, these data were compiled on past events and not subject to change – therefore these data were often known as fixed data. Archival data allowed the researcher to collect and analyze crime statistics to identify major cities that experienced spikes in violent crimes since 2008, which directly related to the purpose and research questions of this study. This statistical data, which included information about the size of law enforcement agencies, also provided information about the population served and the hard data on crime statistics. Finally, data were obtained by a survey distributed electronically via Survey Monkey, to police officers belonging to the agencies identified in the quantitative review of literature.

Qualitative Research

According to Roberts (2010), the qualitative approach, "is based on the philosophical orientation, called phenomenology, which focused on people's experience from their perspective" (p. 143). Patten (2012) and Roberts (2010) stated qualitative research had three typical forms of data collection processes: observations, interviews, and review of documents and artifacts. Patten (2012) stated qualitative research studies yield results, "as discussions of trends and/or themes based on words, not statistics" (p. 19). This approach required the researcher to use an inductive approach to produce data based on preliminary observations, upon which the researcher made recommendations for additional types of information to be collected.

Creswell (2014) and McMillan and Schumacher (2010) suggested researchers conducting qualitative research choose instruments that produce data in words via means such as direct observation or unstructured interviews. Qualitative research relied on smaller samples but required a greater time commitment on the part of the researcher than quantitative research. However, Patten (2012) stated qualitative research was most useful when "conducting extended, in-depth, one-on-one unstructured interviews and extensive observations over time" was feasible (p. 19). She further stated qualitative samples were useful when researchers sought expert, exemplary, or key informants for the study, rather than random participant selection. Creswell (2008) and McMillan and Schumacher (2010) stated a researcher using a qualitative approach could adjust or fine-tune the study by adding additional questions or re-wording questions for greater clarity. Patten (2012) noted qualitative researchers believed, "all observational processes are inherently open to interpretation and often specifically cite individual responses from sampled participants"

(p. 20). According to Roberts (2010), "qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study complement each other by providing results with a greater breadth and depth; combining a 'what' with a possible 'why,' which adds power and richness to the explanation of the data" (p. 145).

The qualitative portion of this study sought to understand the impacts of media reporting on police officer performance in the field both personally and professionally. As prescribed by Creswell (2011), the researcher gathered data through direct examination, which consisted of digitally recorded interviews with randomly selected police officers. Patton (2002) stated in *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, the phenomenological perspective was rooted in philosophy and the central questions regarding, "the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experience of this phenomenon for this person or group of people" (p. 98). Phenomenology referred to a person's perception of the meaning of an event, which for this study was media reporting impact on police officers. This phenomenological inquiry focused on what police officers experienced regarding the effects of media reporting on their motivation and satisfaction and the impact of their performance on patrol both personally and professionally by exploring their interpretation of their lived experiences. The researcher conducted interviews with 12 police officers, six from Department 1 and six from Department 2, who were willing to be interviewed regarding their performance in the field. The sample size was intentionally small because, as Patton (2002) stated, "in-depth information from a small number of people can be very valuable, especially if the cases are information rich" (p. 311). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) stated, "qualitative understanding arises out of studying a few individuals and exploring their perspective in

great depth" (p. 8). The researcher then evaluated the data, via coding, to establish patterns to help formulate a hypothesis that added to the development of a theory (Patton, 2002).

Researcher as an Instrument of the Study

In a qualitative study, the researcher becomes an instrument of the study. The qualitative researcher was considered a living research instrument who did not make predictions or formulate hypotheses as to why things existed, but rather explored the natural state of existence of the topic of research using observations, interviews, and reviews of documents to create themes (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). According to Patton (2002), during fieldwork, the researcher made firsthand observations of activities and could serve as a participant observer by engaging and interacting with participants. In this study, the researcher facilitated all the interviews of police officers and participated in all other data collection methods. Participants were provided with interview transcripts to confirm the accuracy and intent of provided information prior to publication. At the time of this study, the researcher worked in law enforcement for over 17 years, with five of those years in a supervisory capacity. Additionally, he conducted hundreds of interviews as part of his law enforcement duties.

Rationale. After a thorough review of possible research methods, the researcher determined the phenomenological mixed-method case study approach best aligned with the purpose and research questions. The researcher chose this methodology after exploring several methods. The qualitative method offered a holistic approach to exploring meaning and was most appropriate to answer *what* or *how* questions in

research. The quantitative method was most appropriate to answer *how much* and *how often* questions (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010; Patton, 2002).

Quantitative research was considered descriptive and required statistical analysis to produce reports containing numerical data explaining relationships known as "correlations among variables" (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). This approach allowed researchers to formulate hypotheses that explained their deductive reasoning for an event and the ability to test hypotheses using the scientific method and instruments such as questionnaires and manipulating of dependent variables (Flipp, 2014).

The mixed-method approach was most appropriate to answers questions about how much, how often, and relationships while also seeking the underlying *why*. A researcher could use the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research to provide a robust explanation of events using deductive and inductive reasoning (Bradford, 2015). This approach also allowed the researcher to use data obtained via both methods to formulate theories. Regardless of which methodology a researcher chose, they "must have honesty in this search for truth" and an "active acceptance of the incompleteness of all knowledge" (Staune, 2006, p. 157).

Population

A population was defined by McMillan and Schumacher (2010) as "a group of individuals or event from which a sample is drawn and to which results can be generalized" (p. 489). According to the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data published by the FBI (2016), 652,936 total police officers were employed at 13,217 law enforcement agencies in the United States.

Target Population

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) defined a target population as "a group of individuals with some common defining characteristics that the researcher can identify and study" (p. 142). In this study, the target population referred to the group of police officers who conformed to a specific set of criteria: working in a major metropolitan area experiencing crime spikes. In 2003, the U.S. Census Bureau announced standards of geographic terms and concepts called Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs), which:

> Consist of the county or counties or equivalent entities associated with at least one core (urbanized area or urban cluster) of at least 10,000 population, plus adjacent counties having a high degree of social and economic integration with the core as measured through commuting ties with the counties associated with the core. (para. 1)

The UCR (FBI, 2016) stated 712 agencies served major metropolitan areas that met the U.S. Census Bureau definition. The researcher limited the target population to law enforcement agencies in major metropolitan areas serving 250,000 or more people. The UCR (FBI, 2016) stated 79 agencies served a population of 250,000 or more people. A review was conducted of the 79 agencies to identify those that experienced a spike in violent crimes. Although a clear definition of a spike in crime was not defined in the literature, a spike was generally presented in the literature as a year-to-year increase or upward trend in criminal activity. For this study, the researcher set a lower limit of an increase of 4%. From the eligible agencies, the researcher selected two to serve as the target population.

Sample

A sample was the group of participants in a study selected from the target population from which the researcher intended to generalize. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010), sampling was the process used by researchers to select a "group of individuals from whom data are collected" (p. 129). McMillan and Schumacher (2010) defined purposeful sampling as the process by which a researcher "selects a sample that is representative of the population that includes subjects with needed characteristics" (p. 138). This researcher used purposeful sampling to ensure police officers responding to the survey instruments were knowledgeable about the topic and met the following criteria:

1. Currently in a patrol assignment

2. Employed as a full-time police officer

3. Worked for a department with the following characteristics:

    a. Law enforcement agency serving a population $\geq 250,000$

    b. Experienced crime spike since 2008

Site and participant selection was extremely crucial to this study. The researcher selected law enforcement organizations willing to participate that met the study criteria. In these two law enforcement organizations, only police officers currently assigned to patrol functions were included. Two metropolitan law enforcement agencies in California, identified as CA1 and CA2, were selected for this study. The primary reason these locations were selected was that they met the requirements set forth in the delimitations of the study.

Instrumentation

This study utilized a phenomenological, mixed-methods case study, which used quantitative and qualitative instruments. Creswell (2014) defined instrumentation as tools for measuring, observing, or documenting data. In this mixed-methods case study, the researcher used three forms of data collection: surveys, interviews, and a review of archival data and artifacts. The quantitative analysis assessed the extent to which media reporting affected police officers' performance both personally and professionally.

Instruments were developed based on a thorough review of the literature. After the development of a synthesis matrix (Appendix A), the researcher identified common themes and variables that emerged from prior research about variables affecting police officer motivation and satisfaction. The instruments included a brief survey, developed to provide information about police officers' perspectives of media reporting and impacts on their performance (Appendix B), and an interview script, developed to gain a full understanding of the lived experiences of the police officers (Appendix C). The semi-structured interview questions were presented in Appendix D. Formal informed consent was obtained from the police officers prior to them completing the survey and prior to the researcher conducting interviews (Appendix E).

Quantitative Instrumentation

McMillan and Schumacher (2010) stated, "quantitative measurement uses some type of instrument or device to obtain numerical indices that correspond to characteristics of the subject" (p. 173). Reliable instruments used to collect quantitative data provided a range of numerical responses the researcher could analyze for a summary of results.

Quantitative data collection instruments included surveys, assessments, reviews of

statistical records, questionnaires, and administrative databases.

The researcher created a survey called the Police Officers' Attitudes Toward

Policing (PATP) survey (Appendix B). A panel of three law enforcement experts and

scholars reviewed the survey for content validity. Each member of the panel had an

earned doctorate degree; served as a patrol officer in a large, metropolitan department;

and had expertise with the development of interview and survey questions. Additionally,

as recommeneded by Kimberlin and Winterstein (2008), the survey was field tested with

five patrol officers meeting the sample criteria but not included in the study.

In addition to the survey, the researcher conducted a comprehensive review of

crime statistics and reports from various criminal justice sources that included the FBI,

DOJ, and Chiefs of Major Cities. Crime statistics, including violent crimes, were limited

to the UCR published by the FBI from 2008-2017. The UCR reported on violent crime

classified under four offenses: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, robbery,

and aggravated assault. Statistical data on the law enforcement agencies were also part of

the comprehensive review.

Qualitative Instrumentation

According to Roberts (2010), the qualitative approach was "based on the

philosophical orientation, called phenomenology, which focuses on people's experience

from their perspective" (p. 143). The researcher served as the primary instrument of the

qualitative data collection for this study. Patton (2002) stated qualitative research was a

personal endeavor affected by the researchers' backgrounds as they sought "to

understand the perceptions, feelings, experiences, and knowledge of people" (p. 27). Yin

(2011) stressed the importance for researchers to collect data from multiple sources to support the qualitative nature of a case study. In this study, the mixed-methods approach allowed the researcher to triangulate data across the surveys, interviews, and review of artifacts.

The core of this study's qualitative portion was the in-person interviews of police officers. By interviewing a small, random sample of police officers who completed the PATP survey, the researcher could delve more fully into the officers' experiences and how media reporting affected their performance personally and professionally. According to Yin (2011), individual interviews as part of case study research was extremely important and required the researcher to perform two key roles: (a) follow the line of inquiry as outlined in their interview protocol, and (b) pose questions in a conversational and unbiased manner to produce the data necessary to address the research questions.

Interviews. Leech (2002) suggested semi-structured interviews provide an opportunity to collect data that "can provide detail, depth, and an insider's perspective" (p. 665). According to Leech (2002) three types of semi-structured questions were typically used: (a) descriptive questions intended to elicit details of events, or responses that lead the researcher to ask additional lines of questions, (b) structural questions that aid in categorizing or organizing things while helping define relationships in the data, and (c) contrast questions that provide definitions of terms. To allow for the rich collection of data, the researcher utilized semi-structured, open-ended questions, which allowed more flexibility than a fixed structure by allowing the researcher to ask unstructured interview follow-up questions. Both the survey and interview questions were designed so authentic

narratives could be interpreted by the researcher and linked back to the general experiences of police officers serving in patrol assignments.

Documents. Over the course of the past three years, the media produced dozens of negative articles, broadcast stories, and social media posts about police actions. Several media reports on high-profile cases such as the Michael Brown, Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner, and Freddie Gray cases brought sharp criticism of law enforcement officers by elected officials, community leaders, and people across the United States (Quah & David, 2015). Quah and David (2015) noted several cases had a negative impact on law enforcement officers. Therefore, this researcher limited the scope of documentation of negative media reporting to stories that made national headlines.

Field Testing

A field test of the survey instrument was administered to staff at five departments not used for this study to increase validity and reliability. Field testing was defined as limiting the threats to validity and reliability by ensuring research procedures, treatments, and experiences of participants were as consistent as possible (Kimberlin & Winterstein, 2008). Validity referred to the extent an instrument measured, "what it is designed to measure and accurately performs the function(s) is it purported to perform" (Patten, 2012, p. 61).

The field test of both the PATP survey and interview protocol ensured the development of a sound instrument police officers could complete. The participants in the field test provided opinions about the organization and content of the survey instrument via an inquiry form. Additionally, one of the field test interviews was observed by a neutral, third party who provided feedback about the interview technique

and researcher bias. Minor adjustments were made to the instruments based on the feedback. This ensured the instruments validity and accuracy to perform its intended functions.

Validity and Reliability

Patton (2002) cautioned researchers to be mindful of validity and reliability when designing and interpreting a study. He stated the trustworthiness of a research design hinged on both factors. He further stated these concepts were foundational to the degree to which the interpretation of the data was supported by the evidence (Patton, 2002).

Validity

The validity of an instrument referred to the extent to which the instrument measured what it was designed to measure (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; McMillan & Schumacher, 2010; Roberts, 2010). The intended goal of validating research instruments was to enable the researcher to make enlightened, sensible, and meaningful conclusions (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). McMillan and Schumacher (2010) suggested researchers seeking to increase the validity of an instrument should use multiple strategies. The researcher sought to increase the validity of the instruments through peer review and field testing. According to Patton (2002), validity in quantitative research could be established by data triangulation, participant feedback, statistical analysis, and experimental reviews. In this study, the researcher used data triangulation across sources to support construct validity.

Reliability

Instruments require numerous processes before being considered reliable. Reliability ensured the instrument had the ability to produce results that could be

reproduced or were similar when repeated by different researchers (Patton, 2002). In this study, the researcher focused on internal and intercoder reliability.

Internal Reliability. The instrumentation used for the study was developed based on the purpose, variables, and central research questions. The researcher utilized a team of peer researchers to make recommendations on the development of key areas of the study. According to Patten (2012), this method "reduces the possibility that the results of qualitative research represent only the idiosyncratic views of one individual researcher" (p. 157).

Intercoder Reliability. Kimberlin and Winterstein (2008) stated intercoder reliability "establishes the equivalence of ratings obtained with an instrument when used by different observers" (p. 2277). The researcher used intercoder reliability as another method to decrease personal bias when coding the data. Peer experts provided insights and recommendations based on their expertise gained through professional experience. To increase reliability, a peer researcher codded and analyzed 10% of the data to spot check for consistency of 80% or greater.

Data Collection

The data collection process did not commence until the researcher completed several steps to protect the human subjects who participated in the study. The researcher applied for and received approval from the Brandman University Institutional Review Board (BUIRB) to conduct this study. The application to BUIRB consisted of a letter of invitation, informed consent forms for both the quantitative and qualitative data collection processes, and a participant Bill of Rights. Once approved, the researcher collected qualitative and quantitative data.

Archival Data Collection

Archival records for this study existed from the standard reporting activities of

law enforcement agencies compiled by the FBI on an annual basis. An analysis of UCR

records and news media reports was necessary to determine a list of law enforcement

agencies that met the study criteria. Archival data referred to information that already

existed, most often generated for reporting or research purposes and kept because of legal

requirements, for reference, or as an internal record; because these data were not subject

to change, they were often referred to as fixed data (Fawcett et al., 2017). UCR records

were considered archival data because they existed primarily for the purpose of

operational analysis and because of legal regulations related to uniform crime reporting in

the United States.

For this study, crime data collected and reported by the FBI between 2008 and

2018 and news media reports were analyzed. The information was mined from a review

of the UCR and media reports used to identify law enforcement agencies that met the

requirements for this study. This list allowed the researcher to engage those law

enforcement agencies to facilitate the collection of quantitative data via the PATP survey.

Quantitative Data Collection

A brief, 20-minute survey, managed by this researcher, was administered during

the months of May 2018 and June 2018, using the Internet-based instrument Survey

Monkey. The survey (Appendix B) was developed by the researcher based on the

literature review. The survey used a Likert scale to collect data. This survey was

distributed to all police officers at the two selected agencies. Prior to contacting the

police officers, the researcher obtained written permission from the department executive

of each law enforcement organization. All participants were contacted via e-mail and provided an overview of the purpose of the study prior to the survey instrument being administered. All police officers who participated in this study did so on a voluntary basis.

Qualitative Data Collection

The researcher developed an interview protocol to collect qualitative data based on police officers' perceptions. The interview questions were based on the literature review and aligned with the research questions (Appendix D). The interviews were coordinated and conducted in-person and via telephone with participants from the two departments who responded to the PATP electronic survey. The PATP included a question asking the officers if they would be interested in participating in a follow-up interview. The first six people from each department who agreed to be interviewed were contacted via email to arrange an interview time. Additional police officers were contacted as needed if someone was non-responsive to the interview request or declined to participate.

The researcher conducted six digitally recorded interviews with police officers from each participating agency for a total of 12 interviews. The interviews were conducted in a mutually agreed upon location, free of distractions, such as an interview room at the participating agency or quiet office space. Prior to beginning the interviews with the police officers, the researcher obtained written permission via the informed consent form (Appendix F). All participants were provided with an overview of the purpose of the study prior to the interview instrument being administered. Each

interview took between 30 and 60 minutes to complete. All police officers who participated in this study did so on a voluntary basis.

Data Analysis

This mixed-methods case study used both qualitative and quantitative data analysis. The study sought to determine if a relationship existed between media reporting and police officer performance. As suggested by Patton (2002), upon completion of both the quantitative and qualitative measures, the researcher reviewed the data to ensure their strength and consistency.

Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data were obtained through an administrative review of crime information contained in the UCR (FBI, 2016), and the PATP survey completed by officers. Descriptive statistics allowed the researcher to answer the first research question regarding the relationship between media reporting and police officers' performance. McMillan and Schumacher (2010) stated, "Descriptive statistics are used to transform a set of numbers or observations into indices that describe or characterize the data" (p. 149). They further asserted descriptive statistics provided simple summaries about the measures and charts and other graphics could assist in visually displaying the interpretation of the descriptive statistics (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010).

For the quantitative data collected from the survey, descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data. Descriptive statistics simply describe the data, rather than trying to make inferences or comparisons (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Descriptive statistics included the percentages, means, and standard deviations. Standard deviations examined the spread of the data or consistency of responses where a small standard

123

deviation meant participants responded similarly whereas a larger standard deviation

meant there was greater variance among participant responses (McMillan & Schumacher,

2010). Descriptive statistics were appropriate for this study because the researcher was

not trying to make comparisons, but rather describe the current perceptions of police

officers regarding the role of the media on performance and job satisfaction.

The data analysis used for the quantitative portion of this study included a series

of correlational analysis tests conducted after the data-coding process was used to analyze

the electronic survey. After the parameters were established by the researcher, an

independent t-test was used to determine whether a statistically significant difference

existed in the responses provided by police officers of both departments. All analysis

used a .05 margin of reliability. Two assumptions were required when conducting an

independent t-test: (a) the samples have been selected from one or more homogeneous

populations in which the population parameter is distributed normally and (b) variation of

scores in the two groups must not be reliably different. The use of comparative sets of

cases helped ensure the population sample was as homogenous as possible to help

understand the correlation between the effects of media reporting on police officer

performance.

Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative data consisted of transcribed interviews, field notes, and artifacts.

All participants agreed to allow the researcher to record the interview using two digital

recording devices (one as a back-up) to capture the conversations in their entirety. The

questions were asked such that authentic narratives could be interpreted by the

researcher. An authentic narrative was described by McMillan and Schumacher (2010)

as "one that may be read and lived vicariously by others. A narrative is authentic when readers connect to the story by recognizing particulars, by visioning the scenes, and by reconstructing them from remembered associations" (p. 337). The researcher also kept a journal of written notes capturing key elements in the interviews and non-verbal cues noted during the discussion with the 12 police officers interviewed. These notes were transcribed into a Microsoft Word document to aid in the analysis of the study.

Creswell (2014) outlined a three-step process of organizing and preparing data, reading and reviewing data, and coding the data. The researcher organized and prepared the data by having the audio recordings transcribed by a third-party transcription service. The researcher was then able to review the transcriptions and used them to conduct a content analysis by identifying, categorizing, classifying, coding, and labeling emerging patterns in the data, as well as linking responses to research questions. The coding process allowed the researcher to identify themes that emerged from the data. Following a comprehensive arrangement of the data, the researcher read, reviewed, and reflected on the data elements to cultivate general impressions and develop an overall sense of meaning from the data. A preliminary list of themes and patterns emerged. The data were then formally coded using NVivo to identify patterns and repetition based on categories, subcategories, themes, concepts, and assertions. The data-coding process for this study involved three primary steps:

1. The codes were scanned for categories or themes. In support of the theoretical framework used for this study, the researcher reviewed the frequency of words and terms associated with how the media affects police officer performance.

2. The categories were scanned for frequencies. The researcher identified the frequency of each code. The frequencies were one indication of the strength of a possible theme developing from a code.

3. The codes were consolidated into meaningful themes used to develop categories for further analysis to understand how media affects police officers. The researcher proceeded to use the codes, themes, and frequencies to analyze the data and understand how media affected police officer performance.

To further understand these themes, the researcher utilized a logical cross analysis to show connections and patterns. McMillan and Schumacher (2010) described the logical cross analysis as a matrix that allows researchers to place data into categories and conduct comparisons. Once themes and patterns were identified, the researcher linked these to the research questions. The qualitative data were then compared with the survey results from the quantitative research.

Interrater Reliability

Patton (2002) stated interrater reliability permitted multiple researchers analyzing the same data to "discuss what they see in the data, share insights, and consider what emerges from their different perspectives" (p. 667). The researcher utilized an expert to review a sample of the transcribed interview data to double code. The expert had an earned doctorate and possessed experience with qualitative research and conducting analyses of interview transcripts using NVivo. A scholarly discussion between the researchers allowed them to compare the two perspectives and make minor adjustments to the existing codes, which allowed for more robust and descriptive themes to emerge.

To increase research reliability, the expert analyzed 10% of the coding with 80% or greater match. Once this process was completed, this researcher completed data coding.

Triangulation of data. The researcher analyzed the statistical data from the survey and compared the results with the information obtained from the interviews and documents to triangulate findings across sources and methods using multiple data sources in an investigation to produce understanding (Patton, 2015).

This study used existing theory such as the "Broken Window Theory" (Gimber, 2007), Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs ("Maslow's Need Hierarchy Model," 2017) and Herzberg's Motivator-Hygiene Theory ("Herzberg's two-factor theory of motivation," 2012) to analyze the information gathered during structured interviews, review of documents and researcher observations to ensure that the presentation of information learned from the triangulation of data was robust, comprehensive, rich and well-developed (Patton, 2015a).

A factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was used to prove within an acceptable margin whether the media reporting was the cause of the change in police officer performance; not just a fluke or random chance. Like a t-test, the factorial ANOVA allows the researcher to analyze multiple independent variables simultaneously with one independent variable (James H. McMillan & Sally Schumacher, 2010). In this study, the ANOVA was used to determine whether a significant effect existed between the police officer responses from the two agencies and the independent variables like media and variables impacted by media.

Limitations

Limitations referred to conditions that may impact results (Roberts, 2010). One of the limitations of this research was confining the police population to geographical areas. In the United States, there are hundreds of thousands of police officers (Reaves & Hickman, 2002). To provide a purposeful sample, this study focused on the police officers from police agencies in two major cities. The following are additional limitations of this study:

1. The research involved police officers who agreed to be a part of this study and completed the survey.

2. This study involved police officers from two police departments located in the United States. Their responses may not reflect the perceptions of police officers in other areas of the country.

3. The findings of this study relied on self-reported data. It is possible the officers did not respond honestly to the questions or withheld information during interviews that could affect the findings.

Summary

This study explored how negative media reporting affected police officers' job performance. Chapter III provided an overview of the methodology used in this study. It included reiterating the purpose statement and research questions, and detailed the population, sample, data collection methods, analysis techniques, and limitations.

CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH, DATA COLLECTION, AND FINDINGS

This chapter presents the research methodology used by this researcher in this study. This mixed-methods case study allowed the researcher to identify and determine themes and trends that emerged regarding the personal and professional motivation of police officers on patrol. This study used existing theories, such as the "Broken Window Theory" (Gimber, 2007), Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs ("Maslow's Need Hierarchy Model," 2017) and Herzberg's Motivator-Hygiene Theory ("Herzberg's two-factor theory of motivation," 2012) to analyze the information gathered during structured interviews, review of documents and researcher observations to ensure the presentation of information learned from the triangulation of data was robust, comprehensive, rich and well-developed (Patton, 2015a).

The quantitative data collected and described in this chapter was derived from 873 survey responses using two major law enforcement organizations (CA1 and CA2). The qualitative data was collected from interviews with six police officers serving in each of those two respective organizations for a total of 12 interviews. This chapter begins with a review of the purpose statement of the study and the research questions used in this investigation. This chapter also states the research methods and the data collection procedures utilized. Additionally, the chapter provides an explanation of the population, the sample, target sample and the demographic data used by the researcher for statistical analysis in this study. The data are illustrated and presented in this chapter and a summary of findings is explained in the conclusion of this chapter.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this mixed-methods case study was to understand and describe how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008. A secondary purpose was to determine if there was a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender and race.

Research Questions

The following research questions were designed to answer the central questions about police officer perceptions about policing and to determine if media reporting is affecting police officer performance.

RQ1: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them personally?

RQ2: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them professionally?

RQ3: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on gender?

RQ4: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on race?

Methodology and Data Collection Procedures

The phenomenological mixed-methods case study included a quantitative instrument and a qualitative instrument to collect multiple sources of data to support the case study design. Creswell defines instrumentation as tools for measuring, observing or documenting quantitative data (2014). In this mixed-methods case study, the researcher used the three main forms of data collection endorsed by scholarly researchers such as Patton and Roberts: surveys, interviews and a review of administrative records (FBI Crime Stats and Media News), documents and artifacts (Patton, 2015b; Roberts, 2010). In this study, a survey instrument was created by the researcher using Survey Monkey titled the "Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Policing" survey (PATP), which was distributed via an e-mail sent by this researcher (Appendix B). The quantitative analysis assessed the extent to which media reporting was a determining factor on police officer performance both personally and professionally. McMillan and Schumacher (2010) suggest that researchers have found combining the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative methods provides a more comprehensive picture of what is being studied.

The brief, 20-minute survey, created by this researcher, was administered during the months of May 2018 and June 2018, using the Internet-based instrument Survey Monkey. The survey utilized two five-point Likert-type scales to measure police officer satisfaction and motivation based on Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory. The theory states hygiene factors are extrinsic factors that consist of the following: salary, company policy, job security, relationships with supervisor(s), relationship with peers, working conditions and status. The Herzberg theory further

states motivation is derived from intrinsic factors consisting of the following: growth, advancement, responsibility, recognition and the job itself.

The first five-point Likert scale was used to assess police officers' attitudes toward policing using the following scale: 1 = *no effect*, 2 = *minor effect*, 3 = *neutral effect*, 4 = moderate *effect*, 5 = *major effect*. Composite scores were calculated by taking the mean of each question for participants from each agency.

The second five-point Likert scale was used to assess police officers' attitudes toward policing using the following scale: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *neither agree or disagree*, 4 = *agree*, 5 = *strongly agree*. Composite scores were calculated by taking the mean of each question for participants from each agency.

The third five-point Likert scale was used to assess police officers' satisfaction using the following scale: 1 = *not at all satisfied*, 2 = *slightly satisfied*, 3 = *moderately satisfied*, 4 = *very satisfied*, 5 = *extremely satisfied*. Composite scores were calculated by taking the mean of each question for participants from each agency.

Table 5 shows the alignment of each of the interview questions to the study's research questions. All participants were provided with the informed consent form and the Brandman Bill of Rights.

Table 5

Alignment of Interview Questions to Research Questions

Research Question	Corresponding Interview Questions
RQ1: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them personally?	Questions 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43
RQ2: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them professionally?	Questions 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32
RQ3: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on gender?	Questions 8-43
RQ4: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on race?	Questions 8-43

[a] Questions 8-15 use the No Effect – Major Effect scale. Questions 16-36 use the Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree scale. Questions 37-43 use the Not at All Satisfied to Extremely Satisfied scale.

As stated, this mixed-methods case study used both qualitative and quantitative data analysis. Upon completion of both methods of research, the data was then examined to investigate the findings of the study. The researcher analyzed the data that emerged from the data collection from interviews, observations and feedback from face-to-face interviews. The survey results and subsequent interviews aided the researcher in the comparison of the differences between the police officer's responses to the PATP survey (Appendix B) and in-person semi-structured interviews (Appendix D). The study sought to determine if a relationship existed between media reporting and police officer

133

performance both personally and professionally in the field. Both types of data analysis were linked back to the original research questions in furtherance of analyzing the effects of media reporting on police officers.

Quantitative Data Analysis

The data analysis used for the quantitative portion of this study included a series of means comparisons analysis tests conducted after the data-coding process was used to analyze the electronic survey. After the parameters were established by the researcher, independent- samples t-tests were used to determine whether a statistically significant difference existed in the responses provided by police officers of both departments. All analysis used a .05 level of significance. Two assumptions are required when conducting an independent samples t-test: (a) the samples have been selected from one or more homogeneous populations in which the population parameter is distributed normally and (b) variation of scores in the two groups must not be reliably different. The use of comparative sets of cases helped ensure the population sample was as homogenous as possible to help understand the correlation between media reporting and police officer performance.

Qualitative Data Analysis

The researcher used this raw data to conduct content analysis by identifying, categorizing, classifying, coding, and labeling emerging patterns in the data as well as by linking responses to research questions (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). The coding process allowed the researcher to identify themes that emerged from the data. Following a comprehensive arrangement of the data, the researcher read, reviewed, and reflected on the data elements to cultivate general impressions and to develop an overall sense of

meaning from the data. A preliminary list of themes and patterns emerged using NVivo. The data was then formally coded to identify patterns and repetition that speak to categories, subcategories, themes, concepts, and then assertions (Patton, 2015b). These concepts were used to develop the questions for the semi-structured interviews.

The researcher conducted qualitative research with 12 police officers, six from Department 1 (CA1) and six from Department 2 (CA2), who were willing to be interviewed regarding their performance in the field. The qualitative semi-structured interviews consisted of 22 questions. The sample size was intentionally small because as Patton (2015b) states, 'in-depth information from a small number of people can be very valuable, especially if the cases are information rich" (p. 311). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) state, "qualitative understanding arises out of studying a few individuals and exploring their perspective in great depth" (p. 8). The researcher then evaluated the data, via codding, to establish patterns to help formulate a hypothesis that adds to the development of a theory (Patton, 2015b).

With permission from the participant, each interview was recorded using a cell phone and an external recording device. The recordings were later transcribed and then qualitatively analyzed using NVivo to look for themes that answered the research questions. The researcher asked a colleague with a doctoral degree to code a sample of the interview data to compare it to his own coding patterns. A high degree of similarity between the researcher's coding and his colleague's ensured interrater reliability with respect to the data analysis.

Triangulation of Data. This researcher analyzed the statistical data obtained through the survey instrument developed for this study. This researcher compared this

data with the information obtained from the observations, interviews, and documents for relationships that exist via triangulation. Patton states, "Triangulation involves using multiple data sources in an investigation to produce understanding" (Patton, 2015a). A factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was used to prove within an acceptable margin whether the media reporting was the cause of the change in police officer performance; not just a fluke or random chance. Similar to a t-test, the factorial ANOVA allows the researcher to analyze multiple independent variables simultaneously with one independent variable (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). In this study, the ANOVA was used to determine whether a significant effect existed between the police officer responses from the two agencies and the independent variables of race and gender to determine the impacts by media. The data was kept in aggregate form for each police agency site. To further reduce any research bias, this researcher designed the survey tool (PATP Survey) in a manner that asked respondents questions about similar subjects but required the respondents to respond to both negative and positive statements. During the analysis of the data, this researcher used a reverse scale to convert the positive statements into negative statements for ease in analysis and data presentation. This direction was selected because the series of questions was already made up of more negatively phrased statements than positively phrased (14 of the 21 statements were expressed in the negative form).

Population

The population for this study was all police officers in the United States of America (U.S.A.). According to the latest 2016 UCR data published by the FBI, table 25 stated there are 652,936 total police officers in the U.S.A. (*Uniform Crime Report: Crime*

in the United States 2016, 2016). The report states there are a total of 13,217 law

enforcement agencies in the United States. Due to monetary, time and geographic

constraints, it was not feasible for this researcher to attempt to use such a large population

for this study. Thus, a target population was identified by narrowing the scope of

possible research subjects to focus on law enforcement agencies in major metropolitan

areas serving populations of 250,000 or more people. This narrowed the target

population to the police officers employed by 79 law enforcement agencies in the U.S.A.

that had experienced crime spikes since 2008. Of the 79 law enforcement agencies, this

researcher further narrowed the target population and sent invitations to the six largest

law enforcement agencies identified in the list of 79 and used the first two agencies that

elected to participate in the study.

Study Sample

The sample is a group of participants in a study selected from the target

population from which the researcher intends to generalize in the study. According to

McMillan and Schumacher (2010), sampling is the process used by the researcher to

select a "group of individuals from whom data are collected" (p. 129). Additionally,

McMillan & Schumacher (2010) defines purposeful sampling as the process in which a

researcher "selects a sample that is representative of the population of that includes

subjects with needed characteristics" (p. 138). This researcher used purposeful sampling,

also called "nonprobability sampling," to ensure police officers responding to the survey

instrument were information rich on the research topic being studied (Patton, 2002). The

sample size for this study consisted of all police officers and deputy sheriffs (referred to

as participants) employed by CA1 and CA2 who self-selected to respond to an electronic

survey tool sent between May 2018 and June 2018. This survey was sent out

electronically by the respective associations representing "CA1" and "CA2" (these

identifiers were used for confidentiality and to protect the identity of the agencies whose

police officers were involved in the study). The associations sent out e-mails that

contained a link to the online survey to request their members participate in the research

by taking the survey on behalf of the researcher. CA1 sent two e-mail blasts, one May

17, 2018, and a second on June 5, 2018, to a total of 4,807 members. A total of 1,993

opened the first email and 1,736 opened the second email. Of the total e-mails opened,

395 CA1 members responded to the survey. CA2 sent two e-mail blasts, one May 21,

2018, and a second on May 30, 2018, to a total of 7,253 members. A total of 3,365

opened the first email and 3,557 opened the second email. Of the total e-mails opened,

505 CA 2 members responded to the survey.

Table 6

Law Enforcement Agencies Involved in the Study

Agency	Number of Respondents	% of Total Sample
CA1	395	43.9%
CA2	505	56.1%
TOTAL	900	100%

Given the population of 12,060 police officers who opened and responded to the

PATP Survey (based on the highest open rate), emailed by CA1 and CA2, using the finite

population correction factor formula to obtain a margin of error of $\pm 5\%$, the minimum

number of police officers necessary to establish a valid sampling was 372. The

researcher exceeded the minimum number and obtained 900 responses of which a total of

873 completed survey responses were used in the analysis for the study (see Table 6

above). The corresponding margin of error for the study was ±3.2%. Demographic and

background information about the participants was collected via the survey process (see

Appendix B), however, the identities of both the agency and all respondents were kept

anonymous.

Presentation of the Quantitative Data

This section will discuss the findings of the mixed-methods study and will present

both the quantitative and qualitative data for each research question. The quantitative

PATP survey consisted of a total of 44 questions seeking to gauge the impacts of media

reporting on police officers both personally and professionally. Q1-Q7 of the PATP

consisted of demographic questions. Only police officers who selected the response

indicating they are working patrol assignments could continue responding to the PATP

survey. Q44 asked respondents if they would be willing to participate in the randomized

selection process for interview subjects. Q8-Q43 were classified by the researcher to

indicate media's effects as either personal, professional or both personal and professional

(see Table 7).

Because this questionnaire contained statements written in both positive and

negative form (seven were written in the positive form and fourteen were written in the

negative form), the mean scores resulting from the items mean different things. As the

questionnaire is currently structured, a higher mean score for statements written in a

positive form indicates stronger agreement or a more positive experience as a police

officer. For the statements written in a negative form, a lower mean score indicates a

more positive experience (the respondent is less likely to experience the negative

situation). In other words, a higher score for these statements would have indicated a

higher level of agreement had these statements been written in a positive form. For the

purpose of having one standardized way of interpreting the scale and assessing how

police officers perceive the impact of the media coverage on them personally and

professionally, the researcher reversed the scale for the statements written in a positive

form and converted them to statements written in a negative form. These statements are

identified in Table 7 using "(RS)" as an indicator for the "reverse scale" item. For the

purposes of this research study, the researcher focused the findings for all questions and

the mean scores of each item for RQ1 and RQ2 and only on survey questions of statistical

significance for RQ3 and RQ4.

Table 7

PATP Survey Question Classifications with Reverse Scale (RS) Notations

Survey questions classified as personal or professional		
Survey Question	**Personal**	**Professional**
8. Based on your tenure and experience, what effect has news media reporting had on law enforcement?	X	X
9. What effect has media reporting had on police officers doubting themselves when opting to use or not use force when legally justified?	X	X
10. What effect has media reporting on policing had on force policy within law enforcement?		X
11. What effect has media reporting on policing had on you personally?	X	
12. What effect has news media scrutiny of police officers had on your decision-making process while working patrol?	X	
13. Based on your tenure and experience, what effect has media scrutiny of police officers had on laws decriminalizing previously criminal actions such as drug possession?		X
14. In your opinion, what effect has media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, had on policing nationwide?		X

15. What effect has media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, had on your policing style?	X	
16. News media reporting on police officer's action is [NOT] fair and unbiased. **(RS)**	X	
17. Media reporting on policing is causing police officers to hesitate to use force when legally justified.		X
18. I have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from a negative encounter with a citizen.	X	
19. I believe other police officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of action that may result from negative encounters with a citizen(s).	X	
20. News media reporting on police interactions with citizens has made the job harder.	X	X
21. Crime spikes in many cities across the county are the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative media reporting on policing.		X
22. News media reporting on police officers has negatively affected my self-esteem.	X	
23. News media reporting on police officers negatively influences the public's perception of police officers and the job they do.		X
24. I believe my department's policies on tracking police officers/deputies use of force are [NOT] fair. **(RS)**	X	
25. Within my department, the use of force by police officer/deputies has become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's/deputy's performance.		X
26. I believe that law enforcement departments as a whole are [NOT] looking out for the best interest of the police officer. **(RS)**	X	
27. The Black Lives Matter movement has [NOT HAD] a positive effect on law enforcement interactions with African Americans. **(RS)**		X
28. Police officers/deputies are [NOT] respected by most members of society in the United States. **(RS)**		X
29. The media [DOES NOT] portray police officers/deputies in a positive light. **(RS)**		X
30. I would [NOT] want my son or daughter to become a police officer/deputy sheriff in the future. **(RS)**	X	
31. The use of body cameras has changed my behavior during subject stops.	X	

32. The use of body cameras has changed the way subjects act when contacted.		X
33. My supervisors in the past 2 years have suggested officers be less proactive on patrol.	X	
34. My supervisors in the past 2 years have suggested officers use less force on patrol even when the use of force is reasonable.	X	
35. I believe news media is biased when reporting of police encounters with people of minority groups.	X	
36. I believe deadly attacks on police officers/deputies has increased because of news media.	X	
37. How satisfied are you with the Criminal Justice Reform movement in the United States?	X	
38. How satisfied are you with news media's reporting on police encounters with citizens?	X	
39. How satisfied are you with your department's policies regarding use of force?	X	
40. How satisfied are you with your department's pay and benefits?	X	
41. How satisfied are you with your department's executive leadership response to news media reports on police matters?	X	
42. How satisfied are you with your department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters?	X	
43. How satisfied are you with your decision to become a police officer/deputy sheriff?	X	

Prior to presenting the quantitative and qualitative findings, this researcher will present the demographic information for both sections of this mixed-methods study. This will be followed by four sections presenting the findings of the quantitative data from the survey. This section will be concluded with findings this researcher obtained during the qualitative information gathering and consists of the coded themes identified from analysis of the interviews.

Demographic Data

This section describes the various demographics portraying the sample from both the PATP survey and the semi-structured interviews. From the electronic PATP survey,

participants were allowed the option of self-disclosing personal demographic information

that included sex, race, rank, and time working as a police officer. This researcher chose

to include the option for participants to identify as transgender to allow for greater

inclusion and participation in the study. The demographic information captured via the

electronic survey was used in the creation of the tables for the semi-structured interviews.

Quantitative PATP Survey Demographics

Table 8 presents the gender of all 873 PATP survey respondents: 79.5% were

male, 20.3% were female and .2% were transgender. One percent of the respondents did

not designate a gender identity. The percentage differences were not unexpected given

the greater male to female ratio of police officers. The percentages obtained in the

sample also closely matched the 2017 national statistics reported by the F.B.I. that state

of the 956,941 total police officers in the United States, 73.2% are male and 26.8% are

female (Investigations, 2017).

Table 8

Gender Distribution of the 873 PATP Participants

Gender	Number of Responses (n)	% of Total Sample[a]
Male	687	79.5 %
Female	175	20.3 %
Transgender	2	.2%

[a]Nine respondents chose not to divulge their gender (1%).

The following table depicts the race, by number and percentage, of the

respondents to the PATP survey. Of the 873 PATP, 45.4% were Caucasian, 38.2% were

Hispanic/Latino, 6.5% were Black, 5.7% were Asian/Pacific Islander, 4.3% identified as

other, and 1% (not factored in total) declined to provide an answer. Table 9 illustrates the

percentages of respondent's self-identified race.

Table 9

Race Identified by the Participants

Race	Number of Responses (n)	% of Total Sample[a]
Caucasian	392	45.4%
Hispanic/Latino	330	38.2%
Black	56	6.5%
Asian/Pacific Islander	49	5.7%
Other	37	4.3%

[a]Nine respondents chose not to divulge their race (1%).

Table 10 depicts the rank of the police officers, by number and percentage, who responded to the PATP survey. The ranks were restricted to ranks that routinely work in day-to-day patrol functions, thus ranks above Lieutenant such as Captain, Commander, Chief, etcetera, were excluded from taking the survey. Of the 873 respondents, 64.7% held the rank of Police Officer/Deputy Sheriff, 12.1% were a Corporal/Bonus Deputy, 18.4% were Sergeants, 4.9% were Lieutenants, and 1.4% (not factored in total) declined to state. The findings were not unexpected, and distribution was proportionate to the staffing found in the hierarchy of the law enforcement profession.

Table 10

Rank of the Participants

Rank	Number of Responses (n)	% of Total Sample[a]
Police Officer/Deputy Sheriff	557	64.7%
Corporal/Bonus Deputy	104	12.1%
Sergeant	158	18.4%
Lieutenant	42	4.9%

[a]Twelve respondents chose not to divulge their rank (1.4%).

Table 11 illustrates the number and percentage of respondents to the PATP survey by age. The lowest threshold was 18 years, which is the lowest age any state allows a person to become a full-time police officer. A decade was chosen to allow the researcher to assess the impacts of media reporting on the various generations who are employed as police officers. Of the 873 respondents, 6.1% of respondents were 18-28 years old, 33.7% were 29-39 years old, 36.8% were 40-49 years old, 20.7% were 50-59 years old, 2.7% were 60+ years old, and .8% (not factored in total) declined to state their age.

Table 11

Age of the Participants

Age Range	Number of Responses (n)	% of Total Sample[a]
18-28	53	6.1%
29-39	292	33.7%
40-49	319	36.8%
50-59	179	20.7%
60+	23	2.7%

[a]Seven respondents chose not to divulge their age (.8%).

Table 12 illustrates the number and percentage of respondents to the PATP survey by years of service. The lowest threshold was zero years, which would represent less than one full year. Half decade periods were chosen to allow the researcher to assess the impacts of media reporting on the various lengths of service as police officers. Of the 873 respondents, 10.8% of respondents served 0-5 years, 15.7% served 6-10 years, 22.9% served 11-15 years, 15.3% served 16-20 years, 18.3% served 21-25 years, 11.7% served 26-30 years, 4.7% served 31-35 years, .7% served 36+ years, and .9% (not factored in total) declined to state their years of service. The researcher noted that across all

demographic questions, between seven and twelve respondents declined to provide a response. It was noted police officers by nature are very reluctant to divulge information they believe could be used to identify them in any way.

Table 12

Years of Service of the Participants

Years of Service	Number of Responses (n)	% of Total Sample[a]
0-5	93	10.8%
6-10	136	15.7%
11-15	198	22.9%
16-20	132	15.3%
21-25	158	18.3%
26-30	101	11.7%
31-35	41	4.7%
36+	6	.7%

[a]Eight respondents chose not to divulge their years of service (.9%).

Research Question 1

How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes, perceive the impact of the media coverage on them personally?

Over the past decade, the role of police officers and their use of force have become a central topic in the national social and political debates over perceived inequities in the criminal justice system. Media news sources (which includes social media) have heightened the platform of the debate, but with police officers reluctant to participate. After the highly publicized fatal shooting of "unarmed" Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014, questions regarding increased media scrutiny and its effects of reduced police officer motivation, increases in crime rates, and police officers

pulling back from proactive policing (de-policing) became central to the "Ferguson Effect" studies conducted by Justin Nix, Scott Wolfe and Richard Rosenfeld in 2016. As noted by Nix and Wolfe in 2016, "the most robust empirical assessment of this argument to date recently revealed that the Ferguson Effect has not caused increased crime across the U.S." (Nix & Wolfe, 2016).

This study focused specifically on the effects of media reporting on police officer motivation, self-efficacy, proactivity and empirical observations of these effects on crime. Within the 873 police officers and deputy sheriffs (referred collectively as "police officers") who participated in this study, the survey finds that the ramifications of media news reporting are having a significant effect on law enforcement officers. Table 13 illustrates the number, percent, mean, and standard deviation of respondents to the PATP survey statements about media and personal impacts.

Table 13

Statements About Media and Personal Impacts

Statement	Number	Percent	Mean	Standard Deviation
Scale: 1=No Effect, 5=Major Effect		Major + Moderate		
8. Based on your tenure and experience, what effect has news media reporting had on law enforcement?	669	96.2%	4.70	0.64
9. What effect has media reporting had on police officers doubting themselves when opting to use or not use force when legally justified?	668	90.7%	4.35	0.86
11. What effect has media reporting on policing had on you personally?	667	71.0%	3.78	1.09
12. What effect has news media scrutiny of police officers had on your decision-making process while working patrol?	669	68.3%	3.67	1.21

15. What effect has media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, had on your policing style?	672	87.8%	3.54	1.31
Scale: 1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree		Strongly Agree + Agree		
16. News media reporting on police officer's action are [NOT] fair and unbiased. **(RS)**	673	94.2%	4.61	0.82
18. I have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from a negative encounter with a citizen.	673	70.1%	3.86	1.17
19. I believe other police officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of action that may result from negative encounters with a citizen(s).	672	95.1%	4.55	0.66
20. News media reporting on police interactions with citizens has made the job harder.	671	94.3%	4.57	0.68
22. News media reporting on police officers has negatively affected my self-esteem.	671	32.8%	2.85	1.23
24. I believe my department's policies on tracking police officers/deputies use of force are [NOT] fair. **(RS)**	672	53.3%	3.47	1.17
26. I believe that law enforcement departments as a whole are [NOT] looking out for the best interest of the police officer. **(RS)**	672	73.8%	3.99	1.00
30. I would [NOT] want my son or daughter to become a police officer/deputy sheriff in the future. **(RS)**	673	75.5%	4.17	1.08
31. The use of body cameras has changed my behavior during subject stops.	667	26.5%	2.83	1.16
33. My supervisors in the past 2 years have suggested officers be less proactive on patrol.	671	35.6%	3.01	1.18

34. My supervisors in the past 2 years have suggested officers use less force on patrol even when the use of force is reasonable.	671	50.2%	3.36	1.24
35. I believe news media is biased when reporting on police encounters with people of minority groups.	671	94.4%	4.59	0.75
36. I believe deadly attacks on police officers/deputies has increased because of news media.	671	90.1%	4.51	0.76
Scale: 1=Not at All Satisfied, 5=Extremely Satisfied		Extremely + Very		
37. How satisfied are you with the Criminal Justice Reform movement in the United States?	669	0.3%	1.20	0.53
38. How satisfied are you with news media's reporting on police encounters with citizens?	672	0.1%	1.16	0.46
39. How satisfied are you with your department's policies regarding use of force?	672	5.2%	1.86	0.95
40. How satisfied are you with your department's pay and benefits?	672	25.0%	2.71	1.10
41. How satisfied are you with your department's executive leadership response to news media reports on police matters?	671	2.8%	1.56	0.80
42. How satisfied are you with your department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters?	670	6.0%	1.99	0.93
Q43. How satisfied are you with your decision to become a police officer/deputy sheriff?	672	56.5%	3.62	1.15

Table footnote: Out of the 873 participants, between 667 and 673 provided a score for the items listed (between 76.4% and 77.1%).

Questions 8 through 15 of the PATP used a five-point Likert scale based on level

of effect to assess police officer personal attitudes toward policing. As the sole subject,

71% of police officers felt media reporting had a moderate effect on them personally.

149

Additionally, 68.3% of patrol officers acknowledge that news media scrutiny has had a moderate effect (M=3.65) on their personal decision-making process while working patrol. At the same time, 96.2% of police officers said news media reporting has had a major effect ($M = 4.70$) on law enforcement. The study further revealed 90.8% of police officers stated the news media has had a major effect on them doubting themselves when opting to use or not to use force when legally justified. Overall, 87.8% of police officers felt media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri has had a moderate effect ($M = 3.54$) on their personal policing style.

The impacts of media coverage on police officers personally, although less visible, is no less profound on the profession. Wolfe and Nix argued that police officers who felt their agency supervisors are fair were significantly less likely to show sensitivity to the manifestations such as feeling: (a) unmotivated, (b) that law enforcement has become more dangerous, (c) their colleagues have been impacted by negative publicity, and (d) that citizens' attitudes toward the police (both nationally and locally) have worsened due to the Ferguson Effect (2016). They held that supervisors were key to self-efficacy but also acknowledged more study and discussion were warranted. The findings of this study, in part, support the theory that self-efficacy is linked to supervisor fairness, but also suggest that sensitivity to the Ferguson Effect manifestations are also linked to police officer perceptions of organizational backing of the rank and file.

Questions 16 through 36 of the PATP used a five-point Likert scale based on level of agreement to assess police officer personal attitudes toward policing. Regarding the effects of media, specific to this research project, 94.2% of police officers stated they strongly agreed media reporting on police officer actions is unfair and biased against

police officers with a mean of 4.61. The PEW Research Center's "Behind the Badge"

study conducted in 2016 found that 86% of the respondents stated high-profile incidents

involving police and Blacks have made their job harder (Morin, Parker, Stepher, &

Mercer, 2017). This finding was supported by the data in the current study with 94.3% of

the respondents strongly agreeing news media reporting on police interactions with

citizens has made their job harder. A similarly sized majority (94.4%) of police officers

stated they strongly believe news media is biased when reporting on police encounters

with people of minority groups. At the same time, 90.1% of police officers strongly

agreed that deadly attacks on police officers and deputy sheriffs have increased because

of news media. Although a lower number of police officers (70.1%) report agreement

with the statement they have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to

possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from a negative encounter with a

citizen, an alarming majority (95.1%) of police officers strongly agreed other police

officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws for the reasons cited above.

Organizationally speaking, two-thirds of police officers (73.8%) stated they

agreed or strongly agreed that law enforcement departments are not looking out for the

best interest of police officers. While a smaller percentage of police officers (35.6%)

agreed their supervisor suggested officers be less proactive on patrol in the past two

years; 50.2% agreed their supervisors have suggested officers use less force on patrol

even when the use of force is reasonable.

In the wake of the events in Ferguson, the use of body-worn cameras, also known

as bodycams, has become a hotly debated topic within law enforcement. Civil Liberties

groups strongly supported the implementation of body-worn cameras to increase

transparency. However, in 2017 the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights did a complete about-face claiming police departments were using the body-worn cameras as "instruments of injustice" and criticizing the lack of departments adopting safeguards to protect the public from the use of unrestricted footage captured by the devices (Yu & Bogen, 2017). In 2017, Anita Ravishankar and the Lab @ DC published their conclusions on one of the largest police forces in the nation, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department, which found essentially no statistically significant effect of the body-worn cameras between police officers who wore them and those who did not (Greenfieldboyce, 2017). This study supported this finding, with a minority of only 26.5% of police officers stating the use of body-worn cameras had changed their behavior during subject stops.

In the face of intensified media scrutiny, less than supportive organizational dynamics, and the push for implementation of body-worn cameras, only 32.8% of police officers agreed or strongly agreed that news media reporting on police officers has negatively affected personal self-esteem. However, three-quarters (75.5%) of police officers strongly agreed they did not want their son or daughter to become a police officer or deputy sheriff in the future. While hygiene factors such as pay and benefits are often touted to encourage people to become police officers, the lack of motivational factors for current police officers is prompting them to discourage their children from becoming members of law enforcement.

Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory was employed for questions 37 through 43 of the PATP survey. The questions asked respondents about their personal level of satisfaction associated with various factors such as media reporting on police, internal

leadership and policy, pay and benefits and their decision to become a police officer. The survey found that only 0.1% were very to extremely satisfied with news media's reporting on police encounters with citizens. Most respondents were "not at all satisfied" ($M = 1.16$). Similarly, 0.3% of police officers reported being very to extremely satisfied with the Criminal Justice Reform movement in the United States.

Regarding the motivational factors, most police officers rated their level of satisfaction at a level of between not at all satisfied and moderately satisfied ($M = 1.56$ to 2.71) for executive leadership (97.2%), force policies (94.8%) and pay and benefits (75%). The survey found that only 6% of police officers were very to extremely satisfied with their department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters ($M = 1.99$). Satisfaction with executive leadership response was even lower at 2.8% with the mean score of 1.56 indicating the majority are not satisfied. Most police officers also took exception to their department's policies regarding use of force. Only 5.2% of police officers stated they were very to extremely satisfied with their department's force policies ($M = 1.86$). A quarter of police officers responded they were very to extremely satisfied with their department's pay and benefits. In conclusion, a mere 56.5% of police officers stated they were very to extremely satisfied with their decision to become a police officer or deputy sheriff. The survey showed the mean score for police officers ($M = 3.62$) indicating that on average, police officers are only a little more than moderately satisfied with their decision to become a member of law enforcement.

Research Question 2

How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes, perceive the impact of the media coverage on them professionally?

For many men and women who wear the badge, law enforcement is not a job but rather a vocation. Thus, the classifications of personal effect and professional effect of issues impacting law enforcement can be challenging to differentiate. In this study, the researcher found an intersection between personal and professional classification for questions 8, 9, and 20, in which media coverage on police officers had both a personal and professional impact on the respondents. Table 14 illustrates the number, percent, mean, and standard deviation of respondents to the PATP survey statements about media and professional impacts.

Table 14

Statements About Media and Professional Impacts

Statement	Number	Percent	Mean	Standard Deviation
Scale: 1=No Effect, 5=Major Effect		Major + Moderate		
8. Based on your tenure and experience, what effect has news media reporting had on law enforcement?	669	96.2%	4.70	0.64
9. What effect has media reporting had on police officers doubting themselves when opting to use or not use force when legally justified?	668	90.7%	4.35	0.86
10. What effect has media reporting on policing had on force policy within law enforcement?	668	96.0%	4.63	0.67
13. Based on your tenure and experience, what effect has media scrutiny of police	671	87.8%	4.48	0.89

officers had on laws decriminalizing previously criminal actions such as drug possession?				
14. In your opinion, what effect has media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, had on policing nationwide?	670	99.4%	4.90	0.35
Scale: 1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree		Strongly Agree + Agree		
17. Media reporting on policing is causing police officers to hesitate to use force when force is legally justified.	673	90.8%	4.33	0.81
20. News media reporting on police interactions with citizens has made the job harder.	671	94.3%	4.57	0.68
21. Crime spikes in many cities across the county are the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative media reporting on policing.	671	83.0%	4.28	0.92
23. News media reporting on police officers negatively influences the public's perception of police officers and the job they do.	673	98.0%	4.71	0.53
25. Within my department, the use of force by police officers/deputies has become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's/deputy's performance.	673	82.0%	4.15	0.92
27. The Black Lives Matter movement has [NOT HAD] a positive effect on law enforcement interactions with African Americans. **(RS)**	673	93.3%	4.69	0.77
28. Police officers/deputies are [NOT] respected by most members of society in the United States. **(RS)**	672	27.5%	2.74	1.11
29. The media [DOES NOT] portray police officers/deputies in a positive light. **(RS)**	673	87.1%	4.31	0.80
32. The use of body cameras has changed the way subjects act when contacted.	668	30.0%	2.89	1.10

Table footnote: Out of the 873 participants, between 668 and 673 provided a score for the items listed (between 76.5% and 77.1%).

The findings that associated news media reporting on the police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and the impacts news media reporting has had on force policy, police officers second-guessing themselves in use of force situations, and social justice reforms such as decriminalization of actions such as drug possession provide valuable insights. Questions 8 through 15 of the PATP used a five-point Likert scale based on level of effect to assess police officer personal attitudes toward policing. In the opinion of the respondents, 99.4% stated media coverage on high profile police officer shootings has had a moderate to major effect ($M = 4.90$) on policing nationwide. As stated previously, 96.2% of police officers stated based on their tenure and experience, news media reporting has had a moderate to major effect ($M = 4.70$) on the law enforcement profession.

The effects of news media reporting have been mostly attributed to changes in force policy within law enforcement agencies. The vast majority of police officers (96.0%) stated media reporting has had a moderate to major effect ($M = 4.63$) on use of force policy nationwide while 90.7% of the same respondents reported that media reporting has had a moderate to major effect ($M = 4.35$) on police officers doubting themselves when opting to use, or not use, force when legally justified to use force to protect themselves or others. Furthermore, 87.8% of police officers, based on their tenure and experience, reported media scrutiny of police officers has had a moderate to major effect ($M = 4.48$) on laws decriminalizing previously criminal actions such as drug possession.

Overwhelmingly, the findings of the PATP survey painted a bleak outlook for police officers working in the law enforcement profession. Questions 16 through 43 of the PATP used a five-point Likert scale based on level of agreement to assess police officer personal attitudes toward policing. One of the *valuable insights* of this study stems from the events in Ferguson. At the time of the shooting death of Michael Brown, with the aid of news and social media, the Black Lives Matter movement took root in the United States. Virtually all police officers (98%) agree or strongly agree ($M = 4.71$) news media reporting on police officers negatively influences the public's perception of police officers and the jobs they do. Additionally, 94.3% of respondents agree or strongly agree news media reporting on police interactions with citizens has made the job harder for all law enforcement officers. Most police officers (87.1%) agree ($M = 4.31$) the news media does not portray police officers and deputy sheriffs in a positive light.

In the aftermath of the justified shooting by the White police officer, Darren Wilson, of a Black man, Michael Brown, the news media relentlessly reported this as the shooting of an "unarmed black man," which spurred a wave of violence toward police officers and spikes in violent crimes across the nation (MacDonald, 2017; Porter, 2016; Schouten & Brennan, 2016). The current 2016 FBI UCR report of Law Enforcement Officers Feloniously Killed from 2007-2016 of known offenders by race and sex shows a higher number of assailants were White (297) versus Black/African American (206). However, of the total 543 officers killed, the figures do not reflect Hispanic/Latino assailants who are classified as the White race (Investigation, 2016). According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 76.6% of the U.S. population is White and 13.4% is Black (Bureau, 2018). Thus, the percentage of Black offenders who killed police officers is

disproportionally higher. As a whole, 93.3% of police officers who responded to the PATP survey, agree or strongly agree ($M = 4.69$) the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement has not had a positive effect on law enforcement interactions with African Americans.

A small majority of respondents (55.1%) agree police officers and deputy sheriffs are respected by most members of society in the United States. This number was 10.9% lower than the police officers previously reported in the PEW Behind the Badge study (Morin et al., 2017). Police officers held even lower esteem about the organizations they work for. A vast majority (82.0%) of police officers agree that within their departments, the use of force by police officers and deputy sheriffs has become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's performance by the department executives and leadership. Only 30% of police officers agree the use of body-worn cameras have changed the way citizens (subjects) act when contacted by a police officer, compared to 90.8% who agree media reporting on policing is causing police officers to hesitate to use force when force is legally justified. Most respondents (83%) agree crime spikes, in many cities across the county, are the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative media reporting on policing.

Research Question 3

Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender?

The wide-ranging PATP survey draws on the lived experiences and attitudes of 873 police officers at a time when the impacts of news media reporting on police officers

and their relationship with the American public is in crisis (Doherty, 2016). In addition to exploring the personal and professional effects of media reporting on police officers, this researcher sought to explore the significant differences in perception of effects both personally and professionally of men and women who wear the badge. Statistical significance exists when the likelihood of a relationship existing between two variables, in this case, the impact of news media reporting and the sex of the respondent, is caused by something other than chance. In this study, the probability value (p-value) was set to 0.05. Table 15 illustrates the gender comparisons of the questions to the PATP survey where a statistical difference in the answers given by male and female police officers existed. Independent samples t-tests were used to make this determination. The table portrays the 15 factors, when tested, elicited statistically significant differences (p< 0.05) between female and male respondents. Due to the low level of transgender respondents (N = 2), calculations were not possible to test for significant differences and thus were excluded from this data set. All factors comparisons not illustrated in Table 15 did not achieve statistically significant differences. Therefore, this researcher did not portray these factors in the table nor provide discussion on those factors.

Table 15

Gender Differences

Statement	Gender	Mean	Mean Difference	Significance
18. I have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from a negative encounter with a citizen.	Male	3.95		
	Female	3.47	.48	.000
	Male	4.59	.19	.004

159

Question	Gender	Mean	Effect	Sig.
19. I believe other police officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of action that may result from negative encounters with a citizen(s).	Female	4.40		
21. Crime spikes in many cities across the county are the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative media reporting on policing.	Male	4.36		
	Female	3.95	.41	.000
22. News media reporting on police officers has negatively affected my self-esteem.	Male	2.92		
	Female	2.58	.34	.007
24. I believe my department's policies on tracking police officers/deputies use of force are [NOT] fair. **(RS)**	Male	3.53		
	Female	3.14	.39	.001
25. Within my department, the use of force by police officers/deputies has become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's/deputy's performance.	Male	4.18		
	Female	3.97	.21	.021
26. I believe that law enforcement departments as a whole are [NOT] looking out for the best interest of the police officer. **(RS)**	Male	4.02		
	Female	3.82	.20	.043
28. Police officers/deputies are [NOT] respected by most members of society in the United States. **(RS)**	Male	2.70		
	Female	2.93	.23	.035
31. The use of body cameras has changed my behavior during subject stops.	Male	2.88		
	Female	2.63	.25	.034
33. My supervisors in the past 2 years have suggested officers be less proactive on patrol.	Male	3.06		
	Female	2.81	.25	.018
39. How satisfied are you with your department's policies regarding use of force?	Male	1.81		
	Female	2.10	.29	.003
40. How satisfied are you with your department's pay and benefits?	Male	2.67		
	Female	2.92	.25	.027
41. How satisfied are you with your department's executive leadership response to news media reports on police matters?	Male	1.52		
	Female	1.73	.21	.019
	Male	1.95	.28	.005

42. How satisfied are you with your department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters?	Female	2.23		
43. How satisfied are you with your decision to become a police officer/deputy sheriff?	Male	3.58		
	Female	3.81	.23	.035

The null hypothesis (H₀) stated there is no difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender. The alternative hypothesis (Hₐ) stated the opposite of H₀. The results of the responses revealed a statistically significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender.

Of the 10 identified statistically significant questions in the PATP, which used a five-point Likert scale based on level of agreement to assess police officer personal attitudes toward policing the mean scores ranged from $M = 2.58$ to 4.59. In nine of ten questions, male police officers were statistically more likely than female police officers to experience the negative effects of media reporting, also known as the "Ferguson Effect." The most profound gender comparison findings in this set of questions were the responses to questions 18 and 28:

> Q18: Male police officers strongly agree ($M = 3.95$) they have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from a negative encounter with a citizen. Female police officers also agreed ($M = 3.48$) with the statement, but to a lesser extent. However, this factor showed the greatest difference in scores based on gender, with a mean difference of .48.

Q28: Although both female police officers ($M = 2.93$) and male police officers ($M = 2.70$) neither agreed or disagreed that police officers/deputies are not respected by most members of society in the United States, female police officers agreed more strongly that police officers are not respected. This factor was the only factor in the set of 10 statistically significant gender comparison questions on agreement, in which female police officers showed a greater agreement than male officers.

Male ($M = 3.95$) and female ($M = 3.47$) police officers both stated they agree they personally have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from a negative encounter with a citizen. However, male officers were much more likely to agree with this assessment. While both genders agreed that crime spikes across the country were the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative media reporting on policing, male police officers tended to believe more strongly ($M = 4.36$) than their female counterparts ($M = 3.95$) that crime spikes are the result of reduced police proactivity.

In terms of the impacts on law enforcement organizations as a factor, males experience statistically significant higher negative impacts of media reporting. Both male ($M = 4.02$) and female ($M = 3.82$) officers agreed that law enforcement departments are not looking out for the best interest of the police officers ($d = .20$), with male officers agreeing more strongly. Similarly, both male ($M = 4.18$) and female ($M = 3.97$) officers agreed within their law enforcement departments, uses of force by police officers and deputy sheriffs have become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's

performance. Male police officers agreed more strongly (M = 3.53) than female police officers, who *neither agreed or disagreed* (M = 3.14), their department's policies on tracking police officers'/deputies' use of force were not fair. Male and female police officers both were neutral (neither agreed or disagreed) that the use of body-worn cameras had changed their personal behavior during subject stops or that their supervisors in the past two years had suggested officers be less proactive on patrol. The scores of male officers were higher than those of female officers for both measures.

In the gender comparisons, the researcher identified five statistically significant differences to questions in the PATP, which used a five-point Likert scale based on level of satisfaction to assess police officer personal attitudes toward policing. Again, the results of the responses revealed a statistically significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officer's satisfaction personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender. The mean scores for these five questions ranged from just over slightly satisfied to approaching very satisfied (*M* = 1.52 to 3.81). The researcher found female police officers are statistically more likely than male police officers to have a higher level of satisfaction based on Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory of intrinsic and extrinsic factors in the workplace.

In all five statistically significant comparisons, female police officers were statistically more likely than male police officers to experience marginally greater levels of satisfaction considering the negative effects of media reporting, also known as the "Ferguson Effect." The researcher found that both male police officers (*M* = 1.81) and female police officers (*M* = 2.10) state they are *slightly satisfied* with their department's policies regarding use of force. Although female police officer's overall satisfaction to

this factor was low, this factor showed the greatest difference in scores based on gender, with a mean difference of .29.

The data indicate both female and male police officers reported being *slightly satisfied* to *moderately satisfied* with factors such as their department's pay and *not at all* to *slightly satisfied* with their executive leadership's and department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters. In the analysis of gender comparison findings, the researcher found valuable insights based on male and female police officer respondents' responses to questions 40, 41, 42, and 43:

Q40: Female police officers ($M = 2.92$) are close to moderately satisfied with their department's pay versus male police officers who are less satisfied ($M = 2.67$).

Q41: Female police officers ($M = 1.73$) are less than slightly satisfied with their department's executive leadership's response to news media reports on police matters versus an even lower assessment for male police officers ($M = 1.52$).

Q42: Female police officers ($M = 2.23$) are more than slightly satisfied with their department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters versus male police officers who are less than slightly satisfied ($M = 1.95$).

Q43: Female police officers ($M = 3.81$) although less than *very satisfied*, are statistically more satisfied with their decision to become a police officer/deputy sheriff than their male counterparts ($M = 3.58$).

This researcher will now present the findings based on statistically significant differences in responses by police officers based on race.

Research Question 4

Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on race?

As discussed in the prior section, the wide-ranging PATP survey draws on the lived experiences and attitudes of 873 police officers at a time when the impacts of news media reporting on police officers and their relationship with the American public is in crisis. In addition to exploring the personal and professional effects of media reporting on police officers, this researcher sought to explore the significant differences in perception, by race, of both personal and professional effects of those who wear the badge. Statistical significance exists when the likelihood of a relationship between variables, in this case, the race of the respondent, is caused by something other than chance. In this study, the probability value (p-value) was set to 0.05.

Table 16 illustrates the race comparisons of the questions to the PATP survey where a statistical difference in the answers given by police officers existed. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests, specifically applying the Least Significant Difference (LSD) test, were used to make this determination. The table portrays the 17 factors, when tested, elicited statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$) based on the race of the respondents. The race selection options for respondents included and reported in the following order: Other, Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino, Black, and Asian/Pacific Islander. All factor comparisons not illustrated in Table 16 did not achieve statistically significant

differences. Therefore, this researcher did not portray these factors in the table nor

provide discussion on those factors. Given the complexity of race comparisons, this

researcher will discuss the finding of all factors listed in this table and will conclude this

section with a discussion on the general themes identified during the analysis of

differences by race.

Table 16

Comparisons by Race

Statement	Race	Mean	Mean Difference	Significance
9. What effect has media reporting had on police officers doubting themselves when opting to use or not use force when legally justified?	**Caucasian**	**4.44**	-	.027
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.29	.15	
	Black	4.02	.42	
14. In your opinion, what effect has media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, had on policing nationwide?	Other	4.90	.27	.000
	Caucasian	4.91	.28	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.94	.31	
	Black	**4.63**	- .29	
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.92		
15. What effect has media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, had on your policing style?	Caucasian	3.49	.44	.034
	Hispanic/ Latino	3.70	.65	
	Black	**3.05**	-	
	Asian/Pacific Islander	3.70	.65	
16. New media reporting on police officer's action are [NOT] fair and unbiased. **(RS)**	Other	4.77	.50	.019
	Caucasian	4.62	.35	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.66	.39	
	Black	**4.27**	-	
17. Media reporting on policing is causing police officers to hesitate to use force when legally justified.	Other	4.45	.69	.000
	Caucasian	4.29	.53	
	Hispanic/	4.44	.68	

	Latino			
	Black	**3.76**	-	
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.46	.70	
17. Media reporting on policing is causing police officers to hesitate to use force when legally justified.	Caucasian	4.29	.15	.000
	Hispanic/ Latino	**4.44**	-	
19. I believe other police officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of action that may result from negative encounters with a citizen(s).	Other	4.61	.46	
	Caucasian	4.55	.40	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.63	.48	.001
	Black	**4.15**	-	
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.54	.39	
20. News media reporting on police interactions with citizens has made the job harder.	Other	4.67	.47	
	Caucasian	4.61	.41	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.56	.36	.006
	Black	**4.20**	-	
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.62	.42	
21. Crime spikes in many cities across the county are the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative media reporting on policing.	Other	4.32	.49	
	Caucasian	4.29	.46	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.35	.52	.013
	Black	**3.83**	-	
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.43	.60	
25. Within my department, the use of force by police officer/deputies has become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's/deputy's performance.	Other	4.32	.54	
	Caucasian	4.06	.28	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.28	.50	.002
	Black	**3.78**	-	
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.35	.57	
25. Within my department, the use of force by police officer/deputies has become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's/deputy's performance.	Caucasian	4.06	.22	.002
	Hispanic/ Latino	**4.28**	.22	

26. I believe that law enforcement departments as a whole are [NOT] looking out for the best interest of the police officer. **(RS)**	Other	4.32	.69	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.10	.47	.008
	Black	**3.63**	-	
26. I believe that law enforcement departments as a whole are [NOT] looking out for the best interest of the police officer. **(RS)**	Other	4.32	.41	
	Caucasian	**3.91**	-	.008
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.10	.19	
27. The Black Lives Matter movement has [NOT HAD] a positive effect on law enforcement interactions with African Americans. **(RS)**	Other	4.74	.40	
	Caucasian	4.75	.41	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.64	.30	
	Black	**4.34**	-	.025
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.70	.36	
29. The media [DOES NOT] portray police officers/deputies in a positive light. **(RS)**	Other	4.45	.47	
	Caucasian	4.36	.38	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.29	.31	.048
	Black	**3.98**	-	
35. I believe news media is biased when reporting on police encounters with people of minority groups.	Other	4.74	.57	
	Caucasian	4.62	.45	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.59	.42	
	Black	**4.17**	-	.006
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.59	.42	
36. I believe deadly attacks on police officers/deputies has increased because of news media.	Other	4.61	.46	
	Caucasian	4.47	.32	
	Hispanic/ Latino	4.61	.46	
	Black	**4.15**	-	.002
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.68	.53	
36. I believe deadly attacks on police officers/deputies has increased because of news media.	Caucasian	4.47	.14	
	Hispanic/ Latino	**4.61**	-	.002
37. How satisfied are you with the Criminal Justice Reform movement in the United States?	Caucasian	1.15	.31	
	Hispanic/ Latino	1.23	.23	
	Black	**1.46**	-	.008
	Asian/Pacific Islander	1.22	.24	
	Caucasian	2.86	.36	

40. How satisfied are you with your department's pay and benefits?	**Hispanic/ Latino**	**2.50**	-	.004
42. How satisfied are you with your department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters?	**Hispanic/ Latino**	**1.87**	-	
	Black	2.29	.42	.013
	Asian/Pacific Islander	2.30	.43	

Of the 17 questions listed in the race comparisons in Table 16, three questions (9, 14, and 15) were based on effect and used the effect five-point Likert scale (*no effect, minor effect, neutral effect, moderate effect, major effect*). In all effect questions, the range of means spanned from $M = 3.05$ (indicating neutral effect) to $M = 4.94$ (indicating major effect). The researcher found significant differences, based on race, about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008. A valuable insight discovered by this researcher was about effect questions and a noticeable significant difference in the overall Ferguson Effect on Black police officers versus their counterparts of other races. Although the effect reported by Black police officers ranges from moderate to major, Black police officers' mean scores were lower than their counterparts for all three questions.

Specifically, the areas of difference involved the factors of police officers doubting themselves, effects of media coverage on high-profile police officer shootings, and the effects of high-profile shootings on personal policing style. Caucasian police officers ($M = 4.44$) reported a statistically significant difference from both Hispanic/Latino ($M = 4.29$) and Black ($M = 4.02$) police officers, when asked about the effect media reporting has had on police officers doubting themselves when opting to use or not use force when legally justified. In the opinion of all police officers, media

coverage on high-profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, has had a major effect on policing nationwide (Other $M = 4.90$, d .27; Caucasian $M = 4.91$, d .28, Hispanic/Latino $M = 4.94$, d .31, Black $M = 4.63$, and Asian/Pacific Islander $M = 4.92$, d .29, respectively). However, Black police officers reported statistically significant lower levels of effect compared to their counterparts of other races. Similarly, Black police officers ($M = 3.05$) reported experiencing statistically significant less effect, than Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino, and Asian/Pacific Islander police officers, from media coverage on high-profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, on their personal policing style (Caucasian $M = 3.49$, d .44, Hispanic/Latino $M = 3.70$, d .65, and Asian/Pacific Islander $M = 3.70$, d .65, respectively). Although Black police officers reported statistically significant lower levels of effect compared to their counterparts. Of considerable note was the finding that Hispanic/Latino and Asian/Pacific Islander police officers report the same and greatest effects (approaching moderate) of media on their personal policing styles ($M = 3.70$).

Of the 17 questions listed in the race comparisons in Table 16, 11 questions (16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 35, and 36) were based on agreement and used the agreement five-point Likert scale (*strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree or disagree, agree, strongly agree*). The researcher again found significant differences, based on race, about the perceptions of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008. Black police officers' mean scores overall were statistically lower than their counterparts in all 11 questions. The range of means for Black police officers for these 11 questions spanned

from *M* = 3.63, falling between the level of neither agree or disagree, to *M* = 4.77, indicating agree (approaching strongly agree).

The most profound factor findings, regarding agreement questions, was a noticeable difference in the overall Ferguson Effect on Black police officers – specifically with relation to media's culpability for the increase of deadly attacks on police officers, police officer perceptions on the Black Lives Matter Movement (BLM), and strong agreement on the media's effect on police officer productivity. Although all police officers agreed or strongly agreed that deadly attacks on police officers/deputies have increased because of news media, the effect reported by Black police officers (*M* = 4.15, agree) was statistically significantly lower than their counterparts (Other *M* = 4.61, *d* .57, Caucasian *M* = 4.47, *d* .32, Hispanic/Latino *M* = 4.61, *d* .46, and Asian/Pacific Islander *M* = 4.68, *d* .53, respectively; statistical significance .002). This was a feeling most strongly felt by Asian/Pacific Islanders, but a factor where the intensity was statistically significant between Hispanic/Latino (*M* = 4.61) and Caucasian police officers (*M* = 4.47, *d* .14; statistical significance .002). All police officers agreed or strongly agreed the BLM movement has not had a positive effect on law enforcement interactions with African Americans, however, Black police officers' lower level of agreement (*M* = 4.34) was statistically significantly lower than all other races (Other *M* = 4.74, *d* .40, Caucasian *M* = 4.75, *d* .41, Hispanic/Latino *M* = 4.64, *d* .30, and Asian/Pacific Islander *M* = 4.70, *d* .36; statistical significance .025).

With the exception of Black police officers who only agree (*M* = 4.15), police officers strongly agree other police officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from negative encounters

with citizen(s), and this difference between Black police officers and their counterparts is statistically significant (Other $M = 4.61$, d .46, Caucasian $M = 4.55$, d .40, Hispanic/Latino $M = 4.63$, d .48, Asian/Pacific Islander $M = 4.54$, d .39; statistical significance .001). Although less pronounced in Black officers ($M = 3.76$, approaching agree), police officers agreed to strongly agreed media reporting on policing is causing police officers to hesitate to use force when force is legally justified, and all of these differences are over a half point higher than Black officers' responses (Other $M = 4.45$, d .69, Caucasian $M = 4.29$, d .53, Hispanic/Latino $M = 4.44$, d .68, Asian/Pacific Islander $M = 4.46$, d .70; statistical significance .000). Additionally, a statistically significant (.000) impact of media reporting and police officer hesitation is more strongly felt by Hispanic/Latino ($M = 4.44$) than Caucasian police officers ($M = 4.29$, d .15). Police officers agreed crime spikes in many cities across the country are the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative media reporting on policing. However, this again was felt less strongly by Black police officers ($M = 3.83$, approaching agree), (Other $M = 4.32$, d .49, Caucasian $M = 4.29$, d .46, Hispanic/Latino $M = 4.35$, d .52, Asian/Pacific Islander $M = 4.43$, d .60; significance .013).

Black police officers ($M = 4.27$) were less likely than Other officers ($M = 4.77$, d .50), Caucasian officers ($M = 4.62$, d .35) and Hispanic/Latino officers ($M = 4.66$, d .39) to agree that news media reporting on police officer's actions are not fair and unbiased (statistical significance .019). Black police officers also less strongly agreed ($M = 3.98$) the media does not portray police officers/deputies in a positive light ($M = 4.45$, d .048, $M = 4.36$, d .38, $M = 4.29$, d .31, respectively, with a statistical significance of .048).

Similarly, Black police officers (M = 4.20), are less likely than officers who identify as Other (M=4.67, d .47), Caucasian (M = 4.61, d .41), Hispanic/Latino (M = 4.56, d .36) and Asian/Pacific Islander (M = 4.62, d .42) to agree news media reporting on police officer interactions with citizens has made the job harder (statistical significance .006). Black police officers also agree less strongly (M =4.17, *agree*) than all of their counterparts who strongly agreed news media is biased when reporting on police encounters with people of minority groups (Other M = 4.74, d .57, Caucasian M = 4.62, d .45, Hispanic/Latino M = 4.59, d .42 and Asian/Pacific Islander M = 4.59, d .42, statistical significance .006, respectively).

Regarding the perceptions of police officers of law enforcement organizations as a factor, Black police officers expressed a statistically significant (.008), greater level of approval for their organization than their counterparts. Black police officers (M = 3.36) are less likely than Other officers or Hispanic/Latino officers to agree that law enforcement departments are not looking out for the best interest of the police officer (Other M = 4.32, d .69 (over a half point higher), Hispanic/Latino M = 4.10, d .19). A statistically significant difference (.008) was also found among Caucasian police officers (M = 3.91, approaching strongly agree) versus Hispanic/Latino and Other police officers (M = 4.10, d .19, and M = 4.32, d .19, respectively), indicating Caucasian police officers had a slightly higher level of approval rating of police organizations than Hispanic/Latino and police officers who identified as Other races.

When the focus shifted from organizational leadership to uses of force by police officers, police officers all agreed that within their departments, the use of force by police officers/deputies has become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's/deputy's

performance. Here again, the statistically significant difference (.002) of the effects of this factor was less present in Black police officers (M = 3.78, approaching agree) than Other, Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino, and Asian/Pacific Islander police officers (M = 4.32, d .54, M = 4.06, d .28, M = 4.28; d .05 and M = 4.35, d .57, respectively). Hispanic/Latino police officers (M = 4.28) also showed a statically significant (.002) greater level of agreement than their Caucasian counterparts (M = 4.06, d .22).

Of the 17 questions listed in the race comparisons in Table 16, three questions (37, 40, and 42) were based on satisfaction and used a five-point Likert scale (*not at all satisfied, slightly satisfied, moderately satisfied, very satisfied, extremely satisfied*). This researcher found significant differences in satisfaction by race. Police officers of different races vary in their perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers both personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008. Satisfaction was the only area Black police officers' mean score was statistically higher than their counterparts in all three questions.

The most profound finding, regarding satisfaction questions, was a noticeable difference in the higher level of satisfaction of Black police officers – specifically toward Criminal Justice Reform and their department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters. Police officers were *not at all satisfied* with the Criminal Justice Reform movement in the United States. Black police officers were statically less critical (M = 1.46) than their counterparts (Caucasian M = 1.15, d .31, Hispanic/Latino M = 1.23, d .23, Asian/Pacific Islander M = 1.22, d .24, statistical significance .008).

Regarding overall satisfaction with extrinsic department factors, Hispanic/Latino officers (M = 2.50) were statically less satisfied with their department's pay and benefits

than their Caucasian counterparts (*M* = 2.86, *d* .36, statistical significance .004).

Hispanic/Latino police officers (*M* = 1.87) were statistically less satisfied with their

department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters than their

Black and Asian/Pacific Islander counterparts (*M* = 2.29, *d* .42, and *M* = 2.30, *d* .43,

respectively, statistical significance .013). This researcher will now present the themes

identified in the Qualitative Semi-Structured Interviews.

Qualitative Semi-Structured Interview Analysis

   Table 17 depicts the demographic information of the randomly selected semi-

structured interview respondents that were selected from the group of CA1 and CA2

PAPT survey respondents, using a research randomizer. Upon obtaining two lists of

random numbers, the researcher reviewed the list and selected the first six subjects who

indicated they were willing to participate in the interview process.

Table 17

Participants

Identification	Agency	Gender	Race	Rank	Age	Years of Service
#384	CA1	Female	Caucasian	Bonus Deputy	29-39	11-15
#324	CA1	Male	Black	Deputy	40-49	11-15
#311	CA1	Male	Caucasian	Deputy	29-39	11-15
#214	CA1	Female	Caucasian	Deputy	29-39	11-15
#170	CA1	Male	Caucasian	Deputy	50-59	26-30
#15	CA1	Male	Hispanic	Deputy	40-49	16-20
#384	CA2	Male	Caucasian	Police Officer	40-49	11-15
#40	CA2	Male	Black	Police Officer	50-59	31-35
#220	CA2	Female	Caucasian	Sergeant	29-39	16-20

#169	CA2	Male	Hispanic	Sergeant	40-49	21-25
#472	CA2	Male	Caucasian	Sergeant	40-49	11-15
#458	CA2	Male	Caucasian	Corporal	40-49	21-25

The table above depicts each subject listed by subject identifier, agency, gender, race, rank, age and years of police officer experience. To protect the identities of the interview subjects they are identified below by a combination of subject identifiers. For example, CA1#384 indicates the direct quotation was stated by a police officer employed by California Agency 1, was subject #384 of the randomly selected respondents of the PATP survey, and using the table is a female, Caucasian, Bonus Deputy, 29-39 years of age with 11-15 years of service. Of the 12 randomly chosen interview subjects nine were male, three were female, seven were Caucasian, two were Black, and two were Hispanic/Latino. Of the 12 subjects, seven held the rank of police officer/deputy sheriff, two were the rank of Corporal / Bonus Deputy, and three held the rank of Sergeant. Regarding age, four were 29-39 years old, six were 40-49 years old, and two were 50-59 years old. Finally, regarding years of experience, six of the respondents had 11-15 years of experience, two of respondents had 16-20 years of experience, two of respondents had 21-25 years of experience, one respondent had 26-30 years of experience, and one respondent had 31-35 years of experience.

Interview Themes

The experiences described in the interviews echoed the Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Policing (PATP) survey results. In the analysis of the coded interviews, two major categories emerged: Major Shifts in America and Police Roles and Reactions. Significant sub-themes emerged that supported the major categories. For a sub-theme to

176

be considered significant, a minimum of three quarters (8 of 12) or 75% of the interview subjects were required to address the topic in their responses to the researcher. All other sub-themes that did not reach the established threshold were not considered significant and were discarded for the purpose of identifying major categories and themes of significance. Specific responses from respondents are listed below in reference to the Semi-Structured Interview Form (Appendix D), which was comprised of three sections with specific questions corresponding directly to specific research questions RQ1 or RQ2. The third section consisted of questions that relate to both research questions RQ1 and RQ2. RQ 1 consisted of three questions. RQ2 consisted of seven questions. RQ1 and RQ2 consisted of three questions. In the body of this dissertation, questions related to the subject interviews are identified by using the following system: The first number 0 = indicated RQ, the second number (1, 2, or 3) indicated the RQ section of the interview protocol, and the third number indicated the question listed under the RQ. For example, question "023" indicates the question asked to the interview subject was a question related to RQ2, question #3 found in Appendix D. The major categories and supporting sub-themes are illustrated in Table 18 and Table 19 below. Each major category's sub-themes are based on the lived experiences reflected in the police officers' interviews.

Table 18

Interview Themes: Major Shifts in America

Theme/Sub-Theme	# of Respondents	Frequency
1. **Law Affecting Policing:** Legalization by Legislation	10	38
2. **Media:** Sensationalism	12	75
3. **Media:** Negative Portrayal of Police	12	53
4. **Society:** Value Shift Us vs. Them	11	55
5. **Society:** Lack of Public Support	10	29

The first of two major categories to emerge was the category titled: Major Shifts in America. The findings in this category are underscored by a triad of major factors that define the landscape of the American Criminal Justice System: Law, Media, and Society. In addition to defining the landscape, these three pillars play an important role in the emotional toll that police officers report experiencing since 2008, and the events in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014.

Laws Affecting Policing – Legalization by Legislation. Ten respondents mentioned the concept of legalization by legislation 38 times. A look inside the perceptions of police officers and deputy sheriffs working patrol revealed that police officers are increasingly frustrated and feeling powerless due to the political landscape and the loosening of laws that once helped them control the streets. Several of the police officers interviewed expressed concerns about spikes in crimes, increased drug usage, homelessness, and reduced sentencing. The subjects interviewed acknowledged certain acts that have been lowered from felonies to misdemeanors were still crimes. However, the legalization by legislation theme was best illustrated by CA2#384 and CA1#348. CA2#384 stated:

> *"The spike in crime, in my opinion, is that these folks [persons released*
> *from jail due to criminal justice reforms] are out now committing*
> *property crimes. They're addicted to drugs, they need to get money,*
> *and oftentimes don't have jobs, they don't have a source of income so*
> *they're the ones breaking into your cars and breaking into your houses*
> *and stealing items…when we do catch these guys breaking into cars*
> *and houses, they usually have an extensive rap sheet of drug use. And*

they were the ones that had previously been locked up, so the

opportunity for them to break into your house or car wasn't there.

CA1#348 added:

"California doesn't care about drugs, so I don't…they're all related. If

we're not picking off the gangsters who are on parole and have a

concealed gun, so they can go off the green lighter [a person to be

killed with the approval of head gang members] *or whoever. Sure, it's*

going to affect crime spikes. Or the meth head [person addicted to

methamphetamines] *who's out looking for a car to break into to get*

some stuff to get his next fix to use as money. But we're out there

[police officers] *with our blinders on and just drive."*

The respondents blamed crime spikes on the "revolving door" created by

legislation such as California's 2014, Proposition 47 (originally titled "The Safe

Neighborhoods and Schools Act" by former California Attorney General Kamala

Harris), which re-categorized several "nonviolent" criminal offenses, such as drug

possession and shoplifting from felonies to misdemeanors. Additionally, they blame the

2016 Proposition 57 (titled "The Criminal Sentences & Juvenile Crime Proceedings"

backed by California Governor Jerry Brown), which allowed for the release of thousands

of previously classified dangerous felons. Finally, they blame spikes of crime on the

passage of California's Assembly Bill 109 (titled the "Public Safety Realignment"

initiative), which divested thousands of state prisoners from California prisons into

county jails and early release back to the streets by re-categorizing several violent crimes

to non-violent, non-serious crimes. Speaking on the California propositions, CA1#214 stated,

>*"People have no idea that hardened criminals are being released into our community…since Prop 47 and Prop 57 and AB109 have all passed, we're seeing increases in property crimes."*

Most police officers expressed feeling current news media scrutiny and the political climate have greatly reduced police officer motivation. The respondents unequivocally agreed reduced police officer motivation is a factor in crime spikes. They cite seeing the same people they have arrested "over and over again" for crimes related to drug burglaries, and media and public scrutiny of handling quality of life issues, which include vagrancy, illegal camping, illegal dumping, panhandling and often dealing with homeless people, some with extreme mental health disorders, as the principal sources of their frustrations. One of the most interesting insights into the mindset of police officers about police officer motivation was offered by CA2#40:

>*"Now, the bigger thing ... obviously, we can't predict what's gonna happen in every situation, but a lot of those things that go sideways gotta do with drugs, the homeless and the mentally ill. Those types of calls, I'm less likely to go to.*
>
>*Well, the call comes up 5150* [Lanterman-Petris-Short Act Involuntary Civil Commitment] *mentally at the corner of such and such, pissing on the wall and cussing people out. I'm standing 100 feet ... I want to be*

100 miles away from that. I'm not trying to go to that. I already know

that's gonna go sideways.

Everybody and they mama got their cameras out, recording this dude

pissing on the wall. Before you put hands on him or engage with them,

you'll have a whole group of people, "Man, look what he's doing? Get

him. Get him." You go get him. Now, "Why you gotta treat him like

that? You ain't gotta pull on him like," ... It's a no-win."

Media – Sensationalism. Twelve respondents mentioned the concept media sensationalism 75 times. A look inside the perceptions of police officers and deputy sheriffs working patrol reveals that police officers perceive the news media as biased, demoralizing, intentionally inaccurate, skewed, and driven by money and ratings. Interview subjects spoke of feeling unfairly targeted and portrayed as the enemy by the news media. In the most cited instance, police officers took exception with the news media's manipulation of reports on police officer-involved shootings and the media's spin of calling, predominantly people of color, "unarmed." CA2#472 offered this insight into the perception held by police officers:

"I think one that really cuts and is the biggest example right now, is

law enforcement shooting unarmed Black men. And while it does

happen, I think that the spotlight that's put on those incidents; while

anytime that's someone is shot is tragic, it's not as prevalent as people

think. It is especially relative to any other socio-economic or

demographic or race group that is involved in unarmed confrontations

with law enforcement. When you look at that, it's almost like they're

[media] *highlighting specific incidences to push a narrative. But data*

doesn't support that and it's not as big of an issue as they're [media]

making it seem."

Police officers strongly felt the news media's ulterior motivation (money and viewers/ratings), has led the news media to provide incomplete information void of exculpatory facts that would lessen or nullify the sensationalism of the report if factually reported by the news media. CA2#220 stated, "the unfortunate thing is…media's driven by money, ratings, and it causes a bad effect on the way we're perceived." The police officers questioned the news media's ulterior motives. They also voiced frustration over the news media's effects on their jobs. Most of the police officers reported feeling the news media has created a climate in which citizens more frequently question and attempt to obstruct a police officer's authority. Respondents felt police officers authority is undermined by news media's propensity to misinform the public and negatively portray police officers. In a twist of irony, although police officers carried a strong disdain for media's ulterior motives, they also understood the reasoning behind the spin of news stories. CA2#472 most eloquently stated this realization:

"Well, it's a business argument. At the end of the day, any kind of

media company, their job is to sell eyeballs to advertisers. The best

way to do that is to be able to tell advertisers, here's how many people I

have looking at my - whatever medium, is through ratings or

readership or whatever their format is. Especially in today's day and

age, which I view can be a little bit sensationalized with reality TV and

what you look at as entertainment now. It kind of harkens back to the

Roman days of the lions and the Christians. You look at what sells, it's

the stuff that can be sensationalized or that will get people emotionally

charged up. And frankly, the best way to get people emotionally

charged up is to have maybe a David and Goliath, the government

against this small group. And I always caveat this by saying in no way

am I trying to excuse previous relationships between law enforcement

and minority communities that there isn't work to be done to improve

those relationships."

Media – Negative Portrayal of Police. Twelve respondents mentioned the concept of the media's negative portrayal of police officers 53 times. Police officers and deputy sheriffs working patrol expressed strong disdain for the overly critical and ill-informed analysis of police officer performance. In their lived experience they felt the media has had a predilection to present negative sensationalized stories about police officers. They also felt news media does not present the hundreds of thousands of daily positive acts police officers perform. One officer stated:

"I think with all the bad, or all of the negative stories, that the media

puts out about police officers, I think it makes them [police officers]

second-guess what they're doing when they really should not be

second-guessing themselves, in fear that they'll end up on the news. All

they do is just show the bad things with law enforcement. They don't

show all the positive impacts, or all the good, because that doesn't

make good entertainment, so they're not going to show that." –

CA1#170

Many of the police officers interviewed reported feeling overly criticized by media about police-involved shooting of citizens and believed the media "purposely and willfully portray us in a negative light," as police officer CA1#324 stated. Police officers strongly agreed media's negative portrayal of police officers was for financial gain. Sensationalizing police officer's actions as, "unnecessary or excessive when that determination has actually never been made from a legal standpoint" has influenced viewers and the public nationwide to adopt a negative perception of police officers, according to police officer CA1#311. Many police officers also stated they felt betrayed by what they view as media's perpetuation of the false and statistically unsupported narrative of police officers shooting "unarmed Black men" and media's labeling of police officers as "racist."

Most police officers interviewed felt media's criticisms of police officers are made without a true understanding of the demands placed on law enforcement officers from a physical, legal, psychological and/or force science perspective. The researcher asked interview subjects for examples of situations in which the news media asserted negative commentary without a true understanding of the police officer's perspective. CA1#311 offered the following insight:

> *"News media will portray an officer's use of force as unnecessary,*
>
> *based on the force first used against them. There's a lot of Hollywood*
>
> *perceptions, for example, where an officer who's on his back and has*
>
> *been in a four- to five- minute ground fight, at the point of exhaustion,*

184

fighting for his gun decides to shoot a suspect. That entire situation will be distilled into, "The officer shot an unarmed suspect." Not mentioning the fact that, from a physical standpoint, fighting for four to five minutes is one of the most exhausting experiences that any human being can endure, one that is psychologically frightening, and only professional mixed martial arts fighters can really function in a ground fight for that long.

The big one is how the media will immediately jump on the fact that a suspect has been shot in the back. When, if you look at like the University of Minnesota's Force Science Institute studies, a suspect presents himself facing the officer with a gun, points the gun at the officer, the officer makes the decision to shoot, and begins shooting, at which point the suspect starts to turn and run. By the time the officer's eyes have interpreted the fact that the suspect is now turning and running, and the brain has sent the signal to the hand to stop shooting, between half a second to a second has passed, at which point the body, which was already in pull the trigger reflex mode, has already sent four more shots down range. So, some of those shots may strike the suspect in the back.”

Although, police officers mentioned that news media does acknowledge they are doing a dangerous job, as Subject CA2#384 states, “media's painted a picture of officers doing the wrong things, I think far too often, to the point where a lot of citizens now

question if we're [police officers] doing the right thing or not, more than used to be."

The prevailing theme among the police officers interviewed was the belief that news media is judging them unfairly, depicting them in a "skewed" and "biased fashion" rather than adhering to principles of journalistic integrity. Subject CA2#458 summarized the collective feelings of the police officer toward the power of the news media:

> *"They can make me a monster on the TV, and people who see the video*
>
> *don't care what the video says. If the media, if the family wants to*
>
> *make me a monster, if the lawyers want to make me a monster, if the*
>
> *media wants to make me a monster, then that's the way it'll be when I*
>
> *go out."*

Many police officers shared the belief news media has cast a "dark cloud over law enforcement" (CA2#384) that is causing police officers to second guess themselves, become hesitant to use force in fear of how the media will portray them and causing them to feel demoralized.

Society – Value Shift Us vs. Them. Eleven respondents mentioned the concept of a "Us versus Them" societal value shift caused by news media reporting 55 times. Most of the police officers interviewed stated they had experienced a greater level of animosity from a large percentage of the public, increased instances of verbal and physical resistance from members of society and feeling police officers are now a public target of attacks because of news media reporting. In response to question 013, inquiring if police officers believe the Ferguson Effect is real, one respondent of the 12 who stated yes, offered this insight on the speed of negative effects of media on policing:

"It's been growing since then. I think, faster than it was

before…everybody, with the media's help, has been turned against

police." – CA1#170

One of the strongest felt sentiments among police officers was the sense that news media has a blood thirst for controversy and fails to come back to correct their work or the stories presented to the public as fact after they are proven to be factually incorrect. Collectively, the police officers firmly believe media is causing more conflict between police officers and communities due to their willingness to publish misinformation. Police officers reporting feeling the result of news media's slipshod reporting was to blame for instilling a deep-seated mistrust of police officers within communities they serve. Respondent CA1#311 speaking about media's current standard of reporting stated:

"I think it's dangerous. I think it contributes to a us versus them

narrative, between law enforcement and the communities that they

serve, that isn't real, but is being created by these partial stories that

are put out there…It makes myself and my partners feel besieged, and it

creates the perception that no one, whether in society or in journalism,

understands what it takes to do our job."

In response to question 023a, asking how police officer's motivation on the job changed since the events in Ferguson, CA2#169 stated:

"You have police officers that are reacting to a threat, a danger. Their

lives are in danger, in a media threat, but the way the media had put it

out, it gives the public a different perception, like cops are trying to just

hurt and kill people, and that's far from the truth. I want to say that

187

99% of the people on this job do the job because they want to be there,

they want to help somebody, and they're good-hearted people that came

on the job with the right intentions. But a lot of times, the unfortunate

fact is the media skews it the wrong way."

In addition to police officers reporting growing concerns about the widening gap in police/community relations, most police officers mentioned the growing rate of hostile attitudes by subjects contacted, turning into hostile and violent acts toward police officers. In addition to changing public support, police officers also voiced growing concern over the empowerment of persons with criminal backgrounds as the result of lessening of punishments for criminal acts. They believed the criminal element has become more emboldened due to the current social-political-media-driven climate. CA2#169 stated on the public-at-large:

"One of the things I've personally seen that I think is happening quite

more often is challenging the law enforcement officers and the killing

of law enforcement officers. If you look at the statistics, at least for this

year, there's more law enforcement officers killed from now, from the

beginning of 2018 to present, than there's been in years previous, and a

lot of that is the increase has been significant in gunfire."

On the topic of persons with criminal backgrounds, CA2#169 further stated:

"I think criminals are more apt to engage now with law enforcement

officers instead of as before, where they were kind of like, okay, they're

here, the cops are here, I don't want to get hurt, I don't want to get

killed, I give up. Now, it's more like, hey, let me try to shoot it out, or

let me try to do something to hurt one of these guys or hurt multiple of

them and get away."

Most police officers pined for years past when the public at large held them and their profession in high regard. They long for the time when the news media did not paint them all as CA1#348 stated, "bad cops…out there to shoot whomever we want." In this rare glimpse into the often-guarded mindset of police officers on patrol, this researcher was provided a raw pouring of emotions from police officers who truly feel, as a result of media reporting, a significant lack of public support.

Society – Lack of Public Support. Ten respondents mentioned the concept of societal values shifts creating the lack of public support, caused by news media reporting, 29 times. Police officers felt the negative effects of media reporting on police-community relations to be the most strained in communities of color – specifically the African-American community. Several of the respondents spoke about feeling increased pressures from many Black and Hispanic communities to stop proactively policing in their communities. Many reported increased hostilities toward law enforcement by members of these communities and stated the message was clear – "they did not want us out there proactively policing" according to CA1#311.

One of the most surprising findings in the subject interviews, was the paradox of police officers feeling frustrated by what a Black police officer respondent (ID number intentionally not cited to preserve anonymity), speaking about non-Black partners' perceptions of people in the Black community as, "always up in arms about some controversy, always complaining, always playing the race card" also empathizing with the frustrations and lived experiences of people of color. CA1#311stated, "to be fair, the

189

individuals in the [Black] community, I think…view law enforcement as an occupying force, rather than a community partner. I think that there are some answers to that issue that do lie in socioeconomic disparities, and the racial undertones of socioeconomic disparities." Police officers also voiced displeasure with elected community leaders and activists for joining media in their criticism of law enforcement. A strong feeling among most of the police officers interviewed was a sense that the public does not see them for who and what they do. For example, CA2#458 stated:

> *"The police are in those communities, protect those people…Black*
>
> *people Hispanic people, marginalized people. We place ourselves in*
>
> *danger to protect them. Often, the person who is shooting at us or*
>
> *attacking us would have been attacking a member of that community.*
>
> *We step in their place, and now I feel like it's, that it's not being*
>
> *communicated to anybody. And it hurts!"*

Yet, the police officers interviewed also voiced greater concerns when police officers heed the calls of the public and political leaders for them to stop doing their jobs. Although frustrated, police officers fear that less proactive enforcement of current laws is adding to the increased crime and the potential for even greater negative impacts in our communities. A very astute police officer summarized this belief in a cautionary explanation:

> *"I was a history major in college, so I look at historical trends. If you*
>
> *look at the counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s, resulting*
>
> *in a different kind of policing. The race riots that happened during that*
>
> *period. There was a certain amount of hostility toward the*

establishment, be that the military after Vietnam, law enforcement,

post-civil rights era.

I think that there is a lot of supportive evidence that shows that that led

to the crime spikes that we saw in the 1980s, associated with the crack

wars.

Then, after the crack wars, we saw a return to zero tolerance laws,

mandatory sentencing, a return to aggressive policing, and heavy-

handed criminal justice practices, in the late 80s, early 90s. I sort of

feel like we're on that same sign wave again, where society has decided

they wanted a law enforcement community that is very hands-off. What

makes me nervous is my interpretation of the historical trends, is the

last time we did this, we experienced a nation-wide crime surge of

biblical proportions." - CA1#311

Table 19

Interview Themes: Police Roles and Reactions

Theme/Sub-Theme	# of Respondents	Frequency
1. **The Ferguson Effect is Real**	12	39
2. **Police Perception:** Have Become Media Adverse	12	37
3. **Police Perception:** Feeling Jaded, Powerless, Fearful, Frustrated, Sad and Restricted	11	79
4. **Police Perception:** Resilience	8	21
5. **Police Performance:** Less Proactive and Reduced Motivation	12	82
6. **Police Performance:** Hesitant to Take Action or Use Force	12	78

7. **Politics of Policing:** Policy Changes	12	36
8. **Politics of Policing:** Police Lack Executive and Departmental Support	11	58
9. **Politics of Policing:** Political Factors	10	30
10. **Recruitment and Retention:** Police Officer	12	34
11. **Recruitment and Retention:** Negative Personal Impacts	8	32

Major Shifts in Police Roles and Reactions

The second of two major categories to emerge was the category titled: Major Shifts in Police Roles and Reactions. The findings in this category are underscored by five major factors that define the landscape for police officers working on patrol: the Ferguson Effect, Police Officer Perception, Police Officer Performance, the Politics of Policing, and Police Officer Recruitment and Retention. In addition to defining the landscape, these five pillars play an important role in the physical and emotional toll that police officers, working patrol in major cities experiencing spikes in violent crimes, report experiencing since 2008.

The Ferguson Effect is Real. In response to the question, "Do you believe the Ferguson Effect is real?", all twelve police officer and deputy sheriff respondents stated yes and strongly agreed the Ferguson Effect is real. Collectively the respondents mentioned the concept of reduced police officer motivation and a major decrease in proactive policing caused by news media reporting 29 times. This lived experience finding was also substantiated by the PATP survey responses, in which the majority of police officers believe news media reporting on high-profile police officer shootings, such as the incident involving Michael Brown in Ferguson has had a major effect on policing nationwide and has resulted in reduced police officer motivation, proactivity and

increased hesitation, with many blaming the news media for the way it negatively frames

reports on police interactions with people in communities of color. CA3#384 offered the

following example:

> *"If you look at Ferguson or you look at any number of these major*
>
> *incidents, it came back to race over and over and over again. That's I*
>
> *guess kind of the easy go-to for activists and the media…it's racist*
>
> *cops."*

For example, CA2#169 stated:

> *"So, did Ferguson impact the way things are done by me? Yes! I don't*
>
> *do the proactive police work I used to do. If I almost had to give you a*
>
> *percentage, I would say maybe 25% of what I used to do is what I do*
>
> *now, and it's related to that, because I don't want to be involved…I*
>
> *don't think proactive police work really exists anymore, quite*
>
> *honestly."*

Adding, "I think it's changed quite a lot" in response to follow up question (023a) asking

if police officer's motivation on the job changed since the events in Ferguson. CA2#40

suggested these factors of reduced motivation have been present for longer adding, "It

changed since Rodney King. Ferguson was just a reinforcer of more of the same."

      Police Perceptions – Police Have Become Media Adverse. Twelve respondents

mentioned the concept of police officers becoming media adverse as a shift in police

officer perception caused by news media reporting 37 times. The most significant factor

in this shift is police officers stating this shift is causing them to be less proactive in

enforcement of laws and challenging criminal actors, in fear they may become a victim of

the news media's "progressive liberal mindset," "hidden agenda," "demonizing" and "misguided" reporting on police officer performance. This researcher observed marked irritability in most of the subjects when they spoke about the news media, based on their statements, facial expressions, and body language. Several of the respondents, speaking for themselves and their partners, strongly suggested police officers have a major fear of several media platforms such as local news media, national news media, and social media. Police officers also were keenly aware of the ease of any person with a cellphone to create a video, audio sound bite, and/or take photos and for the content to be used by media platforms to create a news story.

Most of the police officers interviewed personally struggle with the internal contradiction they feel about wanting to do their job but being afraid to do it and becoming fodder for the next sensationalized news media story that negatively portrays the police officer. For example, CA1#170 stated, "They [police officers] want to make the community safer, but they also are aware that every stop they make is just one stop from either ending their career if it goes bad or ending up on the national news." With the propensity of bystanders to spring out a cellphone to capture a police contact and the inability of police officers to control the reactions of the subject(s) they stop for suspicious or criminal behavior, or to control the social media or news media narrative that may occur if the story goes viral, police officers are stating they are more reluctant to respond and more likely to second-guess whether to go hands-on and take physical control of a suspect or to use justifiable force on a person, "in fear that they will end up on the news" (CA1#170).

Police Perceptions – Feeling Jaded, Powerless, Fearful, Frustrated, Sad and

Restricted. Eleven respondents mentioned the concept of police officers feeling powerless, fearful, frustrated, sad and restricted as a shift in police officer perception caused by news media reporting 79 times. This theme had the second highest frequency of all qualifying themes identified in the study. Police officers in this study opened up and candidly spoke about what it is like to be a police officer, currently on patrol in the United States, and their truth about policing in America. From negative news media reporting, progressive legislation, mistrust of the public caused by the media, to feeling victimized by their own departments, CA1#15 summed up the collective misgivings of most police officer respondents:

> *"I feel as if we are weakened and we are allowing the criminals to take*
> *over. When good people ask why we're not doing our job, they simply*
> *have to look at the propositions, like Proposition 47 that was passed.*
> *They have to answer their own question. You've taken our power away*
> *from us, we're helpless to help you."*

In addition to feelings of helplessness, many police officers reported being in career survival mode, attempting to avoid negative entries into their personnel files, and choosing to walk away from situations without resolving the issue in order not to risk becoming news media's next story or the next victim of department executives who bend to the perceived social-political-media driven forces that police officers perceive now drive the law enforcement profession. Many police officers felt law enforcement is a profession that pits police officers in no-win situations yet demands nothing but wins. CA2#220 provided the following insight:

"You can try to do everything right. You can have the best of

intentions. For example, this Trader Joe's incident that just happened

in Silver Lake. It came out today that the manager died by LAPD

shooting. That officer didn't get to work that morning saying, I'm going

to go shoot an innocent person. That person got up wanting to help

people and make a difference. And then they get behind a car of

someone who's wanted, and they see him run, exchange of gunfire and

run into a Trader Joe's. Their goal [police officers] *is not to shoot an*

innocent person but immediately it's come out that they're blaming

LAPD for this. It's not what the officers wanted, but there's that

perception that we're too aggressive, we're too gung-ho, but these

officers have a right to defend themselves when they're being shot at."

In addition to the hyper-scrutiny, police officers report feeling sad, frustrated and restricted from doing their jobs to protect the public. CA2#384 stated, "I think officers' desire to avoid getting in trouble, avoid being scrutinized by the media, has slowed down our desire to go out and hook-and-book…now it's more of a let me go handle my radio calls I'm assigned by dispatch and go home." CA1#15 stated:

"For career survival as well as personal survival. I have to do this job,

I have done it for 20 years. I have to do it for 10 more. I need to be

able to feed my family and I cannot afford to be put under investigation

or given days off without pay. So, I will not risk it."

196

CA1#214 summarized the feeling relayed by most police officers in their closing statement, "I think you're less motivated. You feel disheartened. You feel unappreciated."

Police Perceptions – Resilience. Eight respondents mentioned the concept of police officers' resilience as an internal survival response toward news media reporting 21 times. Although this theme had the lowest frequency of all qualifying themes, the phenomenon of police officer resilience provides valuable insight into the often-guarded mind of police officers and why they continue to function under conditions they report to be less than optimal. In candid statements made by the majority of the police officer subjects it became clear that police officers' motivations do not to follow the widely acknowledged Herzberg theory of motivators and hygiene factors, in which factors such as interpersonal relations, working conditions, salary, supervision, and policy (Hygiene-factors/dissatisfiers) produce short-term satisfaction quotients while motivators (satisfiers) such as recognition, the work itself, achievement, responsibility, and advancement consistently are associated with long-term positive performance and satisfaction (Herzberg, 1987).

Based on the statements by police officer respondents, the researcher began to recognize what appeared to be a hybrid Hertzberg theory for police officer motivators and hygiene factors specifically related to interpersonal relations, often cited by the police officers as "The Thin Blue Line," or "Brotherhood," supervision, responsibility and the work itself. CA2#40 described it this way:

> *"The camaraderie, the brotherhood, the care, because you are an*
>
> *officer, by your fellow officers. If you're going through something, no*

matter what your skin color is, your sexual preference, your religion,

all that gets put aside and they will respond to your needs. That's the

awesome feeling is knowing you have that behind you. The

camaraderie and friendships you develop on the job because you can

relate to one another, that there's certain things, that you can't talk to

other folks about, that aren't in law enforcement, 'cause they'll never

understand. Your relationships with people on the job become very

important, just for that aspect alone."

In lieu of both a lack of motivators such as positive recognition from news media, the public, or their departments, forward advancement, or achievement and negative hygiene factors such as insufficient pay, restrictive policies and punitive administrative actions, police officers derive a sense of satisfaction from intrinsic factors such as protecting people from those who would prey on them or do them harm. For example, respondent CA2#169 stated, "I came on this job because I truly ... and it's kind of cliché, I wanted to help people." CA1#311 expounded upon the responsibility factor shared by several of the police officer respondents:

"You're gonna have human beings who prey on other human beings,

whether it's literally, in the physical sense, you know, kidnapping, rape,

murder, assault, things like that. Or whether it's taking advantage of.

Defrauding an old person out of their social security check, or stealing

out of the back of an electronics store, it's all just a type of taking

advantage of other human beings. There's only a certain type of human

being who is capable, and motivated, to confront human beings who

198

are taking advantage of other humans…if someone has the capability

of confronting those types of people, then they have an obligation to

confront those types of people."

Collectively, the police officers reflected upon the increased difficulty of their daily

duties and over the increased demands placed on them by the news media, elected

officials, the public, their partners and themselves to serve and protect. And, they

reflected on reminding themselves to fend off the negative portrayal of the media and to

stay positive, to focus on the mission of helping people, and ensuring that their "brothers"

and "sisters" who wear the same badge go home at the end of their watch.

   Police Performance – Less Proactive and Reduced Motivation. Twelve

respondents mentioned the concept of police officers becoming less proactive on patrol

and experiencing reduced motivation to proactively police because of negative news

media reporting on police officers 82 times. This theme had the highest frequency of all

qualifying themes and provides invaluable insight into the mindset of police officers on

patrol and the effects heavy media scrutiny is having on them personally and

professionally and the implications reduced police officer motivation is having on the

safety and security of America's streets and communities from the police officers'

perspectives. While slight, statistically significant difference may exist based on sex and

race, with regard to factors that impact police officers, the police officers unanimously

and strongly agree, the Ferguson Effect is real and that they and their fellow police

officers across America are operating in career survival mode, operating more like

"firemen" and not proactively policing as a direct result of negative media reporting on

police officers and the current state of Criminal Justice Reforms in the United States. A

mid-to-late-forties police officer respondent with 15-20 years of experience (CA1#15) stated:

>*"The police officers that I encounter, they're looking for a place to ride out the rest of their career and hide. Do what they can. There are still guys that are still doing what is considered the Lord's work, which is contacting the criminal and doing those things, but that is a dying breed because people realize that it's easy to get investigated and it's easy to become fired, especially under this administration* [Agency Omitted] *and people aren't willing to risk it."*

A majority of the respondents credited their protective posture of reduced proactivity to an extreme fear of being disciplined, sued, fired or prosecuted for doing proactive police work that results in use of force because of the suspect's resistance and an overly eager news media to exploit an encounter with police in a manner that racially charges the story or blames the police officers for any bad consequences or optics that result from the contact. CA1#15 offered the following insight into how police officers are feeling:

>*"When I joined the department, I was young. I was 24 years old and I had aspirations to become the sheriff. I wanted to do the right thing, to do good, to stick up for the little guy and so on and so forth. Throughout the years, working in jails, working on the street, working within the court systems and seeing how police officers are treated and how criminals are treated. Sometimes the police officers are treated more like the criminal than the criminal is. I realized from watching*

people get suspended, days off without pay, fired, each case is

obviously different, but you see a pattern, and the pattern is to stay

away from anything that could make you controversial. That could

make you the focus of an investigation.

Another police officer (CA1#170), speaking of their lived experience and the unwillingness to enforce "quality of life" crimes that include thefts, traffic stops, loitering, panhandling, illegal vending, littering, illegal dumping (a.k.a. urinating or defecating on the street), and any possession or personal use drug laws stated the following in regard to the decrease stating, "I've heard that the stats show that there's like….a 30% to 40% decrease, but I can tell you it's significantly higher than that." They further added, "So they're [police officers] just not willing to, or they don't want to get involved with some of the minor quality-of-life issues, just because those add to the chances of something bad happening." A recurring statement by police officers centered around actively choosing to avoid situations that could result in the subject(s) of a police contact becoming recalcitrant, failing to obey the law to comply with the orders of the law enforcement officer, and ultimately resulting in a use of force that potentially could be sensationalized by the news media. CA1#348, stated, "There is no motivation to be proactive. The motivation is to get to work safely, and to finish your shift without any complaints or without any force incidents, without any negativity with the public and then go home…your job is more important. You providing for your family is more important. Just do the bare minimum and you'll be fine." CA2#384, who expressed they felt it was unfortunate that police officers have become less proactive and now function

in "career survival" mode offered the following insight into the overall feeling police officers now feel about their role:

> *"There've been some other similar incidents and I think unfortunately a lot of officers, again, are less proactive and kinda view the job as career survival sometimes. Just fly under the radar, do your job, go home and try not to get yourself in any kind of trouble for at least 20 years until you can retire. So, I think that's a real disservice to the community, but I think that's kind of unfortunately the mood of a lot of officers now...unfortunately, it's great if supervision doesn't even know your name.*

> *You don't draw any unnecessary attention to yourself, you go in, you tend to your calls, you turn in your reports and you go home. I think trying to avoid anything that's gonna draw any unnecessary attention to yourself.*
> *Those guys used to be called hard chargers. They used to always be out getting into foot pursuits or maybe vehicle pursuits and getting the big arrests and all that sort of thing and they used to get a lot of at-a-boys and maybe officer of the quarter and things like that.*

> *Now that it's kind of viewed as they might be a liability for your station, and I think that they kind of frown upon that these days. There's liability from the departments for financial reasons or negative*

publicity reasons to getting onto a lot of those types of incidents and I

think they want us, frankly, to avoid 'em. They'd prefer that we just go

take a report after the fact and send it on to the detectives instead to do

a follow-up interview."

Surprisingly, the feelings are also felt by the police officers responsible for training new

police officers out on the streets. CA2#169 stated:

"I talk to current officers who are currently out in the street, and many

of them who are even training officers are deciding not to do that

proactive police work, such as traffic stops, pedestrian stops, contacts

with the people in the neighborhood, because they don't want to have to

potentially get involved in something."

The police officers overwhelming felt their unwillingness to police was also the

fault of a criminal justice system, heavily influenced by progressive reform initiatives

that have left many police officers to believe there are no consequences for criminals who

commit crimes. Police officer CA1#15 admitted to having the following conversation

with their patrol car partner:

"While we were driving down the street [we saw] *a guy smoking meth*

right in front of us on a city sidewalk; was just smoking it and blowing

it in plain view of everyone. Clearly, he had possession of the drug.

There was your felony. Clearly, he was under the influence. That was

your misdemeanor. Why bother? When I asked my partner, I said,

'Look at that dude right there.' My partner looked, smiled, and kept

driving because it's not worth it."

Many of the police officers also voiced great concern over the connection of the nationwide drug epidemic and the connections drug users and the rise in crimes related to theft, burglary, shoplifting, pickpocketing, and purse snatching directly resulting from the State's progressive leadership decriminalizing drug offenses. CA1#170 stated, "The fact that they've made it a misdemeanor, it's taken away all the punishments for it. There's nothing the courts can do to make them [drug offenders] go to rehab. There's nothing the courts can do to try to help them get off the narcotics." Police officer CA1#170 also stated, "Many of these drug offenders are the same people out committing thefts to support their drug habits." Most of the police officers expressed frustration over the fact that instead of being able to get these offenders off the streets, police officers are now forced to issue a citation to appear in court and allow the criminal to continue to be free to commit more crimes.

A surprise finding was the expressed concerns about the safety of minority communities by many of the police officer respondents. Many of the police officers acknowledged having mixed feelings toward helping citizens who clearly do not like the police. One police officer (CA1#311) stated, "I worked in a community that was largely Black and Hispanic and was hostile toward law enforcement, and it became apparent, based on the attitudes of those that I interacted with in the community, they did not want us out there proactively policing. So, I stopped." Yet another police officer (CA2#458) speaking about communities of color that are riddled with citizens who are victimized by suspects of the same race, stated, "A lot of those good people are minorities, minority communities, and they're victimized by people who also live in those communities, who are also minorities, and I take it very personally. Very serious, that I want to protect the

innocent people there." They added, "There's predators out there that are preying on the public, and I'm not stopping them. I'm not looking for them." A defeated expression consumed the face of this police officer respondent who added, "I feel like a betrayal to myself and to the community, but it's also career survival and personal survival" describing their inability to protect both themselves and victimized people in minority communities.

  Police Performance – Hesitant to Take Action or Use Force. Twelve respondents mentioned the concept of police officers becoming hesitant to take action or use force on patrol because of negative news media reporting on police officers 78 times. This theme had the third highest frequency of all qualifying themes and provides invaluable insight into the mindset of police officers on patrol and the effects heavy media scrutiny is having on them personally and professionally. This emerging theme provided insight into the dangerous and potentially deadly implications police officer hesitation is having on the safety of police officers on patrol. Finally, it offers insight into the police officer respondents' minds about the law of unintended consequences that now threaten communities they police due to hesitation to take action and reluctance to use justifiable force out of fear of the repercussions of negative news media reporting.

  Personally, a large majority of police officers voiced deep concerns, not only over the chance a contact with a member of the public could go viral but over the impacts a viral news story could have on their personal safety. Additionally, they voiced concern over the effects negative news media and publicity is having on the internal policy decision makers within their departments. In regard to personal safety and decision making, the majority of police officers admit they and their partners are "second-

guessing" themselves, not relying on their trained tactics, over-relying on verbal de-escalation, and hesitating to take police actions such as a) conduct a stop on a person whom they have legal standing to detain, b) conduct legally justifiable pat-down searches, c) use justifiably reasonable force to detain a resistant suspect; d) use justifiably reasonable deadly force. CA1#170 stated:

> *"I would say that officers are more hesitant to use force than they*
>
> *should be. I would say that is attributed to media…with all the bad, or*
>
> *all of the negative stories, that the media puts out about police officers,*
>
> *I think it makes them second-guess what they're doing when they really*
>
> *should not be second-guessing themselves, in fear that they'll end up on*
>
> *the news. I think pretty much everybody knows that you're just a*
>
> *number on a department. If you're involved in something that looks*
>
> *bad, even though it may have been completely justified, you're likely to*
>
> *lose your job anyway."*

The police officers expressed a deep sense that news media's coverage of the events in Ferguson and other high-profile police officer-involved shootings has greatly intensified the factor of race as an issue in all police officer contacts. CA2#169 offered this insight:

> *"With the way I believe law enforcement officers are perceived today,*
>
> *you're taking a big risk by going outside of that box now, because*
>
> *you're setting yourself up for a potential encounter with an individual*
>
> *that could turn violent, and if that turns violent, and you do something*
>
> *that ends up hurting or possibly potentially killing this person, they're*
>
> *going to look at you and judge you for what you did, which is fine,*

because your department teaches you hopefully what to do correctly,

but then there's always that possibility of, isn't race involved? Race is

a big factor right now in all the United States. Unfortunately, the way

law enforcement officers are looked at now, it seems like there's still

that black and white issue in regard to race."

When asked by this researcher if they have changed the way they police because of news

media coverage on police, CA1#311 stated:

"There's a myriad of ways. I am hesitant to stop and detain certain

demographic groups, even if I have reasonable suspicion to believe

they are engaged in criminal activity… I am hesitant to stop a car with

four black teenagers in it, even if I have reason to believe they are

engaged in criminal activity. I have to do risk-reward analysis in my

brain every time I decide to stop a car like that, to decide whether or

not the crime that I think they're committing is worth the potential

blowback if a use of force incident occurs. Or now, even if no use of

force incident occurs, but just a verbal confrontation that's recorded on

video. Because I know that I will be pre-judged as a White police

officer, with light colored hair, and blue eyes stopping four Black

teenagers, even if I haven't put hands on anybody, or pulled anybody

out of the car, or placed anyone under arrest, or accused anyone of

anything."

In addition to voicing strong concerns over the effects news media reporting has had on

police officer detentions, the police officers expressed even greater concerns over their

reluctance to use deadly force when reasonable and justified. In response to the same questions, CA1#348 answered in the affirmative and made the following statement about police, "They just want to answer calls [for service]. They're not proactive anymore. There's a fear of losing your job because of what you may have to do." When asked by this researcher to clarify what was meant by the last portion of the subject's statement, CA1#348 stated, "using deadly force. If the situation calls for it and you need to use it, I think a lot of police officers nowadays, they hesitate."

According to the police officer respondents, the race of a suspect has become a key component in their critical decision-making process. In response to question 026, which asked police officers if in their perception, has the use of justifiable force or actions by police officers changed because of news media reporting, subject CA1#311 stated the following about the use of lethal force:

> *"Shoot don't shoot scenarios. I recently was involved in a situation*
> *where we got a call of a stabbing, and the victim was described as a*
> *Black male in his 40s, and the suspect was described as a Black male*
> *in his 40s. As we approached the residence, first the victim came out of*
> *the house bleeding from a stab wound to the stomach. We pulled him*
> *towards the back where fire paramedics could access, and then the*
> *suspect came out of his own volition, without being called out. [We]*
> *detained him at that point, and the suspect had a revolver in his back*
> *right pocket, and we turned him to face away from us with his hands*
> *up. I saw the gun, and he reached to adjust his waistband 'cause his*
> *pants were falling down from the weight of the gun.*

I think had someone of any other race made that movement, I probably

would have shot them in the back, and it would have been a justified

shooting, based on the case law. The only reason I didn't pull the

trigger was because I was nervous to shoot a Black man in the back

because I was afraid of what would happen to me. Legally,

professionally, personally, in my community. His hand was within

three to four inches of the gun. In a normal situation, I would never

allow a suspect to move his hand that close to a gun without shooting

him.

It's frightening, you know. It's something that's so frightening that I

don't tell my wife about because I don't want her to be frightened

knowing that I hesitate on the trigger."

Invaluable insight from the police officer interviews was the universal agreement

between all police officers, regardless of race, of the effects news media reporting is

having on police officer hesitation and reluctance to use force. One Black police officer

respondent spoke candidly about conversations with his counterparts, who are Caucasian

and Asian, about impacts of them having to shoot a Black or Hispanic suspect, such as

the news media digging into their past, labeling them as a "racist" and news media

reports sparking protest and riots.

In the insight offered by CA1#324, one statement stood out among the many

about the conversation they had with fellow non-black police officers about deadly

encounters with suspects. CA1#324 disclosed that because of news media's propensity

to "disregard the facts" when reporting on police officer shootings of minority suspects,

amongst this police officer and their peers, they have all agreed that if:

> *"A, if there's any major use of force it's appointed to me* [CA1#324],
>
> *B, make sure you're* [CA1#324] *the designated marksman because they*
>
> *know they can't accuse me* [CA1#324] *of being racist."*

CA1#324 further added:

> *"So, the Ferguson incident! It goes back to, I don't want to lose my job*
>
> *for some ungrateful person in this community, who probably doesn't*
>
> *like me anyways, and probably wouldn't care if I was injured or dead."*

Police officers also expressed professional concern about the impacts of news

media reporting on crime spikes and the possible negative impact these report signal to

organized criminal entities to embolden them to perpetrate more crimes. CA1#15 stated,

"The public knows through reporting that crime stats are up. People who are getting

arrested also know that crime stats are up, and the police are reluctant to do their jobs."

Several of the police officers voice displeasure with changes in department policy that

require them to have a supervisor respond to situations where the use of force is likely to

result. For example, CA1#170 stated, "I think that it's a huge safety issue because if the

guy is armed in the car, you're giving him all the time in the world to decide what he

wants to do. You're lowering your guard because now you're waiting for somebody to

come over and make a decision for you." However, based upon the insight provided by

the police officer respondents, the arrival of a supervisor to an incident was not a fix-all

in some circumstances.

For example, CA1#311 offered the following insight into the reluctance of supervisors to direct force on an African-American suspect in custody:

> *"We had a suspect kick out the back window of our radio car recently. The traditional response and I think a perfectly appropriate response is when a suspect is committing an act of felony vandalism, and arguably attempting an escape, force is justified and necessary, and reasonable. However, when this happened, I was in the presence of a Sergeant and a couple of other deputies, and it was a tacit agreement, without even being spoken, that until a higher authority arrived, and more deputies arrived, we were going to let this suspect tear the back of this radio car apart and kick out the windows. As long as we could contain him because none of us wanted to put hands on him and be the one to cause him injury, and then be subject to the ensuing community outrage and lawsuits."*

In speaking of the professional effects news media has had on police officer hesitation and reluctance to use force, CA1#324 stated the following about critical incidents, "A lot of my partners feel like the department may not back us if we get into an incident like that…we're afraid that we're going to get hammered just so the department can appease the public."

One last valuable insight gained by the researcher regarding police hesitation and reluctance to use force when legally justifiable concerned the perception by police officers about fellow police officers who admitted they might hesitate to take action or use force in the field. This researcher found from the information gathered from the

respondents, the deed of hesitation to act and/or reluctance to use force by a police

officer, which at one time was a rare occurrence in law enforcement, has now become

routine. Yet, the admission by a police officer that they may hesitate to act or may show

reluctance to use force when legally justified is still extremely taboo. However, it

appeared that among some newer police officers the admission they might hesitate or not

use force when legally justified, was less taboo.

CA1#324 spoke about a briefing at their police station in which the following

questions were posed to the group of police officers, "Are any of you worried about the

consequences of a significant use of force? Do you think that would make you hesitate?"

To which, a female trainee (police officer on training) nodded her head yes. CA1#324

told this researcher, they gave her credit for being very honest and stated, "She's braver

than me because I would never have nodded yes in there because all your partners just

saw you basically admit that you may hesitate, and that's not good. That's not good for

morale, it's not good for team building." Based upon the collective statements by the

police officer respondents, it appears news media reporting has had and is continuing to

have an effect of police officer's performance both personally and professionally

regarding hesitation and reluctance to use force. And while there may be a slight shift in

newer police officer's willingness to be vocal about the real effects of news media

reporting on police officer performance, the overall emotional state of police officers

were reflected by CA1#124, who stated:

> *"We take care of each other. We're all we have out there. If you're*
>
> *worried about things that are out of your control, I don't want you*
>
> *responding to my emergency. When I need somebody, I need them, and*

I want to know that, that person is coming full throttle, and is going to

do whatever it takes to make sure that we both go home. And if I know

that this person responding is going to hesitate, then in my mind they're

no good, they're a liability because I now have to worry about myself

and you."

Politics of Policing – Policy Changes. Twelve respondents mentioned the

concept of policy changes shaped by negative news media reporting that affects police

officers on patrol 36 times. Police officers in this study opened up and candidly spoke

about what it is like to be a police officer in an era where force policy shaped by news

media influence and force is perceived as negative attributes of police officer

performance. Questions 024 and 025 specifically asked respondents "Have use of force

policies at your department become more restrictive?" and "Has your agency made

formal or informal policy changes that you attribute to news media reporting?", the

overwhelming majority of police officers emphatically stated "yes." Police officers

expressed great concern over several of their department's policy changes that included

body-worn cameras, mandatory reporting of low-level resisted hand-cuffing referred to

by several respondents as "wiggle-force," de-escalation policies, and disciplinary policy

for pre-force tactics.

Regarding body-worn cameras, there were mixed feelings about the

implementation and use of devices by police officers working patrol. For example,

CA2#472, who supports the use of the device stated:

"I think one of the things we have going for us at least in our

department from a field standpoint is that we have body-worn cameras,

213

all of our interactions are recorded. I never had it as a police officer,

only as a supervisor, but I know it gave me a lot more confidence in the

interactions I had knowing that there wasn't going to be a situation of

someone accusing me of saying something and I don't have any way of

refuting it. I actually have a video there."

However, respondents such as CA2#220 and CA1#15 criticize the departments' flip-flop

of telling its police officers the video footage captured by the body-worn cameras would

be kept confidential by the department and only released as part of the legal discovery

process, to virtual public release to the news media prior to the department knowing all of

the facts about a case or use of force from the police officer's perspective.

Several of the police officers also took exception with their department's changes

in force policy that have affected force options by restricting certain flashlights, the use

of pepper-spray on uncooperative suspects, to reporting of low-level resisted handcuffing

referred to by respondents as "wiggle-force," CA1#311 discussed and explained the

concept of wiggle-force by stating the following:

I think wiggle-force is a perfect example. The idea that force is defined

as any physical effort to overcome the resistance of another, or to

control another…but this idea that started to appear in the jail system,

right as I was leaving to go to patrol, was that if you were placing

handcuffs on an inmate, and he wiggled his body from side to side

because he's not happy that he's being handcuffed, and that's his body

language of protesting his displeasure, that now technically is a

physical effort, overcoming his resistance, and is therefore now

considered a use of a force. That's something that was foreign to me

when I became a law enforcement officer. That's started to creep into

the lexicon, that idea of wiggle-force. I think that is a puritanical

interpretation of our department's use of force policy."

Regarding the concept of "wiggle-force," CA1#170 stated the following about police

officers being mandated to report such a low-level of resistance as force, "That's just

ridiculous. It's a waste of time, not only the officer's time, but the supervisor's time that

have to report it and do their investigation. It's just a waste of time."

Police officers also reported their concerns on changes to force policy across the

nation that could be adopted by their agencies. These changes included consideration in

Seattle, Washington, of a use-of-force policy that makes drawing and exhibiting a firearm

by a police officer a "reportable use of force," stated CA2#472; to support of legislation

by elected officials, as CA1#170 stated, require a police officer to "actually see the gun"

being used by a suspect in order to use deadly force options such as a firearm to shoot the

suspect. Many of the police officers also took issue with new policies designed to restrict

police officers from going hands-on to control a suspect by mandating them to request a

supervisor prior to making contact and to using verbal de-escalation techniques to control

potentially violent suspects.

The concept of de-escalation techniques and adoption within department policy

was mentioned by several of the respondents. Many of the police officers strongly

believed their departments do not want them to use force and attributed this posture to

news media influence. While many respondents saw the value in strong verbal

communications to control suspects and to gain compliance, several believed too much

emphasis was being placed on verbal de-escalation and not enough of going hands-on. For instance, CA2#22, who is a supervisor, stated the following about changes in use of force and verbal de-escalation policy:

> *"If you use too much, you make the news. But we have officers that are scared to go hands on. And the department's big push right now is de-escalation. If there's no rush then just talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, keep talking, keep talking. When I went through the academy, it was ask, tell, do. Ask them to do it, tell them to do it, and then you make them do it.*

> *Well now, not so much anymore. You know! Ask, ask again, try one more time,* [then] *have someone else ask them. You know? And it's really hard to make them! It's almost like your last resort and it's hard because you have people who were trained differently.*

> *Like people who came on, you have people with 30 years on who were really trained differently, who use flashlights as an impact weapon. Then you have my group, ask, tell, do. Then you've got this new group that's ask, ask, ask! And then you've got a supervisor like with me responding to a scene, going – 'go get them!' 'Go handcuff them!' Like, he's* [the suspect] *not doing what you're saying. Go* [make them] *do it. And there's that delay, that hesitation. They don't want to go hands on."*

The final areas of concern under this sub-theme were changes in how respondent's agencies track and record police officers' use of force and assess pre-force events leading up to the use of force in the evaluation of performance and for disciplinary purposes. While CA2#40 stated they believed scrutinization of pre-force tactics was a "good thing" stating, "Whereas before…they [the department] would say, "bad tactics, good shooting." That no longer exists. If you have bad tactics, it's gonna go with the bad shooting." CA1#348 offered the following example of how this change has negatively impacted police officers:

> *"There was a deputy that went to a 918 call, an insane person, armed with a knife at some hospital. The deputy arrived by himself and saw the female matched the description from the call, holding a knife. She started advancing towards him, so he got out of the car and shot her. She died. It was a good shooting, but he got dinged for tactics. He was there by himself. He could have stayed in the car and waited for backup. But his reasoning was, "Why, when I can see her with a knife, about to use it. I'm not just going to sit there and wait while all these other people are watching."*

Many of the respondents lamented over feeling they have been placed in a no-win situation. In closing, in the lived experiences of the police officer respondents, they reported that each of these incidents, from "wiggle-force" to shooting deaths are all tracked on the police officer's Personal Performance Index (PPI). In many cases, officers believe these entries were used by departments to exclude hard-working police officers from special assignments, promotions, and other career advancements.

Politics of Policing – Police Lack Executive and Departmental Support.

Eleven respondents mentioned the concept of police officers lacking departmental

support as a result of negative news media reporting 58 times. This theme had the fourth

highest frequency of all qualifying themes in the study. Most police officers

acknowledged police work would come with risk, however many are stating the risks are

not the same. CA2#472 stated the following about this shift:

> *"The risks I thought I would be taking was I'm going to be putting*
>
> *myself in a dangerous situation to keep a bad guy from the good guy,*
>
> *I'm that intermediary or I'm the sheepdog, but I resemble the wolf.*
>
> *There's a famous quote that talks about…*[how] *sheep are afraid of the*
>
> *sheepdog because it resembles the wolf. I'm willing to take that risk*
>
> *because I have confidence in my department and myself and my fellow*
>
> *officers, but now it shifted. The risk is very different. I'm not worried*
>
> *for my own safety and livelihood or about some incident happening. It*
>
> *can happen right then. I'm worried about the aftermath."*

In this study, police officers expressed immense displeasure with the lack of

support from their department's supervisors and executive leadership, to the highest

position in the Executive Branch of the United States of America, then held by President

Barack Obama. The major contributing factor of lack of support was attributed by the

respondents to news media and political agendas. The police officers candidly spoke

about the four major areas of lack of support and the ramifications they have had on

themselves and fellow police officers. The four major areas mentioned were (a) lack of

executive support, (b) concern with optics and perception over reality, (c) lack of supervisor support, (d) it's now just a business.

Since 2008, many of the police officers stated they noticed and felt a significant difference in the level of support from the office of the President of the United States. Many of the respondents firmly believe the actions and words of former U.S. President Barack Obama created the environment that became the impetus for negative news media coverage on police and gave rise to community defiance of authority and resisting arrest. CA1#15 stated:

> *"I believe that during the Obama administration, he encouraged*
>
> *people to question authority, to defy authority, and to resist authority at*
>
> *every turn. This happened during the incident in Massachusetts when*
>
> *the professor was trying to break into his own home, and he was*
>
> *detained by law enforcement until they figured out exactly who he was*
>
> *and whether or not he lived there. They had to determine that, but*
>
> *before then it just looked like a simple burglary.*
>
> *The President at the time said, "that the police acted stupidly." From*
>
> *that moment you had certain events, the shooting at Ferguson where*
>
> *Mike Brown attacked Officer Wilson. Officer Wilson, fearing for his*
>
> *life and safety, discharged his weapon killing Mike Brown. The media*
>
> *fed into that frenzy and it started the riots in Ferguson, and it swept*
>
> *across the country."*

CA1#170, who is a Caucasian female police officer who works overtime in the South Los Angeles area stated, "being a White woman in Compton, I feel like it's a different kind of field than when I worked there five years ago. It's different…when you have the President of the United States inviting these mothers of these prior convicted criminals into the White House, it doesn't help!" Several of the police officers expressed they felt that politics and political pressure have hurt law enforcement officers and law enforcement's ability to effectively police. The comments by CA2#458 summed up the feeling of police officers who felt abandoned by former President Obama. They stated, "Police officers' lives don't matter. We're expendable, or it's the broader narrative that they're trying to create…for political purposes, political motivations."

One of the many consequences, specified by respondents, of political pressures on department executives, fueled by news media reporting, is a shift in how they instinctually respond to critical events. CA2#472, who is a supervisor, stated:

> *"It's very, very easy to point a finger if you see something that has the appearance of not looking good with a police officer-involved* [shooting] *because at the end of the day, that police officer may be expendable, whereas their* [department executives/elected officials] *political careers may not be. I don't know how much individual officers trust the leadership of our department to do what's right by their employees over what the politicians recommended to do right by them."*

Many of the tenured police officers who praised past law enforcement executives for their steadfast, fact-based approach to analyzing specific uses of force by police

officers, now join the majority of respondents in their distrust of department executives

due to their adoption of initial reliance on optics over justification, officer safety, and

facts. Several of the respondents reported their concerns about department executives

placing more weight on perception than reality and concern that this overreliance is

creating a climate of fear and mistrust in police officers toward their departments.

Several police officers suggested the current atmosphere of fear and mistrust of

department executives to back their officers has also resulted in a steep decline in police

officer motivation and proactive policing. An additional factor that weighed heavily on

the minds of the respondents was the reactions and power community-based Police

Commissions now have on police officer uses of force. CA1#311 provided an example

of how the lack of experience by politically appointed police commissioners and their

overreliance on optics and media influence do not fit the science of law enforcement and

realities police officers face when dealing with a situation where force may be necessary.

CA1#311 stated:

> *"This idea that lay people are able to comment on the actual physical*
>
> *science of force, without having any hands-on or academic experience*
>
> *in studying force science, and the physiology and physics that are tied*
>
> *into force science. And they try and compel, this goes for our*
>
> *administrators as well, they try and compel officers to use less ugly,*
>
> *less unpleasant use of force options, because of this pressure.*
>
> [Sarcastic impression of a commissioner] *"Why don't you shoot them in*
>
> *the leg?"* or *"Well, why don't you just twist his arm behind his back,*
>
> *type stuff?" Which doesn't actually work, if you know anything about*

physics and physiology! That's pretty much what force science is, is the

intersection of physics and physiology."

From top department executives to the first-line supervisor, police officers acknowledged a noticeable difference in the level of support. Regarding first-line supervisors, the chief complaint among respondents was a greater number of supervisors unwilling to give approval, when lawfully warranted, for officers to do their jobs, in order to avoid using force. Some respondents even questioned the experience of supervisors claiming their department's promotional system was not based on merit and experience, but rather on the ability of a person to be a good test taker. CA1#170 offered an example of situations in which first-line supervisors, such as Sergeants, are force adverse. They present a situation where a police officer lawfully conducts a traffic-stop of a driver for a moving violation. Upon making contact, the suspect detained is uncooperative and is unlawfully refusing to comply with the orders of the police officer who is legally authorized to order the driver to step out of the vehicle. CA1#170 stated, "many departments now require this officer to request a supervisor to respond to the scene to extract the driver to arrest them for obstructing and delaying a police officer. The frustration they felt was, "depending on the supervisor your get over there, they may be like, 'No, it's just not worth it. Let him go.' Thus, not backing the lawful duties of the officer and serving only to further embolden a criminal actor and others to resist the efforts of police officers doing their jobs. CA2#384 stated, "I don't enjoy going to work as much as I used to because we are just not getting the support from our own supervision."

The totality of the lack of executive and departmental support for police officers has left most respondents believing that their leaders are more concerned with potential liability and lawsuits than with police officer safety. Many reported feelings of hurt, betrayal, and defeat by a profession they feel is no longer concerned with their welfare and wellbeing. CA2#458 stated:

> *"I noticed a change a few years ago, where our tactics were being*
> *modified based on risk management and trying to avoid lawsuits. Not*
> *by the people who teach tactics and officer survival, so the training*
> *order started coming from a different source, and they were all about*
> *avoiding lawsuits. I believe that the department sees it's cheaper to*
> *bury an officer than it is to defend them."*

Several respondents questioned their City's or County's practice of paying families off to avoid litigation and the motives of department executives for providing comments to denounce police officer use of force based on optics, public opinion, social media, and news media before they have all facts. Stating to the researcher, that often this practice is done even if the police officer did absolutely nothing in violation of Federal, State, or local law or department policy – just because it "looks bad." CA2#348 stated the following about their experience:

> *"It is frustrating for the officers because it kind of makes us feel like*
> *this city is admitting that we did something wrong or the department's*
> *admitting we did something wrong and we're going to compensate the*
> *other party for what the officers did wrong…whether someone got hurt*

or even killed fighting with the officers or attempting to harm the

officers.

It kind of makes us feel like we did something wrong, I guess, when the

department or the city is gonna give money to the family. Even before

the investigation into the incident is conducted, they're already writing

the check. It's frustrating."

Lastly, police officers were especially critical of their department's disciplinary processes and believed them to be unfair, outdated, archaic and overly responsive to news media reporting, public perception, and political influence. CA2#169 stated, "In recent years, myself and other law enforcement officers I've spoken to are hesitant to apply force in a situation for different reasons. But the media has, in my opinion, caused a general fear of how they, law enforcement officers, could be perceived by others if the incident was captured on video and/or pictures that the media blasts out." While CA1#324 admits, "I know that there are a couple of bad apples out there. We all do. It is what it is. Just like there's bad firefighters, bad doctors, bad dentists, bad lawyers. There's some bad cops, but it's nowhere near the amount that the department and the media portray." Police officers collectively were skeptical of their agencies' reactionary impulse to relieve fire officers, relieve them of duty, or administratively discipline them for high profile events or complaints. Most of the respondents acknowledged they have changed their style of police work accordingly. They were leery of the need to respond to a call for service that indicated a high probability of force to be used while knowing

they were expected to make sure everything turned out perfectly. CA2#169 offered

valuable insight into how unrealistic this new law enforcement standard is. They stated:

> *"We're human. Humans make errors. Humans have feelings. Humans*
>
> *will react in a certain way. I trained with some of the best guys on my*
>
> *department to some of the guys who aren't that great. I've been*
>
> *involved in some very serious situations, to some minor situations. But*
>
> *the reality is, is when the stress, the adrenaline, and the emotions are*
>
> *going, you do fall back on your training, and some of that training*
>
> *doesn't always come out perfect, because our departments don't train*
>
> *us on the daily, and training can only be as good as they give it to you,*
>
> *and as often as they give it to you."*

Politics of Policing – Political Factors. Ten respondents mentioned the concept

of political factors shaped by news media that affect police officers on patrol 30 times.

Police officers in this study opened up and candidly spoke about what it is like to be a

police officer in a political landscape shaped by news media influence. Additionally, the

police officers opened up about their perceptions on how new media reporting, elected

officials, police commissions, political social programs, and community pressures impact

policing. Collectively, all the above-stated factors were not held in high regard by the

police officer respondents.

Most of the police officer respondents, while supportive of the balance of powers,

expressed disconcertment with current elected officials and the influence they pose over

law enforcement leaders within their organizations. Several expressed deep concern for

certain progressive political motives and suggested that like news media's ulterior

motives of viewership, "likes," "tweets," and "shares" to equate into monetary profits, political leaders such as the Mayor, also are motivated and driven by similar motives that equate into campaign dollars and votes. CA2#472 stated regarding the Mayor and City Council members, "It's career survival for them, they need to get votes. If the voters or the citizens of their city are pressing them a certain way or if they feel they're going a certain way, they're going to go with those winds." This respondent credited their leadership's sensitivity to ensuring "underserved or minority communities" do not feel "subjugated or feel that they're not properly respected" by the law enforcement agencies and police officers who patrol their jurisdictions, but also acknowledged their "Command staff is very, very sensitive to the political directives that come from our mayor, [and] from our city council."

Although the position of the Mayor and City Council members was the primary focus among the respondents, the subject of law enforcement command staff sensitivity to politically elected law enforcement officials such as the City Attorney, District Attorney, and the County Sheriff, was also concerning to the police officer respondents. Many of them cited concerns over these individuals, as CA1#311 stated, being "politicians first, and law enforcement officials second" making them "susceptible to decision-making based on public pressure and popularity." This respondent spoke about their perception of it being "in vogue" for law enforcement officers to be charged with murder if they are engaged in a lawful shooting that in any way appears from a news media, social media, or political optics perspective, not to be legally or departmentally justified. For example, CA1#311 stated:

"I think that the Freddie Gray case in Baltimore is a perfect example.

There was an immense amount of public pressure on the district

attorney to file charges, or states attorney. I can't remember what they

call them in Maryland, the district attorney equivalent, which she did.

And then she later realized the hard way, that she didn't actually have a

case.

The outcry for action, and immediate action, in today's day and age, is

so strong, that I think some department executives, and District

Attorneys, States Attorneys, City Attorneys, et cetera, cannot resist that

pressure."

Regarding the Police Commission and its members, who are appointed by the

Mayor, police officers were extremely critical of this oversight body and of its political

agenda to further the political motivations of a Mayor who supports and believes the

negative news media narrative on police officers. In addition to openly questioning the

intentions of an oversight body who as CA2#458 stated, "openly doubt our [police

officer] motivations, and then…true to form, don't support us when we need them to

support us," also questions their validity stating, "The members of the Police

Commission, which is a weird term, for somebody that has no police experience."

Many of the police officers also voiced frustration with the Police Commission

over their lack of comprehending the role and circumstance police officers now find

themselves facing. Several of the respondents spoke about the unsuccessful attempts of

their Police Commissions to support a policy that directed police officers to retreat from a

scene rather than getting involved in a use of force. Although the Police Commission proposal was defeated, CA2#384 stated the fact that the Police Commission proposed this change and voiced they would like to see police officers under their purview, avoid getting involved in a use of force by retreating, did negatively impact the police officers in their department. CA2#384 further stated:

> *"They're out of touch. But when you look at the police commission and*
> *you look into their backgrounds you got people on there that are like*
> *entertainment lawyers or environmental lawyers and things like that.*
> *They don't know anything about criminal law. They don't know*
> *anything about police work. It's not their background. At all!"*

The last topic covered by the police officers under this sub-theme was their concerns about political social programs and community pressures that have a negative impact on policing. In terms of political factors, the most cited frustration among police officers was the intentional misleading of the public, by elected officials, to support propositions such as California Proposition 47 to reduce punishment for drug law violations and Proposition 57 to reduce sentencing for prisoners. In furtherance of the progressive elected officials' criminal justice reform movement, CA1#214 stated when, "crime is going up, then they want to blame us. They want to blame the police." CA1#214 also stated the following about Proposition 47:

> *"It was sold to the public as being beneficial. That the punishment for*
> *controlled substances, they made it sound like that was just people that*
> *have a problem with controlled substances, and they need help, not to*
> *go to jail. But it wasn't told truthfully, that these people are the ones*

that are using the drugs, that are stealing, that are burglarizing, and

causing all these other problems, and creating all these other crimes."

Recruitment and Retention – Police Officers. Twelve respondents mentioned the concept of negative impacts of news media reporting on police officer recruitment and retention 34 times. This sub-theme offered invaluable insight into the current state of police officer recruitment and retention and the major challenges that may be ahead as a result of negative media reporting on police and lack of departmental support continue to affect and shape police officer perceptions. In response to question 032, which asked, "Would you recommend law enforcement as a career?", a large majority of eight police officers stated no; two stated maybe, and two stated yes.

Most respondents who stated "no" were even more emphatic about their response when they discussed the topic of recommending or encouraging their own children or family members to become police officers. The main reasons most respondents stated they would not recommend law enforcement as a career to strangers or acquaintances included (a) the lack of support in major cities of their police officers, (b) their personal misgivings about their agency, (c) lack of compensation, (d) lack of safety, (e) more respectable jobs other than law enforcement.

As presented earlier, respondents were even more definitive in their opposition to their children or family members joining the ranks of law enforcement. CA1#15 stated:

"I told my son, "You will not become a police officer. There is

something better out there for you." CA2#169 told this researcher, "A

nephew of mine who recently wanted to come into law

enforcement…And I said, "well, yeah, your pay, your starting pay, is

229

going to be somewhere around $55,000 a year. Do you want to risk

your life for $55,000 a year? Are you good with that?" Their mind

changes, because they don't realize how tough law enforcement can

be."

CA1#324 stated, "For my family, no. NO! I've had this conversation with my ex. We have a child together and there's absolutely no way that I would allow my daughter to be a deputy sheriff or a cop at all. AT ALL!"

CA1#324 proceeded to tell this researcher that they and other police officers who have daughters have had conversations about whether they would want their daughters to become cops. One police officer said jokingly, "Law enforcement? No! Not for my daughter. She'd get more respect being a stripper." CA1#324 stated they all knew this officer was joking, but they all agreed. Although most respondents would not suggest law enforcement as a profession, the two respondents, CA1#170 and CA2#284, who had mixed feelings stated they would recommend law enforcement to most people, however, stated they would warn them about what the job entails.

The two final respondents, CA1#214 and CA2#40 both expressed a great love of their job despite challenges faced by today's police officers and are advocates for others to become police officers. CA1#214 stated they still caution potential candidates, "because it's a different kind of world out there right now." As agencies struggle to recruit and retain new members of law enforcement, CA2#40 presented their personal challenge to this researcher. As a Black police officer, CA2#40 stated they recommend law enforcement as a career "specifically to young, Black, African-American men" using personal testimony to try to motivate them to become police officers. CA2#40 stated,

"There's a real stigma on becoming an officer in a lot of the urban areas that African Americans live in and it prohibits or restricts them" from seeking roles as a police officer. CA2#40 spoke about how difficult it is to motivate a millennial age African-American to want to become a police officer. And, CA2#40 spoke more candidly about the barriers for willing African-American applicants to come into law enforcement because of cultural norms within the African-American community that include high levels of marijuana drug use and negative credit ratings. Regarding the police application process and millennial-aged African-American applicants, CA2#40 stated:

> *"I know that a lot of them are being wiped out and washed out because weed* [marijuana] *has become so casual. Damn near every one of them do it. That ends up knocking the ... I don't know what the percentage is, exactly, but I know it's high. That, along with credit...I think you have more co-dependent youngsters in the world today than you did...These kids today can't change a tire. They can't fix a meal."*

Recruitment and Retention – Negative Personal Impacts. Eight respondents mentioned the concept of negative personal impacts of negative news media reporting on police officers personally and professionally 32 times. This sub-theme offered valuable insight into the major challenges negative personal impacts pose to police officer recruitment and retention, based on the lived experiences of the police officer respondents. In addition to the factors police officers stated were reasons they would not recommend law enforcement as a career (listed in the previous sub-theme section), eight police officers provided personal accounts of challenges they have faced, battle scars they bear and personal stories of losses they have endured as a result of wearing the badge.

Most of the police officers joined the police ranks near or within five years of the 9/11 terror attacks. Many of them spoke about serving or joining law enforcement at a time when police officers received the benefit of serving the nation as "America's Heroes." The attitudes of most of the American people toward police officers was at its pinnacle. Respondents reported feeling a deep sense that police officers were protectors and warriors and that this feeling ran through the cultural fabric of society. Conversely, attitudes shifted years later with the War on Terror still ongoing, the nation feeling the effects of battle-fatigue and the brewing prime-mortgage crisis of 2008, causing the largest economic meltdown since the Great Depression of 1929. Over a month-and-a-half later, in the wake of months of media debate and rancor about race and race relations in the United States, the nation elected the first African-American as President of the United States of America.

Many of the police officers believe the election of President Obama marked a definitive turning point in police-community relations. In the heat of continued debate over race, a series of high-profile events inclusive of the arrest of African-American Harvard Professor, Henry Louis Gates Jr., in July 2009 and President Obama's remark about the Caucasian arresting officer, Sergeant James Crowley, sparked tensions and national debate over racial profiling not seen since the Rodney King arrest in March 1991. The news media-driven reports of police shootings in Ferguson of Michael Brown, the arrest of Freddie Gray in Baltimore, and the shooting death of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman antagonized police-race relations nationwide. The personal impacts on police officers have been devastating. CA1#311 stated, "The environment became far more hostile to law enforcement. It became harder and harder to do our job. I started

losing friendships because people didn't like the fact that I was a law enforcement officer."

Many respondents expressed feeling disheartened by social media and the personal attacks on them by other users because of their chosen profession. CA1#311 stated, "It's all created this dissatisfaction professionally, for what I had originally viewed as quite an honorable calling…but [I'm] recalibrating…finding new ways to be satisfied that don't rely on the accolades of the community." In addition to attacks on social media, police officers in this study spoke about other negative attributes they have experienced being a police officer that included: (a) high divorce rate, (b) long hours and shift work, (c) sleep deprivation, (d) visceral awareness of the horrible things that happen to children in our society, (e) thankless work, (f) unreasonable safety risk, (g) unreasonable demands for service, (h) increased risk of suicide, (i) alcohol abuse, (j) internal department politics, (k) working holidays, (l) working mandatory overtime, (m) increased risk for high blood pressure and heart disease, and (n) shortened life-expectancy. A "new risk" respondents identified, which they stated all police officers now face, is the fact that they could go to prison for the rest of their lives for genuinely trying, in good faith, to perform their duties.

Regarding the health risks associated with police work, CA1#324 stated, "I'm going to try to beat that statistic where we die five years after we retire. I'm trying to beat that, but I know that it comes with the job. Our life expectancy isn't that great." While some police officers may be able to ward off illness through good diet and exercise, additional factors that police officers stated affect retention are the internal department issues of unfair discipline that are the result of heightened news media scrutiny of police

officer use of force. CA2#169 stated, "When most of the incidents depicted on the television are skewed in such a bias fashion toward law enforcement instead of being independent, it causes a demoralizing factor to law enforcement officers. Therefore, I believe the media reporting has impacted the way officers apply force." CA2#220 added, "I've supervised officers myself where for over a year where they were relieved of duty because of a perception of the video. Now, it's all over and they kept their jobs and it's like, "okay, get out there and work." It's not that easy. You know they just had to scramble to make money to keep their house and they have brand new babies and a lot of that's because of the effect of the media."

Across the board, police officers stated the factors above affect their attitude. CA2#384 stated the following about police work, "I think it starts to weigh on you and your stress levels go up. I think your mood changes to where you're more negative, pessimistic and I think that's a battle for a lot of officers…then we have to deal with becoming negative, pessimistic and jaded overall." CA2#458 stated, "It's just not a good place to work. It's not a good environment."

An invaluable insight into the reasons police officer respondents say police officers leave law enforcement and departments struggle to recruit and retain good officer was eloquently captured in this final statement by CA1#311 about police work:

> *"I think it is, by and large, thankless. I think the risks that society is*
>
> *asking law enforcement officers to take today, are unreasonable, and*
>
> *unacceptable.*

Homelessness, cops take care of it. Mental health, cops take care of it.

Juvenile delinquency, cops take care of it. Deteriorating schools, cops

take care of it. We were not designed to handle all those problems. It's

part of the reason we're having so many deadly force encounters

because we're dealing with people we were never designed to deal

with.

I think until society appreciates the fact that they're dumping all their

problems on us, and then dumping on us for dealing with those

problems in a way that they don't find pleasant, I think until they stop

doing that, I think that they need to experience a drought of good cops.

Summary of Dominant Themes

In this section, the researcher provides a summary of the two dominant themes

and the key concepts (sub-themes) that surfaced in the exploration of this study's

research questions, which sought to illuminate perceptions of police officers toward

policing. The dominant themes and key concepts emerged through the analysis by the

researcher of the literature review, PATP survey data, and the themes that emerged from

the police officer respondents' responses to the semi-structured interviews. This

researcher concludes this section with an explanation of how the two major themes, (a)

Major Shifts in America and (b) Police Roles and Reactions, and their associated sub-

themes intersect in respect to explaining how police officers on patrol, in major

metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes, perceive the

impact of the media coverage on them professionally and professionally.

Theme 1: Major Shifts in America

One of the most invaluable insights that surfaced in the study was the authentication that law enforcement officers are responding in less than desirable ways as a result of major shifts in America that include negative news media reporting, ill-constructed criminal justice reforms, and changes in societal norms and values. Major shifts in each of these domains are credited by police officers as the underlying reasoning for their decreased motivation to proactively police and their overall decreased satisfaction with the current state of law enforcement in America. Unequivocally, the police officers strongly agree the combined forces of the major shifts in the three areas defined above are a casual factor to increases of crime in the United States.

According to Newton's Third Law of Motion, "To every action there is always opposed an equal reaction: or the mutual action of two bodies upon each other are always equal, and directed to contrary parts" (Iro, 2016). The constructs of the third law in its simplified notation which states for every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction and illustrated in the formal as, "The force on body A exerted on body B is equal in magnitude but opposite in direction to that on body B exerted by body A" (Berry, 1977) has applications to the effects of news media on police officer proactivity. Although the third law of motion is primarily associated with physics, in the domain of social causality its implications provide equally valuable insight.

Regarding the police officer continuum of proactivity, which spans from not at all proactive to highly proactive, this study indicates the following key observations about the three major shifts (identified as body B factors) upon police officers (identified as body A factors) as illustrated below in Figure 2 developed by this researcher.
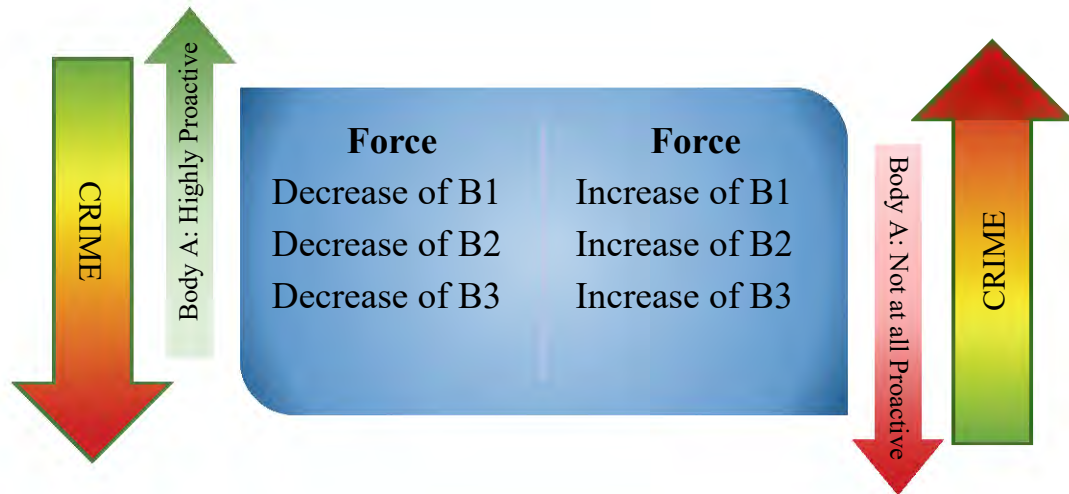
Figure 2. Police Officer Continuum of Proactivity

Based upon the PATP survey and interview data, police officers attributed their level of

proactivity on patrol (body A), directly proportional and opposite of the force applied by

each body B identifier. The three body B identifiers and descriptions of the force

attributed to them by respondents were:

(1) Body B1 – Negative News Media: Negative and ill-informed news media

reporting on police officer actions and perpetuation of the false and statistically

unsupported narrative of police officers shooting "unarmed Black men" and media's

labeling of police officers as "racist."

(2) Body B2 – Legislation: Ill-constructed criminal justice reforms consisting of

laws to decriminalize existing law or actions, release incarcerated individuals early by

reducing sentencing, and decriminalization specifically related to drugs.

(3) Body B3 – Societal changes in norms and values: A greater level of animosity

from a large percentage of the public, higher instances of verbal and physical resistance

from members of society and violent attacks on police by activists and members of

extremist organizations.

As illustrated in Figure 2, the three identified body B forces are independent of each other and their impact on body A. Thus, body B factors can have an additive and/or inverse and/or neutralizing effect. Police officers in this study gave first-hand accounts of the positive and negative effects of the major shifts they are perceiving in America. This study established the negative effects of the combined three major shifts in the United States of America. This study also offered meaningful insight into the grave effects these forces are having on police officer proactivity, motivation, satisfaction and of the dire consequences these shifts pose to the safety and security of the nation.

Theme 2: Shift in Police Roles and Reactions

The other invaluable insight that surfaced in the study was the authentication that laws, police roles and reactions are also shifting in America. The findings in this category were underscored by a triad of major factors, including scrutiny by news media, political forces, and toxic inner-departmental strife, which police officers state are defining the landscape for those working on patrol. Based upon the analysis of literature, the PATP survey and interview data, police officers unequivocally strongly agree the Ferguson Effect is a real phenomenon occurring in the United States of America.

This key theme was supported by the PATP data. Based on respondents' tenure and experience, 96.2% of the police officers stated news media reporting has had a moderate or major effect on law enforcement. Additionally, 95.1% also stated they agreed or strongly agreed other police officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to the possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from negative encounters with a citizen(s). Finally, in the respondents' opinions, 99.4% of police officers stated media coverage on high-profile police officer shootings, such as Michael

Brown in Ferguson, have had a moderate or major effect on policing nationwide (91.5% assessed this as major).

This study intensely focused on the effects of media reporting on police officer motivation, self-efficacy, proactivity and police officers' empirical observations of these effects on crime. While many of the police officers believe the election of President Obama marked a definitive turning point in police/community relations, the research clearly indicated that police officers perceive news media is having negative effects on community members, political officials, key legislation supporting decriminalization of drug and sentencing laws, and on law enforcement executive leadership. The changes have translated into shifts in the role police officers are willing to accept and shifts in their reactions shaping their decision-making processes. Police officers universally voiced feeling restricted, unmotivated to police, frustrated, and muzzled by the effects of news media, political forces and lack of law enforcement executive and internal departmental support.

Police officers stated they now operate in "career survival mode" and perform their duties of detecting and addressing crime more like "firefighters" who are reactive rather than being proactive. Additionally, police officers reported feelings of being helpless to do their jobs and choosing to walk away from situations without solving the issues they see or are called to handle. Police officers stated they are reacting this way to avoid becoming the news media's next sensationalized news story or a victim of their department's overly punitive disciplinary process that is overly responsive to social-political-media driven forces that police officers perceive now drive the law enforcement profession. Many police officers felt law enforcement is a profession that puts police

officers in no-win situations yet demands nothing but wins. Finally, police officers expressed a strong disdain toward the forces of news media and the sensationalized false narrative of police officers shooting "unarmed Black men" in disproportional numbers and strongly agree these negative effects are changing the police officer role in American society and their reactions of muzzled proactive policing is further serving to embolden criminals and add to the spikes in crime in America.

Summary

Chapter IV presented the findings produced from the data in this mixed-methods study. A thorough examination of findings connected the data to the research questions and included quotes, summaries, and extracts from the interviews with participants about their lived experiences as police officers working on patrol. The findings were presented and related to the literature review. Through extensive analysis of the data, patterns, and themes, findings were identified and placed into two major themes. The following significant findings emerged:

1) Police officers strongly agree the "Ferguson Effect" is real.

2) Ninety point eight percent of police officers agree, approaching strongly agree ($M = 4.33$) news media reporting on policing is causing police officers to hesitate to use force even when force is legally justified.

3) News media reporting unequivocally is having significant negative impacts on police officers proactively policing.

4) Eighty-three percent of police officers agree ($M = 4.28$) crime spikes in many cities across the country are the result of police officers becoming less

proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative news media reporting on police.

5) A statistically significant difference exists between the impacts of the "Ferguson Effect" on Black police officers (slightly less effect) than on their police officer counterparts.

6) Police officers are hesitating to use force. Ninety point seven percent of respondents report news media is having a moderate or major effect ($M =$ 4.45) on them doubting themselves when opting to use or not use force when legally justified.

7) Ninety point one percent of police officer respondents strongly agree ($M =$ 4.15) deadly attacks on police officers/deputies has increased because of news media.

8) Most police officers are not at all satisfied with the Criminal Justice Reform movement in the United States.

9) Overall, police officer satisfaction with department policies regarding force, department pay and benefits, and executive leadership's response to news media reporting on police matters all ranged from not at all satisfied to moderately satisfied or below.

10) Ninety-three point three percent of police officers agree or strongly agree that the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement has not had a positive effect on law enforcement interactions with African Americans.

Chapter V reviews the major findings then presents unexpected findings, conclusions, implications for action, recommendations for future research, and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER V: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter V begins with an overview of the study, including the purpose statement, research questions, methodology, population and sample size. It lists key findings from the study and conclusions drawn from those finding. Diligent analysis of the data gathered through the literature review, electronic survey, semi-structured interviews with police officers and the researcher's observations resulted in ten major findings and two dominant themes and trends. The researcher formed conclusions based on the findings and developed recommendations for future research. The chapter ends with the researcher's final comments.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this mixed-methods case study was to understand and describe how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008. A secondary purpose was to determine if there was a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender and race.

Research Questions

The following research questions were designed to answer the central questions about police officer perceptions about policing and to determine if media reporting is affecting police officer performance.

RQ1: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them personally?

RQ2: How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impact of the media coverage on them professionally?

RQ3: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on gender?

RQ4: Is there a significant difference about the perception of how media coverage impacts police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations, experiencing crime spikes since 2008, based on race?

Methodology and Data Collection Procedures

This phenomenological mixed-methods case study used both a quantitative instrument and qualitative methods of data collection instrument to assess the extent to which media reporting as a determining factor affects police officer performance both personally and professionally. A qualitative survey instrument titled the "Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Policing" survey (PATP) was created by the researcher for this research study. Additionally, qualitative data was obtained through one-on-one interviews with police officers to gain insight into the lived experiences of police officers on patrol. The researcher was considered a human instrument of data collection and intermediary in the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data.

The PATP survey and interview protocol data collection instruments used for the study were developed and questions based on emerging themes identified by the researcher's literature review. The instruments' validity, reliability, and alignment to the research questions were tested by a panel of subject matter experts selected by the

researcher. Both instruments were field tested with police officer subjects who were independent of the sample used in the study. Once the validity and reliability of the tools were confirmed, BUIRB approval was sought and granted to request agency participation and approval to conduct the study. Upon gaining approval of the two agencies/organizations, the participants were contacted, and data was collected. The researcher then organized and analyzed the data to reveal significance, patterns, and themes. Test of significance of the quantitative data was completed through one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). This provided this researcher with richer information about the police officers' perceptions on policing.

Population and Sample

The population for this study was all police officers in the United States of America (U.S.A.). A target population was identified by narrowing the scope of possible research subjects by focusing on law enforcement agencies in major metropolitan areas serving populations of 250,000 or more people. The target population was narrowed to the police officers employed by 79 law enforcement agencies in the U.S.A. that had experienced crime spikes since 2008. Of the 79 law enforcement agencies, this researcher further narrowed the target population and sent invitations to the top six largest law enforcement agencies identified in the list of 79 and used the first two agencies that elected to participate in the study.

The sample size for this study consisted of all police officers and deputy sheriffs (referred to as participants) employed by CA1 and CA2 who self-selected to respond to an electronic survey tool sent via e-mail to 12,060 police officer members of CA1 and CA2. A total of 873 completed survey responses were used in the analysis for the study.

Additionally, 12 police officers (six from each agency) were randomly selected to participate in the semi-structured interviews. Interviews were conducted using questions developed based on the literature review.

Major Findings

The purpose of this mixed-methods case study was to understand and describe how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008. A secondary purpose was to determine if there was a significant difference in the perception of how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008 based on gender and race. The data collected and analyzed were used to find answers to the four research questions. Key findings presented in Chapter IV were the result of statistical analysis, coding of themes and computing of their frequencies. The researcher linked the themes identified during the literature review.

The theory of the "muzzling of the sheepdog" in its simplest form states that police officers if muzzled by policy, politics, and media persuasion, will become unwilling to protect the sheep. The dominant themes of the study showed increasing levels of all three factors, which have resulted in major shifts in America and in police roles and reactions to the increased levels of scrutiny and restrictions to perform their duties to protect themselves and the public. Overall, the study delineates the negative impacts this muzzling effect is having on police officers' satisfaction, performance, productivity and the implications of these effects on crime.

Finding 1 – Police Officers Strongly Agree the "Ferguson Effect" is Real

Police officers strongly agree the "Ferguson Effect," which is the theory that states increased media scrutiny of police officers following the police shooting of a Black man, Michael Brown, in Ferguson, Missouri, by a White police officer, Darren Wilson, has led to crime spikes in the United States. Ninety-nine-point four percent of police officers stated media coverage on high profile police officer shootings has had a moderate to major effect (M = 4.90) on policing nationwide. Ninety-six-point two percent of police officers said news media reporting has had a major effect (M = 4.70) on law enforcement. Ninety-five-point one percent of police officers strongly agreed other police officers have become less proactive in enforcing laws. Eight-three percent of police officers agree crime spikes, in many cities across the county, are the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative media reporting on policing.

The term "Ferguson Effect" was coined by St. Louis Metropolitan Police Chief, Sam Dotson during a news media interview in November of 2014. The quantitative and qualitative data obtained in this study clearly demonstrates the factor known as the Ferguson Effect is a real phenomenon impacting police officers.

Finding 2 – News Media Reporting on Policing is Causing Police Officers to Hesitate to Use Force Even When Force is Legally Justified

Ninety point eight percent of police officers and deputy sheriffs (referred to collectively as "police officers") state news media reporting is having a statistically significant major effect on law enforcement officers and is causing them to hesitate to use force, even when force is legally justified.

247

As the sole subject, 71% of police officers felt media reporting had a moderate effect on them personally. Additionally, 68.3% of patrol officers acknowledge that news media scrutiny has had a moderate effect (M=3.65) on their personal decision-making process while working patrol. At the same time, 96.2% of police officers said news media reporting has had a major effect ($M = 4.70$) on law enforcement. Overall, 87.8% of police officers felt media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri has had a moderate effect ($M = 3.54$) on their personal policing style. This study focused specifically on the effects of media reporting on police officer motivation, self-efficacy, proactivity, and empirical observations of these effects on crime.

The current study's finding that 90.8% of police officers strongly agree news media is causing them to hesitate to use force, even when force is legally justified should be cause for law enforcement to sharply focus on this symptom of news media reporting and investigate the implications of this finding toward police officer safety. CNN contributor Ray Sanchez, quoting University of Pittsburg School of Law Professor, David Harris saying police officers felt under siege, "But there's no evidence of the so-called Ferguson effect…that police are hesitating to do their jobs…or that criminals are being emboldened by the rhetoric" (Sanchez, 2015). The current finding not only suggests but confirms that police officers may be hesitating to do one of the most serious jobs in their field – saving their own life, the life of their fellow partners or the life of another.

Finding 3 – News Media Reporting Unequivocally is a factor in the Muzzling of the Sheepdog Effect and is Having Significant Negative Impacts on Police Officers Proactively Policing

Ninety-five point one percent of police officers strongly agree police officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of action that may result from a negative encounter with a citizen(s). Additionally, 70.1% of police officers report they have personally become less proactive for the exact same reason.

Most police officers believe news media reporting on high-profile police officer shootings, such as the incident involving Michael Brown in Ferguson has had a major effect on policing nationwide and has resulted in reduced police officer motivation, proactivity and hesitation. Many blame the news media for the way it negatively frames reports on police interactions with people in communities of color. Two specific quotes capture the effects of media, race and reporting on police officers' reduced proactivity. CA3#384 offered the following example:

> *"If you look at Ferguson or you look at any number of these major incidents, it came back to race over and over and over again. That's I guess kind of the easy go-to for activists and the media…it's racist cops."*

For example, CA2#169 stated:

> *"So, did Ferguson impact the way things are done by me? Yes! I don't do the proactive police work I used to do. If I almost had to give you a percentage, I would say maybe 25% of what I used to do is what I do now, and it's related to that, because I don't want to be involved…I*

don't think proactive police work really exists anymore, quite

honestly."

Police officers strongly felt the news media's ulterior motivation (money and viewers/ratings) has led the news media to provide incomplete information void of exculpatory facts that would lessen or nullify the sensationalism of the report if factually reported. Police officers question news media's ulterior motives and feel news media does not present the hundreds-of-thousands of daily positive acts police officers perform. They also voiced frustration over the news media effects on their jobs. Most of the police officers reported feeling the news media has created a climate in which citizens more frequently question and attempt to obstruct police officers' authority. Respondents felt police officers' authority is undermined by news media's propensity to misinform the public and negatively portray police officers.

Police officers stated they felt betrayed by the news media's perpetuation of the false and statistically unsupported narrative of police officers shooting "unarmed Black men" as a normal and frequent occurrence and media's labeling of police officers as "racist." Police officers shared the belief that news media has cast a "dark cloud over law enforcement" (CA2#384), which is causing police officers to second guess themselves, become hesitant to use force in fear of how the media will portray them and feel demoralized.

Finding 4 – Police Officers Agree Crime Spikes in Many Cities Across the Country

are the Result of Police Officers becoming Less Proactive in Enforcing Laws as a

Result of Negative News Media Reporting on Police

Eighty-three percent of police officers agree crime spikes, in many cities across

the country, are the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as

a result of negative media reporting on police.

Most police officers expressed feeling current news media scrutiny and the

political climate have greatly reduced police officer motivation. This finding was

supported by the literature review. In 2017, nearly three years after the uprising over the

police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, cities like Chicago, where the police were

the focus of sharp negative media scrutiny over their treatment of citizens, saw drastic

spikes in violent crimes, while also experiencing a reported 24% drop in arrest rate from

the year prior and an overall 44% drop since 2011 (Cherone & Nitkin, 2017).

Police officers unequivocally agreed reduced police officer motivation is a factor

in crime spikes. They cite seeing the same people they have arrested "over and over

again" for crimes related to drugs, burglaries, and quality of life issues such as vagrancy,

illegal camping, illegal dumping, and panhandling. They also cite dealing with homeless

people, some with mental health disorders, as another source of their frustration.

Finding 5 – Black Police Officers are Strongly Affected, but Less Strongly Affected

than their Non-Black Police Officer Counterparts by the Ferguson Effect and

Report Higher Levels of Overall Job Satisfaction

This study discovered a significant difference exists in the overall Ferguson Effect

on Black police officers versus their counterparts of other ethnicities as demonstrated by

effect, agreement and satisfaction questions. Additionally, Black police officers
expressed higher organizational satisfaction.

All police officers held the belief that media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, has a major effect on policing nationwide. The statistically significant differences found in this study in no way suggest that all police officers do not share the same beliefs about muzzling factors affecting police officers. Rather, the findings suggest Black police officers are less sensitive regarding strength and effect of negative factors experienced by police officers. One hypothesis for a slightly lower impact, in regard to the Ferguson Effect is sensationalized news media reporting like The Washington Post's article "A Year of Reckoning: Police Fatally Shoot Nearly 1,000" or VICE News', "Shot by Cops and Forgotten" has intensely focused its criticism and narrative on racist White officers, shooting and killing unarmed Black men (Fryer, 2016). Thus, it is conceivable the intensity of the criticisms and impacts to non-Black police officers are stronger. However, the specific reasons for the disparity requires more research.

Similarly, this study found that Black police officers expressed a statistically significant (.008), greater level of approval for their organization than their counterparts. When the focus shifted to uses of force police officers agreed that within their departments the use of force by police officers/deputies has become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's/deputy's performance. Here again, the statistically significant difference (.002) of the effect of this factor was less present in Black police officers ($M = 3.78$, approaching agree) than Other, Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino, and

Asian/Pacific Islander police officers ($M = 4.32$, d .54, $M = 4.06$, d .28, $M = 4.28$; d .05 and $M = 4.35$, d .57, respectively).

Finding 6 – Police Officers are Doubting Themselves when Opting to Use or Not Use Force When Legally Justified

Ninety-point eight percent of police officers stated the news media has had a major effect on them doubting themselves when opting to use or not to use force when legally justified.

Police officers resoundingly agree they are operating in career survival mode as a result of media news. Police officers do fear they are just one sensationalized news story away from losing their jobs and when faced with violent and life-threatening circumstances they are doubting themselves in fear of what the optics will be and how the news media will spin the story. As a result, more and more police officers are saying they are intentionally avoiding enforcement of quality of life laws such as public intoxication, panhandling, loitering, trespassing, illegal camping, defecating/urinating in public, and open use and possession of illicit drugs. Additionally, police officers state they are leery of self-initiated contacts of the homeless, persons with mental illness, people using drugs in public, and in many cases African-Americans, due to the potential volatile nature of the contact and news media's propensity to only show the use of force and not the events of resistance or attempts to avoid arrest prior to the physical interaction.

Race has become a central factor in the police officer decision-making process. Ninety-four point two percent of police officers stated they strongly agreed media reporting on police officer actions are unfair and biased against police officers, with a

mean of 4.61. The Pew Research Center's "Behind the Badge" study conducted in 2016 found that 86% of the respondents stated high-profile incidents involving police and Blacks have made their job harder (Morin, Parker, Stepher, & Mercer, 2017). This finding was supported by the data in the current study with 94.3% of the respondents strongly agreeing news media reporting on police interactions with citizens has made their job harder. A similarly sized majority (94.4%) of police officers stated they strongly believe news media is biased when reporting on police encounters with people of minority groups.

Finding 7 – Police Officers Strongly Agree Deadly Attacks on Police Officers/Deputies have Increased Because of the News Media

Ninety point one percent of police officer respondents strongly agree (M = 4.15) deadly attacks on police officers/deputies have increased because of the news media.

Negative media coverage had the potential to lower police officers' motivation to perform their duties. According to a Rasmussen Reports poll, 58% of Americans agreed there was a war on police. Additionally, 77% of those who said there was a war on police believed comments by politicians increased the level of danger for officers (Rasmussen Reports, 2015). Although police officers stated they felt under attack, liberal-leaning news media sources suggested the data on police officers killed by gunfire in 2015 did not support the claims made by police officers.

Police officers reported growing concerns about the widening gap in police/community relations. Most police officers mentioned the growing rate of hostile attitudes by subjects contacted turning into hostile and violent acts toward police officers. In addition to changing public support, police officers also voiced growing concern over

the empowerment of persons with criminal backgrounds as the result of lessening

punishments for criminal acts. They believed the criminal element has become more

emboldened due to the current social-political-media-driven climate. CA2#169 stated on

the public-at-large:

> *"One of the things I've personally seen that I think is happening quite*
>
> *more often is challenging the law enforcement officers and the killing*
>
> *of law enforcement officers. If you look at the statistics, at least for this*
>
> *year, there's more law enforcement officers killed from now, from the*
>
> *beginning of 2018 to present, than there's been in years previous, and a*
>
> *lot of that is the increase has been significant in gunfire."*

Finding 8 – The Vast Majority of Police Officers are Not at All Satisfied with the

Criminal Justice Reform Movement in the United States

Most respondents were "not at all satisfied" (M = 1.16). Similarly, 0.3% of

police officers reported being very to extremely satisfied with the Criminal Justice

Reform movement in the United States.

Police officers expressed deep concerns about political-social programs and

community pressures that have a negative impact on policing. In terms of political

factors, the most cited frustration among police officers was the intentional misleading of

the public to support propositions such as California Proposition 47 to reduce punishment

for drug law violations and Proposition 57 to reduce sentencing for prisoners, by elected

officials. In furtherance of the progressive elected officials' criminal justice reform

movement, CA1#214 stated when, "crime is going up, then they want to blame us. They

want to blame the police." CA1#214 also stated the following about Proposition 47:

"It was sold to the public as being beneficial. That the punishment for

controlled substances, they made it sound like that was just people that

have a problem with controlled substances, and they need help, not to

go to jail. But it wasn't told truthfully, that these people are the ones

that are using the drugs, that are stealing, that are burglarizing, and

causing all these other problems, and creating all these other crimes.

Additionally, most police officers blame the liberal influences of criminal justice reform

for negatively affecting use of force policies, overburdening oversight, and the

implementation of ill-qualified citizen police commission oversight bodies.

Finding 9 – Police Officers Are Deeply Dissatisfied with Department Policies

Regarding Force, Pay and Benefits, and Executive Leadership's Response to News

Media Reporting on Police Matters

Organizationally speaking, two-thirds of police officers (73.8%) stated they

agreed or strongly agreed that law enforcement departments are not looking out for the

best interests of police officers.

Regarding the motivational factors, most police officers rated their level of

satisfaction at a level of between not at all satisfied and moderately satisfied (M = 1.56 to

2.71) for executive leadership (97.2%), force policies (94.8%) and pay and benefits

(75%). The survey found that only 6% of police officers were very to extremely satisfied

with their department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters (M

= 1.99). Satisfaction with executive leadership response was even lower at 2.8% with the

mean score of 1.56 indicating the majority are not satisfied. Most police officers also

took exception to their department's policies regarding use of force. Only 5.2% of police

officers stated they were very to extremely satisfied with their department's force policies (M = 1.86). A quarter of police officers responded they were very to extremely satisfied with their department's pay and benefits. In conclusion, a mere 56.5% of police officers stated they were very to extremely satisfied with their decision to become a police officer or deputy sheriff. The survey showed the mean score for police officers (M = 3.62) indicating that on average, police officers are only a little more than moderately satisfied with their decision to become a member of law enforcement.

Finding 10 – **Police Officers Believe Black Lives Matter (BLM) Has Not Had a Positive Effect on Law Enforcement Interactions with African Americans**

Ninety-three point three percent of police officers agree or strongly agree (M = 4.69) the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement has not had a positive effect on law enforcement interactions with African Americans.

At the time of the shooting death of Michael Brown, with the aid of news and social media, the Black Lives Matter movement took root in the United States. Virtually all police officers (98%) agree or strongly agree (M = 4.71) news media reporting on police officers negatively influences the public's perception of police officers and the jobs they do.

In the aftermath of the justified shooting by the White police officer, Darren Wilson, of a Black man, Michael Brown, the news media relentlessly reported this as the shooting of an "unarmed Black man," which spurred a wave of violence toward police officers and spikes in violent crimes across the nation (MacDonald, 2017; Porter, 2016; Schouten & Brennan, 2016). The current 2016 FBI UCR report of Law Enforcement Officers Feloniously Killed from 2007-2016 of known offenders by race and sex shows a

higher number of assailants were White (297) versus Black/African American (206). However, of the total 543 officers killed, the figures do not reflect Hispanic/Latino assailants who are classified as the White race (Investigation, 2016). According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 76.6% of the U.S. population is White and 13.4% is Black (Bureau, 2018). Thus, the percentage of Black offenders who killed police officers is disproportionally higher.

Unexpected Findings

The data collected, transcribed and coded for this study sought to understand and describe how news media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally, in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008. Additionally, the study sought to determine if there was a significant difference about the perception of police officers based on gender and race. The findings suggest news media reporting is having a muzzling effect on police officer proactivity and grave impacts on police officer efficacy. The researcher was not surprised about police officers conveying they feel negative impacts personally and professionally of news media reporting but did identify some unexpected findings during the data collection process.

Unexpected Finding 1 – Police Officer Resilience

Despite experiencing unprecedented levels of attacks to their efficacy from news media, employing agencies, elected officials, and shifting public opinion swayed by news media influence, the participants expressed an unexpected level of self-efficacy and resilience. The focus of police officers, even in extraordinarily dangerous situations that pose a great risk to their personal safety, causes them to doubt themselves or hesitate to use force, reframes toward the collective valor of law enforcement. Although police

officers report they are operating in career survival mode and that they are not proactively policing, police officers remain mindful of their duties to protect and serve.

Unexpected Finding 2 – Hispanic/Latino Police Officers Experience Greatest Level of the Muzzling Effect

Hispanic/Latino police officers report the greatest level of negative impacts of Ferguson's "muzzling effect" and expressed the greatest levels of dissatisfaction with their law enforcement agencies. Hispanic/Latino police officers held the strongest belief that other police officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from negative encounters with a citizen(s). Additionally, Hispanic/Latino police officers reported the strongest level (4.94) or belief that media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, has had a major effect on policing nationwide. Regarding overall satisfaction with extrinsic department factors, Hispanic/Latino officers (M = 2.50) were statistically less satisfied with their department's pay and benefits than their Caucasian counterparts (M = 2.86, d .36; statistical significance .004). Hispanic/Latino police officers (M = 1.87) were also statistically less satisfied with their department's supervisor's response to news media report on police matters than their Black and Asian/Pacific Islander counterparts (M = 2.29, d .42, and M = 2.30, d .43, respectively; statistical significance .013). Additionally, Hispanic/Latino police officers believed second strongest, behind Asian/Pacific Islander police officers that deadly attacks on police officers have increased because of news media.

Unexpected Finding 3 – Women Police Officers Are Less Sensitive to the Muzzling Effect

For many men and women who wear the badge, law enforcement is not a job but rather a vocation. Unexpectedly, the findings suggest that women, like Black police officers, are less sensitive regarding strength and effect of negative factors of the "Ferguson Effect" experienced by police officers. This finding was based on nine of ten PATP questions indicating male police officers were statistically more likely than female police officers to experience the negative effects of media reporting, also known as the "Ferguson Effect." The most profound gender comparison findings in this set of questions were the responses to questions 18 and 28:

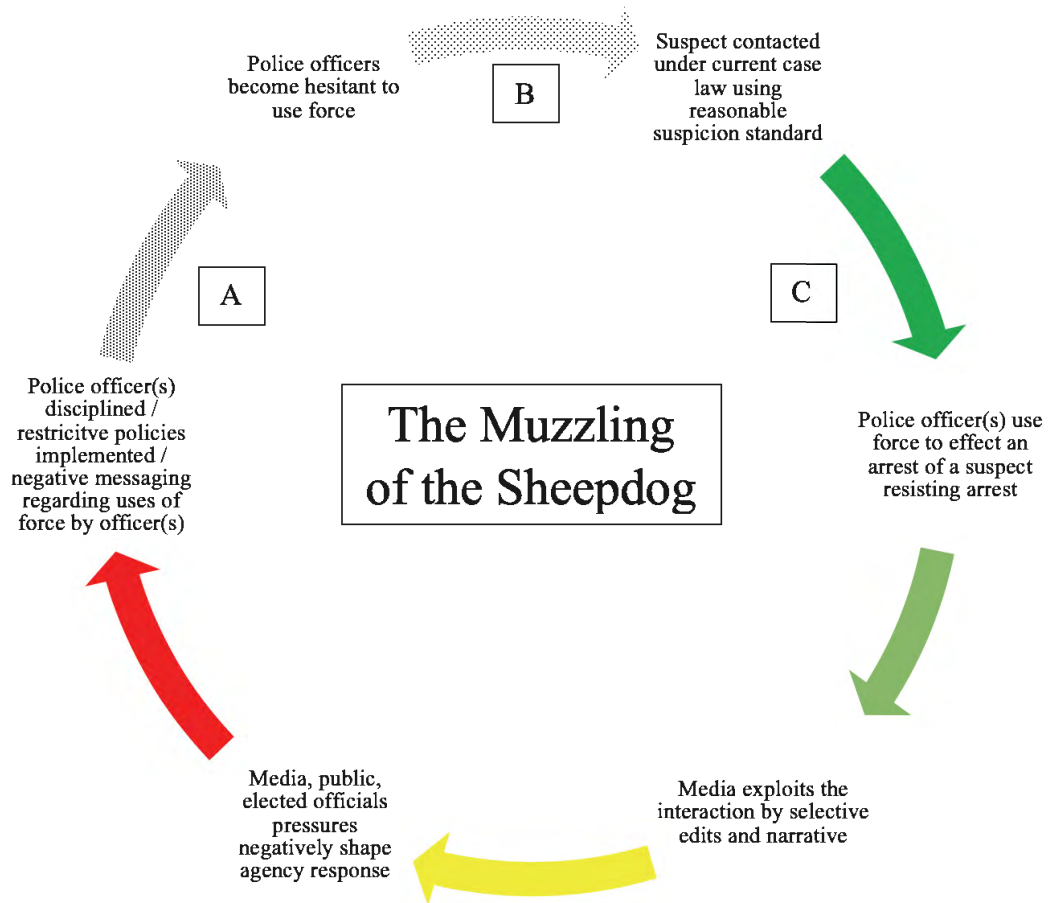> Q18: Male police officers strongly agree ($M = 3.95$) they have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from a negative encounter with a citizen. Female police officers also agreed ($M = 3.48$) with the statement, but to a lesser extent. However, this factor showed the greatest difference in scores based on gender, with a mean difference of .48.
>
> Q28: Although both female police officers ($M = 2.93$) and male police officers ($M = 2.70$) neither agreed or disagreed police officers/deputies are not respected by most members of society in the United States, female police officers agreed more strongly that police officers are not respected. This factor was the only factor in the set of ten statistically significant gender comparison questions on agreement, in which female police officers showed a greater agreement than male officers.

Interestingly, female police officers were statistically more likely than male police officers to experience marginally greater levels of organizational satisfaction, as indicated by the marginally higher approval rating of their pay, department's executive leadership, and with their decision to become a police officer or deputy sheriff.

Unexpected Finding 4 – Race is a Hesitation Factor in Police Use of Force

Police officers report that the race of suspects is a factor in the hesitation/doubt and use of force equation shaping their decision making. Most police officers expressed great concern about their personal safety and the safety of their partners due to the hesitation factor that is becoming more prevalent in law enforcement. Police officers credited this negative attribute of learned behavior to scrutiny by news media, liberal elected officials, and the media's influence on public perception over police officer's use of force and personal bias. Additionally, police officers fault lack of law enforcement executive support and the perception that agencies will bend to appease public outcry over optics versus backing its officers on adherence to case law. Finally, police officers expressed grave concern over restrictive changes to use of force policies within their agencies, often enacted by police commissions with little to no practical police experience, as contributing factors to the hesitation/doubt force equation.

Police officers become hesitant to use force

B

Suspect contacted under current case law using reasonable suspicion standard

A

The Muzzling of the Sheepdog

C

Police officer(s) disciplined / restricitve policies implemented / negative messaging regarding uses of force by officer(s)

Police officer(s) use force to effect an arrest of a suspect resisting arrest

Media, public, elected officials pressures negatively shape agency response

Media exploits the interaction by selective edits and narrative

Figure 3. Police Officer Hesitation/Doubt Force Equation Loop

  Figure 3 above illustrates the effects and level of motivation and dissipation of motivation police officers are experiencing as a result of the muzzling of the sheepdog effect. The arrows in the loop are intentionally assigned colors that correspond with traffic signals and indicate the actions of police officers in the field. As the loop progresses, the colors of the arrows intentionally fade to indicate the reduction of police officer motivation and proactivity. Thus, with each cycle, the progression would present a lighter coloration of each arrow A, B, and C; and the fading effect as seen in arrows A and B, indicating police officers' reduced motivation and proactivity. The progression,

indicated by the fading effects in arrows A, B and C incrementally progresses and reaches a vanishing point at point B – as indicated in the results of this study. Figure 2, titled Police Officer Continuum of Proactivity, further illustrates the implications of the muzzling effect.

The best example that provides a summation of hesitation and doubt experienced by police officers, found in both the quantitative and qualitative data, is summarized in the following quote by subject CA1#311:

> *"Shoot don't shoot scenarios. I recently was involved in a situation where we got a call of a stabbing, and the victim was described as a Black male in his 40s, and the suspect was described as a Black male in his 40s. As we approached the residence, first the victim came out of the house bleeding from a stab wound to the stomach. We pulled him towards the back where fire paramedics could access, and then the suspect came out of his own volition, without being called out. [We] detained him at that point, and the suspect had a revolver in his back right pocket, and we turned him to face away from us with his hands up. I saw the gun, and he reached to adjust his waistband 'cause his pants were falling down from the weight of the gun.*
>
> *I think had someone of any other race made that movement, I probably would have shot them in the back, and it would have been a justified shooting, based on the case law. The only reason I didn't pull the trigger was because I was nervous to shoot a Black man in the back*

because I was afraid of what would happen to me. Legally,

professionally, personally, in my community. His hand was within

three to four inches of the gun. In a normal situation, I would never

allow a suspect to move his hand that close to a gun without shooting

him.

It's frightening, you know. it's something that's so frightening that I

don't tell my wife about because I don't want her to be frightened

knowing that I hesitate on the trigger."

Conclusions

By analyzing the common themes and major findings, the researcher found

conclusions that address the central research questions. The following conclusions and

reflections are aligned with the research questions.

Conclusion 1. Unmuzzling the Sheepdog

The solutions to bringing the United States back from the brink of catastrophic

governmental system failures rest in our nation's ability to partner academic knowledge

and scientifically proven best policing practices, void of news media sensationalism, to

unmuzzle our nation's police officers. Stuntz (2006) argues restoring faith in law

enforcement would require a strategic partnership, sharply focused on causation factors

of imprisonment such as poverty, lack of education and bias policing practices. This

researcher acknowledges the importance of focusing on causation factors as well as

extraordinary, well balanced and well researched work on racial bias in law enforcement

being conducted by researchers like Lois James, PhD, who assert that racial disparities

are irrefutable in law enforcement but suggest that racial disparities do not necessarily

equal bias (2019). And, while a focus on disparities is important, the current study and researcher suggest that a sharp focus must also be placed on the muzzling factors that are causing police officers to become less proactive and more doubtful and hesitant to provide fundamental duties to ensure the safety of our communities. Specifically: (a) research on policing that does not accurately portray the lived experience of police officers, (b) infotainment news media, (c) decriminalization, referred to by this researcher as "legalization by legislation," (d) lack of law enforcement executive support, and (e) counterproductive policies/laws such as The California Act to Save Live (AB 392) which threatens to be another nail in the coffin of law enforcement. Failure to identify and address the current disparate factors affecting police officers will continue to add to police officers' fears, frustrations, deaths, and unwillingness to serve and protect the citizens of the United States.

Conclusion 2. Lived Experience of Police Officers and the Ferguson Effect

In order to understand the implications of the Ferguson Effect, it is imperative that police officers are asked the right questions.

The qualitative data from the PATP survey shows as the sole subject, 71% of police officers felt media reporting had a moderate effect on them personally. Additionally, 68.3% of patrol officers acknowledge that news media scrutiny has had a moderate effect (M=3.65) on their personal decision-making process while working patrol. At the same time, 96.2% of police officers said news media reporting has had a major effect ($M = 4.70$) on law enforcement. The study further revealed 90.7% of police officers stated the news media has had a major effect on them doubting themselves when opting to use or not to use force when legally justified. Overall, 87.8% of police officers

felt media coverage on high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri has had a moderate effect (M = 3.54) on their personal policing style.

The qualitative data from this study shows most police officers interviewed stated they had experienced a greater level of animosity from a large percentage of the public, higher instances of verbal and physical resistance from members of society and increased feelings that police officers are now a public target of attacks because of news media reporting. One of the principal researchers on the "Ferguson Effect" indicated there is not "credible and comprehensive evidence" to support the hypothesis that reduced police proactivity has resulted in crime spikes (Rosenfeld, 2015). However, in Rosenfeld's 2016 National Institute of Justice report, Rosenfeld acknowledged the comparison of 2014 versus 2015 homicide rates (16.8% increase in 2015), obtained by studying a 56-city sample of UCR Group 1 cities (populations over 250,000) was statistically significant "at the conventional 5 percent threshold in a one-tailed test (p = .05, t = 1.66)" (Rosenfeld, 2016). He further acknowledges conventional predictors, such as consumer confidence and rises in inflation rates, have been poor explanatory factors and suggested consideration of expansions in urban drug markets, changes in imprisonment rates, and finally both facets of the "Ferguson Effect" known as police legitimacy and de-policing (2016).

In 2014, more people in the United States died from drug overdose than any previous year on record. In regard to the current opioid epidemic, which gradually rose between 2006 and 2011, Rosenfeld stated he was skeptical of the urban drug market theory being the cause of the 2015 homicide spike for two reasons (a) because of the five year lag time between the 2011 spike in opioid deaths and the 2015 spikes in homicides

and (b) because of the disparity between the decreases in arrests for drug possession and sales, which fell nationwide between 2011 and 2014, and his and Decker's 1999 research that revealed a close increasing relationship between drug-related arrests and expanding legal and illicit drug markets (Rosenfeld, 2016).

U.S. Department of Justice longitudinal study, conducted between 2005 and 2014, looked at recidivism rates of 401,288 persons released from 30 states' prison systems, which were collectively responsible for 77% of all persons released nationwide (Alper, Durose, & Markman, 2018). The study found of the group's estimated 1,994,000 arrests after release, 99% of those prisoners were arrested for an offense other than a probation or parole violation and 79% of prisoners released for violent offenses had been rearrested and were "more likely to have been arrested for a violent offense" (2018). In 2016, a forthcoming study of robbery and property crime rates conducted by Rosenfeld and Levin found that short term effects on crime rates, as a result of imprisonment rates were nonsignificant, but over several years showed significant effects (Rosenfeld, 2016). Rosenfeld left open the possibility that changes to imprisonment rates could be a factor to the increases in violent crimes in 2015 but stated more data would need to be compiled and analyzed prior to making a conclusion.

In Rosenfeld's discussion of the so-called "Ferguson Effect," he states Roth (2009) suggests there are ultimate and proximate causes of homicide rates. Roth (2009) argues ultimate causes, unlike proximate causes, which included conditions that criminologists call risk factors like poverty, drug use and carrying of firearms, are linked to widespread legitimacy perceptions held by the public. Roth (2009) further argues when public trust is eroded, that homicide rates increase. Rosenfeld argues, in order for

the 2015 increases in homicides to be attributed to ultimate causes, specifically identified as the Ferguson Effect, that we should expect four empirical conditions linked to established grievance and critical legitimacy issues between the Black community and police (a) the increase should be concentrated in cities with large African American populations, (b) the timing of the increase should correspond closely to controversial incidents of police use of force against African-Americans, (c) confidence in the police should be substantially lower among African-Americans than other groups and (d) the homicide increase should be greater among African-Americans than other groups (2016). Rosenfeld states ample evidence supports the first three expectations, but at the time of the report data for expectation (d) was not available. In his discussion, Rosenfeld suggested researchers should be open to the possibility that increases in homicide rates predated the events in Ferguson.

Another widely cited study published in 2016 by researchers Nix and Wolfe, which did not focus on crime spikes, but rather on police officers' willingness to partner with communities, suggested the nationwide crime trend and its association to the Ferguson Effect had been "debunked" (Nix & Wolfe, 2016). However, it should be pointed out in the Pyrooz study, while a "nationwide Ferguson Effect" did not exist, the researchers found a post-Ferguson increase in robbery rates in large U.S. cities. Pyrooz and the researchers stated more study would be needed to further the evidence-based discussion on the Ferguson Effect (Pyrooz, Decker, Wolfe, & Shjarback, 2016).

In Nix and Wolfe's study, they also suggested the "Ferguson Effect" needed more study but stated police officers who view their agency and command staff to be "fair, objective, honest, and respectful" were less likely to be sensitive to negative publicity.

They concluded organizational justice was key for agencies looking to minimize the negative impacts of news media reporting on their police officers. The current study supports Nix and Wolfe's theory only to the extent that most police officers reported moderate to major levels of effect of the Ferguson Effect and reported between not at all satisfied and moderately satisfied levels of satisfaction with their agencies.

This researcher argues that Nix and Wolfe's assertion the Ferguson Effect had been debunked stems from their study, which asked the wrong question about willingness to partner with the community to assess the real impacts of news media reporting on police officer proactivity on patrol. This researcher argues that in the theoretical worst state in the nation, in the worst city, in the worst neighborhood that finding a Chief, Sheriff or police officers unwilling to partner with community members, who come forward and ask law enforcement to partner with them and help them rid their neighborhoods of criminal actors who control and terrorize their streets and parks through gang activity, acts of violence, trafficking and sales of drugs and other quality of life issues, is improbable. Thus, the probability of Nix and Wolfe producing a proper measure of the effect, using this question of police officers' willingness to partner with community to prove or disprove the Ferguson Effect, is also improbable.

In the current study, the research sought to answer the question about police officers proactive policing by directly asking them about their current performance, perceptions and lived experiences. The quantitative data clearly demonstrates police officers strongly agree the Ferguson Effect and its connections to negative news media reporting on police officers, is a very real and formidable force in modern policing. This force and its effects on police officers are amplified by several entities strongly

influenced by news media, including the public, elected officials, law enforcement leadership and the agencies that employ the nation's police officers. This researcher has developed the "muzzling of the sheepdog" or "muzzling effect" to describe the collective impacts felt by law enforcement officers. Researchers who continue to ask more direct questions of police officers will continue to add to the body of knowledge on police officers' lived experience and allow for the development of policy, programs and training to address pressing issues in law enforcement.

Conclusion 3. Decriminalization – Legalization by Legislation & Criminal Justice Reform

Based on the findings of this study and literature review, this researcher argues current decriminalization and Criminal Justice Reforms are having adverse effects on police officer motivation and productivity. The review of the literature suggests the current conditions in law enforcement makes a case of history repeating itself. In the 1980s, a similar crime climate in the U.S. prompted the adoption of John Q. Wilson's and G. L. Kelling's broken windows theory (Marion, et. Al., 2012), which advocated for proactive prevention and community partnership to address quality of life issues in cities across the United States. Specifically, in California, police officers have been sounding the alarm to alert the public of the dangerous practices of releasing convicted criminals from jails and prisons early and spending millions on recidivism prevention programs that do not work (Hanisee, 2019). Unfortunately, their assertions have fallen on deaf ears and police officers have been ignored by "progressive" elected officials focused on Criminal Justice Reforms based on questionable research, false news media narratives, and political dogma.

Today, police officers, who are the professionals in the public safety arena, are sounding the alarm about the resurgence of crime spikes they see daily and believe is the direct result of the "revolving door" created by legislation such as California's 2014, Proposition 47 (originally titled "The Safe Neighborhoods and Schools Act" by former California Attorney General Kamala Harris), which recategorized several "nonviolent" criminal offenses, such as drug possession and shoplifting, from felonies to misdemeanors. Additionally, police officers blame the 2016 Proposition 57 (titled "The Criminal Sentences & Juvenile Crime Proceedings"), backed by California Governor Jerry Brown, which allowed for the release of thousands of felons, previously classified as dangerous. Last, but not least, police officers blame spikes of crime on the passage of California's Assembly Bill 109 (titled the "Public Safety Realignment" initiative), which divested thousands of state prisoners from California prisons into county jails who were released early due to several violent crimes being recategorized as non-violent, non-serious crimes. These moves have only increased the workload for police officers, who are now beginning to express if crime is not important to the elected officials who back these changes, that they are unwilling to continue to arrest the same person day in and day out and risk their lives to make the arrest or risk their livelihood for an incident during an arrest the news media may exploit for financial gain.

Effective criminal justice reform requires strategic partnerships that are inclusive of line-level police officer input and buy-in. Reformists responsible for legislation that decriminalized certain laws, allowed for early release of prisoners in California, and provided millions of tax dollars for well-intentioned rehabilitation programs that have not only proved to be costly, ballooning to $234 million annually according to an audit

released by the State of California, but have also been proven to result in the same rate (50%) of recidivism as for inmates who do not complete these programs (Howle, 2019). In addition to the inclusion of the professional knowledge of police officers being harnessed to address crime, funds used for the failed programs need to be reallocated toward primary education aimed at keeping the next generation out of jail and building new 21st century jails and prisons to meet the demands of Constitutional policing and incarceration standards.

Conclusion 4. Law Enforcement Wellness and the Law Enforcement Toolbox

Based upon the results of this study, the data strongly supports that police officers deeply-disapprove of their law enforcement agency's use of force policies, the responses of their executives to media scrutiny on police officer use of force, and state they would not want or encourage their children to become cops. Additionally, police officers have indicated police officers' use of force has become seen as a negative attribute of police officer performance, by law enforcement executives and the agencies who employ them. With the increased demands placed on police officers, perhaps the most important recommendation for law enforcement executives is reassessing the role of police officers and limiting additional duties and responsibilities demanded of them without corresponding increases in financial and human resources.

Cavanaugh (2016), in *Courageous Culture*, presents her theory of the seven factors of burnout, which include (a) a lack of connection to purpose, (b) a lack of connection to people not feeling seen or cared for, (c) a lack of celebration, appreciation and acknowledgment, (d) a lack of safety or vulnerability, (e) a lack of reboot and recovery time, (f) a lack of empowerment and accountability, (g) and a lack of intention.

This researcher argues that law enforcement has truly lost its connection with its purpose. On one hand, they are told to serve and protect. Yet, on the other hand, they are rebuked for using force in situations they are often ill-equipped and not properly trained to handle.

Police officers indicated they are oftentimes harshly disciplined as a result of harassment complaints that stem from proactive and rigorous enforcement of laws in pursuit of keeping their communities safe. The propensities of organizations and executive leaders to default to heavy-handed disciplinary procedures, in response to special interest groups and elected officials who believe the law enforcement profession is riddled with racism and bigotry, as their normal method to increase transparency and improve police officer conduct is having the reverse effect. Throughout law enforcement, the overuse of discipline to produce positive change in police officer conduct has resulted in a culture of fear that has left police officers paralyzed and unwilling to do their jobs.

Today, as a result of shortages in the police officer ranks across the nation, police officers are forced by mandates to work longer hours and more shifts to provide the level of services required by their communities. These demands often require police officers to give up their time off to work shifts to meet the demands or to work additional shifts on the same day – often in excess of 12 hours. The lack of reboot and recovery time between shifts often leaves police officers mentally and physically exhausted. Yet, these police officers are required to deal with situations that potentially could be life-threatening or require them to assess using deadly force in situations where their bodies are not performing at their optimal levels as a result of the lack of recovery time.

Regarding empowerment and accountability, law enforcement executives across the nation have created policies that require line level officers to request higher levels of supervision. Failure to request a sergeant to a scene can often result in disciplinary actions. Many of these policies also require a supervisor to be on-scene to coordinate and direct the action of law enforcement officers, thus creating a culture where police officers are experiencing less empowerment, which in turns leads to reduced motivation. Additionally, some of these policies are so restrictive that they require police officers to contain and delay tactical responses until the arrival of a sergeant. Early police intervention could potentially lead to better outcomes by police officers taking positive control over suspects and situations by not allowing the suspect to plan. Collectively, these steps create hesitation in our police officers and amplify the negative culture that has permeated law enforcement nationwide.

In their defense, law enforcement executives have also been burdened by increased demands from elected officials and/or citizen police commissions. These political pressures have conditioned police executives to have knee-jerk reactions to police actions that are scrutinized by elected officials, special interest groups, the public and/or the media. In the face of scrutiny, police officer executives must remain committed to transparency and lawful performance of the duties assigned to their police officers, but they must also remain committed to allowing the fact-finding process of investigation, analysis, and conclusion to guide their actions and comments about police conduct.

It is also strongly advised that police officer executives halt the practice of releasing body cam footage, which is evidence in criminal cases, to the media to pacify or

prevent them from publishing inaccurate or sensationalized news stories. Rather, they

should maintain the use of press conference statements and embrace the development of

robust social media practices of producing video statements along with police video

footage to be released on the law enforcement agencies' social media platforms and

websites. In addition to controlling the content, agencies should copyright all content

published on their websites and require news media agencies wishing to use their content

to use it in its entirety or to provide links to the source. This will ensure that a complete

and accurate accounting of information known to law enforcement at the time of an

incident is properly relayed to the public, without spin or sensationalism.

In order to become transformational leaders within law enforcement, law

enforcement executives must come to the realization and embrace the practice that it is

impossible to do more with less. The reality is you can only do less with less.

Additionally, they must circle the wagons to recognize for the past 40 years the law

enforcement profession has been encumbered with more duties and responsibilities to

tackle the nation's social-political problems. Yet, agencies have not been funded or

adequately staffed to meet these needs.

This researcher has developed the metaphor of law enforcement officers who are

in a foot pursuit of a suspect, which represents unrealistic expectations, unattainable

goals, and outcomes (Suspect X). To further illustrate the current state of law

enforcement, imagine these police officers are running after suspect X, with an open law

enforcement toolbox. This is the reality law enforcement is experiencing. For so long

now, law enforcement officers have been forced to run harder and faster in pursuit of

suspect X, which has caused many of their tools to fall out of the law enforcement

toolbox along the way. Because they are running so fast and hard, they fail to realize that the tools that once served their profession well are no longer tools inside of their toolbox.

Important tools, such as the articulation of suspicious activity regarding reasonable suspicion, or limitations on impact weapons and less lethal force options, or lack of traffic stops and investigative skill sets, that have in the past served law enforcement, have become tools missing from their toolbox. And, while law enforcement officers should be held accountable to the fullest extent authorized administratively or by law for inappropriate actions, law enforcement administrators should be reluctant to remove additional tools out of the law enforcement toolbox just because of a few improper uses. Blaming the tool rather than holding the individual police officer accountable for their actions, only further limits the tools available to address crime.

With each passing generation, the law enforcement toolbox handed off from one generation of warriors to the next is one that is left more void of important tools of the trade. The unfortunate reality is law enforcement officers in the future will be unable to recognize they have been handed fewer tools in the law enforcement toolbox than the generations that have preceded them. Law enforcement executives must realize that law enforcement officers, like carpenters, need all their tools. The improper use of a hammer by an apprentice carpenter does not mean the hammer should be taken out of the toolbox – without the hammer, it would be impossible for the carpenter to build a house.

In law enforcement, rather than the tools being removed, they should remain in the law enforcement toolbox and the police officer retrained, in situations where training

276

or coaching is appropriate. Or, the police officer – not the tool – should be permanently removed from the field in situations where courts prove criminal negligence.

It is time for the law enforcement profession to recognize the losses it is sustaining in training and experience and to put a halt to the pursuit. Leadership must look back, turn around, and go back and begin picking up the tools that have been lost along the way. They must ensure that there is proper training and fight to have budgets in place to ensure their police officers are properly trained and only providing the functions their law enforcement officers are fully equipped and funded to address. Only then will intention, presence, and boundaries be properly utilized in a way that will produce a healthier law enforcement culture.

Implications for Action

The conclusions identified suggest implications for further action. The entities or groups are identified, as are the specific steps required to support the actions.

Implication for Action 1 – News Media Ethics Police Academy (NMEPA)

Based on the findings of the current study, the researcher recommends a partnership between a top-ten university journalism program and regionally accredited Police Officer Standards and Training (P.O.S.T.) Police training academy and the creation of a News Media Ethics Police Academy (NMEPA) focused on the ethical reporting of news stories when police officers are involved. The 15-week certification course of instruction, taught by law enforcement professors, journalism professors, police tactical staff, and professional journalists, would provide an immersive study into present-day policing dynamics, with emphasis on case law, laws of arrest, force science, journalistic ethics, and real-world first-hand knowledge of news media. The admission

process should be highly competitive and selection for participation in the NMEPA based upon strong academic performance, clean background, recommendations, and pledge to abide by the highest standards of journalistic integrity. The course would also be open to civilian-oversight Police Commissioners. Upon successful completion, participants would earn a Certificate of Law Enforcement Ethics and Science.

This researcher asserts that a free news media is one of the elements, if not the most important, in a democracy. The Founding Fathers of the United States asserted this belief in the Bill of Rights, by explicit annunciation in the First Amendment, prohibiting Congress from creating any law prohibiting the exercise of free speech, peaceful assembly, petition of the government for redress of grievances, or of the press (*United States Constitution,* 1789). Although freedom of the press is a right, it comes with great responsibility. In news media's current form of infotainment presented as hard news, this researcher argues that news media is abusing its power, authority and influence in the name of financial gain and failing to uphold the nine Principles of Journalism (a) journalism's first obligation is to the truth, (b) its first loyalty is to citizens, (c) its essence is discipline of verification, (d) its practitioners must maintain an independence from those they cover, (e) it must serve as an independent monitor of power, (f) it must provide a forum for public criticism and compromise, (g) it must strive to make the significant interesting and relevant, (h) it must keep the news comprehensive and proportional, and (i) its practitioners must be allowed to exercise their personal conscience.

In the development of this recommendation, the researcher spoke with news media anchors and producers of prominent news organizations. It became apparent to this researcher that they shared many of the same frustrations as police officers, of feeling

criticized by police officers and the public over the job they do as reporters. One news media anchor stated his station often receives "tweets" and e-mails chastising the news station for being too favorable toward police officers. Regarding law enforcement's perception that news media is slanted or intentionally misleading, they believed this frustration could be the result of the press publishing or broadcasting news stories containing only the information available at the time. They stated its common for stories about police actions to only present the story from the alleged suspect's point of view because law enforcement is oftentimes unwilling to provide statements to the press about newsworthy events. As discussions continued with the journalist, it became clear to this researcher that the gap between law enforcement and news media was a lack of clear understanding of legal limitations placed on law enforcement involved in ongoing investigations, geared toward protecting the victim, suspect, and the judicial process.

The news media professionals expressed to this researcher that they and many of their colleagues have high regard for law enforcement and the work they do. They acknowledged how law enforcement officers could form the perception that news media has an appetite for sensationalized stories or is motivated to boost ratings, revenues, and relevance. The journalists argued that their intent is to tell good stories, to provide timely, accurate accounts of events, and like police officers, they say journalists are often not well compensated for the work they do.

In relation to law enforcement, Marion (2002) argues news media shapes the American public's political views and perceptions on crime and the criminal justice system. In 1999, about 19 years after the inception of the 24-hour news cycle, media professionals overwhelmingly stated their profession had blurred the lines between

reporting and commentary, and news and entertainment (Rosenstiel et al., 1999). Today, news media is still facing the challenge of addressing perceptions of waning adherence to the Principles of Journalism, especially when reporting on police matters. This gap is particularly precarious concerning the preservation of our Democracy. The aftermath of destruction in Ferguson, Missouri, is just one example of how news media stories lacking accurate, verified, reliable facts, presented in context can incite violence. Like law enforcement, the news media and the press need to be more accountable. News media reforms must be undertaken to restore the profession and journalistic integrity.

Since the inception of law enforcement in the U.S., the profession has undergone reforms to professionalize practice, standards, and ethics of the profession. In the last 30 years, law enforcement has faced an increased number of challenges calling for the profession to reconcile its practice to reflect the ethics and values expressed in the Law Enforcement Code of Ethics. Law enforcement is often criticized for its propensity to "hide behind the badge," specifically regarding the application of force and perceived bias, which has prompted greater oversight, accountability, and transparency. Law enforcement oversight is at an all-time high and the profession has been held to task to ensure equal enforcement of laws. To its credit, news media reporting on law enforcement has played an important role in bringing to light elements of police misconduct, which has led to the evolution of police practices, education, and training. However, it could be argued that the news media's current coverage of law enforcement is unintentionally slanted, inaccurate, misleading, and dangerous. This identified gap could be resolved through the creation of the News Media Ethics Police Academy and the formation of an academic-based law enforcement/news media partnership geared toward

ensuring public safety through the preservation of news media's sacred duty, bestowed upon them by our Founding Fathers.

Implication for Action 2 – Critical-incident Media Training for Executives

Sheriffs, Chiefs, top-level police executives and command staff need to reevaluate their personal and agencies' responses to media scrutiny. In the perception of police officers, the response by executive level law enforcement officials has far too often become one of damming the police officers' actions. Police officers further perceive police executives make politically driven statements to appease the masses, riled by news media's sensationalized reporting of police officer-involved incidents, prior to the completion of a full investigation. Furthermore, the perception of police officers is that police executives are bending to political and community pressures and setting negative precedents based on optics rather than legal standing.

The researcher suggests the development of critical-incident media training for police executives that focuses on striking the right balance of (a) news media reporting narrative clarification via release of verified facts, (b) assuring the community of transparency, (c) avoiding speculation or immediate release of body camera footage to appease media or public outcry, (d) focus on the investigative process, rather than allowing trial by public opinion by feeding the media's appetite for access to video evidence, (e) preservation of police officer confidence by adhering to investigative best practices of presenting or making comments about police officer conduct only after the investigative and administrative processes are complete.

Implication for Action 3 – Public Safety Charter Schools

Recruitment and retention should be a critical focus of both State and Federal governments. Based on the findings of this study, the researcher recommends law enforcement develop partnerships with school districts and create K-12 public safety charter schools to educate future public safety professionals without compromising current standards for selection to become a police officer, firefighter, or Emergency Medical Technician (EMT). In the current national climate, law enforcement is facing a shortage of qualified candidates. Most police officers, who once served as a major recruiting tool for law enforcement, state they would not want their children to become police officers. Add to this sentiment the recent decriminalization of drug laws across the nation and it becomes clear the pool of qualified candidates is quickly drying up.

Law enforcement is on the verge of a major recruitment crisis, which has not been fully realized. The legalization of marijuana and lowering of penalties for possession of substances, including heroin, cocaine, methamphetamine and many other drugs in many states, and increased access to drugs at younger ages means that without meaningful intervention, law enforcement will either be forced to lower its standards for selection or be forced to run short staffed with an already overworked workforce. At some agencies, loosening of standards regarding drug use disqualifiers has already begun to occur to fill police officer vacancies. The establishment of public safety charter schools will create the opportunity not only to fill future public servant positions but also to enhance future police officers' skill sets, ethics, and knowledge of communities in unprecedented ways.

Implication for Action 4 – Tactical Safety Zones

Based on the information in the study, police officer associations and unions should be concerned and proactively working with community rights protection groups to advocate for new laws that protect the public's right to capture police conduct, but also protect police officers by instituting a tactical safe-zone that prohibits any person from intentionally entering the operational space, for the purpose of recording, filming, or any action that deters, distracts, or interferes with a police officer's actions during a police officer contact, detention or arrest.

This type of legislation would help to safeguard the public's interest in transparency and police officers from the weaponized use of the cellphone vigilante journalist claiming to know their rights, who are seeking to encourage negative behaviors by criminal actors in society. They should also work to halt news media's exploitation of this sort of gorilla-media that further suppresses police officers' proactivity and jeopardizes officer and public safety.

Implication for Action 5 – National K-12 Constitutional Rights Curricula

Based upon the information in this study, this researcher urges that partnerships between the U.S. Department of Education, State Boards of Education, and law enforcement throughout the nation be fostered to design K-12 curricula that seek to teach citizens of the United States their Constitutional Rights and responsibilities under state and federal laws. This approach would be in line with the public health framework of social change and would lead to increased trust in police and the criminal justice system and future decreases in violations of laws leading to police-citizen contacts. Although many of these lessons are taught in history classes, a direct focus on the implications of

the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and constitutional policing is especially needed within our nation's schools. For instance, the basic laws that cover police contacts should be taught to school aged youth. The curriculum should focus on indicating what a police officer can and cannot legally do as well as emphasize a citizen's responsibilities in a police contact. Additionally, citizens should be taught of their duty under the Constitution and State laws to submit to arrest, even in cases of a false arrest. Citizens must also be taught about their recourse for false arrest, the legal process for redress, and the consequences of resisting arrest.

The curriculum should be responsive to the age of the student. For instance, high-school level students should not only attend driver's training to learn the rules of the road, as young Americans they should be taught about their search and seizure protections granted under the Fourth Amendment as well as what to do and what not to do during a traffic stop by police officers to decrease potential force escalation.

The goal of this type of curriculum and training would be to increase American citizens' knowledge of the law and to decrease potential force conflicts with law enforcement as a result of resistance based upon ill-informed knowledge of rights.

Additionally, this type of training would be geared toward reducing mistakes in fact by police officers in use of force situations, which has been a factor in police officers shooting unarmed citizens. By creating awareness of the expectations of both police officers and citizens during police contacts, the public and government can align expectations and ensure better outcomes and compliance with the rules of law.

Recommendations for Further Research

There have been few studies on the Ferguson Effect, the effects of news media reporting on police officers and police officers' perceptions on policing; however, the studies conducted by Rosenfeld, Nix & Wolfe, and Morin, Parker, Stepher, & Mercer were instrumental to this study. The researcher was unable to find any prior studies related directly to media's impact on police officers' self-efficacy or that directly asked police officers about the effects on them personally and professionally. The current study looked at police officers, working patrol in major cities that have experienced crime spikes since 2008, and specifically asked them about their perceptions of media's effect on policing, about their satisfaction level with issues impacting law enforcement and how these factors influence their performance and productivity on patrol. It also analyzed multiple levels of data to ensure accurate findings. However, further studies in this area will help establish additional recommendations for repairing the muzzling effect to restore law enforcement's mission and advance its relationships with the communities they serve. Recommendations for future studies on this topic are as follows:

1. The researcher recommends that the current study be expanded by the PATP survey being administered to departments across the United States. Studies that encompass both large and small agencies will add to the research on the "muzzling of the sheepdog effect" (a.k.a. the "muzzling effect").

2. Another area that should be studied is the association of the muzzling effect and its relationship to the diagnosis of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in police officers. Data collected from this type of study compared to the findings from the study presented here on police officers doubting themselves and

285

hesitation would create a deeper understanding of these findings and possible

links to the causation of police officer PTSD.

3. Additionally, the researcher recommends further study on the implications of

this study's findings of reduced police officer motivation, satisfaction, and self-

efficacy on police officer suicide. In the United States, the number of police

officers who take their own lives is now outnumbering the number of police

officers killed in the line of duty. This type of study would add data that could

help agencies improve the effectiveness of support and safety nets within law

enforcement.

4. Lastly, the researcher recommends a mixed-methods study on resilience and

motivation factors for police officers. As suggested in the current study, no

singular theory of motivation explains the motivations of the most generationally

and racially diverse police force in the history of the United States.

Any of these studies would add to the academic knowledge of police officer perceptions

and ultimately provide additional recommendations for keeping the men and women who

keep our streets and communities safe – healthy, safe, and prepared to safeguard the

flock.

Concluding Remarks and Reflections

Today in the United States, police officers are indicating they have higher levels

of hesitation and doubt about the use of force. As indicated in this study, the effect

known as the Ferguson Effect is having a major impact on police officers in the United

States. The job they do is challenging and is made more difficult by biased media

reporting and sensationalism of the stories that are told regarding police use of force.

Over the past 40 years, hard news has evolved into a platform now recognized as infotainment. With the advent of the 24-hour news cycle, news organizations that once struggled to fill the airwaves now have become highly competitive branding machines geared toward the capture of media shares. News companies ferociously attempt to fill the newshole with content that attracts viewership. The once trusted press has become a business in which eyeballs and ratings equate to a monetary gain by powerful media corporations.

The true spirit of journalistic integrity has been compromised and replaced by infotainment laced with biased commentary, media personalities and partisan reporting. More concerning is news media's disguising of infotainment as hard news and lower thresholds of critical analysis by consumers to differentiate between the two. Regarding law enforcement, news media's monetary motives appear to have trumped its ability to present accurate, fair and statistically balanced reporting on positive versus negative police officer-citizen contacts. News media's shaping of public perception on policing is not only making police officers' jobs harder, factually it has become a muzzle that is hindering our nation's police officers from performing their duties of enforcing the laws, out of fear they may become the next target of media's sensationalism.

Police officers are now stating their reluctance to enforce laws, which equates to America becoming less safe. When police officers are not proactive in going out and searching for persons who would seek to cause harm or damage in the community, it equates to higher levels of citizen victimization, as evident in spikes in violent crime in major cities across the U.S.

Equally concerning is the possibility of victim fatigue, which is the reluctance of a victim to contact police to report crimes for various reasons. The reluctance of victims to report crimes may be caused by their reduced confidence in police officers as a result of negative media reporting. Their reluctance may also be attributed to becoming resigned to crime via normalization by media influence, or simply because they do not believe police and agencies have the ability or the bandwidth to go out and investigate their crime and to capture the person who was responsible. Additionally, there are concerns from law enforcement executives, such as Los Angeles County Sheriff Alex Villanueva, over factors of race and immigration status emerging as barriers to reporting serious crimes, such as sexual assaults – what he calls the "Trump Effect" (Stoltze, 2019). If Sheriff Villanueva and other advocates for the separation of local law enforcement and federal immigration enforcement are correct about the reduced levels of trust and willingness by immigrants and/or persons who are in the United States illegally to report crime and/or victimization, this researcher argues one unintended consequence is artificially deflated crime statistics that do not accurately reflect real crime levels in the United States.

In America today, police officers are also experiencing policing-fatigue due to an increasingly difficult job of handling various aspects of addressing crime under intense media and public scrutiny. Oftentimes, the woes of the nation – opioid or drug abuse, homelessness, mental illness, and other pressing issues – are thrust upon law enforcement officers to handle; often without proper training or education, or even the resources needed to address these issues.

The expectations by the public, elected officials and news media for these systemic issues that are the result of poverty, institutionalized welfare, lack of education

or access to education, which are thrust upon law enforcement to address, often paired with the expectation to resolve related issues without the use of force, are completely unrealistic and unattainable. The unfortunate truth is when ill-equipped police officers are caught on video, in the micro-fraction of highly volatile and dangerous situations they are not able to resolve, that the news media exploits the event for financial gain by scathingly and repeatedly criticizing the actions of the police officers. The new gold standard for such events are situations that involve people of color and police officer use of force because of the ability of these stories to emotionally charge viewers and create greater levels of viral activity through social media, which in turn increases revenues for the media companies.

In many ways, this researcher believes that the role law enforcement officers play in society is like what is known as dark matter in space. Dark matter in space is still to a great degree unexplored and unexplained by scientists. However, we know that it exists and that its ubiquitous presence provides a strong influence on the structure and evolution of the universe. The qualities of dark matter are an energy that does not interact with light. Metaphorically, police officers act like society's dark matter in that they absorb the atrocities of the human experience that the light of law-abiding citizens would rather not see or acknowledge exists. Every day, police officers are exposed to heinous levels of evil, violence and unspeakable acts committed by humans on one another. Yet, police officers are expected to maintain a level of resiliency, mental and physical health, and to show no manifestation of the darkness by which they are negatively impacted day in and day out.

Police officers see death, destruction, and despair on a daily basis. Yet they return each day to serve their communities and to protect them from people who would do them harm. Oftentimes, the public is unaware of the personal impacts the stresses of the profession has on police officers, both physically and mentally. In the United States, more police officers commit suicide than are killed in the line of duty annually by gunfire (Clark, 2016). Increasingly, the negative impacts of policing are taking a toll on America's law enforcement officers. Police officer suicide is a serious topic that needs further research and study.

Equally concerning is the balance of citizen's rights in our nation to ensure that police officer bias is limited in ways that are not impacting the decision-making process of police officers. Unfortunately, in today's media climate, the scientific research that proves police officer bias, although present, is not a factor in police use of force – a fact that is rarely presented by liberal news media sources. This dangerous false narrative perpetrated by the liberal news media that police officers are racist and heavy-handed only serves to create greater separation and skepticism of each other by both community members and police officers.

Additionally, news media's increased use of citizen captured cellphone video, coupled with false claims of police brutality, has emboldened vigilante-journalism by paying for cellphone video and appearances by the person who captured the video. This researcher fully supports the public's right to free speech and to a citizen's right to capture video footage of police officers. However, vigilante-journalists do not operate with the same level of professional conduct of filming and routinely are interfering with police officers in the performance of their duties by placing themselves in the middle of a

suspect arrest and actively criticizing police officers' conduct. Thus, even well-intentioned citizens become an additional risk to police officers and the public as a result of being a distraction and potential additional threat to police officers.

In no other profession in the world would this level of conduct be tolerated. If a vigilante-journalist interrupted a news broadcast by inserting themselves on the set, or disturbed a courtroom, crashed into an operating room during a surgery, or busted onto the floor of Congress or any other legislative body – yelling, screaming, criticizing and filming the professionals in the conduct of their duties – they would be arrested. So, it is troubling to this researcher, in the effect of an arrest, where suspects are mandated by law to submit to an arrest and it is unlawful for a suspect to resist arrest by law enforcement, that vigilante-journalism is tolerated and/or condoned by the news media, elected officials, or by policing agencies.

In the United States, in order to bring us back from the brink of catastrophic effects caused by police officers not doing their jobs, a real focus needs to be placed on community police officer relations. Additionally, law enforcement agencies must come to grips with the fact that the optics of police uses of force are never pleasing to the eye and are often predicated by a suspect's actions and not a police officer's bias, as portrayed in the media.

Citizens must also become better trained, and our educational systems must work to ensure that U. S. citizens are educated from a young age about their rights regarding interactions with law enforcement and government officials. This would lessen the propensity for people to believe that they have certain rights when in fact they do not; this includes resisting arrest.

One of the most concerning factors in the study is the openness of police officers to admit that they are hesitant to use force even when legally justified and are now doubting themselves when faced with use of force situations. Police officers indicated the race of a suspect has become a primary factor in their use of force decision-making process. Police officers state they are oftentimes more reluctant to contact Black suspect(s) engaged in criminal or suspicious activity out of fear the contact will be escalated by claims or allegations of racial discrimination, racial profiling, or police officer misconduct.

Perhaps the most significant factor regarding the unwillingness of police officers to address crime is that criminals are now becoming more emboldened. This effect is not only seen on the streets but also in jails. In both settings, restrictive use of force policies has resulted in increased numbers of assaults in the jails and the killing of police officers on patrol nationwide. Yet, the public's perception, shaped by news media, liberal elected officials, and organizations such as Black Lives Matter (BLM) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), is that law enforcement is not living up to its obligations and standards of conduct, as set forth in the Constitution of the United States.

Without serious consideration and further study based upon the evidence in this study, the United States is at greater risk for serious violent or illegal acts, including acts of terrorism. Today across the United States, there are several legislative criminal justice reforms geared toward reduction in police bias regarding vehicle stops and persons of color, even though the science does not support the claims of police bias. These so-called reforms that require police officers to complete digitized forms are overly laborious. Not only do emerging reforms ask the police officer to relay their perception of the race and

sexual orientation of the occupant of the vehicle prior to the stop, but also to note the name and race of each of the occupants inside the vehicle after the stop, which would require all citizens to have a government-issued identification and to comply with officers' requests for the occupants to present identification.

These measures, although well-intentioned to ensure that bias does not exist in policing, are becoming additional barriers to police officers to conduct their jobs in an efficient manner. These barriers decrease police officer motivation to conduct traffic stops, which in the United States has been a key factor in the apprehension of suspects who were committing or fleeing terrorist acts or in the recovery of intelligence that aided in the prevention of 98 serious attacks on the nation since 9/11 (Inserra, 2017).

Although there are several media outlets that indicate national crime rates have decreased, the fact is if police officers are not out making arrests, statistics for crimes and crime rates are artificially lowered and do not reflect the amount of real crime that is occurring in communities. As previously indicated, with a greater level of acceptance of victimization, oftentimes victims of crimes are not reporting to the police, and instead opting to file insurance claims for different aspects of criminal activities such as identity theft or thefts from vehicles and homes.

Last but not least, in the United States, the criminal justice reform movement, especially in California, has advocated and facilitated the release of thousands of convicted criminals under Proposition 47, Proposition 57 and Assembly Bill 109. In addition to the mass release of criminals and crime spikes now occurring, there is scrutiny over the amount of funds that have been allocated to recidivism programs. As indicated in a 2018 audit done by the California State Auditor, normal levels of inmate

recidivism are 50%. Programs that have cost taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars annually, instituted by liberal-leaning politicians and special interest groups, have been shown to be a complete failure – boasting the same level of recidivism of 50% for inmates who participate in these costly reform programs (Howle, 2019).

The data of this study validated the muzzling of the sheepdog effect, and strongly supports the hypothesis that the media's reporting of police officers' actions in Ferguson and post-Ferguson is having a profoundly negative impact on our nation's police officers. It is time for news media to restore the vital institution of the press and live up to its ethical principles of journalism. News media must be transparent with its content, correctly identifying it as hard news, soft news, or infotainment, and be held accountable to the nation as its guardian of verified, fact-based reporting void of sensationalism, partisan politics, and motives for financial gain.

In conclusion, if our nation continues down the path of muzzling the sheepdog, police officers in the United States will continue to show an increased reluctance to provide service and protection to our nation. Collectively, law enforcement, news media, and government officials have a moral obligation to truth, justice, equality and to restoring the faith and trust of the American people by adhering to the highest standards of ethical conduct and diligent application of the principles of their respective professions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – **Synthesis Matrix**

	Process Theory	Content Theory	Crime/Violence in the United States	Ferguson Effect	Media Having an Effect on Police Performance	Police Officers Afraid to do their Job	News Cycle, Bias, Hard, Soft and Fake News	Personal Effect on Police Officers: Suicide	Warrior vs. Community Care Taker Mindset
(Altheide, 2013)					■				
(Clark, 2016)								■	
(Davey & Smith, 2015)			■	■		■			■
(Grossman, 2015)			■						■
(Harmon, 2008)					■				
(Lovell, 2001)					■		■		
(Lydersen, 2015)			■	■		■			■
(Magny, 2012)	■	■						■	
(McMillan & Schumacher, 2010)	■	■							
(Morin et al., 2017)			■	■	■	■	■	■	■
(Nix & Wolfe, 2016)			■	■			■	■	■
(Ward M. Oliver, 2004)	■	■							
(Patten, 2012)	■	■							
(Patton, 2015)	■	■							
(Quah & David, 2015)			■	■	■				
(R. Roberg et al., 2002)						■	■	■	■
(Roberts, 2010)	■	■							
(Rosenfeld, 2015)				■	■	■			■
(Roufa, 2017)								■	
(Sanburn, 2015)			■	■					

(Turow, 1983)							▪		
(Ward, 2009)			▪				▪		
(Wolfe & Nix, 2016)			▪	▪			▪	▪	▪

Police Officers' Attitudes on Policing Survey

Police Attitudes Toward Policing (PATP)

Invitation & Informed Consent to Participate in Online PATP
Survey

Dear Law Enforcement Member,

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully and ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you want more information.

TITLE OF STUDY
The Muzzling of the Sheepdog: A Mixed-methods Case Study of the Impacts of Media Reporting on Police Officer Performance

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER
Christopher T. Landavazo
Deputy Sheriff
7062 Hawthorn #304 Hollywood, CA. 90028
(805) 766-0607
clandava@mail.brandman.edu

PURPOSE OF STUDY
The purpose of this study is to understand and describe how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008.

STUDY PROCEDURES
This study will evaluate UCR and media report records to identify law enforcement agencies who meet the requirement for inclusion in this study. Agencies who met the requirements for inclusions will be asked to send an electronic survey to their police officers serving in a patrol function. The survey answers will then be compared between the two groups. Lastly, there will be option for police officers who completed the electronic survey to volunteer for a brief follow-up in-person or telephone interview to discuss the police officer's experience in the field. In-person and telephone interviews will be recorded for research purposes, but there will be no videotaping or film procedures used in this study.

RISKS
There are no potential risk that have been identified regarding your involvement. Please note: you may decline to answer any or all questions and you may terminate your involvement at any time if you choose.

BENEFITS
There will be no direct benefit to you for your participation in this study. However, information obtained from this study could be applicable to law enforcement agencies experiencing reduced law enforcement officer motivation or satisfaction. The findings have the potential to empower law enforcement leaders, policy makers and media to improve the way their institutions interact on a larger scale.

CONFIDENTIALITY
For the purposes of this research study, your comments will not be anonymous. Every effort will be made by the researcher to preserve your confidentiality including the following:
· Assigning code names/numbers for participants that will be used on all research notes and documents
· Keeping notes, interview transcriptions, and any other identifying participant information in a locked file cabinet in the

personal possession of the researcher.

Participant data will be kept confidential except in cases where the researcher is legally obligated to report specific incidents. These incidents include, but may not be limited to, incidents of abuse and suicide risk.

COMPENSATION

Participants will not receive compensation for participating in the survey. Participants who elect to be interviewed in person or via telephone will be entered into a random drawing for one of two ($50) Target gift cards.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the agency for which you are employed. If you withdraw from this study, any information you may have contributed will not be used in the study.

ELECTRONIC CONSENT

Please select your choice below. Clicking on the "agree" button indicates you have read the informed consent form and the information contained in this document and that you voluntarily agree to participate and are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without any negative consequences. If you do not wish to participate, you may decline by clicking on the "disagree" button. The survey will not open for responses until you have agreed to participate.

1. I acknowledge receipt of the complete Informed Consent Form and the Brandman Bill of Rights.

AGREE: I acknowledge receipt of the complete Informed Consent Form and the Brandman Bill of Rights. I have read the materials and give my consent to participate in the study.

DISAGREE: I do not wish to participate in this electronic survey.

Demographic
Questions

Please answer the following six questions about yourself.

2. Sex

○ Male

○ Female

○ Transgender

3. Race

○ Caucasian

○ Hispanic/Latino

○ Black

○ Asian/Pacific Islander

○ Other (please specify)

[   ]

4. Rank

○ Police Officer / Deputy Sheriff

○ Corporal/Bonus Deputy

○ Sergeant

○ Lieutenant

5. Age Range

○ 18-28   ○ 50-59

○ 29-39   ○ 60+

○ 40-49

6. Years of Service

- ○ 0-5
- ○ 6-10
- ○ 11-15
- ○ 16-20

- ○ 21-25
- ○ 36-30
- ○ 31-35
- ○ 36+

7. Are you currently assigned to patrol?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Police Officers Attitudes Towards Policing

Using the following scale, (1 No Affect, 2 Minor Affect, 3 Neutral Affect, 4 Moderate Affect, 5 Major Affect) please respond to
the follow questions based upon your observations of media's effect on policing:

8. What effect has news media reporting had on law enforcement?

No Affect	Minor Affect	Neutral Affect	Moderate Affect	Major Affect
○	○	○	○	○

9. What effect has media reporting had on police officers doubting themselves when opting to use or not use force when legally justified.

No Affect	Minor Affect	Neutral Affect	Moderate Affect	Major Affect
○	○	○	○	○

10. What effect has media reporting on policing had on force policy within law enforcement?

No Affect	Minor Affect	Neutral Affect	Moderate Affect	Major Affect
○	○	○	○	○

11. What affect has media reporting on policing had on you personally?

No Affect	Minor Affect	Neutral Affect	Moderate Affect	Major Affect
○	○	○	○	○

12. What effect has news media scrutiny of police officers had on my decision-making process while working patrol?

No Affect	Minor Affect	Neutral Affect	Moderate Affect	Major Affect
○	○	○	○	○

13. What effect has media scrutiny of police officers had on laws decriminalizing previously criminal actions such as drug possession?

No Affect	Minor Affect	Neutral Affect	Moderate Affect	Major Affect
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

14. What effect have high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, had on policing nationwide?

No Affect	Minor Affect	Neutral Affect	Moderate Affect	Major Affect
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

15. What effect have high profile police officer shootings, such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, had on my policing style?

No Affect	Minor Affect	Neutral Affect	Moderate Affect	Major Affect
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Using the following scale, (1 Strongly Disagree, 2 Disagree, 3 Neither Agree or Disagree, 4 Agree, 5 Strongly Agree) please respond to the follow statements based upon your observations of media's effect on policing:

16. News media reporting on police officer's actions are fair and unbiased.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

17. Media reporting on policing is causing police officers to hesitate to use force when force when legally justified.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

18. I have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from a negative encounter with a citizen.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

19. I believe other police officers have become less proactive in enforcement of laws due to possible media scrutiny of actions that may result from negative encounters with a citizen(s).

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

20. News media reporting on police interactions with citizens have made the job harder.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

21. Crime spikes in many cities across the country are the result of police officers becoming less proactive in enforcing laws as a result of negative media reporting on policing.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

22. News media reporting on police officers has negatively affected my self-esteem.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

23. News media reporting on police officers negatively influences the public's perception of police officers and the job they do.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

24. I believe my department's policies on tracking police officers/deputies use of force are fair.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

25. Within my department, the use of force by police officer/deputies has become seen as a negative attribute of a police officer's/deputies performance.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

26. I believe that law enforcement department's as a whole are looking out for the best interest of the police officer/deputies who work for them.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree of Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

27. The Black Lives Matter movement has a positive effect on law enforcement interactions with African Americans.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree of Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

28. Police officers/Deputies are respected by most members of society in the United States.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

29. The media portrays police officers/deputies in a positive light.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

30. I would want my son or daughter to become a police officer/deputy sheriff in the future.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

31. The use of body cameras has changed my behavior during subject stops.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

32. The use of body cameras has changed the way subjects act when contacted.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

33. My supervisors in the past 2 years have suggested officers be less proactive on patrol.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

34. My supervisors in the past 2 years have suggested officers use less force on patrol even when the use of force is reasonable.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

35. I believe news media is biased when reporting of police encounters with people of minority groups.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

36. I believe deadly attacks on police officers/deputies has increased because of news media.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
○	○	○	○	○

Using the following scale, (1 Not at all satisfied, 2 Slightly Satisfied, 3 Moderately Satisfied, 4 Very Satisfied, 5 Extremely Satisfied) please respond to the follow questions based upon your level of satisfaction on policing:

37. How satisfied are you with the Criminal Justice Reform movement in the United States?

Not at all satisfied	Slightly Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
○	○	○	○	○

38. How satisfied are you with news media's reporting on police encounters with citizens?

Not at all satisfied	Slightly Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
○	○	○	○	○

39. How satisfied are you with your department's policies regarding use of force?

Not at all satisfied	Slightly Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
○	○	○	○	○

40. How satisfied are you with your department's pay and benefits?

Not at all satisfied	Slightly Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
○	○	○	○	○

41. How satisfied are you with your department's executive leadership response to news media reports on police matters?

Not at all satisfied	Slightly Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
○	○	○	○	○

42. How satisfied are you with your department's supervisor's response to news media reports on police matters?

Not at all satisfied	Slightly Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
○	○	○	○	○

43. How satisfied are you with your decision to become a police officer/deputy sheriff.

Not at all satisfied	Slightly Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
○	○	○	○	○

44. Would you be willing to take part in a short in-person or telephonic interview for this study?

○ Yes

○ No

Contact Information

This page allows the PATP participants the opportunity to be contacted by the researcher for further participation in an short in-person or telephonic interview.

* 45. By providing my contact information, I am confirming my willingness to participate in a short in-person or over the phone interview and consent to the researcher contacting me via the e-mail and phone number provided.

Name _____

Agency _____

Email Address _____

Phone Number _____

APPENDIX C

Interview Script

"Hi, my name is Christopher Landavazo and I am a sworn member of law enforcement. I'm also a doctoral candidate at Brandman University. I am studying organizational leadership and conducting research to help understand the effects of media reporting on police officers personally and professionally.

I will be conducting twelve interviews with police officers. The information you provide, along with information provided by others, along with information gathered from the online survey will hopefully provide a good picture of the overall effects of media and the perceptions of law enforcement on policing. You are free to end this interview and/or withdraw from this study at any time and without giving a reason. Terminating this interview and/or withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the researcher or the agency that you are employed by. If you withdraw from this study, any information you may have contributed will not be used in the study.

During the interview, I will be reading the questions to make sure that each police officer is asked the same questions in the same order and the interviews are conducted in a manner that is as similar as possible. I would like to assure you that information obtained in this interview will remain confidential.

You have received and signed a printed form titled "Informed Consent and the Brandman Bill of Rights." Do you have any questions about either document before we get started? Or, any questions about any other information I have covered, so far?"

Generic probes that will be printed on an index card for the researcher to use during the interview:

1. Would you care to expand upon that a bit?

2. Do you have anything else you would like to add?

3. What did you mean by…?

4. Why do you think that was the case?

5. Could you please tell me more about…?

6. Can you give me an example of …?

7. How did you feel about that?

APPENDIX D

Semi-Structured Interview Form

Note: The interview is in 3 sections. Each section directly relates to the specific research question used for this study and consists of related interview questions. The third section consists of question that relate to both research questions.

RQ1. How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impacts of the media coverage on them personally?

1. Tell me about how you personally feel police officers are portrayed by the news media.

2. Have you changed the way you police because of media coverage on police?

    a. If yes, please tell me how you personally have changed the way you police?

    b. Why have you changed the way you police?

3. Do you believe the Ferguson effect is real?

    a. Yes: Please describe the effects on you personally.

    b. No: Please describe why you personally do not believe in the Ferguson effect.

RQ2. How do police officers, on patrol, in major metropolitan law enforcement organizations experiencing crime spikes since 2008 perceive the impacts of the media coverage on them professionally?

1. Professionally, what do you think about the current state of crime spikes and news media reporting on law enforcement?

2. What, if any, impact does it have on you professionally?

3. Please describe the impact the current media reporting has on the way you police.

    a. Has police officers' motivation on the job changed since the events in Ferguson? If yes, how?

4. Do you feel other police officers have changed the way they police and or enforce laws because of news media reporting?

    a. Have use of force policies at your department become more restrictive?

5. Has your agency made formal or informal policy changes that you attribute to news media reporting?

6. In your perception, has the use of justifiable force or actions by police officers changed because of news media reporting?

7. Do you think reduced police officer motivation (de-policing) is a factor in crime spikes?

RQ 1 & RQ 2.

1. Can you describe your overall experience as a police officer/deputy sheriff?

2. Would you recommend law enforcement as a career?

3. Have you seen an increased difficulty in recruitment and retention of police officers at your department?

APPENDIX E

Invitation & Informed Consent to Participate in Online PATP Survey

Dear Law Enforcement Member,

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully and ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you want more information.

TITLE OF STUDY

The Muzzling of the Sheepdog: A Mixed-Methods Case Study of the Impacts of Media Reporting on Police Officer Performance

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER

Christopher T. Landavazo

Deputy Sheriff

7062 Hawthorn #304 Hollywood, CA 90028

(805) 766-0607

clandava@mail.brandman.edu

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to understand and describe how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008.

STUDY PROCEDURES

This study will evaluate UCR and media report records to identify law enforcement agencies who meet the requirement for inclusion in this study. Agencies who met the requirements for inclusions will be asked to send an electronic survey to their police officers serving in a patrol function. The survey answers will then be compared between the two groups. Lastly, there will be an option for police officers who completed the electronic survey to volunteer for a brief follow-up in-person or telephone interview to discuss the police officer's experience in the field. In-person and telephone interviews will be recorded for research purposes, but there will be no videotaping or film procedures used in this study.

RISKS

There are no potential risks that have been identified regarding your involvement. Please note: you may decline to answer any or all questions and you may terminate your involvement at any time, if you choose.

BENEFITS

There will be no direct benefit to you for your participation in this study. However, information obtained from this study could be applicable to law enforcement agencies experiencing reduced law enforcement officer motivation or satisfaction. The findings have the potential to empower law enforcement leaders, policy makers and media to improve the way their institutions interact on a larger scale.

CONFIDENTIALITY

For the purposes of this research study, your comments will not be anonymous. Every effort will be made by the researcher to preserve your confidentiality including the following:

- Assigning code names/numbers for participants that will be used on all research notes and documents.

- Keeping notes, interview transcriptions, and any other identifying participant information in a locked file cabinet in the personal possession of the researcher.

Participant data will be kept confidential except in cases where the researcher is legally obligated to report specific incidents. These incidents include, but may not be limited to, incidents of abuse and suicide risk.

COMPENSATION

Participants will not receive compensation for participating in the survey. Participants who elect to be interviewed via telephone will be entered in a random drawing for one of five ($50) Target gift cards.

CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have questions at any time about this study, please contact the researcher, Christopher Landavazo, at clandava@mail.brandman.edu or (805) 766-0607. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, or if problems arise which you do not feel you can discuss with the researcher, you may also contact the Brandman University Institutional Review Board through the Office of the Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs, Brandman University, 16355 Laguna Canyon Road, Irvine, CA 92618, or call them at (940)341-7641.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the agency for which you are employed. If you withdraw from this study, any information you may have contributed will not be used in the study.

ELECTRONIC CONSENT

Please select your choice below. Clicking on the "agree" button indicates you have read the informed consent form and the information contained in this document and that you voluntarily agree to participate and are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without any negative consequences. If you do not wish to participate, you may decline by clicking on the "disagree" button. The survey will not open for responses until you have agreed to participate.

■ AGREE: I acknowledge receipt of the complete Informed Consent Form and the Brandman University Bill of Rights. I have read the materials and give my consent to participate in the study.

■ DISAGREE: I do not wish to participate in this electronic survey.

Invitation & Informed Consent for Police Officer Interview

Dear Law Enforcement Member,

You are being invited to take part in an interview for a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully and ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you want more information.

TITLE OF STUDY

The Muzzling of the Sheepdog: A Mixed-methods Case Study of the Impacts of Media Reporting on Police Officer Performance

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER

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PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to understand and describe how media coverage impacts patrol officers personally and professionally in major cities experiencing crime spikes since 2008.

STUDY PROCEDURES

This study will evaluate UCR and media report records to identify law enforcement agencies who meet the requirement for inclusion in this study. Agencies who met the requirements for inclusions will be asked to send an electronic survey to their police officers serving in a patrol function. The survey answers will then be compared between the two groups. Lastly, there will be an option for police officers who completed the electronic survey to volunteer for a brief follow-up in-person or telephone interview to discuss the police officer's experience in the field. In-person and telephone interviews will be recorded for research purposes, but there will be no videotaping or film procedures used in this study.

RISKS

There are no potential risks that have been identified regarding your involvement. Please note: you may decline to answer any or all questions and you may terminate your involvement at any time if you choose.

BENEFITS

There will be no direct benefit to you for your participation in this study. However, information obtained from this study could be applicable to law enforcement agencies experiencing reduced law enforcement officer motivation or satisfaction. The findings have the potential to empower law enforcement leaders, policy makers and media to improve the way their institutions interact on a larger scale.

CONFIDENTIALITY

For the purposes of this research study, your comments will not be anonymous. Every effort will be made by the researcher to preserve your confidentiality including the following:

- Assigning code names/numbers for participants that will be used on all research notes and documents.

- Keeping notes, interview transcriptions, and any other identifying participant information in a locked file cabinet in the personal possession of the researcher.

Participant data will be kept confidential except in cases where the researcher is legally obligated to report specific incidents. These incidents include, but may not be limited to, incidents of abuse and suicide risk.

COMPENSATION

Participants will not receive compensation for participating in the survey. Participants who elect to be interviewed via telephone will be entered in a random drawing for one of five ($50) Target gift cards.

CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have questions at any time about this study, please contact the researcher, Christopher Landavazo, at clandava@mail.brandman.edu or (805) 766-0607. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, or if problems arise which you do not feel you can discuss with the researcher, you may also contact the Brandman University Institutional Review Board through the Office of the Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs, Brandman University, 16355 Laguna Canyon Road, Irvine, CA 92618, or call them at (940)341-7641.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the agency for which you are employed. If you withdraw from this study, any information you may have contributed will not be used in the study.

CONSENT

I have read, and I understand the provided information and have had the opportunity to email or call the researcher to ask questions. I understand my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I also understand I should sign and return a copy of this consent form with my survey response in the envelope provided. The duplicate copy is mine to keep. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's signature: ***Christopher T. Landavazo***_____ Date:_ 01/21/18