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From the Editor

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Dear Colleagues,

It was a pleasure seeing many of you in Cincinnati for the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. At the annual SWACJ business meeting, I informed the members that the journal was in good stead, for manuscript submissions were up, the level of quality continues to increase, and it appears to me that all of this is sustainable. As a result, I raised the issue that had been part of the agreement for Sam Houston State University taking over the journal in 2006, and that was to begin the process of aligning the journal with one of the journal printing houses. All of the companies I have corresponded with voiced interest if the journal were published quarterly and that it was clearly sustainable. I stated my belief that a jump from semi-annual to quarterly might be too overwhelming; the members and I agreed to move the journal to three-times a year. Therefore, beginning with this volume, the journal will be published in the Spring (Issue #1), Fall (Issue #2), and Winter (Issue #3).

The burden of an additional issue per year will actually fall more heavily upon my successor, as this is my last year as editor of the journal. I would like to thank Jeff Walker for stepping up to the plate and agreeing to be the chair of the search committee that will find my replacement. If you are interested in becoming the editor of the journal, please contact Jeff at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Also, I should note that Sam Houston State University's College of Criminal Justice, the managing editor Nap Reyes, and myself will make sure that the transition between institutions and editors for



the beginning of Volume 6, in the Spring of 2009, is a successful one.

I would also like to mention how pleased I am with the four very strong articles published in this issue of the Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice, along with the two book reviews. I also agreed to publish in this issue a rebuttal by one of the authors of a book reviewed in the last issue. I felt strongly that it was the proper and professional thing to do, and I hope all of you agree. And, as always, please keep the submissions to the journal coming. If we are going to expand to three issues (and one day four!), we need help to make that happen.

Finally, I must say that I am looking forward to seeing everyone at the annual meeting of SWACJ, which this fall will be located in the mile-high city of Denver, Colorado.

Willard M. Oliver
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Criminologists as “Benchwarmers”: The Exclusion of Eggheads from Crime News Discourse

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ABSTRACT

Research has shown that mass media rely on official sources, such as police contacts and other justice system professionals, for perspective and information about crime. The current study compared the prevalence of official and other sources with the prevalence of academic scholar sources in crime articles in two national circulation newspapers and shows that the use of academic sources is far less prevalent than the use of official sources. The authors noted the potential problems of such an unbalanced construction of crime news and discussed the role of criminal justice/criminology educators in taking a more proactive stance in crime news discourse.

Key Words: criminology and criminal justice educators, mass media, crime news

INTRODUCTION

A variety of information sources dealing with a wide range of subjects are available to the public, including formal instruction, web based information, entertainment media, personal experience, casual conversation, and the news media. Those wishing to communicate with the public seek to disseminate their understandings or “claims” as being the “truth.” In an arena such as crime and crime policy, where most citizens usually lack direct or frequent experience, public perception has been largely driven by media portrayals (especially print and television news); research has shown that these modes of public information have provided the public

with extensive coverage of crime and the justice system (Ericson et al., 1991; Gilliam et al., 1996; Graber, 1980; Jerin & Fields, 1994; Lichter & Edmundson, 1992; Lotz, 1991).

News media have acted as both primary and secondary claimsmakers in the production of crime and criminal justice information delivered to, and processed by, the general public. As primary claimsmakers the media have created news content and constructed the meaning of events for the general public (Best, 1991; Best & Hutchinson, 1996). But more commonly, media sources have played the role of secondary claimsmaker (Best, 1990, 1991; Chermak, 1997; Cohen, 1967, 1972; Jenkins, 1994; Jenness, 1993; Reinerman, 1988). In this role the media have been reactive, delivering the messages and meanings of events and phenomena that originate from other primary claimsmakers (such as agency representatives, elected officials, and scholars or researchers working in the field).

This secondary claimsmaking role of media sources is an important and underdeveloped area of scholarly attention. However, policy implications of secondary media claimsmaking have not been completely ignored by media scholars and criminologists. Indeed, public consumption of crime news has been linked to exaggerated levels of fear of crime (Chiricos, Eschholz, & Gertz, 1997; Eschholz, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2003; Holbert, Shah, & Kwak, 2004; Lane & Meeker, 2003; Smith & Wilson, 2002; Williams & Dickinson, 1993; Wilson, Martins, & Marske, 2005), support for punitive criminal justice policy (Gross & Aday, 2003; Holbert et al., 2004), and preventative steps taken to guard against crime victimization (Nabi & Sullivan, 2001).

The selection of information sources has been a critical aspect of secondary media claimsmaking in crime news, yet with few notable exceptions (Beckett, 1995; Chermak, 1995, 1997; Welch, Fenwick, & Roberts, 1998), little research has examined the use of practitioners and scholars/researchers as sources of information to gauge the involvement of crime scholars in public crime discourse. Greg Barak (1994) has urged crime scholars and researchers to become more involved in the mass-mediated production of crime information, based on the assumption that such voices are largely absent from crime news discourse. Additionally, Greek (1994) has provided much needed direction toward this objective. Greek (1994) also noted the difficulties inherent in the quest for scholars and researchers to be more media oriented (including fears of being misquoted, making a mistake, or being ambushed by an ideologically-oriented interviewer). And he suggested that, at least relative to electronic media such as television or radio, involvement with print media organizations is a less risky alternative course of action for scholars and researchers to follow.

In this research, we assessed the degree of participation by scholars and researchers in crime discourse by examining the use of experts as sources of information for a hand-collected sample of crime stories published by two national daily newspapers, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. In this regard, we explored the use of scholars/researchers from the criminal justice/criminology academic field (universities), university scholars from other disciplines, agency researchers, and independent researchers, as experts in stories that cover domestic crime issues. We compared the use of crime scholars/researchers as sources of information about crime news to the use of practitioners as sources of information. We then presented examples of *New York Times* and *Washington Post* crime stories in which there was arguably clear potential to reference the works and quotations of criminologists, but in which no such references or quotes appeared, and discussed the nature of academic criminologist

involvement with the two newspapers used in the study. Finally, we presented the results of broad term search designed to tap the extent of scholarly citation on the salient criminal justice topic of correctional populations. We discussed the implications of our findings and explored the potential for more academic involvement in the media’s secondary claimsmaking process.

THE USE OF EXPERTS IN CRIME NEWS—PREVALENCE AND CONTENT

Prior research on the use of experts in crime stories has used differing definitions of the term “expert.” Chermak’s (1997) research broadly examined the use of all sources of information and categorized police and court representatives separately from “experts,” thus implying that police and court practitioners were not experts. In contrast, Welch, et al. (1998) assumed that an “expert” can be either a practitioner or an academic (scholar or researcher) who advances claims about a particular case or policy. We assumed an approach that was similar to Welch, et al. (1998) and broadly defined an “expert” as any practitioner working in the criminal justice system (law enforcement official or officer, prosecuting attorney, criminal defense attorney, etc.), scholar or researcher with knowledge in an area related to crime or criminal justice, or practitioner working outside of the system (for instance, a school teacher asked about a bomb threat at a school) who is quoted about a specific aspect of the offense or policy at issue in a news item. Our rationale for this approach was that an “expert” to the public likely includes those who have advanced or specialized knowledge of an issue or situation, both theoretical and practical. This broad definition of “expert” was also appropriate for the foregoing analysis, in which the relative prevalence of organizational versus academic citations was directly examined.

Chermak (1995, 1997) has explored the issue of prevalence of the use of different types of experts in crime stories. Chermak’s research documented that more than half of the sources referenced in crime stories were law enforcement and court officials. Subsequent research by Chermak (1997) similarly found that practitioner-oriented sources (especially police and court sources) represented the vast majority of the sources used in both specific incident stories and policy-relevant stories about drugs as a social problem. Non-practitioner expert sources not affiliated with a government agency were rarely used in the reports on crime. These findings are quite consistent with the broader literature on the uses of sources of information by news organizations. Journalists have tended to rely on authoritative government-based sources when constructing news reports (Berkowitz, 1987; Berkowitz & Beach, 1993; Brown, Bybee, Wearden, & Straughan, 1987; Gans, 1979; Sigal, 1973). This tendency has been linked to the organizational constraints of the news industry (Ericson, Baranek, & Chen, 1989; Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1991; Fishman, 1980; Gans, 1979). Official sources have made themselves accessible because they have a vested interest in the management of public impression about their agency (Kraska, 2004). News media in turn have relied on these official sources for the efficient production of news. The news media and official government sources thus have become “coupled,” as each has a shared interest in the co-production of news. An example in crime news has been the evolving relationship between the “public information officer” in a police department and a crime “beat” reporter of a local newspaper. The latter has readily relied on the former to maintain a steady stream of crime news for public consumption. In turn, the public information officer has used this relationship to feed the news source as much positive information about the police department as possible.

In contrast to Chermak, Welch et al. (1998) and Beckett (1995) have taken an alternative, but equally important, approach to examining the use of expert quotations about crime in news media. Comparing the ideological content of quotations by practitioners and researchers in three major dailies, Welch et al. showed that practitioners were generally oriented toward methods of systemic control of crime, whereas academic sources were generally oriented toward advancing an understanding of, and addressing, structural causes of crime. Practitioners were also shown to be strongly oriented toward hard control (more criminal justice resources and more punitive methods). Also, when quoted about crime causation, practitioners were more likely than academics and researchers to advance utilitarian explanations of crime (cost-benefit analysis). Importantly, the authors qualified their findings by emphasizing that their sample selection technique provided no opportunity to examine the relative prevalence of academic and organization sources.

Similar to Welch et al., Beckett (1995) approached the issue of sources in crime stories by focusing on how the type of source used is linked to the media's framing of the issue. Her analysis drew a distinction between hard news items and soft news items (editorial cartoons, editorials, and opinion columns). She found that hard news items generally relied on state officials who were advocating a "law and order" position in the war on drugs, thereby influencing the issue frames of reference that were communicated to the general public. The research of Welch et al. (1998) and Beckett (1995) illustrated the possible need for a broader media scope with respect to the selection of sources. In the absence of alternative interpretations of crime, the mass media has presented a one-sided and less diverse image of the crime problem.

Our approach to this issue was distinctive compared to these earlier efforts in that it was informed by an explicit belief that criminal justice and criminology scholars should be more involved in media-based discourse concerning crime, and so we directly compared the prevalence of such scholarly citation relative to the other sources employed.

METHODS

This study reported findings from a content analysis of newspaper articles on domestic crime in two national newspapers, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. We specifically focused attention on the use of expert references, citations, and quotations that appeared in the crime stories to compare the frequency of different source types. These two papers were selected due to their national scope, high journalistic reputations, their demonstrated capacity to influence the news coverage of other regional and local organizations, and their availability on Lexis-Nexis.

Sampling and Retrieval of News Articles

Most media-based research by criminologists has relied on searches of Lexis/Nexis or other databases to collect news articles for the sample. The potential problem with relying on Lexis/Nexis searches has been that article retrieval is dependent upon the adequacy of search terms used and the reliability of the search engine itself. The difficulties have been compounded when the area of inquiry is sufficiently broad – as is the case when attempting to search for stories about crime. Some articles may have used the term "crime" whereas others may have made reference to "burglary," "homicide," "rape," "fraud," or any of several other terms that can

indicate a news item focuses on criminal behavior. When the conception of crime is expanded to include corporate or white-collar crime or domestic terrorism, the potential for term-based retrievals to miss relevant stories is even more problematic.

To avoid this problem, we implemented a random sample of twenty-one days from calendar years 2003, 2004, and 2005. We then conducted hand searches of each newspaper for the twenty-one days by using library microfilm. We recorded the headlines for each story we found relating to crime or criminal justice issues. We then used the Lexis/Nexis database to retrieve electronic versions of the stories by searching for the precise headline for each story for the dates comprising the sample. We were able to retrieve all stories using this method for the *Washington Post*. A few of the smaller *New York Times* stories were unavailable, resulting from slight content differences between the national edition that was available on microfilm and the local edition available through Lexis-Nexis. We then content analyzed the stories for references and quotations from experts, noting whether any expert sources of various types were cited.

Unit of Analysis

We considered two different options in the coding of information for the analysis: (1) the use of the news article as the unit of analysis; or 2) the use of quotations that appear in print as the unit of analysis. For our study, the news article itself, not specific quotations, served as the unit of analysis. The rationale of our approach was two-fold. First, many of the articles under study made vague references to experts by using such statements as “according to police officials” but did not include a precise quotation. If we had chosen to use direct quotations as the unit of analysis this would mean that some sources of information would be necessarily excluded from the analysis even though the journalist clearly relied on an expert to create a news item for public consumption. Second, by using the news item as the unit of analysis we were able to avoid issues of potential double counting that can skew results in instances where an expert is quoted multiple times in the text of a single news article.

Inclusion Criteria for Stories in the Sample

To be included in our sample, the crime-related news issue had to occur in the United States and have clear domestic implications for U.S. citizens. Additionally, the crime had to fall under the jurisdictional authority of an agency in the United States. We included stories in our sample that focused on a broad array of criminal events, including traditional street crime (homicide, robbery, burglary, etc.), domestic terrorism, and white-collar or corporate crime. We also only included news items that were stand-alone news stories; we excluded short “blurbs” that were crime-related but appeared as a part of a cluster of news items under a headline such as “Metro in Brief” or “Crime & Justice.” We excluded these “blurbs” because they were much shorter than stand-alone news items and because there was less reason to believe that for these articles the journalist or journalists involved conducted substantial research to generate the story.

Variables

We created several different dichotomous variables in our coding scheme. For the variable “Law Enforcement Agency” the news item was coded as a one (1) if the news item contained any reference or quotation from an expert affiliated with a national, state, or local agency and as a zero (0) if the story contained no such reference or quotation. An agency was determined to be a law enforcement agency if it had investigation capacity and enforcement capacity (i.e.,

the ability to sanction); thus, for instance, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Securities Exchange Commission, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration were all considered to be law enforcement agents at the national level. Individuals holding academic-based or research analyst positions within these agencies were not included in this classification.

For the variable “Non-Law Enforcement Official” the news item was coded as a one (1) if the article contained any reference or quotation attributable to individuals or agents associated with an official agency that does not have investigation and sanctioning authority. This classification mainly included members of the executive or legislative branches of government at the national, state, and local levels. The variable “Prosecutor” was coded as a one (1) if the story referred to or actually quoted a statement from a national, state, or local prosecuting attorney who was actually working on a particular case that was the focus of the news article.

The dummy variable “Defense Counsel” provided a measure of whether the news article referenced a defense attorney representing a client in a case that was the focus of the article. The “Other Criminal Justice Practitioner” variable was a measure of whether the article referenced or quoted a criminal justice practitioner other than a law enforcement agent or a prosecutor, such as a judge (including court rulings) or prison warden. The “Other Non-Criminal Justice Practitioner” indicated whether the news article contained references or quotes from an expert practitioner working outside the criminal justice field, such as a school administrator/teacher, practicing psychologist, practicing psychiatrist, or analyst from a field outside of criminal justice. The “Special Interest Group” variable measured whether the article contained references or quotes attributable to individuals who are part of an organization that is pursuing, or was designed to pursue, a specific agenda relevant to the focus of the news item.

To measure the use of references to, and quotations from, academics (scholars and researchers) we coded the story as a one (1) if an academic or multiple academics were referenced or quoted. We also developed a method of further classifying references and quotations attributable to academics and other specialists. “Academic (CJ or Crim.)” measured whether a reference/quotation was attributable to a criminology or criminal justice scholar. To make this determination we relied on two criteria. One was place of employment—is the individual referenced/quoted a faculty member in a criminal justice or criminology department? The second was professional association membership. There are two major professional associations in which crime academicians are involved: the American Society of Criminology (ASC) and the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS). We used membership in ASC as the criterion for coding an academic scholar as a criminology or criminal justice scholar by referencing the membership directory of the organization, as no such membership directory was available online for ACJS. So there was potential measurement bias in our conceptualization of a criminology or criminal justice scholar, but we suspected that the bias was negligible given that ASC is the larger of the two organizations.

“Academic (Other)” indicated association with an academic department or discipline other than criminal justice/criminology. “Agency” indicated one or more citations from a non-academic researcher associated with an agency (such as a local police department research analyst) and “Independent” was a measure of whether there was a citation or reference to an independent research agency (such as the Police Executive Research Forum) in the news item.

Defining “Crime”

Given that we broadly defined the concept of “crime” to include traditional street offenses, domestic terrorism, and white-collar and corporate crime, our study potentially was too broad in terms of inclusion of stories in the sample. In essence, some may assert that to expect criminologist or criminal justice “expert” quotations and references in stories that deal with white-collar or corporate crime in such papers as the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* is unreasonable because such topics are outside the traditional “domain” and expertise of these experts. Whether criminal justice and criminology scholars can reasonably be expected to be part of public discourse on white-collar crime (and we believe they should) is a debate beyond the scope of the present study, but we account for this potential objection by presenting findings that included stories on white-collar and corporate crime alongside findings that excluded these stories (white-collar and corporate) from the analysis.

FINDINGS

Table 1 showed the frequencies and percentages of the categories of experts cited. The numbers in parentheses indicated the percentage of the total stories in which a reference for the specific type of expert appeared. The numbers outside the parentheses showed the raw number of news stories in the sample that referenced the specific type of expert. The data in Table 1 should not be interpreted to mean that the subcategories (for instance, national, state, and local) will sum to a grand total that equals the total of the main category (for instance, law enforcement). The information was not coded in a mutually exclusive manner. For instance, in the data it was possible to have a story whereby both a federal and state law enforcement officer were referenced. This would mean that the story is counted for both the national and state subcategories, but the story would only count once in the grand total category of law enforcement. Thus, in some situations, the raw numbers and the percentages for the main categories in the table will be lower than the sum of the raw numbers and percentages for the subcategories once they are totaled.

Based on the data from Table 1, it was readily apparent that crime stories were less likely to include quotations by scholars or researchers than any of the other categories of experts cited, whether white-collar crimes were included in the analysis or not. When all stories were included in the analysis, only 15.4 percent of crime stories in the *New York Times* and 9.9 percent of the stories in the *Washington Post* included quotations attributable to academic scholars. When white-collar/corporate crimes were excluded from the analysis, only 11.9 percent of the *New York Times* and 9.3 percent of the *Washington Post* stories included quotes or references to academic scholars. These findings suggested that, at least in the sample examined, academics and scholars played only a small role in public discourse about crime and criminal justice issues.

**TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF EXPERT SOURCES CITED IN CRIME STORIES
(PERCENTAGES IN PARENTHESES)**

	Including White-Collar		Excluding White-Collar	
	<i>NYT</i>	<i>WP</i>	<i>NYT</i>	<i>WP</i>
Law Enforcement	42 (28.2)	96 (43.2)	36 (33.0)	59 (45.7)
National	11 (7.4)	39 (17.6)	7 (6.4)	4 (3.1)
State	1 (.7)	3 (1.4)	1 (.9)	3 (2.3)
Local	30 (20.1)	58 (26.1)	30 (27.5)	55 (42.6)
Non-LEN Official	33 (22.1)	105 (47.3)	23 (21.1)	55 (42.6)
National	12 (8.1)	47 (21.2)	8 (7.3)	12 (9.3)
State	11 (7.4)	32 (14.4)	7 (6.4)	18 (14.0)
Local	10 (6.7)	35 (15.8)	8 (7.3)	32 (24.8)
Prosecutor	35 (23.5)	53 (23.9)	19 (17.4)	28 (21.7)
National	16 (10.7)	26 (11.7)	4 (3.7)	3 (2.3)
State/Local	19 (13.0)	27 (12.2)	15 (13.8)	25 (19.4)
Any Official Source	98 (65.8)	192 (86.5)	70 (64.2)	109 (84.5)
Defense Counsel	37 (24.8)	62 (27.9)	26 (23.9)	35 (27.1)
Other CJ Practitioner	38 (25.5)	43 (19.4)	27 (24.8)	35 (20.9)
Other Non-CJ Practitioner	52 (33.6)	82 (36.9)	34 (31.2)	39 (30.2)
Special Interest Group	19 (12.8)	60 (27.0)	16 (14.7)	29 (22.5)
Acad. Scholars/Researchers	23 (15.4)	22 (9.9)	13 (11.9)	12 (9.3)
Academic (CJ or Crim.)	6 (4.0)	4 (1.8)	5 (4.6)	4 (3.1)
Academic (Other Discipline)	17 (11.4)	18 (8.1)	9 (8.3)	8 (6.2)
Non-Acad. Scholars/Res.	3(2.0)	6 (2.8)	3 (2.8)	6 (4.7)
Agency	0 (0.0)	5 (2.3)	0 (0.0)	5 (3.9)
Independent	3 (2.0)	1 (.5)	3 (2.8)	1 (.8)
Total Articles in Sample	149	222	109	129

These findings were consistent with prior research suggesting that official organizations are more efficiently linked to the news media and will thus form the bulk of quotation and reference resources for media with respect to crime stories. It was even more revealing to compare the percentage of academic and non-academic scholar citations with a classification of all governmental organizational experts, which included all law enforcement, prosecutorial, non-LEN sources, and Other CJ practitioners. For the *New York Times*, 65.8 percent of the crime stories cited at least one official source. For the *Washington Post*, this percentage was 86.5 percent.

These numbers were virtually the same if white-collar crime stories were excluded from the analysis. This again was consistent with prior research noting the organizational coupling between mass media and official governmental agencies and its implications for where news producers turn for citations about crime. This also has left open the concern that media depictions of crime are in danger of reflecting a distorted view of the crime phenomenon if institutional sources are disproportionately referenced by media.

Academic quotations and references were not only rare, but there was some evidence that when academics were referenced in crime stories, it was done so in a manner that marginalized the potential contribution to crime discourse. While Table 1 reported data that concerned the crime story as the unit of analysis, these data can also be further analyzed by looking specifically at the quotations from those articles. When white-collar crimes were included in the *New York Times* sample, there was a total of 33 academic citations within the 23 crime stories that were referenced in Table 1. Of these 33 references, there were a few citations on what criminologists and criminal justice educators might regard as mainstream crime and justice issues, such as homicide trends in New York and a critical examination of New Jersey’s child welfare system in the aftermath of a disturbing case of neglect.

However, six of the *Times* scholar citations occurred in a story about efforts by the state to force a mentally ill defendant to take medication in order to be competent to stand trial, four more occurred in a story about ecoterrorism, and another five appeared in an examination of a recent “string” of well-publicized cases of older women having sex with underage boys. In other words, almost half the scholar citations occurred in the context of discussions about relatively exceptional criminal events that are probably not “bread and butter” crime and justice topics. Instead, these articles appealed to public interest in deviant sex, criminal psychology, and sensational and extraordinary crimes.

A more promising pattern was observed in the *Washington Post* data. In the *Post* sample (white-collar crimes included) there were 25 total quotations from academics within the 22 stories that included an academic reference. Twelve of the citations, or nearly half, concerned white-collar/corporate crime and its control. Of the remaining citations, two concerned police and prosecutor tactics to respond to civil disobedience in the form of protest. There was also one quotation that attributed the drop in the homicide rate to social conditions and not the incarceration rate, one quote on the effect of offender and victim race on death penalty outcomes, one quote about the application of terrorism laws to gang behavior, one quotation about domestic terror threats, and one quotation about the effectiveness of a juvenile justice program.

Overall use of academic scholars was sparse, but perhaps of greater concern was that criminology and criminal justice scholars (again, scholars either affiliated with a criminal justice or criminology academic program or a member of ASC) were even less likely to be cited than scholars from other fields in crime stories. When white-collar crimes were included in the analysis, in only 6 (4.0 percent) of the 149 *New York Times* articles and 4 (1.8 percent) of the *Washington Post* articles was at least one criminology or criminal justice academic cited. The numbers were 5 (4.6 percent) and 4 (3.1 percent) respectively when white-collar crimes were excluded. Thus, even in those rare occasions when crime news does include academic citation, criminology and criminal justice scholars were less likely to be cited relative to other academic fields.

The stories that referenced an academic scholar from a discipline other than criminology or criminal justice relied on a variety of different disciplines. In the *New York Times* articles, six stories made generic reference to an academic expert in a particular specialty (such as securities fraud), four referenced a psychologist, three referenced academic experts employed by a think tank, three referenced a philosopher, two referenced a women/gender studies professor, two referenced physicians or persons employed in the medical field, one referenced a management professor, one referenced a political science professor, one referenced a school psychologist, one referenced a sociologist, and one referenced a professor of education. In the *Washington Post*, six stories referenced a law professor, four referenced a business professor, and one story referenced each of the following: a sociologist, a labor professor, an American Indian Studies professor, a forensic psychologist, a legal historian, a research institute director, a Wall Street historian, a medical doctor, an MIT researcher, and a Harvard University lecturer.

Some may find these data less than profound and would likely argue that organizational constraints have made it unreasonable to expect that scholarly citation will frequently or meaningfully appear in newspaper crime coverage. If newspapers need to appeal to readers with interesting crime copy that is easy to produce, it only makes sense that they will rely on official government sources such as public information officers and other official spokesmen who are geared to report the details of headline-grabbing crimes in a manner that is readily useable to news media. Thus, crime story content will of necessity be constructed in a way that makes scholarly citation unlikely by default.

Considering this, the authors examined all of the crime stories for both papers to make a subjective judgment for each story as to whether it was a reasonable candidate for scholarly citation. This analysis showed that in the estimation of the researchers, there were 20 stories in the *New York Times* sample in which scholarly citation would have been appropriate, and 25 such stories in the *Washington Post* sample. Thus, even with the content and focus of current crime coverage in these papers (whose legitimacy is a debatable but tangential point), there were still ample opportunities for scholarly citation that were, for whatever reason, being passed up.

Still, it might be argued that a sample of 21 days out of over 1,000 could easily miss those semi-frequent feature stories wherein substantive crime topics were covered at greater length and in which criminology or criminal justice scholars would be more likely to be cited. A rough test of this possibility was conducted by running a series of search terms designed to detect scholarly citation in stories about a criminal justice topic whose importance the authors assume few would dispute: The problem of expanding correctional populations.

The *New York Times* search produced 59 hits, while the *Washington Post* search produced 12. Each of the hits was individually examined to find stories where any scholars were cited on the topic of prison populations. The vast majority were false hits—cases where the search terms appeared incidentally to the main topic of the story. The *Washington Post* produced no “true” hits, while the *New York Times* produced five stories with a total of 11 scholars cited, including eight criminology or criminal justice scholars.

This finding was remarkable when one considers that the search dates included a total of 1,096 days of news coverage in two nationally respected daily newspapers. During that entire time, there were five stories in which 11 scholars were cited on the topic of correctional populations, which is arguably one of the most pressing issues in criminal justice policy. At the same

time, both papers provided readers with extensive coverage of crime and criminal justice topics. Using the hand search sample as the basis for a crude estimate (that excluded white-collar crimes), there were roughly 5,600 crime-related stories in the *New York Times* and roughly 6,700 in the *Washington Post* during that same period. Thus, for every 1,000 crime stories in the *New York Times*, there was one article on correctional populations that included any scholarly citations. There were none in the *Washington Post*.

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The data from this analysis suggest that expert citations in general and criminal justice/criminology academic scholar citation in particular are rare in newspaper coverage of crime, with the result that crime and justice system discourse is disproportionately dominated by official organizational sources. Future content analysis of these respective sources will shed further light on any particular bias exhibited, but for now the key conclusion was not the ideological content of the citations from these organizational sources but the fact that they are cited far more often than scholarly sources. How these results are interpreted depends on how one answers a number of key questions.

Question 1: Is this really a problem?

One potential criticism of the findings presented here was that only two newspapers were sampled, and only for 21 days of coverage; perhaps other newspapers cite scholars more frequently. The sampling limitation was caused by two key constraints: the extremely time-consuming process of content analyzing the stories and the need for complete electronic versions of the articles for analysis, coding, reanalysis, and so forth. (Not many daily newspapers are as well documented on Lexis-Nexis as the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*.) However, the relatively small sample size was not crippling for two reasons. First, the findings were completely consistent with what prior research and common sense would suggest: Scholarly citation, relative to official sources, is extremely rare and often marginalized where it appears. Second, the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* are two of the leading, if not the leading, dailies in the United States, with national readerships, established reputations for quality journalism, and having powerful influences on the news production trends in other dailies. In other words, if academic discourse on crime was going to appear in newspaper crime news, it seems reasonable to look first at papers such as the *Times* and the *Post*. Finding little of it in these papers did not technically prove that it is also therefore rare in most American newspaper crime coverage, but powerfully suggested as much.

Some might argue that, even if the results presented here were to be accepted at face value and as typical of newspaper use of expert citation, it is unrealistic to expect any substantial degree of scholarly representation in crime coverage—even in relatively high quality dailies like the *Times* and *Post*. Newspaper organizations need to attract readership, and crime news has been viewed by editors as interesting copy that is relatively easy to produce precisely because of the traditional linkages between official organizations and news organizations. However, this criticism has only restated the problem; it does not solve or ratify it. Our findings were consistent with earlier research showing that crime discourse is dominated by official government sources. If these sources frequently take ideological positions on crime and advance solutions that are consistent with official state mechanisms of control (as previous research by Welch et

al., 1998 suggested), the effect on the nature of crime control discourse would be predictable: The public's perception of the crime problem would more often than not reflect these ideological perspectives. Thus the traditional linkages between official sources and mass media and the market and organizational forces under which the latter operate should be viewed as challenges to be overcome, not a state of affairs to be accepted. In short, criminal justice scholars and criminologists should observe these data with concern.

Question 2: Even if this is a problem, do we care?

Official sources have a much stronger vested interest in making their case to the public than academics. Police administrators have felt pressure to show that they are effectively preserving the peace while simultaneously complying with civil rights requirements. Prosecutors have needed to demonstrate effective pursuit of wrongdoers in the courts. Politicians have been eager to weigh in on crime and justice issues to solidify their "tough on crime" credentials. Scholars, by contrast, have been culturally and practically more invested in the enclosed academic world, where there is pressure to gain credibility and status by publishing one's research, not in popular media, but in peer-reviewed journals with narrow readerships. In essence, no one ever made tenure by getting repeatedly referenced in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*.

But again, this simply has restated and accounted for the problem, it does not justify it. If criminal justice academics have been disinclined to engage in public discussion about crime control because of a cultural preference for interaction within academia to the exclusion of public discourse, then maybe there is something wrong with academic culture, not the exhortation that academics should make efforts to participate in the public dialogue on crime control. If criminal justice and criminology scholarship has been only good for academia, then what has it really been good for?

A powerful argument can be made that criminal justice scholars and criminologists have some responsibility for messages on crime topics that mass media produce and disseminate to the public, for two reasons. First, as academic scholars we are the "gatekeepers" of information that has a high degree of practical and theoretical relevance to our social world and how it operates. We hold information that has relevance to offenders, victims, the general public, and to the state as a crime control institution. Second, as professionals we have been imparted with the technical and theoretical skills necessary to conduct highly technical and practically relevant research (the research function of academia); but we have also been imparted with the skills to transfer technical research information into information that can be consumed by citizens who are not necessarily well-schooled in research and scholarship jargon (the teaching function of academia).

But it is likely that many criminology or criminal justice scholars do not agree with this assertion. Many scholars in general likely view the mass media as superficial, unreliable, and dominated by market forces and popular demand. It could also be that many scholars disdain appearance in mass media, with its often shallow and fleeting discourse that might seem beneath the dignity of the scholarly enterprise. This interpretation of mass media is understandable, but such a professional ideology has been a major detriment to the advancement of knowledge past the "ivory tower" and into the popular understanding. Maybe to be relevant, criminology and criminal justice scholars need to get their hands dirty.

If criminologists and criminal justice scholars are to shed our “benchwarmer” role in public discourse on crime, then we must become proactive in our interactions with the mass media and cultivate relationships with its various players. In the language of media scholarship, we must become “claimsmakers” ourselves—not for the purpose of advancing particular ideologies or interests, but for a simple infusion of fact and perspective on the public discourse on crime.

Question 3: Even if we do care, how can we gain more access?

First, we must become more proactive in our relations with the mass media. It is obvious in the data presented here that journalists generally do not typically take the time to seek out crime and justice academics to get information for crime stories. So if journalists are not coming to academics, then academics must go to journalists. As professionals, we can look for opportunities to become involved with mass media at all levels—national, regional, and local. Scholars can reach out to mass media at all levels and offer to serve as a source of information for crime-related stories. Our professional associations at the national level, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences and the American Society of Criminology can become more proactive in cultivating relationships with the mass media, as could academic journals—perhaps, for example by requiring that the authors of all accepted manuscripts for publication draft a press release about the research. This could potentially increase the likelihood that social science research on crime is filtered down to the mass audiences.

Second, we must adapt to the organizational constraints of mass media instead of using them as an excuse to relieve us of our information gatekeeping responsibilities. While it is easy to conclude that because of the pressures media outlets face, there is no opportunity to disseminate meaningful information to the public, we should reject this fatalistic mentality. Imagine, for instance, a journalist working on a particular story about violence in boot camps who has at his or her disposal a cogently worded press release, provided by a criminology or criminal justice scholar or journal editor, about research on boot camp effectiveness. The ready availability of the information combined with its delivery in a format useable to the journalist would dramatically increase the chance of its inclusion in the story.

Even if mass media continue to focus on the rare and the sensational, the potential exists for scholars and our professional organizations to contribute to the public understanding of these events and provide information that offers a more balanced understanding of the issue. The potential of a balanced understanding of events based on academic contribution to mass media endeavors, from our perspective, appears to be a better prospect than the alternative. In essence, individual scholars and our professional organizations can keep tabs on what crime issues the mass media are covering and then actively take steps to inform the journalist of a more academic point of view or inform them of findings from scholarly research on the topic. An excellent but unfortunately atypical example of this occurred in one of the *New York Times* stories examined in this sample. A nine-year-old girl had murdered her friend—a sensational criminal event—but the story was balanced by a citation of criminal justice professor James Alan Fox, who pointed out the extreme statistical rarity of this type of crime.

Third, as scholars, when we deal with the mass media, we must resist the inclination to engage in discourse in a manner that tries to assimilate journalists, and by extension, the general public, into all of the qualities and trappings of our “egghead” culture. In other words, we must be willing and able to speak the language of the mass media and the general public. Journalists

and members of the public generally do not share scholars' "thirst for knowledge" in the sense that justification of research is the pursuit of knowledge about a subject in and of itself. Journalists ask the question: How is this potentially applicable to the public's understanding of the issue? The public wants to know how findings from research impact them and what the practical implications are. Scholars need to be able to justify statements and information provided to the public in the context of what is effective in crime control and what is cost effective, and deliver the information cogently to make it amenable to media citation.

Question 4: Even if we gain more access, who will pay attention?

Certainly not everyone, and perhaps no one, will pay attention at first. But this does not diminish our responsibility to attempt to gain ground in, and perhaps even try to alter, the public discourse on crime and crime control policy. Journalists, like most professionals, are busy, set in routine modes of news production, and resistant to change. Furthermore, journalists and editors will not pay attention to a scholar who comes off as pompous and as arrogant, or who appears to be too ideological in their orientation. But journalists will likely pay attention in the context of a reciprocal approach whereby the scholar is getting what he or she wants (increased scientifically-based crime discourse) and the journalist is getting that which he wants (scholarly involvement that works within the framework of the organizational constraints of the news production process).

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The most important finding to emerge from this study was the predictable but unfortunate absence of criminology and criminal justice scholarly citation in crime coverage in the mass media sources examined. From this demonstration a number of future arenas of research on the relationship between scholars and the mass media could emerge. First, broader empirical investigation would reveal the extent to which scholarly citation appears in crime coverage in other mass media sources, including other daily newspapers, internet, radio, and the medium which might well be most Americans' primary mentor on crime and crime issues—television. If scholarly citation is low in the *New York Times*, this might not bode well for TV programs like *Dateline NBC*, but this remains to be determined. Second, from this and similar research, perhaps an introspective dialogue could emerge within the criminology and criminal justice academic world regarding the meaning of our "educational" responsibilities. It is both right and understandable that academics focus on teaching and publication, but in a society in which so much crime control policy reflects severe misunderstanding of crime phenomena, it might be time to examine and perhaps rethink our egghead culture of introversion and recognize what the other "players" in crime control discourse have known for years: In the management of public perceptions and in advocating crime policy, mass media is where the action is.

CONCLUSION

In this study, detailed examination of all crime coverage from a sample of 21 daily editions from both the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* showed that, relative to the use of official sources (police, prosecutors, and other government organizations), the use of scholars in general and criminal justice/criminology scholars in particular is very rare, and often marginalized

where it occurs. Detailed analysis of all the crime stories in both papers showed that there are often many opportunities for scholarly citation in crime coverage but where none occurs. Finally, a term search of three years of coverage in both newspapers revealed almost no scholarly citation on the preeminent crime policy issue of correctional populations. These findings beg larger questions about whether participation by crime scholars in mass media discourse is desirable in theory, and if so, whether it is congruent with the “egghead” inclinations and incentives that academics confront. The authors argue that crime scholars must expand their understanding of their “educational” responsibilities to include that of serving as claimsmakers in the arena of public policy, and this means developing means of participation in mass media discourse on crime and crime policy.

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Television Violence and Aggression: A Retrospective Study

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ABSTRACT

Research since the 1970s shows that television violence can affect children and encourage the development of aggressive behaviors and attitudes. This study adds to the research which focuses on people's self-reported exposure and perception to television violence and their perceived behavior. A survey was administered to 130 undergraduate students from the University of Texas at Arlington on their perception and knowledge of television viewing habits, programming content, and behavior from when they were a child until the present time. A Pearson's correlation coefficient was employed to study the strength of the relationship between exposure to television violence and perceived behavior. Also, a t-test was used to compare the means of the questions for males and females. This study implies that there is a relationship between childhood exposure to television violence and perceived behavior.

Key Words: television, violence, retrospective, children

INTRODUCTION

Violence in mass media (including music, film, video games and television) has come to public attention with virtually every new form of mass media entertainment. It has evoked concerns about its potentially harmful effects on children, and researchers have produced a wealth of evidence of potential harm to children (Bushman & Cantor, 2003). Groebel (2003) suggests that the media plays a major role in the development of cultural orientations, world views, beliefs, and the global distribution of values and images.

According to Huesmann and Eron (1986), because of the acceleration rate of violent crime with the entrance of television in most children's homes, it is not surprising that television has become the scapegoat. Of all the mass media, television violence has the greatest potential for both short-term and long-term effects upon children. In light of all the situations where children are affected negatively by viewing violence, there is a need for a study of the effects of television violence on children.

The purpose of this study is to examine people's self-reported exposure and perception to television violence and their perceived behavior. Specifically, this study will examine undergraduate students at the University of Texas at Arlington with self-report surveys.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Children are affected by violence in the media (Ling & Thomas, 1986; Murray 1995; Freshback & Singer, 1971). The "average child," between the ages of six and eighteen, will have spent 4,000 hours listening to radio and CDs, watched 16,000 hours of television, and watched several thousand more hours of movies (Sanders, 1994). This means that children will spend more time with the media than with their parents or in the classroom. Ling and Thomas (1986) conducted a study of children who were shown two videotapes of aggressive and non-aggressive play behavior. Only the children who viewed the aggressive video exhibited an increase in the amount of aggressive play. Film, rock music, and even the Internet amplify and reinforce the damaging content television pours into our consciousness (Medved & Medved, 1998).

Television

The United States is the largest consumer of television programming. In 1948, there were barely 100,000 television sets in use in the United States. According to Carter & Strickland (1975), by 1973, 96% of homes had one or more television sets, and the average set was estimated to be turned on for more than six hours a day. It is estimated that there are more television sets in the United States than there are telephones, or even toilets (Bushman & Huesmann, 2001). Today, 99% of homes have a television.

Children born in the United States have the potential of being exposed to television at almost the moment of birth, viewing television for the rest of their lives, and interacting regularly with other viewers of television (Abeles, 1980). Children also spend more time watching television than they do attending school. According to Carter and Strickland (1975), for most children, television occupies many more hours than school during their first sixteen years. In the 1990s, daily television viewing for children ages 6 to 18 has increased 70%. The average viewing time for elementary school students is 25 hours a week. By age five, the average child has received 6,000 hours of programming (Sanders, 1994).

V-Chip

As of January 1, 2000, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) required all new television sets 13 inches or larger to contain the V-Chip technology. The FCC states that the V-Chip reads information encoded in the rated program and blocks programs from the set based upon the ratings selected by the parent. Passage of the V-Chip legislation represents the first substantive policy adopted by the government to address the issue of media violence (Kunkel & Wilcox, 2001). Using a remote control, parents can program the V-Chip to block certain shows based on their ratings. According to Heins (1998), the V-Chip puts significant power in the hands of the people who will actually rate TV programming. Those parents who choose to activate the chip will not be evaluating programs themselves to determine if they are consonant with their own values or appropriate for the age and maturity levels of their children (Heins, 1998).

President Bill Clinton, in his 1996 State of the Union address, called on Congress to adopt legislation to establish the V-chip (violence chip) as a means of helping parents limit their children's exposure to television violence (Kunkel, 2003). The V-chip was a result of the 1966 Telecommunication Act that mandated which new television sets are manufactured with the V-chip. This will allow parents to block out TV programs with objectionable content. However, parents have problems with the technology. During a Senate Commerce Committee hearing in July 1995, a Zenith television executive was going to demonstrate how the V-chip worked. He struggled for more than ten minutes and was not able to get the technology to work until his aide helped him. If this expert on V-chip technology cannot make it work, how will the average parent make it work (Bushman & Huesmann, 2001)?

Television Violence

A 2000 report from the Federal Trade Commission confirmed what parents have long suspected: that the advertising for violent movies, television shows, video games, and music CDs intentionally targets young audiences (Condon, 2002). Television makes children passive recipients of hundreds of thousands of images of violence and sex each and every day. Children receive the most exposure to television in the home.

How does all this violent television programming affect children? According to Gerbner and Cross (1980), by the time the average American child graduates high school, they will have seen more than 13,000 violent deaths on television. Bushman and Huesmann (2001) also extend this by stating by the time the average American child graduates from elementary school, they will have seen more than 8,000 murders and more than 100,000 other acts of violence on television (the numbers are higher for those children with access to cable television).

Studies and Reports on Violence in Television Programming

Public concern over violence in television has shifted slightly over the years but, in general (since the 1950s) about two-thirds of Americans have agreed with the statement there is "too much violence" on television (Comstock & Scharrer, 2002). Over the years, more funding and research effort has been invested in the study of television violence than in any other aspect of television output (Gunter & McAleer, 1997). The first Congressional hearing devoted to television programming was held in the House in 1952 to discuss the topics of violence and sex. In 1954, Senator Estes Kefauver, chairman of the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, conducted an investigation focusing on violence in program content. The Kefauver Subcommittee concluded that such programming in large doses could be potentially harmful to young

viewers. The late 1960s and early 1970s was the time in which most of the reports on television violence surfaced in our society.

Eisenhower Commission

In 1968, the Eisenhower Commission (initiated by President Johnson) focused on the impact of mass media violence. It concluded that watching television violence taught the viewer how to engage in violent behavior. The Task Force on Mass Media Violence (1969) of the Eisenhower Commission concluded three effects of television violence: (1) learning effects, (2) emotional effects, and (3) impulsive aggression. Learning effects points to the fact that aggressive behavior sequences are learned by children through exposure to realistic portrayals of aggression on television. The mass media typically presents aggression as a high effective form of behavior. Frequent exposure produced an emotional habituation to media violence. There is suggestive evidence that this results in an increased likelihood of actual aggression. Aggressive impulses may be held in check if the viewer has prior association with media violence and may serve to heighten the intensity of aggressive attacks (Carter & Strickland, 1975).

Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee

In March of 1969, the Surgeon General's Program of Research, headed by Senator John Pastore, conducted a scientific study to see whether or not televised violence produced anti-social behavior in children. Pastore stated that there is a causal connection between televised crime and violence and antisocial behavior by individuals, especially children. He was not condemning all television programs, but he agreed that violent programs are not conducive to good behavior and do not excite and draw out the best attributes of character in our children. This research helped establish the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior.

The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior (1972), the sole inquiry primarily concerned with television violence, concluded that viewing violent programming increased the aggressive and antisocial behavior of some young viewers (Comstock, 2002). In March 1972, Surgeon General Jesse Steinfield told Congress that there is a causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior, and that it is sufficient enough to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action (Husesmann & Taylor, 2003). The Committee concluded that not all children are affected and not all children are affected the same way, but there is evidence that television can be harmful to young viewers. By the time the Surgeon General's inquiry into television began, about 50 experiments had been published showing that violent exposure increases scores of aggression immediately after viewing (Comstock, 1980).

The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH)

The National Institute of Mental Health in 1982 reviewed the Surgeon General's report with a ten-year follow up report, *Television and Behavior: Ten Years of Scientific Progress for the Eighties*. Dr. D. Pearl, one of its authors, stated that a causal relationship was established between violence found in everyday life and violence on television (Roth, 1985). The 1972 Surgeon General's Report and the 1982 National Institute of Mental Health's review concluded that television occupied a significant role in the lives of both children and adults.

National Television Violence Study

The most known study of violence in television is the National Television Violence Study. It began in June 1994 as a three-year study to assess violence on television. It was a comprehensive examination of the content of American television programs. It defined media violence as any overt depiction of a credible threat of physical force or the actual use of such force intended to physically harm an animate being or group of beings. Violence also includes certain depictions of physically harmful consequences against an animate being or group that occurs as a result of unseen violent means. The study says that television violence has been recognized as contributing to violent and aggressive antisocial behavior. It found that children's television programs were high in violent content. It also concluded that there are biological, psychological, social, and cultural factors as well.

Leonard Eron (1986) did a study and found that those who watch the most television and movies in childhood were more likely to have been arrested or convicted of violent felonies. Of a group of 100 criminals, 22% confessed to having imitated or tried out criminal techniques they had seen on television (Bogart, 1980). The American Psychological Association established a Commission on Youth and Violence to examine the literature on the causes and prevention of violence (Gunter & McAleer, 1997). They concluded that American children are exposed to high levels of violence, and the heavy viewers of this violence demonstrated increased acceptance of aggressive behavior.

One of the most comprehensive analyses of TV violence was directed by George Gernber and his colleagues. This research project monitored samples of network primetime and weekend daytime programming for all the major American networks for over 20 years from 1967. Violent incidents were prevalent in primetime entertainment-oriented drama (Gunter & McAleer, 1997). This research relates to this study which suggests a relationship between viewing television violence and behavior.

Impact of Television Violence

Greater use of new electronic media must mean that less time is spent doing other things, and this possibly includes using more established media, such as books (Gunter & McAleer, 1997). According to Murray (1993), television has been identified as a hindrance to education in the sense that television viewing is an activity that may "steal" time from other activities more directly related to success in school. Educationalists have been worried that television viewing would displace reading and harm children's school performance (Gunter & McAleer, 1990).

Neurological Effects

Some neuro-anatomists argue that excessive television viewing (more than five hours per day, seven days a week) can have a serious toll on a child's cognition. The limbic system of the brain (the emotional part) is designated as the image-making center. They believe that the limbic system develops more slowly when a young person spends half of their life in front of the television set. A strong limbic system provides a natural defense against the constant violent images that penetrate consumer culture. Violence on television could lead to anxiety.

Another need that the media fills for children is one of entertainment. Valkenburg (2001) states that the anxiety hypothesis assumes that the television-induced fright leads to regression

in behavior, which is expressed in a reduction in the quantity of imaginative play. These television images have an effect on children's imagination. Nowadays children do not have to engage their imagination. They do not need to make up new stories or invent games. The television studios do the work for them (Sanders, 1994).

Mean World Syndrome

Viewing violence can increase the fear of becoming a victim and a sense of mistrust of others. Research by George Gerbner and his colleagues (1980) has shown that heavy viewers tend to see the world as dangerous and are more fearful of walking alone in their own neighborhood. This is known as the "mean world syndrome"—believing that the world is a dangerous place. The more a person watches television, the more suspicious a person is and the greater the person's expectancy of being involved in real violence (Lefkowitz & Huesmann, 1980). Findings by Nabi and Sullivan (2001) indicated that the amount of television viewing directly influenced prevalence estimates of violence in society, as well as intentions to take protective measures, and indirectly affected mean world attitude.

Teaching No Nonviolent Solutions

Television violence teaches children to be violent. In the 1990s we saw many popular children's programs (like Power Rangers and Power Puff Girls) where the heroes use violent means to solve problems. In a study by Lichter, Lichter, and Rothman (2002), across the entire primetime schedule, acts of violence were committed by good guys more often than bad guys, and they were rarely condemned for their actions. The violence in this primetime schedule rarely produced physical damage or even caused characters to behave differently afterwards.

Television violence can teach some children that there are no nonviolent solutions to problems, also explained as disinhibition. Disinhibition refers to watching violence on television that may legitimize the use of violence by the viewer in real life by undermining social sanctions against behaving violently, which normally work to inhibit such behavior (Gunter & McAleer, 1997). For example, if violence is seen to be successful for a screen hero, according to the disinhibition argument, we are likely to select a violent option for solving real life problems (Giles, 2003). Young viewers may copy their hero's behavior to become more like them. Sometimes screen heroes have no physical problems when they are involved in violence. If children view violence from characters that are not hurt or disrupted by the violence, children will then in turn see that it is appropriate to use violence to solve their problems.

Aggressor Effect

A study carried out by Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder, and Huesmann (1977), on a ten-year follow-up of girls and boys in the third grade, found that one of the single best predictors at age nine of whether a boy will be aggressive ten years later is the amount of violent television programming he watched. Belson (1978) looked at a group of boys in London between the ages of 12 and 17. His evidence suggests that watching aggressive television is associated with aggressive behavior (Singer & Singer, 1981).

According to Bushman and Huesmann (2001), one of the reasons why the effects of television violence may be so powerful is that aggression and television violence feed off each other. This reciprocal relationship between television violence and aggression can create a vicious

cycle. It is the struggle of hero versus the shadow that is pervasive in children's programs. This reflects children's own struggle to form their own identities (Kolter & Calvert, 2003).

The children most at risk of forming aggressive behavior when they become young adults are those who watch a steady amount of television violence, perceive it as realistic, and identify with the aggressor (Bushman & Huesmann, 2001). The combination of extensive exposure to violence and identification with aggressive characters was a particularly potent predictor of subsequent aggression for many children (Huesmann et al., 2003). In a 15-year longitudinal study of 329 youth, Huesmann et al. found that children's TV-violence viewing between the ages of six and nine, children's identification with aggressive same-sex TV characters, and children's perceptions that TV violence is realistic, were significantly correlated with their adult aggression. Childhood TV habits were not just correlated with aggression but also predicted increases or decreases in aggressive behavior. They used a longitudinal structural modeling analysis of the directionality of the effects, which suggested that it is more plausible that exposure to TV violence increases aggression than that aggression increases TV-violence viewing. This study is inclined to go beyond this research and study people's self-reported exposure and perception to television violence and their perceived behavior.

Desensitization Effect

Joanne Cantor (2002) explained that desensitization occurs when an emotional response is repeatedly evoked, and the action tendency that is associated with the emotion proves irrelevant or unnecessary. According to Gunter & McAleer (1997), children shown a violent program sequence tend to take longer to give a warning about the violence or misbehavior of other children when compared to similar children who have not watched any television violence. For instance, a six year old boy in Florida was in his apartment fighting with a friend. They managed to take the fight onto the balcony where he pushed his friend over the railing, causing the friend to fall ten stories to his death. Twenty minutes later the police arrived and asked the boy some questions. During the questioning, the boy ate pizza and watched cartoons. He was perfectly calm (Cantor, 2002).

Imitation (Social Learning Theory)

Most of the research on television violence, according to Cedric Cullingford (1984), is designed to demonstrate a clear connection between what is seen on the screen and what is enacted in real life. Social learning theory suggests that viewing any content leads children to reproduce this content when there is good reason to reproduce it in their environment (Dorr, 1986). It rests on the hypothesis that children imitate what they see: that they model their behavior from television (Cullingford, 1984). Human social behavior is learned, and much of this process occurs through trial and error, especially in the earliest years of life (Siegel, 1974).

Observational learning takes place when children pattern their behavior to that of models. By watching television, a child can learn new forms of behavior (Van der Voort, 1986). Not only does learning from television consist of improving one's knowledge of what is going on in the world—that is political, economic, industrial, and foreign affairs—but television is also a major source of social learning (Gunter & McAleer, 1997). According to Gunter and McAleer (1997), through television, children may learn about themselves, about life, about how to behave in different situations, about how to deal with personal and family problems, and so on.

Teachers reported first graders stabbing kittens to death and mutilating pets after seeing violent acts on television or in movies. Parents observed preschoolers attempting to drown siblings because a cartoon hero drowned an enemy (Grossman & DeGaetano, 1999). In 2001, a 12-year old boy in Florida brutally killed a six-year old girl by imitating professional wrestling moves. In 2002, a 17-year old in Texas set himself on fire after duplicating a stunt on the MTV show Jackass. These situations are referred to as the “copycat effect”—viewers will actually do what they have seen. Males copy more than females, and younger children more than older (Goldstein, 1996).

The two most influential psychologists who have explored the question of imitation are Albert Bandura and Leonard Berkowitz. According to Social Learning Theory, established by Albert Bandura in the 1960s, a child may imitate acts of aggression they see which form part of their childhood experience. Bandura’s famous research comes from the study with the Bobo doll (Bandura, 1971). He had an experimental group where he showed one group of children a person being aggressive to a Bobo doll (e.g., hitting it). He then had a control group of children who were shown the same person not being aggressive to the doll. After that, all the children were given the Bobo doll and the group who observed the aggression to the Bobo doll imitated the aggressive behavior towards the doll the same way they had observed.

Berkowitz (1972) came up with cognitive neo-association: seeing aggression on television loosens the controls a viewer holds on their own aggression (disinhibits aggression). Once disinhibited, aggressive acts are more likely to be preformed in everyday life, but there is no expectation that these acts will be exact imitations of acts seen on television. In 1984, Berkowitz again studied television violence and children and came up with a cognitive view called priming (Giles, 2003). Priming is defined as implicit (or unconscious) memories of violent scenes that can be reactivated if appropriate cues are provided. Berkowitz explains that when individuals are required to make decisions, the priming of violent stimuli may influence their choice (Giles, 2003).

METHODOLOGY

Retrospective Studies

A retrospective study is a type of longitudinal analysis that looks backward, asking subjects to recall events that happened earlier in their lives, or tracing official records of someone’s previous actions (Maxfield & Babbie, 2001). Brewin, Andrews, and Gotlib’s (1993) article reviewed a dozen articles employing retrospective self-report measures. These authors concluded that when people are questioned about specific events that occurred late enough in life to remember, the central features of the accounts they provide are largely accurate (Harrison & Cantor, 1999). Brewin, Andrews, and Gotlib (1993) argued that “adults asked to recall salient factual details of their own childhoods are generally accurate, especially concerning experiences that fulfill the criteria of having been unique, consequential, and unexpected” (p. 87). Retrospective recall is one way of approximating observations across time, but it must be used with caution (Maxfield & Babbie, 2001).

Design of the Research and Population

The researchers employed a cross sectional one shot case study to test the relationship between an individual's self-reported exposure and perception to television violence and their perceived behavior. A population from the students at the University of Texas at Arlington in the College of Liberal Arts was selected for this study. A total sample size of 130 student subjects participated in the study.

Sample Group and Sampling Procedure

Nonprobability sampling was employed for this study. With restrictions on time and resources, convenience sampling was employed instead of probability sampling. The researchers used power sampling to determine the sample size required. Since the research was being conducted at the 0.05 level of significance, there was a 5% chance that a Type I error would occur (null hypothesis would be correct). The use of power sampling provided the number of subjects required to ensure, with 95% accuracy, that there would be a relationship between the variables in this study (exposure to television violence and perceived behavior).

The researcher employed Cohen's power sampling (Keppel, Saufley, & Tokunaga, 2003, pg. 210) to conclude that a sample of 130 students would be a sufficient number of subjects needed to insure a 0.05 level of confidence. According to Cohen, a power of 0.80 is desired to have a high confidence level of predictability, with a minimum of 44 people needed for a 0.05 level of significance and a minimum of 62 people needed for a 0.01 level of significance.

Measurement

The instrument that was used to measure students' perceptions of their exposure to television violence and their perceived behavior was a survey. The researcher composed the 39-item survey with questions relating to the literature review (Carter & Strickland, 1975; Comstock & Scharrer, 2002; Van der Voort, 1986; Easterbrook, 2002; Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder, & Huesmann, 1977; Bushman & Huesmann, 2001) on exposure to television and perceived behavior from childhood to the present time of the study. The survey was administered to students from the College of Liberal Arts in four introductory classes. The students self-reported on questions pertaining to when they were a child (ages 5 to 15 years), questions that pertain to them at the present time, and also demographic information. For the purpose of this study, childhood was classified as the age of 5 to 15 to follow the research by Gunter, Harrison, & Wykes (2003) who suggest that it is not until age 6 that children develop the ability to make sense of television storylines.

The survey instrument was critical in determining the students' self-reported exposure and perception to television violence and their perceived behavior. It consisted of 39 questions within three sections and consisted of nominal, ordinal, and interval data.

Analyzing the Data

The survey questions consisted of a five-point Likert scale. A five-point Likert scale makes the questionnaire more assessable when using such statistical measures as Pearson's correlation coefficient and a t-test. The data collected from the surveys were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Since the researchers are analyzing students' perceptions of exposure to television violence and their perceived behavior, the researcher used a

Pearson's correlation coefficient as an effective means of summarizing the degree to which values of two variables correspond with each other. The researchers also employed a t-test to observe the differences in the means of males and females. For the purposes of this study, a t-test was used to test the differences between females and males in their perceptions of their exposure to television violence and their perceived behavior. The researchers analyzed the data to compare the means of the questions for men and women with an independent t-test.

Limitations

The sample design, methodology, and implementation were devised and administered to the highest standards permissible for this data set. There remain, however, some limitations to the study. The first limitation is that this study is a retrospective study. Retrospective reports are sometimes criticized for making causal inferences (Harrison & Cantor, 1999). Some participants could have faulty memories and not be able to recall their childhood, or the participants could have lied when recalling behavior that they believe is inappropriate by society standards. Retrospective studies are also limited in their ability to reveal how causal processes unfold over time (Maxfield & Babbie, 2001).

The second limitation is that this study took place at the University of Texas at Arlington with undergraduate students in the spring of 2006. The findings of this study apply only to this sample and should not be applied to the general population. The final limitation is the possibility of the existence of rival causal factors. A "third variable" could have skewed the responses given by the participants to the survey. Examples of a "third variable" could include poverty, abuse, drug use, or family stability.

In conclusion, this study implies and reflects the hypothesis that there is a correlation between an individual's self-reported childhood exposure to and perception of television violence and perceived behavior. It suggests that exposure to television violence affects both positive and negative aggressive behavior. The presence of this single factor (television violence) only shows a correlation, not a cause of aggressive behavior. However, with each additional risk factor (for example drug use, history of abuse, poverty), the risk of children acting aggressively escalates (Gentile & Sesma, 2003). Also, it could be that television violence does not affect aggressive behavior in people who are attracted to violence on television because they may already have aggressive tendencies.

Further research needs to be done, perhaps longitudinal studies, to fully understand the impact of television violence on children and their behavior. This further research should not only concentrate on the affects of aggressive behavior intended to be harmful to others, but should also consider that some people might exert aggressive behavior from exposure to television violence, which could become behavior that is more acceptable in our society.

FINDINGS

Findings were derived from the data after analyzing it using a measure of association and comparing the means. The primary measure of association employed was the Pearson's correlation coefficient. For the purposes of this study a Pearson's *r* was given to study the strength of the relationship between exposure to television violence and perceived behavior. This study also compared the means between males and females using a t-test.

Measure of Association

This section will focus on the findings made through the Pearson’s correlation coefficient. For this study, a strong correlation is 0.60 or above, a moderate correlation is between 0.30 to 0.50, and a weak correlation is 0.29 or lower (Healey, 2002). To help analyze the data from the Pearson’s r test, this section was divided into two sub-sections: childhood behavior and adulthood behavior. Each of these sub-sections presents the data in reference to the most significant Pearson’s r (either positive or negative) at the 0.05 level of significance. The correlations of the variables will be presented in a table with a brief qualitative analysis of the data to include the most significant correlations.

Childhood Behavior

The following sub-section presents the Pearson’s r correlations for the childhood exposure variables relating to childhood behavior variables. In this study, Questions (Q) 1 through 7, 12 through 14 and 20 of the questionnaire relate to childhood exposure to television and violence as self-reported by the sample. The researcher will test these variables against the variables of childhood behavior (Q8 through 11 and 15 through 19) to determine if there is any strength between them. A perfect positive correlation would be 1.00 and a perfect negative (inverse) correlation would be -1.00. The greater the correlation, the larger the number will be to meet a perfect correlation.

The most significant correlations for Q1 through Q5 are presented in Table 1. The correlations (**) are statistically significant at the 0.01 level. This means that there is 99% certainty that a relationship exists between the variables and it is not due to error.

TABLE 1: MOST SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS OF CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE VARIABLES (Q1 - Q5) RELATING TO VARIABLES OF CHILDHOOD BEHAVIOR	
Variables	Correlation
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q8 As a child I actively participated in a contact sport.	.461**
Q3 As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting. Q8 As a child I actively participated in a contact sport.	.291**
Q2 As a child most of the cartoons I watched involved super heroes. Q15 As a child I had thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program.	.253**
Q3 As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting. Q15 As a child I had thoughts of emulating the behavior from a television program.	.240**
Q3 As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting. Q10 As a child I got in trouble at school more than three times a year.	.217*
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q10 As a child I got in trouble at school more than three times a year.	.208*
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q18 As a child I would emulate violent behavior I saw on television.	.205*
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q9 As a child I repeatedly hurt animals.	.178*
*p<0.05. **p<0.01.	

The correlations (*) from Table 1 are statistically significant at the 0.05 level, which means there is 95% certainty that a relationship exists between the variables. A moderate correlation of 0.461 was detected between the variables “As a child I watched sporting events almost every day” and “As a child I actively participated in a contact sport”; that is, a respondent who perceives that he or she watched sporting events almost every day as a child was more likely to have participated in a contact sport as a child.

A weak correlation of 0.291 was observed between “As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting” and “As a child I actively participated in a contact sport.” That is, a person who perceives that they watched programs that contained images of fighting as a child is likely to have participated in a contact sport as a child. A significant correlation of 0.240 was between the variables “As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting” and “As a child I had thoughts of emulating the behavior from a television program.” It suggests that a respondent who had the perception that the majority of the programs he or she watched as a child contained images of fighting would also perceive to have thoughts as a child of emulating the behavior from a television program.

TABLE 2: MOST SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS OF CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE VARIABLES (Q6, Q7 AND Q12) RELATING TO VARIABLES OF CHILDHOOD BEHAVIOR

Variables	Correlation
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q15 As a child I had thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program.	.337**
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q10 As a child I got in trouble at school more than three times a year.	.289**
Q12 As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence. Q15 As a child I had thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program.	.275**
Q12 As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence. Q16 As a child I was more likely to agree that it is all right to hit someone if you were mad at them for a good reason.	.262**
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q8 As a child I actively participated in a contact sport team.	.254**
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q16 As a child I was more likely to agree that it is all right to hit someone if you were mad at them for a good reason.	.236**
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q18 As a child I would emulate violent behavior that I saw on television.	.220*
Q12 As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence. Q17 As a child I believed that the television programs represent reality.	-.177*
*p<0.05. **p<0.01.	

The most significant correlations for Q6, Q7, and Q12 as variables of childhood exposure are located in Table 2. The first six significant correlations (**) are statistically significant at the 0.01 level while the last three significant correlations (*) from Table 2 are significant at the 0.05 level. A correlation was detected between the variables “As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons)” and “As a child I had thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program” with a moderate correlation of 0.377. This shows that respondents who believed as children they watched television programs that were violent in nature also believed that as children they had thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program. A weak correlation of 0.220 was observed between the variables “As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons)” and “As a child I would emulate violent behavior I saw on television.” Therefore, a respondent who believes as a child he or she watched television programs that were violent also have the perception that he or she would emulate violent behavior that they saw on television as a child.

The most significant correlations for Q13, Q14, and Q20 of childhood exposure against childhood behavior can be found in Table 3. The first four significant correlations (**) are statistically significant at the 0.01 level while the last two correlations (*) are statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 3: MOST SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS OF CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE VARIABLES (Q13, Q14, AND Q20) RELATING TO VARIABLES OF CHILDHOOD BEHAVIOR

Variables	Correlation
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q15 As a child I had thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program.	.326**
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q16 As a child I was more likely to agree that it is all right to hit someone if you were mad at them for a good reason.	.312**
Q14 As a child I watched movies that were rated “R” or above at least once a week. Q18 As a child I would emulate violent behavior that I saw on television.	.272**
Q14 As a child I watched movies that were rated “R” or above at least once a week Q15 As a child I had thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program.	.239**
Q20 As a child how many televisions did you have in your bedroom? Q15 As a child I had thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program.	.205*
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q18 As a child I would emulate violent behavior that I saw on television.	.203*
*p<0.05. **p<0.01.	

A moderate correlation of 0.326 was discovered between the variables “As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood)” and “As a child I had thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program”; that is, those who perceived playing video games that contained acts of violence as a child were likely to perceive having thoughts of emulating behavior from a television program.

A correlation can be seen between “As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood)” and “As a child I would emulate violent behavior that I saw on television” with a correlation of 0.203. Therefore, a respondent whose perception as a child was playing video games that contained acts of violence was likely to perceive that, as a child, he or she would emulate violent behavior they saw on television.

Adulthood Behavior

The following sub-section presents the Pearson’s r correlations for childhood exposure variables relating to adulthood behavior variables. Questions 23 through 33 are the variables of adulthood behavior.

Table 4 shows the most significant correlations of childhood exposure variables relating to variables of adulthood behavior. The most statistically significant numerical value from this table is 0.526 between the variables “As a child I watched sporting events almost every day” and “I enjoy watching contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey).” That is, a respondent who perceived watching contact sporting events as a child almost every day is likely to enjoy watching contact sports now as an adult

The variables “As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting” and “I enjoy participating in extreme sports (like sky diving, bungee jumping, rock climbing)” had a correlation at 0.180. Therefore, it could be suggested that a person who perceives, as a child, that the majority of the programs he or she watched contained images of fighting also enjoys participating in extreme sports.

TABLE 4: MOST SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS OF CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE VARIABLES (Q1 - Q5) RELATING TO VARIABLES OF ADULTHOOD BEHAVIOR

Variables	Correlation
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q30 I enjoy watching contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey).	.526**
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q27 I enjoy participating in contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey).	.518**
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q29 I enjoy watching other people get into physical altercations.	.339**
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q24 I enjoy participating in extreme sports (like sky diving, bungee jumping, rock climbing).	.299**
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q32 I enjoy participating in physical altercations.	.293**
Q3 As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting. Q27 I enjoy participating in contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey).	.278**
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q31 I believe committing murder is acceptable.	.224*
Q3 As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting. Q31 I believe committing murder is acceptable.	.209*
Q3 As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting. Q28 I believe it is okay to commit crimes if it is beneficial to others.	.192*
Q5 As a child I watched sporting events almost every day. Q25 I have committed a crime (crimes other than traffic tickets).	.184*
Q3 As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting. Q29 I enjoy watching other people get into physical altercations.	.182*
Q3 As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting. Q24 I enjoy participating in extreme sports (like sky diving, bungee jumping, rock climbing).	.180*
Q4 As a child my parents watched television programs with me most of the time. Q32 I enjoy participating in physical altercations with others.	.180*
*p<0.05. **p<0.01.	

The most significant correlations for the variables Q6, Q7, and Q12 relating to the variables of adulthood behavior are found in Table 5. The most significant numerical value for this table is between the variables “As a child I watched television more than four hours a day” and “I watch more than four hours of television a day” with a moderate correlation of 0.477. This shows that respondents who perceive they watched more than four hours of television a day as children were likely to now watch more than four hours of television a day.

A correlation of 0.440 was detected between the variables “As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence” and “I enjoy participating in contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey)”; that is, participants who believe as children they enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence were likely to enjoy participating in contact sports.

TABLE 5: MOST SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS OF CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE VARIABLES (Q6, Q7 AND Q12) RELATING TO VARIABLES OF ADULTHOOD BEHAVIOR

Variables	Correlation
Q7 As a child I watched television more than four hours a day. Q23 I watch more than four hours of television a day.	.477**
Q12 As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence. Q27 I enjoy participating in contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey).	.440**
Q12 As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence. Q29 I enjoy watching other people get into physical altercations.	.403**
Q12 As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence. Q30 I enjoy watching contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey).	.328**
Q12 As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence. Q24 I enjoy participating in extreme sports (like sky diving, bungee jumping, rock climbing).	.280**
Q12 As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence. Q32 I enjoy participating in physical altercations with others.	.278**
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q24 I enjoy participating in extreme sports (like sky diving, bungee jumping, rock climbing).	.273**
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q27 I enjoy participating in contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey).	.261**
Q7 As a child I watched television more than four hours a day. Q28 I believe it is okay to commit crimes if it is beneficial to others.	.237**
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q25 I have committed a crime (crimes other than traffic tickets).	.224*
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q28 I believe it is okay to commit crimes if it is beneficial to others.	.215*
Q7 As a child I watched television more than four hours a day. Q26 I enjoy watching horror movies.	.204*
Q6 As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). Q29 I enjoy watching other people get into physical altercations.	.188*
Q12 As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence. Q28 I believe it is okay to commit crimes if it is beneficial to others.	.180*
*p<0.05. **p<0.01.	

A continuation of the most significant correlations of the variables of childhood exposure with Q13, Q14, and Q20, and the variables of adulthood behavior are found in Table 6. A correlation was found between the variables “As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood)” and “I enjoy participating in contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey)” with a moderate correlation of 0.422. This shows that respondents who believe they enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence as children also now enjoy participating in contact sports.

TABLE 6: MOST SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS OF CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE (Q13, Q14, AND Q20) RELATING TO VARIABLES OF ADULTHOOD BEHAVIOR

Variables	Correlation
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q27 I enjoy participating in contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey).	.422**
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q29 I enjoy watching other people get into physical altercations.	.373**
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q30 I enjoy watching contact sports (such as boxing, football, and hockey).	.321**
Q14 As a child I watched movies that were rated “R” or above at least once a week. Q23 I watch more than four hours of television a day.	.310**
Q14 As a child I watched movies that were rated “R” or above at least once a week. Q26 I enjoy watching horror movies.	.290**
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q24 I enjoy participating in extreme sports (like sky diving, bungee jumping, rock climbing).	.273**
Q20 As a child how many televisions did you have in your household? Q31 I believe committing murder is acceptable.	.261**
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q25 I have committed a crime (crimes other than traffic violations).	.258**
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q32 I enjoy participating in physical altercations with others.	.237**
Q13 As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). Q28 I believe it is okay to commit crimes if it is beneficial to others.	.202*
Q20 As a child how many televisions did you have in your household? Q26 I enjoy watching horror movies.	-.205*
Q14 As a child I watched movies that were rated “R” or above at least once a week. Q29 I enjoy watching other people get into physical altercations.	.180*

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

A correlation of 0.258 was found between the variables “As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood)” and “I have committed a crime (crimes other than traffic violations).” This suggests that respondents who believe they enjoyed playing video games with violence as children also believe they have committed a crime.

The variables “As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood)” and “I enjoy participating in physical altercations with others” have a correlation of 0.237. This might conclude that those who perceive to enjoy playing video games with violence as children are likely to enjoy participating in physical altercations with others.

Comparing the Means

A t-test is a statistical test of the difference between two means (Keppel, Saufley, & Tokunaga, 1992). For the purposes of this study, a t-test was given to study the differences in males’ and females’ perceptions of their exposure to television violence as a child and their perceived behavior. The t-test results for the variables of childhood exposure (Q1 through Q7, Q12 through Q14, and Q20) can be found in Table 7. All of the variables in this table pertain to when the participant was a child, and all of the variables are statistically significant at the 0.01 level (which means that there is a 99% certainty that a relationship exists not due to error).

TABLE 7: COMPARING THE MEANS OF MALES AND FEMALES FOR CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE VARIABLES

Variable	Male (Means)	Female (Means)	p Value (Two-tailed)
As a child I watched television after 7:00 p.m. almost every night.	2.00	2.51	.004**
As a child most of the cartoons I watched involved super heroes.	2.61	3.51	.000**
As a child the majority of the programs I watched contained images of fighting.	2.23	3.14	.000**
As a child my parents watched television programs with me most of the time.	3.14	3.15	.935
As a child I watched sporting events almost every day.	2.77	3.97	.000**
As a child I watched television programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons).	2.21	3.49	.000**
As a child I watched television more than four hours a day.	3.05	3.16	.524
As a child I enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games or video games that contained violence.	1.88	4.12	.000**
As a child I enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood).	1.90	4.22	.000**
As a child I watched movies that were rated “R” or above at least once a week.	2.60	3.71	.000**
As a child how many televisions did you have in your household?	2.82	2.66	.165
*p<0.05. **p<0.01.			

A statistically significant difference was found between the female and male response to the majority of the programs watched containing images of fighting. The mean for males is 2.23 and the mean for females is 3.14, producing a p value of 0.000. Males indicated that they agree to have watched the majority of the programs that contained fighting while the female response was neutral.

Another statistically significant difference is for the response to watched programs that were violent in nature (i.e., programs that contained fighting, blood, use of weapons). The male mean is 2.21 and the female mean is 3.49, producing a p value of 0.000. This suggests that males watched television programs that were violent while females were not likely to have watched television programs that were violent in nature.

There was also a significant difference detected for the response of enjoyed playing first-person shooting video games that contained violence. The mean for females is 4.12 and the mean for males is 1.88. When the t -test was run for differences, it produced a p value of 0.000. Females indicated that they disagreed while males agreed strongly to enjoy playing first-person shooting video games that contained violence.

There was another statistically significant difference in response of males (versus females) for the question of enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence (i.e., fighting, use of weapons, images of blood). The mean for males is 1.90, and the mean for females is 4.22, producing a p value of 0.000. Males agree strongly while females disagree strongly that they enjoyed playing video games that contained acts of violence.

CONCLUSION

The primary focus of this study was to provide empirical support regarding an individual's self-reported exposure and perception to television violence and their perceived behavior. In order to obtain the empirical evidence, a survey was administered to a sample of 130 undergraduate students from the University of Texas at Arlington. This study concludes that there is a correlation between an individual's self-reported exposure and perception to television violence and perceived behavior.

This study defines behavior as either positive or negative aggression. Positive aggression is aggressive behavior that is not meant to be harmful to others, like participating in contact or extreme sports. Negative aggression is aggressive behavior that intends to harm others, like getting into physical altercations, hurting animals, or getting in trouble (e.g., trouble in school or committing a crime).

When examining the correlation between childhood exposure and perceived childhood behavior, there are correlations to both exposure to television violence and perceived positive aggressive behavior, and exposure to television violence and perceived negative aggressive behavior. Correlation to positive aggressive behavior can be seen with the variables of participating in a contact or extreme sport. This study concluded that a person who watched programs that contained images of fighting or that were violent in nature is likely to have participated in a contact sport or extreme sport. This suggests that a person who is exposed to violence on television as a child could possibly have an impact on their behavior in that they act aggressively in a positive way. This study also concludes that a person who watched the majority of programs with images of fighting or that were violent in nature is also likely to get into trouble at school

more than three times a year. This suggests that a person exposed to violence on television as a child could affect a person's behavior in that they act aggressively in a negative manner.

One concern that the study concluded is that participants who watched television programs that were violent in nature had thoughts of, or would emulate, the (violent) behavior from the television programs. These correlations support social learning theory, which states that observation learning takes place when children pattern their behavior through watching others' behavior. Social learning can also take the form of positive aggressive behavior shown in this study, that there is a correlation between watching sporting events almost every day and participating in a contact sport. That is, a person who watched sporting events almost every day is also likely to have participated in contact sports. It could be concluded from this study that children learn and pattern their behavior from watching television.

When examining the correlation between childhood exposure and perceived adulthood behavior, there is more of a correlation of exposure to television violence and perceived positive aggression. This study implies that a person who watched programs that contained images of fighting or violent in nature or watched sporting events almost every day also enjoys participating in extreme or contact sports. This shows it could be that a person acts out his or her aggressive behavior in a more normal, socially acceptable (positive) way from their exposure to television violence.

A t-test was used to conclude if there were differences between males' and females' responses to the questions of exposure to television violence and perceived behavior. Males were more likely to have watched television programs that were violent in nature and also more likely to watch sporting events almost every day. Males were also more likely to enjoy playing video games that contained acts of violence. With perceived behavior, males were more likely to enjoy participating in extreme or contact sports. The results from the t-test could conclude that males are the ones who are more exposed to television violence, and that this exposure could affect males' behavior. This study implies that males exert their behavior through aggressive acts of extreme sports or contact sports.

Implications

This study suggests that there is a correlation between exposure to television violence and perceived behavior. The results of this study should educate the public, parents, children, and programmers. It also makes suggestions on what could be done, by parents, programmers, and even criminologists to help further understand this subject.

When looking at who is at risk when viewing television violence, there must be awareness that media violence can affect any child from any family. It can also affect any gender, age, or social class. There needs to be some increased awareness of how television violence affects children and how can it be prevented.

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The Geographic Policing Model: A Contemporary Approach to Spatial Accountability in A North Texas Police Department

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the development and historical basis for geographic policing and community policing models contributing to its development. It specifically addresses the degree to which police officers in a large, urban, North Texas City (City) believe they are individually committed to geographic policing principles, and whether they believe the Geographic Policing Model (GPM), as implemented, has impacted the crime rates in the community. Their beliefs are compared to official reported crime rates in the area. Data from a sample of 285 police officers at the City Police Department were studied using a 27-item, self-administered survey to measure the officers' beliefs concerning the Geographic Model. The Uniform Crime Report statistics are used as the comparison measure of community crime rates. Results vary by age, gender, race, assigned duty, rank, and unit of assignment. Overall, measures of officer belief supported the Geographic Policing Model with the highest support for the principles addressing the beliefs that GPM has a positive impact on relationships with citizens and that officers are properly trained on the Model. The lowest measures indicated a lack of belief in the ability of the Model to lower crime rates or citizen fear of crime.

Key Words: Geographic Policing Model (GPM), community policing

INTRODUCTION

This study reviews the historical basis for the formulation of geographic policing and its evolution, determines if City Police Officers are committed to the concepts of geographic policing, and examines the correlation that geographic policing has had with the Uniform Crime

Report statistics in the area where it is practiced. Also, because the term “geographic policing” has not previously been defined academically, a historical/comparative description of the evolutionary formation of community-based policing, of which geographic policing is integral, is presented. Given recent challenges to the concept of community policing (Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006), it may be beneficial to more formally operationalize those concepts and the outcomes of implementation.

The study specifically addresses the extent to which City Police Officers believe in the concepts and principles of the Geographic Policing Model and whether they are effective in reducing crime and fear of crime. Limitations of this study include the varying experience and knowledge of the officers on the City Police Department participating in the survey, the existence of a small number of officers in the sample that had recently been engaged in a dispute with upper management, and the small number of respondents in some categories of responses.

LITERATURE REVIEW

By the eighteenth century, measures for social control, which had existed since medieval times, were analyzed as being derisory methods of coping with the social and economic anxiety that industrialization created (Marlow, 1970). Subsequently, the framework for understanding community-based policing began in 1829 when the English Parliament passed the Metropolitan Act (Lee, 1901). Following the Act, the London Metropolitan Police Department was formed under the management of Sir Robert Peel and constituted a paid police force of 3,000 officers who were randomly assigned shifts to provide twenty-four-hour foot patrol for London (Lee, 1901). Peel is recognized as creating a new mission and strategy in policing while employing a traditional administrative model of command and control (Fyfe, Greene, Walsh, Wilson, & McLaren, 1997).

The essential difference between the London force and many others developed both before and after is that it was purposely created from the beginning to be a homogeneous and democratic body, in tune with drawing its authority from the people (Critchley, 1967). Preventive patrol was the primary instrument in the deterrence of crime and the continuance of order. Officers were directed to sustain a constant obvious presence in the neighborhood by patrolling a predetermined geographic area called a beat (Walker, 1977, p. 5). The new police officers were directed to act toward the citizens of London with respect and dignity.

Peel believed that, “Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence” (Lee, 1901, p. 57). This method was employed because the common inhabitants of England, particularly the lower middle class and working class, fervently objected to this new police force they called “Peel’s Bloody Gang” (Palmer, 1988, p. 304). The Peelian reforms became the world standard and established the administrative practices of discipline, appearance, recruitment, and omnipresence (Palmer, 1988).

Europe was experiencing a rise in the number of repressing police systems, so some citizens feared the same would occur in England. Thus, the formulation of the police department was ingrained in the organizational mission, administration, and operational aspects to gener-

ate the support of the citizens who were subject to its control (Fyfe, Greene, Walsh, Wilson, & McLaren, 1997). Peel succinctly stated his philosophy in nine principles that strongly stressed the essential nature of public cooperation and trust in the pursuit of crime prevention (Lee, 1901). The nine principles are as relevant today as they were in 1829 (Braidon, 1986). Klockars (1985) believes the principles were the earliest form of community-based policing based on their capacity to control crime through communication with citizens and through the social authority and power of the institutions of which they were part.

Other models of citizen interaction were initially developed in America. In colonial times, law enforcement employed the sheriff, constable, and civilian watch (Walker, 1977). The Boston Night Watch formed in 1631 with forces consisting of six watchmen, one constable, and hundreds of civilian volunteers (Uchida, 1989). The civilian watch was the earliest form of the current Citizens on Patrol programs. In 1652, New York City formed a rattle watch (New York City Police Department, 1999) where volunteer watchmen patrolled the city at night and communicated by shaking codes with wooden rattles. The Carolina Colonial Slave Patrol of 1704 developed the first patrol beat system by establishing the concept of knowing demographic values of their fifteen square mile patrol boundaries (Michigan State University, 1994). The level of professionalism for these and law enforcement models in the 17th and 18th century United States was inadequate at best (Walker, 1977). Vigilantism became ubiquitous in response to the lack of law enforcement, and settlers became judge, jury, and executioner and administered justice swiftly (Brown, 1969). As America grew, the country became divided into small communities, estranged by barriers of class and culture, where most streets were dangerous (Richardson, 1970).

America's policing model, much like Peel's system that required the citizens' support, lost its origin and became inadequate (McDougal, 1988). Nineteenth century policing was faced with the external pressures of politics, economics, and social demands. Police officers exclusively used their authority, through threats and intimidation, to control opposing populations of society (McDougal, 1988). Palmer (1988) writes that the correlation between politics and the police department had never been greater than during this period of history. Police administrators and officers appointed by political figures gave their allegiance to these government officials and employed every means possible to keep their candidate in office (Kelling & Moore, 1988).

Police officers of the nineteenth century developed a style of policing that involved social wellbeing, safety-related responsibilities, and law enforcement with the administration of street justice (Lane, 1967; Richardson, 1970). During this period, most police departments employed behavior that encompassed corruption, inefficiency, and discriminatory law enforcement. The movement to reform police departments began in the late nineteenth century, and in the 1940s, police-community relations programs were re-developed (Radelet, 1980). Community Relations Units were created by police departments across the country to accomplish similar objectives. However, most police officers did not view their activities as "police work," and these units were understaffed, underfunded, and attempted to pacify community concerns without making substantive change (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990). Notwithstanding the efforts of the Community Relations Units, civil disorder still transpired throughout the 1960s. The Police Community Relations (PCR) model of policing began to surface (Mastrofski, 1988). Through this program, police administrators began to observe that

the importance of reducing the fear of crime was just as important as minimizing crime itself. In the late 1960s and the 1970s, a new approach to policing was employed and loosely named “community policing” (Mastrofski, 1988).

Team policing epitomized the first exploratory movement with reference to a community-based policing philosophy which involved a decentralization of services (Sherman, Milton, & Kelly, 1973). The teams were formed as units responsible for providing police services in a specifically defined patrol area. This philosophy was designed to increase job satisfaction among officers, improve communication with neighborhood inhabitants, and reduce the fear of crime. Regardless of these changes, police officers continued to use long-established police command tactics. Analysis of team policing programs in seven cities by The Police Foundation (Sherman, Milton, & Kelly, 1973) and nineteen additional evaluations of team policing ascertained irresolute conclusions regarding the effectiveness of this concept (Gay, Day, & Woodard, 1977). Sherman, Milton, and Kelly (1973) believe that the ineffectiveness of team policing was, in part, due to team members and supervisors being inadequately trained to perform their new community service roles.

In the 1980s, the National Institute of Justice, the Police Foundation, the Police Executive Research Forum, and the Charles Mott Foundation sponsored research in community and problem-oriented policing in six major American cities (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990). The experiments included the restoration of foot patrols, with a major emphasis on community problem-solving.

Goldstein (1979, 1990) presented the concept that problem-oriented policing requires that the indispensable core of policing should be altered from the isolated, self-contained “service call” to the “problem” (1990, p.33). He also believes that police administrations should focus on the conditions and factors that cause crime. Both the community and the police department must illustrate ownership of the neighborhoods to address the problems and the subsequent solutions. This transformation has encouraged more scholastic debate between police administrators and criminal justice professors than any since the reform of August Vollmer (Mastrofski, 1988, p. 67).

Community-based policing is entrenched in the Broken Windows article by James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling (1982, p. 29). It has been defined as everything from a “catch-all phrase” for all that is new (Wolford, 1994) to a comprehensive restructuring of police philosophy (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990). In this study, the definition used by the Trojanowicz paradigm of community policing (Ziembo-Vogl and Woods, 1996) is employed. That definition emphasizes:

- Community-policing as a philosophy of policing based on police officers and private citizens working together to solve problems.
- The belief that achieving goals requires that police departments develop a new relationship with the law-abiding people in the community.
- Places focus of police work on solving problems (Ziembo-Vogl & Woods, 1996, p. 6.).

Local Evolution of Geographic Policing

The above view of community policing is used to establish the basis of geographic policing. But as noted by Maguire and Katz (2004, p. 503) “local police agencies must engage in interpretive processes to define, make sense of, and enact” community policies locally. Also,

organizational change involves both operational and organizational change (Zhao, He, & Lovrich, 2003), and structural complexity does not necessarily have a direct effect on the implementation of a community policing model (Wilson, 2005). Accordingly, community policing concepts are operationalized in this study as the Geographic Policing Model (GPM) defined as the administrative decentralized deployment of one deputy chief to conduct operational oversight to a police district that is fundamentally created by spatial analysis, with lieutenants to supervise their respective sectors within the district, a crime intelligence analyst to forecast criminal offenses in all sectors, and sergeants to direct patrol officers, detectives, and police service assistants assigned to predetermined beats within the sectors. It mandates 24-hour accountability, in a community partnership, operationally connected to assertively distinguish and determine police/civilian-related issues, by empowering citizens and accentuating community ownership.

The Geographic Policing Model is a spatially specific, proactive, decentralized approach, designed to reduce crime, disorder, and fear of crime, by intensively involving the same officer in the same community on a long-term basis, so that citizens develop trust enhancing cooperation with police officers. Geographic policing's organizational strategy demands that everyone in the department, including both sworn and civilian personnel, must investigate ways to translate the philosophy into practice. Geographic policing also implies a shift within the department that grants greater autonomy to line officers, which implies enhanced respect for their judgment as police professionals (Wycoff, 1996). Although experience has taught us many lessons about the process of implementing community policing, the process remains more art than science (Weisel & Eck, 1994). The Geographic Policing Model assigns police officers to defined spatial boundaries in a city to work directly with citizens to resolve problems. The concept involves collaboration, communication, and accountability.

Major changes were made in the organizational structure of the City Police Department. The management pyramid was flattened, and the captain's rank was eliminated through attrition promoting the flow of communication between patrol and administrators (Wycoff, 1996). The department was decentralized into three geographic districts: North, East, and West. A lieutenant was assigned to each sector and had twenty-four-hour responsibility. These supervisors often worked flexible schedules to make contact with each of their three shifts. They had administrative responsibility for their respective watch and frequently acted as the liaison between the police department and citizens (Wycoff, 1996).

Each City Police Department sector includes three beats which is managed by a sergeant. Sergeants are responsible for their beats twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week and administrative responsibility for six to eight patrol officers. While the sergeant is responsible for the beat on a broad spectrum, he or she is also responsible to coordinate officers on other shifts who patrol that beat. Regardless of other duties, the primary function of these front line supervisors is to focus on problem solving and community contact within their beat. In geographic policing, the primary beat officer has beat responsibility during his or her eight-hour shift, and this type of officer assignment has been found to "increase officer-initiated investigative activity" (Kane, 2000, p. 259). Cross-shift and beat detective communication is imperative (Wycoff, 1996). The mindset of these officers should be that of a problem solver versus a report taker (Bowman, 2001). These beat officers are empowered with the authority to make deployment change within their beat and given access to resources to support their efforts. The secondary beat officer is the primary problem solver. Communication with the primary beat officer and

the citizens located within their geographic assignments is of principal concern. The secondary beat officers generally attend citizen focus groups and civic functions (Wycoff, 1996).

Each of the three geographical districts has a crime analyst assigned to it, with one analyst dealing with issues that span across the city and intelligence that crosses district lines. There are four crime analysts and one supervisor employed by the city. Though they have lost easy communication with each other, the crime analysts still master new geographical information software and assist each other in thinking through analysis issues (Wycoff, 1996).

Communication is the main benefit to the geographic policing relationship between patrol and investigations (Wycoff, 1996). Investigators and patrol officers attend daily briefings to get daily assignments and shift activity reports. This makes face to face contact inevitable (Wycoff, 1996). These encounters make their working relationships stronger. The detectives get better reports, and the patrol officers receive supplementary investigation instruction. By experiencing more aspects of policing, sworn police employees receive an eclectic meld of on-the-job training. With these diverse experiences, each employee receives wide-ranging police experience/education, which is a preferred quality in the promotion process (Wycoff, 1996). Usually, patrol officers are promoted to be investigators in their assigned police district, while centralized (specialized) detectives are normally chosen from the district pools. Within this localized structure, the intention is that the same patrol officers familiar with their respective geographic boundaries promote to "geographic" investigators who have received "generalist" on the job training. These investigators are already familiar with the known offenders in their district.

METHODS

This descriptive study was conducted to gather data from current police officers on their beliefs, attitudes, and levels of commitment to concepts and principles in the Geographic Policing Model (GPM). The study explores whether the officers believe the GPM has been effectively implemented in the City, whether its concepts are individually effective and whether it has reduced crime. Officers' responses to the crime reduction variable are compared to official data over a period of time when the GPM was fully implemented.

A self-administered survey was distributed during all police department briefings over a ten-day period. The survey was dispensed to a census of 507 sworn members of the City Police Department.

Two hundred eighty-five officers replied to the survey for a 56.21% response rate. The survey was designed to measure the values, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, and behavior of the individual officers on the GPM. The study was particularly interested in addressing whether crime was being reduced in the opinion of the officers as compared to official crime statistics. The official crime statistics were collected from 1997 to 2006. Each officer was notified that the conclusions drawn from their responses would be preserved confidentially and that involvement was voluntary. It took officers an average of less than fifteen minutes to complete the survey.

The questionnaire acquired demographic data, officers' perceptions of geographic policing, and officers' perceptions of its impact on crime. The first section of the questionnaire contained statements addressing officers' perceptions of geographic policing and its impact on crime in the area. The second portion collected demographic information on the officers in

the study. The data were analyzed with means comparisons, t-tests, and correlations. Analysis was conducted for the degree to which officers thought they were committed to the concept of geographic policing, the officers’ opinions of the effect of the GPM on crime rates, and whether those opinions were supported by official data.

FINDINGS

This study has addressed the emergence and development of the GPM through a review of community policing models. It now specifically addresses whether City Police Officers believe the GPM concepts and principles have been implemented and are effective. It also compares officers’ opinions on the effect that geographic policing has had on crime rates in the City with official Uniform Crime Report statistics in the area.

Demographic Information

Two hundred eighty-five respondents were surveyed. One hundred sixteen of them were aged 30 to 39 (40.7%), 85 were 21 to 29 (29.8%), 63 were 40 to 49 (22.1%), and 19 (7.0%) were 50 to 59 years old. The ethnic classification of the participants included: 188 Caucasians (65.6%), 43 African Americans (15.1%), 30 Hispanic or Latin Americans (10.5%), 5 Middle Easterners (1.7%), 4 Native Americans (1.4%), 12 Asian or Pacific Islanders (4.2%), and 3 (1%) listed as other. The county in which the City is located is 56% white, 25% Hispanic, 13% African America and 6% other. The City Police Department employs a workforce that is 69% white, 12% Hispanic, 14% African American and 5% other (U.S. Census and NCTCOG/PEPP, 2005). Two hundred thirteen of the respondents were male (75%) and seventy-one were female (25%) (see Table 1).

The assignments of the participants consisted of 209 patrol officers (73.3%) and 69 investigators (24.2%). Two hundred eighty (98.2%) respondents answered the variable relating to rank. The aggregate number equaled 198 patrol officers (65.9%), 68 sergeants (23.8), 9 lieutenants (3.1%), and 5 chiefs (1.7%). Concerning the education of the participants, 183 (64.2%) replied. One hundred twenty-seven (44.5%) indicated that they completed criminology or criminal justice undergraduate degrees, and 55 (19.2%) attained undergraduate degrees in fields of study unrelated to law enforcement. Ninety-one (31.9%) respondents indicated that their cumulative grade point average (GPA) was between 3.1 and 3.5, 79 (27.7%) declared their GPA to be between 2.6 and 3.0, and 22 or (7 %) reported their GPA to be 3.6 or higher.

TABLE 1: SELECTED CENSUS CHARACTERISTICS (N=285)*				
Age	21-29 (29.8%)	30-39 (40.7%)	40-49 (21.1%)	350-59 (7.0%)
Race	White (65.6%)	Black (15.1%)	Hispanic (10.5%)	Other (8.3%)
Gender	Male (75.0%)		Female (25.0%)	
Major	CRCJ (44.5%) of total		Non-CRCJ (19.2%) of total	
Rank	Patrol (65.9%)	Sergeant (23.8%)	Lieutenant (3.1%)	Chief (1.7%)
GPA	Less than 2.6 (0)	2.6-3.0 (27.7%)	3.1-3.5 (31.9%)	3.6-4.0 (7.0%)
*Row totals not equaling 100% are due to missing data on survey forms.				

Variable Comparisons

I believe that geographic policing has a positive impact on the relationship with the citizens of the City.

A t-test comparison of 0.048 was found between genders for this variable. The mean value for males was 2.25 and 1.95 for females which indicates that the female officers who participated in the study show a higher level of agreement with the statement than male officers. A t-test comparison of 0.003 was found between races for this same variable. The mean value for African-American officers was 1.82, 1.63 for Latino officers, and 2.32 for white officers which indicates that the minority officers who participated in the study show a higher level of agreement with the statement than white officers who participated. The classification, duty, age, and college major of those officers who participated in the survey had no significant variances (see Table 2).

I feel that geographic policing creates a perception of ownership with officers in their respective beat assignments.

A t-test comparison of 0.002 was found between ages for this variable. The mean value for ages 30 to 39 was 2.09 with an N of 134 and 2.07 for ages 21 to 29 with an N of 88. This shows that 222 officers ages 21 to 39, who participated in the study, have a higher level of agreement with this statement than officers between 40 to 59 years of age. The rank, race, gender, college major, and assignment of officers who participated in the study had no significant variances (see Table 2).

I feel that I am held accountable for the crime in my beat.

A t-test comparison of 0.016 was found between officers' classification for this variable. The mean for officers classified as chiefs is 1.25, 1.44 for lieutenants, 2.02 for sergeants and 2.40 for patrol officers. This indicates that chiefs and lieutenants show a higher level of agreement with the statement than sergeants and patrol officers. The officers' age, assignment, gender, race, and college major had no significant variances (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: T-TEST VALUES FOR MEASURES OF COMMITMENT AND BELIEF IN SELECTED GEOGRAPHIC POLICING MODEL (GPM) PRINCIPLES.

Variables	Age	Gender	Race	Duty	Classification	Major
Model has positive impact on relationships with citizens	.350	.048*	.003*	.124	.772	.892
Ownership in beat assignments	.002*	.168	.501	.175	.087	.631
Held accountable for crime in beat	.626	.579	.166	.827	.016*	.782
Generates new approaches to crime	.017*	.126	.000*	.291	.483	.215
Officer works well with citizens	.486	.919	.086	.103	.990	.087
Positive impact on crime rates	.181	.020*	.000*	.428	.536	.501
Reduces fear of crime	.191	.003*	.001*	.521	.695	.691
Model helps define crime problems	.000*	.006*	.009*	.748	.501	.943
Relies on intelligence information	.008*	.002*	.039*	.030*	.065	.970
Understanding of concept of GPM	.256	.004*	.351	.221	.081	.099
Trained in application of GPM	.648	.007*	.014*	.030*	.985	.172
* Significant at the .05 level.						

I frequently generate new approaches to dealing with crime in my beat.

A t-test comparison of 0.017 was found for age on this variable. The mean value of the variable for officers between 30 to 39 years of age was 2.09 with an N of 134. This indicates that the officers between the ages of 30 to 39, show a higher level of agreement with the statement than others. A t-test value of 0.000 was found between races for this same variable. The mean for African-American officers was 1.92, 1.93 for Latino officers, and 2.39 for white officers, indicating that the minority officers who participated in the study show a higher level of agreement with the statement than whites. The officers' gender, assigned duty, classification, and college major have no significant variances (see Table 2).

I have positive working relationships with most of the citizens in my beat.

A t-test comparison revealed no significant correlations for this variable. The officers' classification, gender, assignment, race, age, and college major had no significant variances (see Table 2).

I believe that geographic policing has a positive impact on the Uniform Crime Report Statistics.

A t-test comparison of 0.020 was found between genders for this variable. The mean for males was 2.74 and 2.36 for females, which indicates that the female officers show a higher level of agreement with the statement. A t-test comparison of 0.000 was revealed between races for this same variable. The mean for African-American officers was 2.06, 1.93 for Latino officers, 2.83 for Asian or Pacific Islanders, and 2.83 for whites. This indicates that all other races show more agreement with the statement than Middle Eastern and Native American officers who had a mean of 3.80, which shows that these officers have a higher level of disagreement.

The officers' classification, duty, age, and college major had no significant variances (see Table 2).

I believe that the citizens of the City have a reduced fear of crime due to geographic policing.

A t-test comparison of 0.003 was found between genders. The mean for males was 2.69 and 2.25 for females which indicates that the female officers show a higher level of agreement with the statement than males. A t-test of 0.001 was found between races. The mean value for African-American officers was 2.06, Middle Eastern was 2.00, Latino officers were 2.07, Native Americans 2.75, and Asians or Pacific Islanders were 2.75. The mean value for white officers was 2.83, which indicates that the other officers show a higher level of agreement with the statement than whites. The officers' classification, duty, age, and college major had no significant variances (see Table 2).

I believe that geographic policing helps me define crime problems.

A t-test value of 0.006 was found between genders for this variable. The mean value of this variable for males was 2.31 and 1.92 for females which indicates a higher level of agreement for the females. A t-test of 0.000 was discovered between the ages of officers for this same variable. The mean for officers between the ages of 21 to 29 is 1.92, and officers between 50 and 59 years of age have a mean value of 2.14. This shows that the upper and lower age groups show a higher level of agreement with the statement than officers in the mid range. A t-test comparison of 0.009 was found between races for this same variable. The mean value for African-American officers was 1.82, 1.90 for Latino officers, 2.50 for Native Americans, and 2.08 for Asian or Pacific Islanders. The mean value for white officers was 2.33, and Middle Eastern officers are 2.80, which indicates that the minority officers, with the exception of Middle Eastern officers show a higher level of agreement with the statement than white officers. The officers' classification, assigned duty, and college major had no significant variances (see Table 2).

I believe that geographic policing relies heavily on the dissemination of intelligence information.

A t-test value of 0.002 was found between genders for this variable. The mean value for males was 1.88 and 1.49 for females. A t-test comparison of 0.039 was found between races for this same variable. The mean for African-American officers was 1.65, 1.60 for Latino officers, 1.84 for white officers, 1.80 for Middle Easterners, and 1.42 for Asian or Pacific Islanders. The mean value for Native American officers was 2.25, which indicates that all groups of officers who participated in the study show a higher level of agreement with the statement than Native Americans. A t-test comparison of 0.008 was found between the ages of officers for this variable. The mean for officers aged 21 to 29 was 1.51, 30 to 39 was 1.83, 40 to 49 was 1.93 with 50 to 59 scoring 2.07. This shows that as officers progress through the age groupings, they show a higher level of disagreement with the statement. A t-test comparison of 0.030 was shown between officers' assigned duty for this same variable. The mean value of this variable for patrol was 1.72 and the investigation division is 1.99, which indicates that the patrol division shows a higher level of agreement with the statement. The officers' classification and college major, of those who participated in the survey, had no significant variances (see Table 2).

I understand the concept of geographic policing.

A t-test comparison of 0.002 was found between genders on the concept of geographic policing. The mean value of this variable for males was 1.66 and 1.35 for females. A t-test comparison of 0.039 was found between races for this same variable. The mean value for African-American officers was 1.55, 1.53 for Latino officers, 1.58 for white officers, 1.25 for Native Americans, and 1.75 for Asian or Pacific Islanders. The mean value for Middle Eastern officers was 2.40 who had the lowest level of agreement with the concept. A t-test of 0.008 was found by age of officers for this variable. The mean for ages of 21 to 29 was 1.50, 30 to 39 was 1.69, 40 to 49 was 1.51 and 50 to 59 was 1.57. This shows officers in the 30 to 39 age group have a higher level of agreement with the statement. A t-test value of 0.030 was found by assigned duty. The mean for patrol was 1.60 and the mean for the investigation division was 1.57 which indicates that the investigation division shows a higher level of agreement with the statement. The officers' classification and college major, of those who participated in the survey, had no significant variances (see Table 2).

I have been trained to apply the philosophy of geographic policing in my daily work routine.

A t-test comparison of 0.007 was found between genders for this variable. The mean value for males was 1.91 and 1.57 for females which indicates that the female officers are more likely to believe they have been trained to apply geographic policing in their daily work. A t-test value of 0.014 was found between races for this variable. The mean for African-American officers was 1.51, 1.77 for Latino officers, 1.87 for white officers, 2.00 for Native Americans, and 2.00 for Asian or Pacific Islanders. The mean value for Middle Eastern officers was 3.00, which indicates that all groups of officers who participated in the study show a higher level of agreement with the statement than the Middle Eastern officers. A t-test comparison of 0.030 was shown between officers' assigned duty on this statement. The mean value of this variable for patrol was 1.84 and 1.83 for the investigation division which indicates that the investigation division shows a slightly higher level of agreement with the statement. The officers' age, classification, and college major, of those who participated in the survey, had no significant variances (see Table 2).

The t-tests showed significant findings on seven variables by gender, seven by race, four by age, two by duty, one by classification and none by college major. The demographic variables were then collapsed to obtain total means for each geographic model principle and an overall mean reflecting the opinion of all respondents in the total sample to the survey (see Table 3). Survey respondents indicated the highest level of support for the GPM principles addressing the belief that GPM has a positive impact on relationships with citizens, that the model depends on intelligence information, that officers are trained in the application of GPM and that they understand the Model's overall concept. The lowest level of support expressed by respondents is on the ability of the Model to reduce the fear of crime in the City, its ability to impact positively the Uniform Crime Report statistics, and the competence of other officers to understand and properly execute the GPM.

TABLE 3: OFFICER BELIEF IN GEOGRAPHIC POLICING MODEL (GPM) PRINCIPLES (N=285) (ON A SCALE OF 1-5 WITH 1 BEING HIGHEST LEVEL OF BELIEF)

Variables	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
GPM has a positive impact on reducing crime in area	1	5	2.18
Model has positive impact on relationships with citizens	1	5	1.80
Better communication between officers & supervisors	1	5	2.47
Ownership in beat assignments	1	5	2.02
Held accountable for crime in beat	1	5	2.33
Generates new approaches to crime	1	5	2.48
Officer works well with citizens	1	5	2.20
Concern with the participation levels of citizens	1	5	2.50
Concern about competency levels of other officers on GPM	1	5	2.66
Reduces fear of crime in City	1	5	2.65
Model helps define crime problems	1	5	2.22
Relies on intelligence information	1	5	1.79
I promote GPM as a useful tool in reducing crime	1	5	2.24
Understanding of concept of GPM	1	4	1.79
Trained in application of GPM	1	5	1.83
Positive impact on Uniform Crime Statistics	1	5	2.66
Total Survey Averages	1	5	2.226

To compare the survey data on officers' perceptions of crime rates and official reported crime in the City, data were collected on the incidence of reported index crimes in the City from the Uniform Crime Report from 1997 to 2006. The official data show an increase in crime frequencies in two of the eight comparison years and decreases in the remaining six. The degree of the increase was, however, much larger in the years of increase than the degree of decrease in the downward years. The change in reported crime frequencies over the nine year period appear to be insufficient to attribute high praise to the GPM concerning the crime rate and fear of crime variances (see Table 4).

TABLE 4: UCR INDEX CRIME FREQUENCIES IN CITY (FROM CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES 1997 TO 2006)

	Murder & NNMS	Forc- ible Rape	Robb'y	Agg. Assault	Burg'y	Lar- ceny Theft	MV Theft	Arson	Crime In- dex Total
1997	12	127	527	1,754	3,056	12,569	2,051	46	20,096
1998	13	138	506	1,202	2,974	12,703	1,984	79	19,520 (↓ 2.866%)
1999	11	109	546	1,285	3,180	12,556	1,720	82	19,407 (↓ 0.006%)
2000	14	96	595	1,452	3,141	14,106	2,076	55	21,480 (↑ 10.681%)
2001	15	145	687	1,282	3,552	16,345	2,525	58	24,551 (↑ 14.297%)
2002	14	152	794	1,242	3,638	15,746	2,008	73	23,594 (↓ 3.898%)
2003	9	167	598	1,089	3,606	14,656	1,659	42	21,784 (↓ 7.671%)
2004	14	200	662	1,017	3,375	14,680	1,526	70	21,474 (↓ 1.423%)
2005	24	178	768	1,399	3,984	14,609	1,810	52	22,772 (↓ 4.60%)

CONCLUSION

This study focused on examining geographic policing principles as they are perceived by police officers and on variances by age, race, gender, assigned duty, college major, and rank. The overall belief in the Geographic Policing Model principles was supported in the data. The findings on the variables of fear of crime and the strength of officers' beliefs concerning the ability of the GPM to reduce official crime statistics were not supported. Although differences existed by race and gender, overall support for the principles expressing beliefs that the GPM would reduce citizen fear and reduce official crime rates were among the weakest variables in the analysis. The opinion of the officers was supported by the official crime rates taken from the Uniform Crime Report. It showed reported index crime to be down more years than it was up during the years of 1997 to 2006. However, when the actual frequencies of reported crime are considered, the number in 2005 is greater in the City than the number for 1997. While the reported frequency of index crime was up for the City over the time period in the model, national crime rates were mostly down.

Female officers who participated in the study show a higher level of agreement with the statements concerning the ability of the GPM to lower crime and fear of crime than males. The t-test comparisons also show that the minority officers show a higher level of belief that the Model will reduce fear of crime and crime frequencies. However race and gender were not significant in the variable addressing the ability of the GPM to make a positive impact on relationships with citizens. Respondents in general expressed a strong belief that the Model has a

positive effect on the working relationship between officers and citizens, and this variable may have strong policy implications addressing the ability of the police department to enhance its image and relationship with its constituency.

The variables addressing the perception of ownership with officers in their respective beat assignments and being held accountable for the crime in the beat are at the heart of the Geographic Policing Model, and both show that officers have some degree of belief in these factors. In particular, younger officers aged 21 to 39 had a higher level of agreement with these principles than officers between 40 to 59 years of age. It was also noted that the highest ranking administrators in the sample showed greater belief in these principles than sergeants or officers, which shows administrative support for the GPM philosophy of decentralizing decision-making authority and giving greater power to patrol officers.

Two other variables important to Geographic Policing address the ability of officers to generate new approaches to dealing with crime in their beat and to be able to define the crime problems. Respondents aged 30 to 39 and minority officers tended to show greater belief in these principles than others. Female respondents showed greater belief in the importance of being able to define crime problems on the beat. This may be explained by a difference in perspective among the female respondents and shows the importance of diversity in staffing patterns.

The belief by respondents that GPM relies heavily on intelligence information to achieve its outcomes was the single strongest variable in the study. This reflects the importance of having a strong intelligence network for both the prevention and law enforcement components of Geographic Policing.

There was strong support for this principle by both males and females but females tended to regard it as more important. The mean values by race all supported the belief in the importance of intelligence information with only Native-Americans expressing significantly less belief in this variable. The mean value of this variable for officers shows that as officers progress through the age groupings, they show a higher level of disagreement with the statement. Restated, the younger the officer, the higher level of agreement with the statement. The strength of belief in intelligence information by those respondents classified as patrol was higher than for the investigation division. This greater support by patrol might be due to patrol relying heavily on crime analysis information that must be complete and timely.

The belief by respondents that fellow officers were competent in their ability to apply the concepts of Geographic Policing was one of the least supported of the principles tied with the belief in the model's ability to reduce official crime statistics. The lack of belief in other officers varied by grade point average, and it was noted that as the grade point average increased, the belief in one's fellow officers decreased. It was also noted in the total sample that the police department had succeeded in hiring officers with higher than average grade point averages in a majority of cases. This positive aspect was accompanied by the negative aspect for criminology and criminal justice departments that the choice of academic major made no significant difference in any of the beliefs tested in the study.

In summary, the study shows overall support for the Geographic Policing Model in all of the variables tested except for those addressing fear of crime, reduction of crime statistics, and belief in fellow officers to successfully understand and implement Geographic Policing. It should be noted that while those three variables were not supported by most respondents, the lack of support was marginal in that almost half of the respondents supported them. The views

expressed by the officers on the inability of the Model to significantly reduce crime statistics was supported by an analysis of UCR data during the study time period of 1997 to 2006. It appears that Geographic Policing can best be defended by emphasizing its ability to improve the relationship between the police and the community and admitting that further research needs to be conducted on its ability to significantly reduce crime rates.

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APPENDIX 1: SURVEY INSTRUMENT QUESTIONS

For each of the statements below, please indicate the extent of your agreement by circling the appropriate number (1-5)

1. I believe that geographic policing has a positive impact in reducing crime in the City.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
2. I believe that geographic policing has a positive impact on the relationship with the citizens.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
3. I believe that geographic policing creates better communication among officers and supervisors.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
4. I feel that geographic policing creates a perception of ownership with officers in their respective beat assignments.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
5. I feel that I am held accountable for the crime in my beat.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
6. I frequently generate new approaches to dealing with crime in my beat.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
7. I have positive working relationships with most of the citizens in my beat.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
8. I am concerned with the crime prevention participation levels of the citizens in my beat.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
9. I am concerned about the competency levels of my fellow officers regarding geographic policing.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
10. I believe that geographic policing has a positive impact on the Uniform Crime Report statistics.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
11. I believe that the citizens of the City have a reduced fear of crime, due to geographic policing.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
12. I believe that geographic policing helps me define neighborhood crime problems.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
13. I believe that geographic policing relies heavily on the dissemination of intelligence information.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree
14. I promote geographic policing as a useful tool in reducing crime and boosting community connections.
Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Disagree

High School Criminal Justice Educators in Texas: An Analysis of Influencing Factors for Their Job Satisfaction and Retention

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ABSTRACT

The teaching of criminal justice courses in high schools is relatively new. Although there has only been limited research evidence on this subject, in 2001 over 10,000 Texas high school students had enrolled in at least one high school criminal justice course. This study examines the perceptions of 147 high school criminal justice teachers in Texas regarding their work environment, teaching-related characteristics, job satisfaction, and retention. Logistic regression analyzed various predictors for job satisfaction and retention. In addition, issues involving the teaching philosophy of the educators and qualification of the educators were analyzed and discussed in relation to the future study of criminal justice education.

Key Words: high school criminal justice educator, job satisfaction, turnover

INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of the public school systems in the United States is to deliver a good education to students, and the role of teachers is crucial in every classroom. The first priority to ensure quality education is to keep a sufficient number of competent and qualified teachers. However, public schools suffer from low rates of teacher retention, and this is especially the case for secondary education teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2001; Ingersoll, 2001). About two-thirds of urban public schools report that they do not have enough teachers for science, special education, bilingual education, and math (Curran, Abrahams, & Manual, 2000). Likewise, secondary vocational educators report low retention rates. Fifty percent of vocational educators leave the career within six years, and around fifteen percent leave after the first year (Crawford-Self, 2001).

High school criminal justice education is a relatively new development in the history of public education in Texas as well as the nation. When the Texas legislature enacted legislation establishing the Trade and Industrial Education section of the Texas Education Agency Curriculum Guide in 1991, high school criminal justice courses experienced substantial growth. Accordingly, many high schools in Texas began to implement criminal justice courses with a law-enforcement career-oriented purpose. The Texas Education Agency Curriculum Guide's Protective Services provision furthered this evolution in 1998 by mandating that courses in the public school curriculum focus on issues of crime, laws and rules, and the role of criminal justice agencies. Unfortunately, scant scholarly literature has focused on examining criminal justice educators, especially their levels of job satisfaction and retention. This study examines job satisfaction levels of the educators and their decisions to remain in the profession by analyzing various factors such as work environment, teaching-related factors, and personal factors.

LITERATURE REVIEW

High School Criminal Justice Education

The study of crime and justice has been influenced by a variety of factors. Academic criminology degree programs have emerged over the last 70 years, emanating primarily from sociology programs. Criminal justice is a relatively new academic discipline, first appearing in American colleges and universities in the mid-1960s. While there are identifiable differences in the nature of criminology and criminal justice programs, they share the common goals of providing a better understanding of crime and justice and preparing employees to work in the field of criminal justice.

In recent years, public high schools have begun offering criminal justice courses. The origin and impetus for this adaptation in criminal justice education can be traced back to several possible sources. Since the 1960s, various school-based crime prevention programs have been used to deal with social problems that directly affect students. Some of these programs have been used by classroom teachers or other professional educators, while others have employed non-educators to provide crime prevention information to students and faculty. The content of the various approaches included group instruction, counseling, training regarding rules and regulations, referral to other agencies, staff training and development, security and surveillance, etc. (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 2002). In short, the primary goal of early high school criminal justice education, based on Cesare Beccaria's (1763/1995) proposition, emphasized education as one of the most effective ways to develop a positive attitude towards the law and prevent juvenile delinquency, eventually leading to a deterrence effect. Two recent studies (Hennelly, 1996; Pereira & Rodriguez, 1997) empirically tested Beccaria's proposition and supported the effectiveness of high school criminal justice education on preventing violence among students.

Two hundred and forty Texas high schools now offer criminal justice courses as one of the ways to prepare high school students for post-secondary technical education. The vast majority of these courses are offered in the high schools' vocational division (Texas Education Agency, 2003). As a result, local school districts receive additional federal funding for each student enrolled in vocational courses. This funding was established by the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Technical Education Act, Public Law 105-332. The federal government provided over

1.3 billion dollars to states to support technical education, and 108 million dollars were allocated specifically for post-secondary technical education of high school students in 2002 (U.S. Department of Education, 2006). According to the Texas Education Agency, in 2001, 7,443 students enrolled in the Introduction to Criminal Justice course in Texas high schools (Texas Education Agency, 2003).

Despite its dual goals, crime deterrence and vocational training, and a growing popularity, criminal justice education in high school has rarely been studied by academia. The existing studies focus on surveys of the students participating in the education and on administrators (i.e., principals). Rhoades and Graham (1998) surveyed students' attitudes toward law enforcement courses in Texas high schools. Their sample consisted of 97 Texas high school students who had participated in criminal justice courses and graduated between 1992 and 1997. They found that students were satisfied with the criminal justice courses they completed and that most of the students considered the courses as a good way to learn problem-solving skills and to gain understanding of the American legal system.

Another approach examined the effectiveness of the criminal justice courses by surveying the attitudes of high school principals toward the courses. Chaurprakobkit and Bartsch (2000) surveyed 155 Texas high school principals regarding the value and impact of 26 criminology/criminal justice concepts on school problems. The survey results indicate that the principals believe that career-oriented criminal justice courses had less impact on school crime than other courses which focused on other criminal justice topics. The researchers concede that the lack of knowledge by high school principals of criminal justice topics limited the generalizability of their results (Bartsch & Chaurprakobkit, 2002).

Job Satisfaction and Retention of High School Teachers

Examination of students' and administrators' perceptions of criminal justice education definitely provides a basis for testing the effectiveness of the education. Meanwhile, there also exists a need to assess individuals most directly involved in the high school criminal justice education process: the teachers. Billingsley (2003) enumerates groups of factors influencing teacher attrition and intention: (1) personal factors, (2) qualification of teachers, (3) work environment, and (4) reactions to work.

First, teachers' personal factors include sex, age, race, and other individual factors, with age as the most predictive factor for teacher retention (Boe, Bobbitt, Cook, Whitener, & Weber, 1997). For example, Houchins, Shippen, & Cattret (2004) found that mid-career teachers usually show the lowest attrition rates as compared to their younger or older counterparts, while the age variable seems to have an interaction with the level of teaching experience. On the other hand, Guarino, Santibanez, and Daley (2006) report that attrition rates are high for new or young teachers. This result is also supported by the study of Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin (2004), who surveyed teachers in Texas public high schools and report that young teachers were more likely to quit their job. Such personal factors as sex, race, degree of mobility, and health are less predictive than age or provide merely inconclusive results on teacher retention rates (Boe et al., 1997; Cross & Billingsley, 1994).

Studies of the effect of teachers' gender on their retention rates provide inconsistent results at best (Morvant, Gersten, Gillman, Keating, & Blake, 1995; Singer, 1993). While Kirby, Berends, and Naftel (1999) find that white female teachers in Texas have higher attrition rates

than white males, it is also found that female teachers show more commitment to their teaching profession than males (Ingersoll & Alsalam, 1997). Minority teachers are generally reported to have less attrition rates than white teachers (Ingersoll, 2001; Kirby et al., 1999; Adams, 1996).

Second, teachers' retention decisions are reported to be influenced by teacher qualifications, such as education level (degree earned), teaching experience, and certification (Billingsley, 2003). Uncertified teachers have more intention to leave the career as compared to their certified counterparts (Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2002). Level of education is another indicator of teachers' retention. It is clear that teachers with higher degrees are more likely to quit the job as they have greater opportunities for other careers. Kirby et al. (1999) report that teachers with graduate degrees are more likely to quit their jobs than those with bachelor's degrees. Ingersoll and Alsalam (1997) findings concurred with those of Kirby et al. (1999).

The third indicator group for teacher attrition is working environment, including factors such as salary, support from administrators, school climate, and teachers' roles (Houchins et al., 2004). Salary is a significant factor in predicting whether someone will stay with or leave a career. Teachers with lower salaries have a higher tendency to quit the jobs than those with higher salaries (Boe et al., 1997; Miller, Brownell, & Smith, 1999). School climate, as well as support from school administrators, is also highly and positively correlated with teachers' intention to stay (Boe, Barkanic, & Leow, 1999; SPeNSE, 2006; Littrell & Billingsley, 1994). Likewise, Ma and McMillan (1999) found the school administration and working conditions were the most important factors determining teachers' job satisfaction. Moreover, limited resources, unmanageable duties, inadequate time, and contradictory paperwork are examples of other factors negatively affecting teachers' intention to stay (SPeNSE, 2006).

The last factor group for teacher retention is affective reactions to work as exemplified by stress, job satisfaction, and teacher commitment (Billingsley, 2003). Teachers intend to leave the profession when they have less satisfaction and negative perceptions toward the school administration and toward teaching as a career (Hall, Pearson, & Carroll, 1992; the National Center for Education Statistics, 1997). A low level of commitment to teaching is another predictor for higher dissatisfaction and attrition level of teachers (Guarino et al., 2006).

Among other factors, teaching orientation is a special concern for this research. One of the purposes of high school criminal justice education is to provide specific knowledge and job training to students who are interested in a range of careers in the criminal justice area. As mentioned before, many criminal justice courses in Texas high schools are being taught with a career/vocational-orientation focusing on law enforcement training. Equally important, crime prevention through high school criminal justice education has been recognized as the most effective way toward reducing and preventing crimes in and out of schools. Therefore, a balanced approach between vocational training and crime deterrence is required in a teaching orientation. The dual orientations appear to influence how to teach particular subjects, how to evaluate teaching effectiveness, and the relationships the teachers may have with their supervisors. It seems to be reasonably logical that the fit between orientation and supervisor expectation affects the educators' job satisfaction and their turnover intention/attrition. Unfortunately, there has been no research conducted to examine job satisfaction and retention of high school criminal justice educators.

In response to the scant research on criminal justice education in high schools, this present study provides a socio-demographic and work experience summary of high school criminal justice educators in Texas. It identifies their teaching orientation and, in continuum of criminal justice education and training, determines various factors for their levels of job satisfaction and retention. The analysis is guided by three research objectives: (1) examining the perceptions of high school criminal justice educators regarding work environment and teaching-related characteristics; (2) examining their job satisfaction and decision to remain; and (3) discussing the policy implications of these findings.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

Every school district in Texas was contacted to explore which high schools offered criminal justice courses. Also, the authors were provided support from an organization of educators, the Criminal Justice Educators of Texas, in identifying specific criminal justice educators. Ultimately, 237 high school criminal justice educators were identified. A mail survey was administered to them in April 2003 to assess their perceptions of work environment, teaching-related characteristics, job satisfaction, and retention. Follow-up surveys for nonrespondents were mailed out in May 2003 for the purpose of increasing the response rate. Participation was voluntary, and respondents were promised confidentiality in each survey. Out of the 237 surveys, 147 surveys were returned for analysis, yielding a response rate of 62 percent, which is considered good for generalizability of potential finding(s) and conclusion(s) (Hagan 2005; Maxfield & Babbie 2007).

Measurements

The original self-administered, attitudinal survey instrument was developed using variables (personal factors, work environment, and teaching-related characteristics) that were replicated from the study conducted by Cheurprakobkit and Bartsch (2000). Due to the nonexistence of prior studies focusing on job satisfaction and turnover intentions of high school criminal justice educators, measures and scales of the job satisfaction and turnover intention were developed as found in research in the organizational literature (Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000; Slate, Well, & Johnson, 2003). The aforementioned three variables were adopted as the predictor variables, whereas indicators of job satisfaction and turnover intention were the dependent variables in this study. That is, the nature of this study is explorative and deals with determining any statistically significant predictor(s) of the educators' job satisfaction and retention, respectively.

The survey questionnaire is divided into three sections. Two sections are for independent variables and the last section is for the two dependent variables. First developed by Cheurprakobkit and Bartsch (2000), eighteen items with a four-point subscale (1= no problem; 2= minor problem; 3= moderate problem; 4= serious problem) represented a work environment group. Respondents were asked to rate their concern for various work environment issues in their school. The second section of the questionnaire also measured independent variables which contained questions related to both demographic/personal information and teaching-related

characteristics. The teaching-related characteristics represented the respondents' qualification levels as criminal justice educators.

The last section measured the educators' job satisfaction and retention as dependent variables. Selected from the Slate et al. (2003) study, four items with a 1–5 Likert scale (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree) were used to construct an educator's appraisal of his/her job and job experience, such as whether the respondents are proud of their job and whether they think their job is meaningful, indicative of overall job satisfaction. In their updated meta-analysis, Griffeth, et al. (2000) found that overall job satisfaction, compared to all kinds of specific satisfaction facets, is the best predictor for turnover. The four items were entered into a factor analysis. These items produced a single factor solution (eigenvalue = 4.62) with loadings all over 0.50. The additive scale produced from these four items yielded a Chronbach's Alpha reliability coefficient of 0.884, which indicates a high reliability level among the items (Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson, & Tatham, 2006). Overall job satisfaction was measured by this four-item additive scale.

Their intention to stay in the career, as another dependent variable, represented turnover intention in a reverse way and was measured on a binary scale (yes = 1, no = 0) by the level of agreement with a single statement: "I believe I will remain in this career until I retire." Understandably, there might be a reasonable suspicion that an educator's intention to stay may not necessarily result in the educator's actual retention. However, in the meta-analysis studies of Griffeth et al. (2000), weak retention intention representing high turnover intention was found as the best predictor of the actual withdrawal process.

FINDINGS

Descriptive Analysis

Univariate analysis describes the features of each predictor variable and the dependent variables as well. Table 1 presents the instructional concerns of the survey respondents regarding the eighteen work environment issues in the school. Overall, the respondents' average mean score of 1.7 is approximately midpoint between subscale 1 (no problem) and 2 (minor problem), which can translate into relatively low levels of their instructional concerns for most of the working environmental issues. However, four instructional concerns were identified by respondents as a problem: finding a good textbook for the class (2.60); inadequate/poor school resources/equipment (2.16); inadequate salary compared to their levels of teaching experience (2.11); and lack of recognition for good work (2.02). It should be noted that these concerns ranged from minor (2.02) to moderate (2.60) and only a few respondents reported these concerns as a serious problem. Given the low levels of their instructional concerns, each of the eighteen work environmental concerns were examined in preliminary analyses. Only six items produced statistically significant correlations with overall job satisfaction levels of the educators and thus were included to enable further analysis.

TABLE 1: WORK ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS*

Concern	Mean	Std.Dev.	Toatl (N)
Finding a good textbook for the class	2.60	1.07	154
Inadequate/poor school resources/equipments	2.16	1.08	154
Inadequate salary against your teaching experience	2.11	1.21	154
Lack of recognition for good work	2.02	2.07	153
Scheduling for the class	1.86	0.99	153
Finding enough students interested in the class	1.77	0.99	154
Lack of eligibility to get promoted	1.75	1.02	153
Inadequate support from the school	1.73	0.98	154
Lack of job security	1.73	1.03	154
Duties and responsibilities not clearly defined	1.53	0.92	154
Inadequate support from the students	1.48	1.03	154
Receiving school board approval to add or teach class	1.47	0.92	152
Assignment of disagreeable duties	1.47	0.76	154
Assignment of new or unfamiliar duties	1.45	0.82	154
Performing non-criminal justice/criminology education	1.40	0.81	154
Rigid school policy	1.38	0.73	154
Not treated as a professional teacher by school	1.33	0.97	154
Not treated as a professional teacher by students	1.33	0.75	154
Average	1.72	1.01	153.7
*Note: Scale 1 = not a problem to 4 = a serious problem.			

Table 2 shows only work environment factors which have significant correlations with job satisfaction levels of the respondents. Most of the concerns are considered as minor or moderate problems by the responding educators. Inappropriate attitude of the school was found to be the least serious problem (Mean= 1.33, SD=.75) while inadequate salary was a minor or moderate/substantial problem for the teachers (Mean=2.11, SD=1.21). Meanwhile, inadequate support, rigid school policy, assignment of disagreeable duties, and lack of eligibility for promotion were found to be no problem or at most a minor problem for the respondents.

As for teaching-related characteristics (Table 2), guided by the previous research mentioned before, five work-related background variables (teaching orientation, number of years as a criminal justice educator, a full- versus part-time work status, education, and previous criminal justice experience) were incorporated into the present study to represent the respondents' qualification level as criminal justice educators. More than sixty %of the respondents report that they believe in a "balanced" approach—one that provided both vocational training and crime prevention as their teaching orientation. On the other hand, 26%of the respondents indicate that vocational training, alone, was the primary purpose of their course instruction. It is interesting to note that none of the respondents reported that the single primary purpose of teaching criminal justice courses was to deter crime in schools.

TABLE 2: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR VARIABLES

Variable		Mean	Std. Dev.	Frequency (%)	N
Work environment*					
Inadequate support from the school		1.73	0.98		147
Inappropriate attitude of the school		1.33	0.75		147
Assignment of disagreeable duties		1.47	0.76		147
Rigid school policy		1.38	0.73		147
Indadequate salary		2.11	1.21		147
Lack of eligibility for promotion		1.75	1.02		146
Teaching-related characteristics					
Teaching orientation	(career)			37 (25.2)	143
	(balanced approach)			106 (72.1)	143
Being a full-time teacher				102 (69.4)	146
Education	(graduate degree)			45 (31.6)	146
	(bachelor's degree)			71 (48)	146
	(college degree)			30 (20.4)	146
Having any field experience				125 (85)	146
Number of years as a CJ educator		5.29	4.10		138
Personal factors					
Sex (male)				116 (78.9)	146
Race	(white)			97 (66)	146
	(non-white)			49 (34)	146
Marital status (married)				113 (76.9)	145
Age		45.31	9.97		144
Overall job satisfaction**					
I am proud of this job		4.69	0.73		146
This job is meaningful		4.73	0.66		146
Will choose this job again		4.22	0.99		145
Recommend this job to others		4.34	0.86		146
Overall average***		4.51	0.71		145
Job satisfaction (highly satisfied)				101 (68.7)	145
Retention (will remain)				83 (56.5)	146
*1 = no problem, 4 = serious problem.					
** 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree.					
***Cronbach's $\alpha = .884$.					

The respondents reported over five years' experience, on average, as criminal justice educators (Mean = 5.29, SD = 4.10), and about two-thirds (69.4 %) of them are working full-time at the school. More than thirty % of the respondents have graduate degrees while 20% only have college degrees. Regarding previous experience in the field of criminal justice, the majority of

the respondents (85%) have had prior experience in the criminal justice field. In regards to demographic information (Table 2), four socio-demographic variables (sex, race, marital status, and age) were incorporated into the present study. The majority (78.9%) of the respondents are males, and 66% of the respondents are Caucasian compared to other demographic groups (Hispanic: 25.5% and African-American: 6.5%). The average age of the respondents is 45.3 years old, and 79.1% of them report being married.

Overall job satisfaction, as one of two dependent variables, was measured using the four different questions listed in Table 2. Overall, a high level of overall job satisfaction with their career was reported with an average mean of 4.51 as the scores ranged from 4.22 (would choose this job again) to 4.73 (this job is meaningful). The results indicate a strong consensus among the respondents that they were proud of what they do for a living, their work is meaningful, and they would recommend their jobs to others. As there was very little variation in their overall job satisfaction levels, the 1-5 Likert scale of each of the four items was reduced into a dichotomous scale for logistic regression analysis. The highly satisfied individuals were assumed to have agreed to all the four items. That is, the highly satisfied group consists of the respondents who scored at least 4 (agree) for all the items. Individuals who score more than 16 for overall job satisfaction scale (Max = 20) were categorized as the high job satisfaction group (highly satisfied coded into 1 versus those not highly satisfied coded as 0). Based on this approach, 68.7 % of the respondents report that they were highly satisfied.

Bivariate Analysis

Pearson's correlation analysis was conducted to determine any significant correlation between independent variables and dependent variables that were examined. The correlation matrix in Table 3 indicates that most of the independent variables were significantly correlated with the dependent variables, especially with job satisfaction level. All work environment factors were found to have a weak but statistically significant negative association with job satisfaction except for rigid school policy. None of the work environment factors were found to be significantly correlated with the job retention variable.

Three teaching-related characteristics, indicative of the respondents' qualification level as criminal justice educators, reveal significant correlations for both retention and job satisfaction variables. This indicates that educators with more years as teachers and having criminal justice field experience were more likely to be satisfied with their jobs ($r = 0.21, p < .05$ and $r = 0.17, p < .05$, respectively) and were more willing to stay in the career ($r = 0.21, p < .05$ and $r = 0.28, p < .01$, respectively). Full-time teachers ($r = 0.20, p < .05$) were more highly satisfied. Notably, while respondents reporting "balanced" teaching orientation were more likely to be satisfied ($r = 0.25, p < .05$) and more likely to show high intention to remain ($r = 0.27, p < .05$), higher levels of education were neither highly satisfied ($r = 0.27, p < .01$) nor likely to remain ($r = 0.22, p < .01$). Among personal factors, male and non-white respondents were more likely to report that they will remain in the job than their counterparts. Also, older respondents indicated higher job satisfaction levels and more intention to stay than young respondents. Not surprisingly, highly satisfied educators are more likely to remain in the job.

Multivariate Logistic Regression Analysis

Two logistic regression models (Table 4) on job satisfaction and retention were employed to confirm the findings from the bivariate analysis. Logistic regression is an alternative form

TABLE 3: PEARSON'S CORRELATIONS AMONG VARIABLES

[illegible]

of regression seeking prediction and explanation of a binary variable for group membership (Hair et al., 2006). In spite of the similarity with Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression, the greatest advantage of using a logistic regression is that the method is robust to the violation of typical multivariate assumptions (Mertler & Vannetta, 2005). None of the previous Pearson's correlations among all variables were higher than ± 0.7 (Fox, 1981), and neither model had a value of Nagelkerke R^2 equal to .50 or greater than .50 (Berry & Feldmand, 1985). Therefore, multicollinearity was not an issue in this analysis.

Table 4 illustrates the results of both logistic regression models. Model 1 with overall job satisfaction shows a significant and good model fit based on different statistics. The chi-square test of the model indicates that Model 1 significantly predicted the group membership for job satisfaction levels ($\chi^2 = 52.851$, $df = 15$, $p < .01$). Also, 43.3 % of the variance in the job satisfaction variable was explained by this model (Nagelkerke $R^2 = .433$).

TABLE 4: LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS FOR JOB SATISFACTION AND RETENTION						
	Model 1 (N = 135)			Model 2 (N = 135)		
	B	SE	Exp (B)	B	SE	Exp (B)
Work environment						
Inappropriate attitude of the school	-.057	.399	.945	.008	.409	1.008
Inadequate support from the school	-.541	.393	.582	-.337	.400	.714
Assignment of disagreeable duties	-.973	.413	.378*	-.236	.403	.789
Rigid school policy	1.221	.490	3.389*	-.141	.414	.868
Inadequate salary	-.078	.251	.925	-.258	.250	.773
Lack of eligibility for promotion	-.748	.363	.473*	.051	.350	1.052
Teaching-related characteristics						
Balanced teaching orientation	2.397	.808	10.98**	1.539	.670	4.661*
Number of years as a CJ educator	-.025	.104	.976	-.124	.077	.883
Being a full-time teacher	-.923	.605	.397	.020	.598	1.020
Highest education completed	-1.346	.404	.260**	-.788	.373	.455*
Having any field experience	.032	.777	1.033	-.410	.869	.664
Personal Factors						
Sex (male)	-.153	.680	.858	-1.499	.754	.223
Race (non-white)	-.692	.645	.500	-1.468	.621	.230
Marital status (married)	.828	.711	2.288	1.212	.712	3.360
Age	.077	.036	1.080*	.104	.036	1.110**
Job satisfaction (highly satisfied)						
Chi²	52.851**			65.736**		
-2LL	102.139			108.041		
Nagelkerke R²	0.433			0.492		
* <i>p</i> < .05, ** <i>p</i> < .01						

Six predictors were found to be statistically significant in Model 1 (Table 4). In the work environment group, assignment of disagreeable duties and lack of eligibility for promotion variables were found to have negative significant relationships with the overall job satisfaction levels while rigid school policy had a positive significant relationship with the dependent variable. The findings indicate that educators were approximately 2.65 times ($1/0.378$) less likely to be highly satisfied with their jobs when the educators considered the duty assignment to be more problematic. Also, in recognizing eligibility for promotion as being more problematic, educators were around 2.11 times ($1/0.473$) less likely to be highly satisfied. Interestingly, the respondents were approximately 3.4 times [$\text{Exp (B)} = 3.389$] more highly satisfied when they perceived rigid school policy. The result indicates that educators who view rigidity of school policies as a problem appear to be more satisfied in their jobs. Links between the rigidity of school policies and overall job satisfaction will be discussed later.

As for teaching-related characteristics, teaching orientation and education level were found to be significant in predicting the overall job satisfaction of the respondents. Educators with a balanced orientation reported high levels of overall job satisfaction. This predictor was the greatest influence in Model 1 [$\text{Exp (B)} = 10.989$]. Higher levels of education were found to predict a low overall level of job satisfaction [$\text{Exp (B)} = .260$]. Among personal factors, only age is weak but significantly predicts the membership in the job satisfaction category in a positive way. Older educators are only 1.1 times [$\text{Exp (B)} = 1.080$] more likely to be highly satisfied than young educators.

Model 2 of Table 4 assesses job retention and demonstrates a better model fit ($\chi^2 = 65.736$, $df = 16$, $p < .01$) with 49.2 % of explained variance in the dependent variable (Nagelkerke $R^2 = .492$). Unlike the finding of Model 1, none of the work environment factors in Model 2 was significant in predicting the respondents' job retention decision. Like the finding of Model 1, both teaching orientation and education level were found to be significant predictors of retention. This finding suggests that educators with a balanced approach were approximately 4.66 times [$\text{Exp (B)} = 4.661$] more likely to stay in the profession than those indicating only vocational training as their primary teaching focus.

Highly educated respondents were 2.2 times ($1/0.455$) less likely to remain in their career than the less educated respondents. Male (78 %) and non-white (77 %) respondents report that they were less likely to stay in their career than female and white respondents. Also, older respondents were only 1.1 times [$\text{Exp (B)} = 1.11$] more likely to remain in their career than the young respondents. Not surprisingly, the educators reporting high levels of overall job satisfaction were 1.6 times [$\text{Exp (B)} = 1.599$] more likely to continue their career than those with moderate levels of job satisfaction. Taken together, these findings are consistent with the findings from the correlation analysis and to a large degree, teaching-related characteristics, especially balanced teaching orientation and higher educational background, are more important predictors in both Model 1 with overall job satisfaction and Model 2 with retention. Also, overall job satisfaction is a significant predictor for retention.

DISCUSSION

Although there is a recognized general body of literature on the perceptions and functioning of high school teachers, very little attention is devoted to an empirical, analytical, and detailed examination of high school criminal justice educators. The findings in earlier studies

(Bartsch & Cheurprakobkit 2002; Cheurprakobkit & Bartsch 2000) are limited in their ability to generalize their results stemming in part from their focus on high school principals who, according to the researchers, have a limited understanding of the criminal justice career field and the goals of high school criminal justice education. Building upon the study of Cheurprakobkit and Bartsch (2000), the present study contributes to the limited body of knowledge relative to job satisfaction and retention of high school criminal justice educators.

Three findings are noteworthy. First, the univariate analysis of survey responses regarding work environment factors suggests that criminal justice educators do not perceive work environment factors to be a serious problem. Interestingly, concerns such as inadequate resources from school and inadequate salary are considered minor or moderate problems. Approximately, two-thirds of the respondents choose a balanced approach with vocational training and crime deterrence as their teaching orientation. One of the reasons for their choice may be from their experiences in the criminal justice field as 85% of the respondents have some criminal justice field experience. In addition, about 70% of the respondents are employed as full-time teachers, and they have spent an average of more than five years as criminal justice educators. One specific concern is the education level of the respondents. In our finding, slightly over 20% of the respondents have less than bachelor's degrees even though public teachers in Texas are required to have bachelor's degrees in order to be certified (Texas State Board for Educator Certification, 2006). That is, those college graduates may not be qualified as public school teachers in Texas.

Even outside Texas, some colleges and school districts now offer the transfer of courses into college dual credit or college credits for high school courses. While the future of high school criminal justice education is uncertain, many high school criminal justice students continue on to pursue undergraduate and graduate degrees in criminal justice. The potential for colleges to boost their enrollments by possibly articulating agreements with high schools for college credit courses will become an issue that needs further examination. Such agreements need to be examined in light of accreditation issues and their impact on desirable levels of quality instruction.

Examination of job satisfaction levels indicates that the responding teachers are satisfied with their job overall. However, the question on teachers' retention discloses a somewhat contradictory result as 43% of the educators do not want to remain in the career. These results seem to be confounding, but this may be true for public school teachers. Further study, possibly with a comparison of the teachers in subject areas other than criminal justice, may provide insights on this matter.

Second, groups of factors are significantly predicting high levels of job satisfaction and teachers' decisions to remain where they are employed. Negative work environment factors, such as assignment of disagreeable duties and lack of eligibility for promotion, decrease the level of job satisfaction but do not explain the decision to remain (Houchins et al., 2004; Boe et al., 1997; Miller et al., 1999). More attention should be paid to the influence of rigid school policy on job satisfaction levels. The result implies that teachers considering rigid school policy more problematic are more satisfied with their career. This influence is the greatest one among work environment factors. This result is contrary to the findings of previous studies on teachers' job satisfaction (Boe et al., 1999; SPeNSE, 2006). It may be arbitrary to draw any conclusion from this finding in the current study as the researchers do not have more information on

this issue. Yet, recognizing the need for more research on this topic, the authors cautiously suggest one possible explanation for this finding from the respondents' background information. Most of the responding teachers (85%) have some experience in the criminal justice field and may have been exposed to the subculture of the field. Subculture of the criminal justice field is mostly focused on traditional values, which includes rigid policy within agencies (Kappeler & Potter, 2004). Hence, based on their experience, the respondents may be highly satisfied with their career while they perceive rigid school policy as problematic.

Lastly, teaching orientation and education levels of the respondents significantly predict both job satisfaction and retention. The education level has negative influences on job satisfaction and retention of the respondents (Miller et al., 1999; Westling & Whitten, 1996). Since the educators with higher educational degrees have more job opportunities, they are less satisfied with their career based on their perceptions of their qualification levels as compared to other educators. Criminal justice educators who have a balanced teaching philosophy for vocation training and crime deterrence are more likely to be satisfied and intend to stay in their career than those who have vocational training for their primary teaching philosophy. The findings from this analysis provide some evidence that criminal justice education still sticks to its origins as a tool of crime prevention and of vocational training as well.

Criminal justice educators with higher job satisfaction levels are more likely to stay in the profession than those who have relatively low job satisfaction (Billingsley, 2003; Guarino et al., 2006; Hall et al., 1992). Among personal factors, age is the only predictor with significant influences for both job satisfaction and retention (Boe et al., 1997; Cross & Billingsley, 1994; Houchins et al., 2004; Miller et al., 1999). Older criminal justice educators are more satisfied and are more likely to remain than their younger counterparts in the sample, which resembles the findings from Guarino et al. (2006) and Hanushek et al. (2004). In spite of inconsistent results of other studies on gender and race (Morvant et al., 1995; Singer, 1993), this research finds that female and white criminal justice educators are more likely to remain in the career than male and non-white respondents (Morvant et al., 1995; Ingersoll & Alsalam, 1997; Adams, 1996).

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The advent and growth of high school criminal justice education programs has expanded the criminal justice education continuum. This study carefully implies possible policies for criminal justice educators in Texas based on its findings. First, the work environment of criminal justice educators has to be improved, especially for the assignment of appropriate duties and eligibility for promotion for these criminal justice educators. Inadequate salary is another concern for the educators considering the current situation that the average salary of teachers in Texas ranked 30th in the nation (American Federation of Teachers, 2006). Second, teacher qualification is another issue to be considered. While a substantial number of responding educators has his/her Baccalaureate degree or more, some with only associate degrees may not be certified as a public teacher in the state of Texas. School administrators or policy makers for school districts must ask criminal justice educators to have bachelor's degrees at least. This is not only for the quality of the education, but also important for the transfer of these courses for college credits. The authors anticipate that more students will be interested in taking the courses for their electives when college credit can be ensured.

The present study has two possible limitations and implications for further research on the criminal justice educators. First is the finding that a majority of Texas criminal justice educators have a balanced teaching philosophy for vocational training and crime deterrence. Criminal justice education thus becomes an integral part of the high school education process. At this time, most criminal justice programs in Texas, and in other states, are organizationally “housed” in the technical division of high schools. Some schools have chosen to locate their criminal justice programs more in the academic mainstream. Further research is needed to examine the perceived utility of programs operating under a technical versus academic orientation.

The second and more extensive issue is the generalizability of the findings of this study. The sample for this study was gathered based on available information from administrators of Texas public school districts and the organization of criminal justice educators. The initial sample of 237 educators may include most of the educators in Texas public high schools, but none of criminal justice educators in Texas private schools were sampled for this study. Also, the findings of this study apply only to the population of criminal justice educators in Texas as the current study only addresses the perceptions of this sub-group of high school educators. Research using samples from different states will be a possibility for further research on the subject of criminal justice educators and will potentially increase understanding and generalizability.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Chang-Bae Lee is a Ph.D candidate at the College of Criminal Justice at Sam Houston State University who has been accepted to the position of Assistant Professor at the University of West Florida. His current research interests include school violence, the association of city size and arrest rates, and a longitudinal study of recidivism for offenders charged with driving while intoxicated.

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BOOK REVIEW

Fuhrman, M. (2006). *A simple act of murder: November 22, 1963*. New York: Harper Collins.

Edward J. Schauer, Prairie View A&M University

In *A Simple Act of Murder*, Mark Fuhrman investigates the John F. Kennedy assassination as if he were the lead investigator of a police detective team. Avoiding the colossal amount of hyperbole and speculation produced in the preceding forty-three years, Fuhrman—a trained and accomplished police homicide investigator—goes directly to the evidence and thereby treats the presidential assassination as any other murder case.

Fuhrman explains that evidence was both overlooked and misinterpreted due to several factors: The first is that the main purpose of the original fact-finding Warren Commission, set up by President Lyndon Baines Johnson, was to determine whether Lee Harvey Oswald committed the murder in order to stop conspiracy speculations. A second is that the Warren Commission did not begin with the murder and go where the evidence led (as homicide investigators do); rather, they depended largely upon films, photos, and expert reconstructions in order to reach their conclusions.

Third, some evidence was inadvertently lost; and rather than state the facts of the loss, investigators tended to develop theories which would work sans the evidence lost. An important example of this tendency is the lost windshield trim of the presidential limousine which had a bullet pockmark. The loss of this piece of evidence may have resulted in the creation of the Warren Commission's single-bullet theory. A fourth factor is that documents were sealed, a complete autopsy was not done, and evidence was purposely misplaced in order to accede to the wishes of the Kennedy family.

The author suggests that the Warren Commission, with its attention drawn to the Abraham Zapruder 8 mm movie of the presidential motorcade during the assassination among other photos, and recordings, overlooked the testimony of the witnesses who were closest to the scene of the assassination. The eyewitness testimony of Texas Governor Connally and Mrs. Connally, the testimony of United States Secret Service agents charged with protecting President Kennedy, that of police officers and citizens near the presidential limousine when the shots rang out, was interpreted by the Warren Commission as being of less probative value than the Zapruder film, a Dictaphone tape, and the Commission's pet single-bullet theory.

Most difficult to understand, is why a complete autopsy was not performed upon the body of the president—Kennedy family wishes notwithstanding. President Kennedy's body was the one most important piece of evidence for use in solving this murder case. Bullet tracks were not precisely traced, vital bodily data was not measured or recorded, and the partial autopsy was accomplished in a rushed manner.

In his investigation, Mark Fuhrman discovered a vital, yet heretofore unmentioned piece of evidence. The Warren Commission created the single-bullet theory which requires two assumptions: (1) that one of the three shots fired (most likely the first shot) from the Texas School Book Depository totally missed the presidential limousine and its passengers, and (2) that the

bullet which passed through the President's neck (most likely the second shot) also went on to seriously wound Governor Connally. After the assassination, it was noted that the heavy-duty stainless steel windshield trim (part of the attachment for the automobile's bubble-top) held a pockmark from a glancing bullet.

The author adds the deep, round bullet pockmark in the windshield trim to the close eye-witness accounts—which almost universally observed that President Kennedy was hit in the throat by the first shot. If the first shot hit the President and glanced off the windshield trim, and the third and last bullet broke into pieces as it traversed his skull and brain, and Governor Connally was hit with the second shot; all three bullets are accounted for. Fuhrman concludes that the single-bullet theory is unnecessary to explain that all three shots fired during the assassination sequence came from the Texas School Book Depository.

Mark Fuhrman shows that all of the evidence points to the guilt of Lee Harvey Oswald as the sole assassin, the lone gunman; and that the myriad conspiracy theories are therefore false. And while there was no conspiracy to kill President Kennedy, Fuhrman lists ten conspiracies which were intended to “protect the living” (p., 212). Examples of these life-protecting conspiracies are: (1) The Kennedy family did not wish it known that President Kennedy had Addison's disease, for which he was regularly taking drugs and wearing a brace for public appearances. (2) Several federal agencies covered up evidence embarrassing to them which bore no relationship to the guilt or innocence of Oswald. And, (3) the conspiracy theorists themselves are part of a conspiracy, as it were, to prove a conspiracy. While the conspiracies to protect life may appear benign at first glance, the fact that they hide or cloud evidence postpones (possibly indefinitely) closure of the Kennedy case and also engenders conspiracy speculations.

At least one thousand books have been written about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy—most of them propounding conspiracies. In *A Simple Act of Murder: November 22, 1963*, homicide detective and author, Mark Fuhrman, brings legal and logical closure to the never-ending, President Kennedy assassination debate. The book is a welcome addition to the assassination and crime literature.

BOOK REVIEW

Langbein, J. H. (2006). *Torture and the law of proof: Europe and England in the Ancien Regime* (2d ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Soraya Kawucha, Sam Houston State University

Mr. Langbein is a Professor of Law at the University of Chicago Law School, specializing in estate and pension law. He is a prolific author of both current and historical legal works, including: *Prosecuting Crime in the Renaissance: England, Germany, and France*, and *Origins of the Adversarial Criminal Trial*. This edition follows the original work published over a quarter century ago in 1977, and addresses the use of torture and its relationship to the practice of law.

The original work discussed only the application of torture and its eventual abolishment in the Middle Ages, but in this new edition, Langbein examines the use of torture in the current context of the questioning of prisoners held by the US military in Iraq. In particular, he explores the issue of what conduct constitutes torture. His point for this second edition is that when civilizations ignore the lessons learned in the past, they are doomed then to repeat the mistakes. In short, torture did not produce results when used in the Middle Ages, and they will not produce results now.

The work is divided into two sections, the European continent and England, with the sections containing four and three chapters, respectively. While the first section is primarily devoted to the continent, Langbein does include English comparisons as appropriate. The second part discusses the differences between the continental and English legal systems and offers argument for the differing uses of torture.

Chapter One is devoted to the historical developments and definitions of torture within the judicial framework; Langbein stresses the differences between the use of torture as a punishment and judicial torture as a means of interrogation. He traces the origins from the Roman-Canonical codes of antiquity to the decline in the use of torture that occurred in the 16th and 17th centuries, and then to the eventual abolishment in the 18th century.

The primary thesis of the author is that conventional historical thought of the rationales behind the abolishment of torture are incorrect. Conventional belief is that the changes in belief systems brought about by Enlightenment writers such as Voltaire and Beccaria made the abolition of torture possible. Langbein argues that changes within the legal system and the laws of proof made abolishment almost inevitable; the Enlightenment had little, if anything to do with it. The balance of the first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the levels of proof required for the use of torture, the limitations put upon its use, and the reasons for its application.

Chapter Two is a short but excellent discussion on the development of alternative penal sanctions other than death, such as involuntary servitude on galley ships, transportation for the purposes of indenture, and imprisonment. Langbein makes a very good argument that these penalties, along with the advent of prisons as a method of punishment, began the early movements to stop the use of death as a penalty, what he calls, "blood sanctions" (p. 27). He admits

that much of the reasoning for ending the death penalties does not equal modern reform penology, but this was an important first step.

The third chapter is the primary support for his thesis for the abolishment of torture. He develops the theory that once jurists had the ability to render sentences of less than death for even capital crimes, the old requirements of proof necessary under the Roman codes (for that death sentence), were no longer required. In short, torture was used to supply the levels of proof needed for conviction, so if a lower level of proof could still provide a conviction, then torture was no longer needed. And since torture was already disallowed for lesser crimes, the door was now open for the total abolition of the practice.

Langbein concludes the chapter with a discussion of the social and political changes that occurred from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment. He states that courts in the Middle Ages had resurrected the Roman laws (and torture) to supplant ordeals, a practice outlawed by the church in 1215 by the Fourth Lateran Council. In attempts to make torture and the new criminal procedure palatable to the general public, officials and jurists (often laymen) put rules and barriers around the use of torture that were to raise the certainty of proper conviction to the same level as had been provided by God's judgment in ordeals. The later rise of the absolutist state on the continent and the concurrent centralization of power produced a more professional judiciary, one that could be allowed greater use of judicial discretion than the lay practitioners in medieval courts.

The last chapter on Europe is a discussion of the final movement towards abolishment. Langbein repeats his earlier statement that the Enlightenment writers had no part; in fact, he calls this idea "a fairy tale" (p. 64), which has persisted to modern times. He discusses the various rulers that removed torture such as Maria Theresa and Louis XVI, and Frederick I who decreed that royal permission (which he apparently rarely granted), had to be given prior to any application of torture.

Langbein makes another point that is of particular relevance to readers with any criminological background: the use of torture or the threat of its use as a deterrent to criminogenic behavior. Classical criminological theory is based upon the idea that severe penalties deter persons from committing crime. Torture fits well into this theory. Jurists and rulers were concerned that if torture was no longer employed, their crime rates would increase. This belief had rulers giving the practice of abolishment a "litmus test" for the potential loss of the deterrent effect. They gave courts the approval to end torture, but gave it in secret. The public was not told of the change. When crime rates did not rise, the public was then informed.

The first chapter in the section on England is primarily a comparison of the English judicial system to those on the continent. Langbein points to the development of the common law as a fundamental difference, and also the use of a jury, as the stronger reasons for the lesser employment of torture in England. Despite claims by eminent persons such as Sir Edward Coke, England did use torture, but it did have a shorter history and a lesser level of use than on the continent. Langbein points to the fact that English "juries can convict...on less evidence than was required...for interrogation under torture on the continent" (p. 78). So then, England simply did not need torture for conviction.

The balance of the second section is a description of the instruments and methods of torture, a short discussion of several cases where torture was used, and why torture was employed: its purpose. Lastly, Langbein provides a list of warrants used in England for the years 1540-1640

that authorized torture. The list takes some 30 pages, and it offers little to enhance a reader's knowledge or understanding. This last chapter is the weakest in the work.

Although not very long, the work offers readers a clear and concise picture of the subject of torture as a method of interrogation. Langbein provides good detail and excellent descriptions of the legal and social contexts in which torture was employed. The work progresses in a logical fashion, though there is a slight break as he shifts from the first section on the continent to the section on England. His arguments for his main thesis are sound and presented very well. He makes it easy for the reader to follow along in his logic. In particular, he presents legalities and law—a convoluted topic even for students of law—in an eminently readable fashion. This work should be on the shelf for any student of legal history.

REBUTTAL

Rebuttal to Worley, R.M. (2007, Fall). [Review of the book *Raped by the state: Fractured justice—legal abuse*]. *Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice*, 4(2), 152-153.

Randall R. Chance, Author of *Raped by the State: Fractured Justice—Legal Abuse*

The primary purpose of my book was to expose the statewide corruption in the Texas Youth Commission (TYC) and explain how youth and employees are mismanaged and mistreated by administrators, whose corruption is covered up by top managers in the Austin headquarters, some who were also inept. The goal of writing the book was achieved; TYC is now under major reform, with most of the leadership forced to resign.

To accomplish my purpose, I used my military experience as a comparison to the awkward TYC methods of handling people in its care. Many of the harmful tactics used by TYC has enabled bad employees to physically and mentally abuse youth. Some administrative practices allow bad staff to get away with child abuse, be promoted, and even be covered for by top management. The stories about youth mistreatment and mismanagement in the book are true, and most of the corruption has been validated by investigative reporters with the *Dallas Morning News* (DMN) and the *Texas Monthly Magazine* (Doug Swanson—DMN, TYC investigative series—Feb 2007; Nate Blakeslee—*Texas Monthly*, ‘Hidden in Plain Sight’, Feb 23, 2007, page 15). Anyone who has kept track of the last year’s investigation of TYC can see that the book is true, and gross negligence by TYC management triggered the collapse of the once proud juvenile justice agency. I have no resentment towards the agency. I am proud of my tenure with TYC. I do resent the administrators and managers who allowed the commission to implode, since they were fully aware of serious infractions and failed to act on them. The Texas Youth Commission is a necessary state agency, it just needs in-depth reform. The leadership in the Texas Legislature appears to agree with me.

Investigators with the *Dallas News* and *Texas Monthly* interviewed me after reading my book, and before the February 2007 staff/youth sex scandal made national headlines. They understood that the abuse and corruption was statewide and later documented and validated most of the allegations I made in my book. *The Austin Statesman* (Mike Ward—March 28, 2007) and *Houston Chronicle* (R.G. Ratcliff—March 3, 2007) then became involved in their investigations of TYC.

Senator Juan Hinojosa used my book as a reference many times (Odessa American News, page 1, March 4, 2007). Senator Chris Harris questioned me about the book and five minutes later showed the book on live TV coverage of the legislative hearings. He held the book up and asked the TYC Board members if they were aware of the book and the allegations of mistreatment and mismanagement. The aide to Senator John Whitmire (Lawrence Coleman—March 21, 2007) asked me to appear before the Texas Senate Criminal Justice Committee and testify about my book and TYC. I was also requested to appear before the committee with the Texas Coalition Advocating Justice for Juveniles (TCAJJ) prior to the February 2007 TYC sex scan-

dal, with their director, Dr Juan Sanchez. The Texas ACLU director and current TYC Inspector General Will Harrell stated my book could be used as the platform to reform TYC, since there was little other documentation about the internal affairs that caused the collapse of the state agency and tarnished the criminal justice system (*Odessa American News*, page 1—March 4, 2007). The Associated Press (Lisa Sandberg—March 3, 2007), *New York Times* (Ralph Blumenthal—Feb 27, 2007), and many other media agencies contacted me about my book and problems in TYC. *The Charles Press* (Brad Fisher/Sept 2003) stated the book was a well-documented, intriguing chronicle of state mismanagement that needed public attention. *The Dallas News* stated the book was “remarkable” (Doug Swanson—September 2006). I received many compliments about the book and numerous employees stated: “It’s time the truth about TYC comes out.”

I was wrong to assume that my publisher would edit the book prior to publication. They did not, and I learned the hard way that I should have paid several hundred dollars more to have a professional team, provided by the publisher, review the book.

I used several different situations, not directly related to child abuse, to show the overall TYC culture and how it contributed to youth abuse and mismanagement of state resources. One example of tunnel vision and closed mindedness in TYC—a youth with his shorts worn too low gets a hearing and his sentence extended for six months, losing six months of his precious life. The business manager’s policy was to not provide monthly calendars to employees, unless they had one last year. There is no open-minded awareness of the big picture by many TYC administrators. How would new employees or those who changed positions get calendars? This was just another example of the poor methods and twisted attitudes used to manage TYC. I also wrote about several administrators’ conduct to show how their posture and performance directly affected employees, and in turn affected the youth that they all supervised. The information provided was to describe individuals, but not to injure them personally. The biggest behavior and control problems in TYC are created by administrators who allow employees to violate policy and cause harm to youth. This condition spreads, as it did into all the TYC state-wide programs. Employees can be held to task, if competent administrators supervise them. It has been proven by the mass forced resignations of administrators that this is true. I indicated in the book that at times the environment was so soiled that one had to have a sense of humor to survive. I did add a couple of funny comments to give a slight break to the stressful situations. Perhaps the reviewer could not make the connection to the big picture.

I have sat in hundreds of meetings over a twenty-year period with TYC administrators and top managers. We discussed problem areas that reached the entire state. I have proposed, along with other employees, methods to correct problem areas, only to be met with a condescending smile and side shake of the head by senior management. These people had their own agenda of running TYC, and even cases of child abuse, lack of background checks of employees, misuse of isolation and physical restraints went uncorrected for years. Hundreds and, yes, thousands of youth have been victimized by their mistreatment in TYC over the years. We all know that youth are committed to TYC for infractions on their part, but many are committed through plea-bargaining with little evidence and by scaring the youth and family and should not be in TYC. Sometimes youth are criminals, but many times the youth become the victims in TYC. The same can be said of TYC employees. There are good employees, but there are also many bad staff; child predators are hired, promoted and protected by top TYC management. This has

all been proven through separate investigations over the last year, which has vindicated my book.

One specific problem is youth recidivism. We (employees from all over the state) have discussed the youth return rate and lack of youth treatment, with top managers many times. Some youth have returned to TYC five and six times because they received no treatment for their problems. Some youth declare they are innocent, yet are forced to say they committed an offense. This then, invalidates their appeal process, since they admitted to the crime. Top management knows all this, yet they state that the “re-socialization program works,” and they refuse to adapt the program, while more and more youth suffer unjust punishment and illegal confinement. This also has been validated through separate investigative sources. Top TYC managers were aware of many similar problems, yet refused to take action to correct the breakdown in criminal justice in the agency. I can’t state that this is a planned TYC activity to ensure a future flow of returning youth, but in actuality, this is what occurs. There is a constant flow of released youth back into TYC because they are released without proper treatment, they are not prepared to return to their family or community, and basically set up to fail. It undermines the basic criminal justice theory.

I was criticized for saying confined youth are vicious at times, but then I stated they were victims of the system. Well, that’s true. The majority of TYC youth are typical teenagers. Most committed minor crimes, yet some are murders. When they come to TYC and are manipulated and abused by employees and the TYC system, they become victims. Youth are sent to TYC as punishment for their crimes, and the system should provide treatment and help the youth reform, but the system only refines their criminal minds. There is no contradiction here, unless the reviewer does not understand how the system actually works on a daily basis. Youth who witness daily criminal conduct by employees and administrators learn that behavior. The book is full of examples.

I have reported numerous situations involving youth abuse and mismanagement to senior TYC officials, starting with my boss, his boss, and the executive director at the time. The senior inspector general was made aware of many cases of abuse, cover-up, and inappropriate disciplinary actions. Little was done to correct the abuses. I was looked upon by them as a troublemaker. If you bring a problem to TYC management, you become the problem. I contacted the TYC Board. I contacted the governor and attorney general. I contacted senator Whitmire. These top state leaders communicated about my accusations and dismissed them. This has been proven by the Dallas and Houston News through the open records act, which showed my communications to them (DMN TYC Investigative series—2007).

After I completed a twenty-one-year career in the military, I felt qualified to run the new “boot camp” in Sheffield, Texas. My background was in law enforcement and corrections, working with young people, and I had a Bachelors Degree in Criminal justice with a Masters Degree in Public/Police Administration. An administrator with only three years’ experience in the National Guard was selected for the job. He is related to top management and of the same race. I grieved the decision and was told he was more qualified. I attempted two similar positions and received the same response. It has been proven how complaints were handled in TYC by other sources. They manipulate, promote their own, and provide no appeal from their decisions. My appeals went to the manager who made the original selection. Was this justice at work? Many other employees have experienced similar situations.

I indicated that some superintendents were criminally minded. I personally knew of things that some of them were involved in, and how it involved abuse to youth. My accusations were proven true by other sources. Several superintendents have been relieved and forced to resign. Some were involved in abuse and mismanagement years ago and were protected until the scandal broke. Lets be real, this didn't just all happen the last year. It's been going on for several years—senior administrators taking youth off, alone for unknown reasons, for extended periods. Youth and employees have shared sex for years, in many different situations. Drugs have been available for youth in institutions for years. Youth have been unlawfully detained in TYC for years. Medical care for youth has been deficient for years. Youth have been set up, physically restrained with serious injury, and some deaths have occurred for several years. Most of these events take place under questionable circumstances and are kept quiet. The complaints from youth and employees have been manipulated for years. Many superintendents and their superiors knew about all this and were an active part of the mismanagement. It's all part of their culture and no one can interfere with it; these people are in charge, and no one can alter their behavior. They feel protected, and they have been protected, until recently when the scandal made public attention. Lawsuits are pending where youths' civil rights were violated.

I mentioned a situation about staff using drugs prescribed for youth. This was a true case and not just a single case. Two nurses were found to have substituted many medications for youth with unknown drugs. The youths' medication containers were found in the off campus nurses houses. It was never determined how many youth were affected or what the youth were actually given to replace their medications. Later investigations proved the entire TYC medical program statewide was lacking and in need of reform.

There have been many cases of staff having sex with confined youth, male and female, some consensual and some forced. The typical TYC management action is to have the employee resign. Those staff can then go to another institution, and since background checks were usually not completed, they are rehired, with past TYC experience! This occurs quiet often and has also been verified by other media. When females are sexually abused, it is TYC policy to provide the girl with the "morning after pill." This protects the girl and TYC from possible lawsuits. This policy appears to be well thought out by senior management.

After I realized how far-reaching the gross negligence was in the upper and top management in TYC, I decided to not attempt to move up further but concentrate on my work as an inspector general and document the vast corruption.

My style of writing may be different from others, however the information in the book does provide the reader with details of why the TYC debacle occurred. Widespread youth abuse, widespread employee misuse, and the overall mismanagement of TYC by top management was reported but ignored and allowed to spread even farther with seeming approval of the abuses by legislative leaders, who also failed to react when they became aware of the vast corruption. This has also been verified by the Dallas-Houston news media. *The Texas Monthly* still is demanding to know which state legislative officials knew what, and when, and why they failed to act back in 2004 when I reported abuses to them prior to the big sex scandal of 2007 (N.Blakeslee—"Sins of the Commission," May 2007, page 151).

I can't say that my work is scholarly; however, it is true and has been a platform that helped reform the TYC and should cause other changes to the criminal justice system.

I have received numerous favorable comments about the book and been congratulated for having the courage to bring out all the mismanagement and mistreatment by state officials. Allison Brock, aide to a state representative, stated she would give me a million dollars if she could for writing the book and pursuing issues to cause the reform to the juvenile justice system (*Odessa American News*, page 1—March 4, 2007). The book also brought encouraging comments from such national media as FOX News. Geraldo Rivera of “Geraldo at Large” set up a live on-air interview on April 14, 2007, about the book. He admired my courage and was extremely upset that “youth are raped by the state.” AMAZON Books lists my book with a four-star rating. I have been asked by major law firms to act as an expert witness and consultant in their pending lawsuits involving TYC.

It appears that many other people, including state and national media, approved and endorsed my book, even though the current writer of the book review is displeased with it. I welcome the professor’s review and thank him for his comments, even though his review seems biased, short-sighted, and unfair.