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THE FUNCTION OF THE MEDIA IN COMMUNITY POLICING

By

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ABSTRACT

THE FUNCTION OF THE MEDIA IN COMMUNITY POLICING

By

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While media were identified by Robert Trojanowicz as one of the "Big Six" necessary for successful implementation and maintenance of community policing initiatives, the exact function of the media in community policing been unexplored and untested. The purpose of this research was to examine the nature of media's function, per se, and to identify the news production processes and police-media relationships (micro and macro-levels) inherent in the media's involvement in community policing.

Given the paucity of research related to the function of media in community policing, the interdisciplinary nature attached to examining law enforcement and media organizations, and the sociological underpinnings which surround such an inquiry, a case study approach was chosen to examine the research topic. The Lansing Police Department and the *Lansing State Journal* were chosen as research organizations. During the 1989 to 1993 time frame of this study, Lansing Police Department enjoyed a national reputation as a model community policing agency practicing the *Trojanowicz Paradigm* and the *State Journal* was the city's only daily paper.

This case study was comprised of several qualitative components: field observation at the *Lansing State Journal*, interviews of community police, public

information, and other Lansing Police Department officers, interviews of *Lansing State Journal* police beat and other reporters, and a five-year, chronological content analysis of police-related newspaper articles. An interdisciplinary literature review – including expressions of media's function as specified in government and community policing literature, the historical evolution of media function from a journalistic perspective, civic journalism, and a discussion of Ericson, Baranak, and Chan's paradigm research related to the police and news production – provided a framework for this research.

Several significant findings related to reporting, news production, and media function emerged from the data and portend interest for law enforcement. First, police-related reporting became significantly more positive after the implementation of community policing in Lansing. This finding remained significant in spite of an increased amount of violent crime reporting. Second, newspaper articles related to community policing were not written by police beat reporters. Community policing coverage was realized via "feature" and "metro" reporters who developed stories about Lansing neighborhoods. Third, police in failed to educate the media about community policing which, in turn, hindered the media from educating the public.

In terms of producing news, conflict between individual officers and reporters was superseded by the news production process. This conflict, which often hindered the gathering of information was circumvented by reporters who accessed alternative sources when police "gates" were closed. This fact is reflective of the media's main function in community policing – providing news.

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Dedicated to Pat and Boone Vogl
Thanks for never changing the locks.
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Dr. Bruce Benson, Director and Police Chief of Michigan State University's Department of Police and Public Safety, is next to be showered. Thank you for enthusiastically accepting the responsibility of serving as my Dissertation Chair when Bob (Dr. Robert Trojanowicz) unexpectedly passed away.

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Very special thanks to Lansing Police Department's first Community Police Officer, Dan Christian, and to its first Community Police Sergeant, Randy Gross.

While you have both advanced in your professions, the positive impact of your efforts remains.

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Lansing State Journal / TIM JONES

Officer Christy's neighborhood

(*Lansing State Journal,* September 4, 1990, p. 1D)

INTRODUCTION

As practitioners and academics move beyond debating such topics as community policing's definition, the organizational strategies and cultural shifts necessary for successful community policing implementation, and sources of resistance to community policing and the mechanisms to overcome it, attention turns to the, heretofore, unexamined aspects of the community-oriented era.[1] One such aspect is the function of the media in the community policing movement.

Given the paucity of previous research related to the function of the media in community policing, the interdisciplinary nature attached to examining law enforcement and media organizations, and the sociological underpinnings which surround such an inquiry, a case study approach was chosen to examine the research topic. While a case study methodology narrows the research focus to one law enforcement agency and one mass medium, it allows for a comprehensive and multi-perspective examination which enriches the overall knowledge base - much like the Flint, Michigan and Newport News, Virginia foot patrol projects and resulting case studies served to enrich our understanding of community policing.

In order to study media's function within the confines of a specific community

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[1] Per Kelling & Moore, 1988

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policing initiative, the City of Lansing, Michigan Police Department (Lansing Police Department or LPD) and the *Lansing State Journal*[2] (the *Journal* or *LSJ*) were chosen as the research organizations. During the 1989 to 1993 time frame of this study, Lansing Police Department was practicing community policing in its purest sense and enjoyed a national reputation as a model community policing agency. These two factors were expected to greatly enhance the research and provide a robustness to the qualitative findings.

Unlike some other Capitol cities in the United States, Lansing is served by one daily newspaper, the *Lansing State Journal*. This determinant was expected to further enhance the "purity" of the research as a city served by two newspapers brings with it the aspect of competition. Competing newspapers would muddy the reporting waters making it difficult to verify "normal" day-to-day police coverage from competition-based police coverage. This same competitive reasoning underlies the choosing of a newspaper medium for research as opposed to an electronic medium such as television or radio. Lansing is served by more than one television and radio station.[3]

This case study research is comprised of several qualitative components: historical analysis of *Lansing State Journal* police-related articles prior to the research time frame, field observation at the *Lansing State Journal*, interviews of community police officers, public information officers, and other LPD officials, interviews of *LSJ* police beat and other reporters, and a five-year, chronological analysis of police

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[2] Use of italics is an intentional deviation from APA Style for aesthetic purposes and has been approved by the researcher's dissertation committee.
[3] Refer to Appendix A for a complete listing of all media serving Lansing, Michigan.

related newspaper articles. These methods are presented in detailed fashion in Chapter Four.

Chapter One, following most immediately, develops a framework of background material related to the research topic, including police-media relations, expressions of media's function as specified in government and community policing literature, and a review of existing research related to media in community policing. Chapter Two presents a detailed literature review related to media function from a journalistic perspective, the organizational factors impacting the interrelationships between law enforcement and media in general, and a discussion of how newspaper organizations produce police-related news. Organizational information and respective organizational histories for the Lansing Police Department and the *Lansing State Journal* are detailed within Chapter Three, followed by a presentation of methods and research questions in Chapter Four. Research findings are noted in Chapter Five with a discussion of the findings presented in Chapter Six – including recommendations for practical application of the research findings by other police agencies and newspaper organizations and suggestions for additional research.

CHAPTER 1

Background to the Study

Statement of the Problem

Identified by the late Robert Trojanowicz as one of the *Big Six*[4] necessary for successful implementation and maintenance of community policing initiatives, the exact function of the media in community policing remains largely unexplored and untested. This research is aimed at filling this void in community policing knowledge.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this work is to examine the nature of media's function, per se. Developed within an exploratory schema (per Babbie & Maxfield, 1994), its intent is to examine, describe and further the dialog related to the nature, influences and dynamics of media's function in community policing.

As exploratory research, its purpose is two-fold. First, is the goal of furthering knowledge related to the media's function in community policing in a broad or global sense. This purpose is fulfilled by examining government, law enforcement, media,

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[4] Police, community, elected civic officials, the business community, and other social service agencies comprise the remainder of the Big Six.

and sociological literature and by analyzing contemporary field data related to media and community policing.

The second and primary focus of this exploratory research, a case study of media's function in the City of Lansing Police Department's community policing efforts, is meant to distinctly identify the function/s served by the *Lansing State Journal*; to determine if coverage provided by the *Journal* was actively solicited by the police department or whether such coverage occurred "naturally" within historically accepted and developed journalism paradigms; and to determine whether police-related coverage changed over time, i.e., pre and post community policing's implementation in Lansing, Michigan.

Importance of the Study

While authors of past case studies have sometimes examined the degree of favorability with which community officers were portrayed in various media, none have examined media function, *per se*. Further, community policing literature (to date) make assumptions pertaining to media's function without substantial, supportive empirical evidence. Much anecdotal, field evidence also exists, which strongly suggests media serve a function. However, the function is still assumed and under-explored.

This research is the first empirical critique of media's function in community policing that is comprehensive in focus and which truly examines media function, *per se*. Rather than reiterating assumed functions of media involvement present in

government, law enforcement, and community policing literature, it utilizes those views, coupled with sociological perspectives, as conceptual frameworks to identify specific function/s actually fulfilled by media involvement in community policing.

Rather than examining media's function from an outside-the-media perspective, thereby rehashing assumptive views, it contrasts law enforcement's perspective of media function with time-honored and historically developed journalism paradigms. To date, no such contrast has been attempted.

Rather than relying on easily operationalized aspects of media function in community policing (for instance, publicizing the dates and times of upcoming meetings), the researcher digs deeper in an attempt to determine whether media attention and coverage were actively solicited by the Lansing Police Department or passively realized via media's inherently accepted functions and marketing strategies.

The outcome of this case will study better inform and provide practical guidelines to other law enforcement agencies wishing to involve the media in their community policing efforts, as well as suggests reasons why some active efforts to involve the media have failed.

Description of Terms

Any discussion of the media is fraught with definition problems and to the uninformed, words like media and mass media conjure up stereotypical perceptions, many often negative in nature, that bring to mind visions of a massive "lump" of vulturous entities. Distinctions and definitions are in order. Within the confines of

this research and unless expressly noted otherwise, the following media and law enforcement definitions apply.

Community policing: Much literature has been devoted to the definition of community policing. This research is based on the *Trojanowicz Paradigm* which defines community policing as "a philosophy of full service, personalized policing, where the same officer patrols and works in the same area on a permanent basis, from a decentralized place, working in a proactive partnership with the citizens to identify and solve problems' (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1994, p. 3). It is also important to note that community policing "allows the police and community residents to work closely together in new ways to solve the problems of crime, fear of crime, physical and social disorder and neighborhood decay" (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990, p. xiii). This style of police service delivery has also been referred to as community-oriented policing and neighborhood-oriented policing.

Community Policing Officer/CPO: These terms are interchangeable titles which apply to those police officers who were assigned to the Community Policing Unit at Lansing Police Department. The general title for non-CPO officers at LPD was District Officer, which was also commonly referred to as patrol officer. CPOs who were non-supervisory (supervisory defined as Sergeant level and above) were by default also patrol officers. To further complicate matters, Community Policing Officers were often tagged with informal monikers like Neighborhood Officer, Beat Officer, and Foot Patrol Officer. Within this study these terms should be considered synonymous and interchangeable. Refer also to the term *foot patrol,* below.

Foot Patrol: Foot patrol is a tactic or strategy of community policing philosophy. The terms are not synonymous. For example, a police agency might utilize foot patrol without practicing community policing philosophy and, conversely, a department might practice community policing philosophy without utilizing foot patrol. Operationalized, foot patrol entails an officer walking a beat area as opposed to randomly patrolling the area in a patrol car. Ziembo-Vogl and Woods (1996) found that the majority of departments that claimed to practice community policing philosophy utilized a combination of patrol styles: foot patrol and patrol car, patrol car and bike patrol, and bike patrol and foot patrol. While practitioners and researchers correctly distinguished between foot patrol and community policing, during the time frame of this study the terms were often and mistakenly used interchangeably by media in the United States.

Function: The term function as it is used throughout this work refers to the aspect of *purpose* as opposed to the *role* of the press. While this may seem a subtle distinction, infinite literature exists concerning the role of the press in a myriad of topic areas, such as the role of the press in the Rodney King incident, the role of the press in a particular political campaign, *ad infinitum.* Function can be intended, such as the historically evolved functions recognized by the press – providing news and information, for instance, or function can be unintended, such as identified in non-press literature – as a means social control and eliciting support for government programs.

Info-tainment: Info-tainment refers to "the exploitation of crime news in tabloid-style 'info-tainment' television programs that mix news and entertainment formats. These shows entertain by sensationalizing stories about crime and justice" (Surette, 1992, p 67).

Journalism: Journalism has a broad and a specific meaning. Broadly journalism may relate to all news media. Unless otherwise specified, within this work, journalism specifically refers to newspapers.

Mass media: Mass media is a broad term denoting, in keeping with Surette's (1992) definition, any communication medium that is easily, cheaply, and simultaneously accessible to a large segment of the population. Media are next differentiated by the categories print and electronic. Print forms of mass media are primarily comprised of newspapers, books, and magazines. Electronic forms of mass media are primarily comprised of radio, television, motion pictures, and videos. Media are further delineated by placement into the categories of news media and entertainment media. Again, in broadest terms, news media would include newspapers and news magazines. Entertainment media would include radio, television, movies and videos. Obviously, there is much overlap since newspapers, news magazines, and books may also entertain and radio and television include news programs. Refer also the term "info-tainment" defined above.

Media: This term is used interchangeably with mass media.

Media confusion: The element of *media confusion* is defined by this writer as the failure of police to distinguish between various media or the reporters of various

media. Failure to distinguish between media and reporters results in the false attribution of blame and effect and inhibits the working relationship between police and media.

News: Hodgson cites Norwegian sociologists Galtung and Ruge's much quoted definition: "news (defined as) a crisis[5] of variable intensity which is assessed by factors of 'personalization' or 'cultural proximity'" (1993, p.9). News can also be defined in terms of Gatekeeper Theory: "news consists of those events specified by a news gatekeeper, who is the executive strategically placed on a newspaper to decide from the varied input of material, what is news in terms of the paper's requirements" (p. 9). Hodgson takes a broader view of news by citing Boorstin: "news is anything that makes a reader say gee whiz" (p. 9). And, finally taking a dictionary approach, news is defined as "tidings, new information, (and) fresh events reported." As Hodgson relates, this "demonstrates the fallacy of most definitions: that they confuse the event with the report of the event" (p. 9). Cote' takes issue with Hodgson and cites that "an event cannot become news till it's reported" (personal communication, June 5, 1998).

News hole: Per McManus and succinctly put, news hole is the "space allotted to news" (1994, P. 185). Huelteng provides particulars by defining news hole as "that space left after advertising, comics, and special interest features such as crossword puzzles and bridge columns are accounted for. Into this space reporters and editors

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[5] In discussion with Dr. William Cote', of Michigan State University's School of Journalism, the aspect of "crisis" mentioned by Galtung and Ruge is often not the case in day to day newspaper practice (June 5, 1998).

fit watchtower news from all quarters of the compass, including news of sports, business, and community activities, such as announcements of meetings, weddings, births, and deaths" (1979, P. 86).

Op-Ed: Op-Ed simply means opinion writings. According to Johnston, "op-eds may be penned by ordinary people or public figures" (1979, p. 15).

Police confusion: Just as police fail to distinguish between media and reporters, reporters fail to distinguish between police agencies and officers of the various police agencies. This phenomenon has been termed police confusion by the writer. Failure to make such distinctions results in false attribution of blame and effect and inhibits the working relationship between media and police.

Press: Like the term journalism, press has broad and specific meanings. In a broad sense, the term refers to all media – particularly news media. More specific in focus, press refers to print media, most particularly to newspapers. Unless specified otherwise, within this work the use of the term press refers to and is interchangeable with newspapers.

Reporters/Journalists: Another instance of broad and specific meaning is evident when examining the terms reporter and journalist. Historically, the term reporter referred to print media, most particularly to newspapers. More currently[6] the term journalist seems the accepted moniker but again in broad terms. Today, a reporter or

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[6] According to this writer's field research, the term reporter was used up until about 1987. At this time the use of the terms reporter and journalist overlapped for the next several years. By 1993 or 1994 the journalist title prevailed and is perceived by some to be the more professional term. According to personal communication with Dr. William Cote´ of Michigan State University's School of Journalism, the term reporter is still normally used within the newspaper field.

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journalist may be affiliated with print or electronic media – news or entertainment formats. The terms have come to be used interchangeably and often are preceded by descriptive adjectives such as "news" or "entertainment" – thus, news reporter or news journalist and entertainment reporter or entertainment journalist. Any use of the term journalist within this work refers to the newspaper industry.

Conceptual Framework

The format of this exploration begins with a general discussion of the police-media relationship and examines historical documentation pertaining to how police have viewed the role and function of the media in law enforcement. Along the way, the police view is contrasted with the journalistic perspective – or – media's own view of its function (A full, historical development of media function is addressed in Chapter Two.). Discussion then turns to the media's function as it has been expressed in community policing literature followed by evaluations (to date) of media involvement in community policing efforts.

General Overview of Police and Media Relations

The comments of an anonymous police reporter perhaps describe police and media relations best, "You know, it's not a perfect relationship and I'll be the first to tell you…the media's not perfect either."[7] While the police reporter's statement sums

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[7] Anonymous statement from a newspaper reporter, taken from *Police & the Press From a Criminal Justice Perspective*, an unpublished report by Ziembo-Vogl (1996).

up the issue well, conflict is the *accepted* paradigm of police and media relations.[8] Such is the message proffered by Miller and Hess (1994), Garner (1989, 1988, 1987, 1984), Lovell (1993), Kelly (1992, 1987), Ericson, Baranek, and Chan (1991, 1989), Mozee (1987), Parrish (1993), Scuro (1985), Shelton (1982), Guffey (1992), and still others.

Accepted is a key and problematic term. Practitioners and academics, alike, accept police-media conflict as a given. This acceptance may be a catalyst generating increased divisiveness. Few empirical studies have been performed to actually measure the *amount* of conflict between the two entities.

Studies that have been performed use another problematic term, "media." Use of this all-encompassing label serves to lump all media together. What is the extent of police-press conflict? The extent of police-television conflict? Police-radio conflict? Is conflict the artifact of sensationalistic news coverage or of unrealistic police portrayals within entertainment media? Readers should be cautioned that the present discussion serves only to indicate the actual amounts of conflict between police and various media are largely unknown.

Frank provides a detailed justification for conflict in the police-media working relationship, citing various factors from portrayal of crime news to misunderstandings of each other's roles in society (1994). Franks cites a small perceptual study of 25 police chiefs who indicated they viewed media relations as important, but this study ignored *actual* conflict measures. Others who discuss conflict cite this same study, such as Guffey (1992). Guffey also refers to another perceptual piece by Altschull

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[8] Media, in this instance used in a broad sense not specific to any one medium.

(1975). Altschull's work was limited in that it only examined officers', reporters', and citizens' perceptions and beliefs.

Also appearing in the literature was a 1976 study commonly referred to as the "Chiefs Survey" conducted by Hawthorne. Hawthorne's study examined police chiefs' attitudes toward the press (a study which did distinguish between media) and indicated that 35% of police chiefs expressed "friendly" attitudes about relations with the press. Singletary and Stull took Hawthorne's work a step further by examining whether police chiefs actually differentiate between media in their criticisms. Their study measured attitudes (positive and negative) and "feelings." Singletary and Stull found 89.4% of chiefs perceived their relationships with newspaper personnel as friendly or very friendly (1980, p. 657).

Perhaps the anonymous reporter does really sum it up best, "It's not a perfect relationship." Regardless of the extent of real or perceived conflict present in police-media relations, the factor of conflict is an issue that needs to be aired when discussing any type of police interaction with the media. Specific to the topic of media's function in community policing, the question becomes, to what extent do proponents expect media to *willingly* participate in community policing initiatives? While this question is developed further in a later section of this chapter, attention is presently directed to how government has historically viewed the role of the media in law enforcement.

The Government's View of Media and Police

In the 1967 report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, titled, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, the only references to media were made in relationship to the court system and the prevention of media abuses. Within its comments the commission recognized the constitutionally protected conflict between media and the criminal justice system (see also Miler & Hess, 1994, and Surette, 1992). That the commission couched media relations in terms of the court system followed rather naturally as a result of two recent cases of the times, *Sheppard v. Maxwell*[9] and *Estes v. Texas.*[10] Both cases involved excessive media presence at the trial stage of the justice process. In its report, the Commission highlighted the sacredly held "watchdog" function of the media which is Constitutionally protected:[11]

> Newspaper, television, and radio reporting are essential to the administration of justice. Reporting maintains the public knowledge, review, and support so necessary for the proper functioning of the courts. Critical inquiry and reports by the media...can prevent abuses and promote improvements in the administration of justice. The Commission recognizes that the guarantees of both a free press and fair trial must be scrupulously preserved and that, indeed, each sustains the other in a most fundamental sense. (1967, p. 137)

More specific to law enforcement, the Commission recommended the institution of standards pertaining to "the kinds of information that may properly be released to news media about pending criminal cases by police officers, prosecutors,

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[9] *Sheppard v. Maxwell*, 384 U.S. 333 (1966).
[10] *Estes v. Texas*, 381 U.S. 532 (1965).
[11] For a full discussion of this function see Gleason's (1990) *The Watchdog Concept - The Press and the Courts in Nineteenth-Century America.*

and defense counsel" (p. 138).

In its related *Task Force Report: THE POLICE*, also in 1967, slight but prescient mention was made of media and police interaction. First, the *Task Force Report* called for "establishing communication with the inarticulate segments of the community[12] and the need for police to be informed about what is bothering residents of an area" (p. 34). "Information programs and long-term education of the public" were recommended via "honest and free dialog between police and the public" (p. 159). Next, and almost in passing, the *Task Force* identified that "...to the extent that the police department is genuinely working at improved community relations, dissemination of this information to the press and other media does have a positive effect on community relations" (p. 159). This afterthought, perhaps, closely reflects the present police view of media's function in law enforcement, that of information dissemination – a function which has carried over into the community-oriented era, to be further discussed below.

In 1973, several reports by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 further developed the government/police version of media function. These three reports were: *Community Crime Prevention, A National Strategy to Reduce Crime,* and *Police.*

In *Community Crime Prevention,* the Commission noted "A public that is well informed about the policies of government and the actions of officials has the

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[12] Defined in the *Task Force Report* as minority members of society.

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knowledge it needs to decide whether to extend or withhold support for policies and officials" (p. 43). Mentioning that some news items, especially those appearing in "times of crisis," were "inadequate" and an "unreliable basis for making judgments about government policies and integrity of government officials" the Commission suggested increased use of the media for disseminating information. Specifically, recommended were: regular radio and television coverage of official meetings and hearings; cable television access; the appointment of a public media commission "to advise the government on (the) most effective ways of presenting issues to the public through broadcasting;" and the formulation of drug education programming (p. 44).

Interesting to note at this point, is that media coverage is actively associated with generating support for government policies and actions. Surette (1992) also mentions this media effect (note the term *effect*, not media *function*) citing Bortner (1984) and Lichter (1988). According to Surette, "broader media-influenced perceptions combine with previous attitudes and experiences to influence the public agenda with regard to crime control, which in turn translates into increased support from both the public and policy maker for particular policies" (1992, p. 103).

Within *A National Strategy to Reduce Crime*, the Commission affirmed its earlier active views by stating that "before community involvement in governmental processes can become a reality, community members must be able to obtain information on which government decisions and programs are based...one way to do this is via the media" (p. 49). This statement has special community policing implications if viewed in light of Critical Social Theory as presented by Trojanowicz

(1994). This theory espouses that community members must first be 'enlightened' about the local conditions and potential solutions before they can become "empowered" to address existing problems in the community. Further, unlike the 1967 *Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, in *A National Strategy to Reduce Crime* the National Advisory Commission viewed the police-media relationship "in a democratic society as being characterized by complementary interests...the news media have a legitimate need for information about police activities and they offer an excellent channel for informing the public about the nature of police tasks and problems" (p. 75). Not only does this confirm the dissemination of information function of the media, this statement portends community policing's view of media's function.

The Commission's report, *Police*, noted the important role of news media and the need for police agencies to be open in their relations with the media. Aside from responding to media inquiries for information, the Commission recommended the "promotion of aggressive policies of presenting public information" (p. 44). Among specific recommendations were: "the right of the press to obtain information for public dissemination; law enforcement's responsibility for responding to and seeking the cooperation of the media; the establishing of Public Information Officers (PIOs) within police agencies; and written policy related to police-media relations during unusual circumstances" (p. 44). As in *A National Strategy to Reduce Crime*, this report also defined the police-media relationship as complementary rather than conflicting, a relationship different than that characterized in some of the current literature.[13]

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[13] See Mozee, 1987, for instance.

Four years later, Goldstein, in *Policing in a Free Society*, was to reiterate earlier views of the police-media relationship. Identifying the media as one external force impacting police, Goldstein wrote, "the media – radio, television, and the press – exert enormous influence over the form and quality of police service" (1977, p. 316). Further, Goldstein described police dependency upon the media for generating public perceptions of the police and the "importance and complexity of the police operations" (p. 317). Two important points are made by Goldstein: first, media must be aware of the importance and complexity of police operations – otherwise they hinder change; second, media do not realize how powerful an external force they are in their ability to promote change in police practices (p. 317). Whether media understand the complexity of police operations, most notably the complexities of community policing, is still open to debate.

Contrasting the Sociological Perspective

In contrast to the National Advisory Commission's active association of media coverage with generation of support for policy, many have examined the underlying sociological framework which forms a more passive foundation for media-generated support. Quinney referred to this as the social reality of crime and posited that we construct this reality via "the formation and application of criminal definitions, the development of behavior patterns to criminal definitions, and the construction of criminal conceptions which are conceptions of crime constructed and diffused in the segments of society by various means of communication" (1970, pp. 15-23). Media,

as a primary form of mass communication, wield pervasive and diffusive influence on individuals' attitudes toward "conceptions of crime" (per Quinney) and the criminal justice system as a whole. In that Quinney posited the construction of criminal conceptions as one formative element of social reality of crime, the mass media role is a powerful one.

Building further and analyzed in semiotic fashion, the work of Ericson, Baranek, and Chan (1987, 1989, 1991) examined the news media as a primary source of social control, thus, resulting in a functionalist perspective of news media effect. Such control results in knowledge and socially constructing reality through defining what constitutes morality (or "deviance") in society. While the authors' framework and discussion would seem to suggest the writings of Manning (1987) who discussed the pragmatic aspect of semiotics, they seem to advance views more in keeping with Merton's thoughts on intended and latent (unintended) functions.[14] More recently, Manning (1996) explored the intensifying relationship between media-generated images of 'reality' and politics (including change, i.e., policy).

Whether the ability of media to promote change occurs in an active fashion, as suggested by government reports and by Goldstein, or via a passive rout proffered by the sociological perspectives of Quinney, Manning, Ericson et al., the more encompassing question proposed in this research is the *function* of the media.

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[14] Although not within the scope of the present inquiry, this writer would suggest that "visualizing deviance" and maintaining social control are latent rather than intended functions. What is absent from Ericson et al.'s examination is an understanding of the etiology of news media function from the perspective of the discipline actually performing the function.

Advancing toward the community policing movement, the trek's next vantage point is crime prevention/community relations in law enforcement.

Media and the Crime Prevention/Police Community Relations Movement

The crime prevention movement "became important during the late 1960s" and was "used by the police as a public relations tactic to improve their image in the community" (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993, p.74). Flowing from the recommendations of earlier government reports, police agencies also began to realize the value of the media's influence in building and reshaping their image. Over the next several years "crime prevention began to take on more of a community orientation as police departments began to institute such programs as blockwatch, which encouraged residents to become the eyes and ears of the police" (p. 74). Crime prevention was closely associated, and sometimes synonymous, with police-community relations efforts.

Gaines refers to police administrators, who in the late 1960s and with the aid of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) monies, launched the police-community relations movement which was designed to improve law enforcement-citizen relationships. "To improve their relations with the larger community, police agencies implemented programs ranging from store front operations to youth outdoor recreation programs[15] (1994, p. 20). How actively these same administrators pursued media assistance during implementation and maintenance of these programs is largely

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[15] We see the artifacts of both in current day, community policing initiatives.

unknown. However, Project PACE (Police and Community Enterprise) was one such program that recognized the value of media's influence in impacting change.

Project PACE,[16] in San Francisco, was implemented in 1969. Media referred to PACE as a "pilot program in race relations" and as a "community police plan."[17] PACE officials viewed "mass media changes" as one objective of their broader program designed to "...progressively and constructively induce and sustain socially desirable behavioral changes among police and citizens...the behavioral modifications expected include both verbal (i.e., attitude) and performance (i.e., action) dimensions" (Eisenbert, Fosen, & Glickman, 1971, p. 5). As such, media support – including newspaper, radio, and television formats – was actively pursued and utilized to benefit police efforts and to achieve the stated objectives of the program.

It is important to note that police-media relations took on heightened meaning during the *transition era* (the writer's terminology) between the Reform and Community-Oriented Eras as posited by Kelling and Moore (1988). This transition era, roughly during the 1960s and 1970s, was marked by prevailing, unstable, social conditions, racial unrest, federal steps to improve law enforcement, unexpected research findings regarding police reform strategies, and the crime prevention/police community relations movement. In *Four Decades of Policing in Chicago*, Nimocks highlighted aspects of this era's police-media relations: "...photographs taken during the disturbance that were circulated around the country and the world, of police officers grappling and fighting and using their batons to control demonstrators did

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[16] Funded by the Ford Foundation.

not make good press to say the least. We all know that this was a period of great

unrest around the country, for a lot of different reasons, and it was a time when

people began to distrust and challenge governmental authority of any kind" (Geller,

Goldstein, Nimocks, & Rodriguez, 1994, p. 7).

In 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and the

National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence were charged with

examining the urban riots of the 60s decade. Carter and Radelet summarized the

implications of the Commissions' findings:

> The implication was clear: law enforcement must establish an open dialogue
> with the community, deliver comprehensive services, and reexamine the
> traditional police organizational structure and processes. The civil unrest of
> that era suggested that the process was not keeping pace with social change.
> Policing had to adopt an approach which empathized with the community,
> took advantage of emerging technologies, and balanced these with traditional
> responsibilities.[18] (1994, p. 61)

At the threshold of community policing's doorstep, attention is now focused

on the express manner in which media's function has been described, specified, and

in some cases absent in community policing literature.

Media's Function as Described in Community Policing Literature

Following on the heels of evaluating Flint, Michigan's Foot Patrol Program, a

case study in which newspaper articles were content analyzed for their extent of

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[17] This is one of the earliest references to the phrase "community policing."

[18] In this statement we see evidenced the reasoning that supports the fact that community policing is not a replacement for traditional policing. Rather, community policing enhances and builds upon traditional practices.

favorable and non-favorable reporting on police,[19] Trojanowicz and Smyth (1984) published *A Manual for the Establishment and Operation of a Foot Patrol Program*. Within this manual, the authors acknowledged the influential power of the press[20] and recognized it as a relevant social system whose cooperation must be solicited prior to implementing a foot patrol program:

> It is particularly important to think of the press as one of the systems which should be contacted. Good press relations can generate energy and momentum for the foot patrol program, while bad press relations can damage morale and lessen the possibility of cooperation within the community. (1984, p. 6)

Later, when discussing the necessity of holding an initial city-wide meeting, Trojanowicz and Smyth refer to the need for educating the public about the "history of the foot patrol concept and how it might be modified to suit the unique needs of the community" (p. 8). While they did not openly charge the media with the direct dissemination of this information, this function was couched in the authors' stated view of media's role at this stage: that of spreading the word about this initial meeting in order to promote citizen participation:

> Prepare a press release emphasizing important facts. Get political leaders, prominent business leaders, and other prominent citizens to come to the press conference. Contact radio stations, newspapers, television stations – especially television stations. See if a local newspaper will do a feature story on the (foot patrol) proposal. (p. 9)

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[19] This analysis did not identify the function of the media as it related to Flint's Foot Patrol Program. Instead, it identified the extent of favorability toward police.
[20] While journalism and non-journalism literature is replete with interchangeable use of the terms press and media, Trojanowicz and Smyth's use of the term "press" suggests the newspaper medium. Later using the more inclusive term "mass media," the authors specify various formats (radio, television, newspapers).

Examination of Goldstein's (1990) work on the simultaneously evolving problem-oriented policing indicates no mention of the media. However, Hill, Stephens, Stedman, and Murphy's (1987) case-specific report on problem-solving policing in Newport News, Virginia does reference the media but in an indirect fashion. According to the authors' problem analysis guide, media are mentioned as one source of institutional response to a crime incident. Institutional responses are "actions of public and private agencies and organizations as a consequence of the incident" (p. 61). Further, officers practicing problem-solving were to consider in their analysis of a crime incident, the effects of the mass media as a responding agency. Such effects included: "effects of news coverage on public, victims, and offenders, sensationalism, copycat incidents, and willingness to cooperate with justice agencies" (p. 61).

Several years later, the function, *per se*, of the mass media in community policing was unaddressed in Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux's (1990) first community policing text. Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux referred to mass media's (all formats) impact or role in the changing definition of "community;" the socialization effects of violence depictions in the media; and mass media's role in reinforcing macho images of law enforcement officers. Also mentioned, was the evaluation of articles from "four area newspapers" during the Flint Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program (p. 181).

In the authors' second book (1994), media (electronic and print media are specified) were referred to as one of the Big Six necessary for successful implementation and maintenance of community policing initiatives. Along with

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reiterating, this time explicitly, earlier views pertaining to media's function in

publicizing the initial city-wide meeting, Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux now provided

precise media functions:

> ...The department should try to develop a working relationship with the media, so that they can assist in efforts to educate the public about what community policing is and what it can mean for the community. If nothing else, local media should be asked to help announce public meetings. Beyond that, the goal should be to identify one or more journalists whose work seems both thoughtful and responsible, and then approach them about doing a story on this great new concept called community policing – perhaps indicating how so many of their peers have missed the boat in educating the public about what this approach can achieve. (p. 24)

The Bureau of Justice Assistance, in its report *Neighborhood-Oriented Policing in*

Rural Communities, also mentioned that "every opportunity should be taken to

publicize NOP activities in the local news media. An initial press release and a press

conference would be appropriate" (1994, p. 54).

Reviewing community policing literature specific to the implementation phase

highlights the need for providing information to the public. Grinc is one of several

who presented the problem of lack of information made available to the public. He

cited a community leader who related that "few people in the city had any knowledge

of community policing" and argued that, "even as a well-informed activist, she was

unsure of what the police meant by 'partnership' and what the community's role was

in community policing" (1994, p. 455). Goldstein, in his earlier referenced work, did

mention the need for informing the community but, as Grinc pointed out, Goldstein

specified that "little attention has been given to the type of information provided to

the public or the most effective way of presenting the information" (p. 455).

Trojanowicz provided a lengthy discourse about the media's importance during the planning and implementation stages of community policing. In an unpublished handout (date unknown) used in community policing training sessions sponsored by the National Center for Community Policing, he referenced the conflict between police and media cautioning police chiefs against viewing "the press as the enemy" and noted the necessity of involving all forms of media in "educating the public about the good things that the department is doing" (p. 10).

Trojanowicz's practical guidelines included the need for chiefs to "make a concerted outreach to the press to tell them of the importance of their role in making the effort work" (p. 11). Trojanowicz was explicit in stating the role (in this case role equates to function) of the media in community policing efforts. However, the aspect of function/role was viewed and defined by a "media outsider." Recognizing the function that media played, especially at the implementation stage, Trojanowicz also seemed to realize that this function would need to be actively solicited. He provided advice about how to cultivate and properly "sell" the media without "manipulating" reporters: "Remember that reporters resent being manipulated, and they resist what they perceive as news management" (p. 11).

While Trojanowicz stressed the education (of the public) function of the media at the implementation stage, he also stressed the need for chiefs to first educate the media that "community policing means providing officers the opportunity to make mistakes" (p. 11). Trojanowicz, citing the need to ease tensions with the press, took a police-media conflict stance in his discussion and provided advice meant to

ward off potential problems which might occur between a "defensive police chief"

and local media should a community policing project "flop" (p. 11).

The function of the media at the implementation stage has also been addressed

in an internet monograph published by the Community Policing Consortium (1997).

Once again, the need for educating the media is highlighted: "Before implementing a

community policing strategy, the agency should communicate the concept of

community policing to its own personnel and to the community, including political

and business leaders and the media" (p. 10). Media function, as stated in this

monograph, takes on a marketing flavor:

> The media must be included early in the implementation process to market
> successfully the idea of community policing. Media involvement ensures a
> wide dissemination of the community policing message and encourages the
> media to stay involved in future community policing efforts; the media also
> will be less apt to "derail" if there is a bump in the crime statistics or if some
> community policing policies are less effective than hoped. If the budget
> allows, media consultants can be useful. The agency's internal media relations
> unit should thoroughly understand the chief executive's vision of community
> policing and communicate it clearly in news releases and interviews. All who
> are marketing the concept must be careful not to claim more for community
> policing than it can deliver (pp. 11-12).

Sparrow, in contrast, ignored the role of the media at the implementation

phase and focused, instead, on the police agency's value system and culture (1988).

Related to police culture and value system within a department, Dolan raised an

interesting aspect of media and community policing, that of media-induced internal

backlash. As Dolan stated, "police officers and supervisors embracing community

policing are seen by the community as heroes, and may become minor celebrities in

their assigned neighborhoods" (1994, p. 29). This can result in divisiveness within the department.

In contrast with the assumed, increased, media attention afforded community officers are concerns over ethical issues due to reduction of social isolation that some believe will promote corruption (Nelligan & Taylor, 1994). Those who have raised concerns over lack of accountability and the potential for corrupt behavior by community policing officers, strangely, have overlooked the impact of increased media attention assumed to be sought by departments promoting community policing and the historically inherent government "watchdog" function of the media (per Gleason, 1990). Friedmann (1990), Nelligan and Taylor (1994), Bracey (1992), Trojanowicz (1991), and Carter and Trojanowicz (1988) are among those overlooking the media's watchdog function. Instead, these authors focus upon increased accountability to community via police/community partnership. While this partnership may indeed result in a diminished problem with corrupt behavior among community officers, this factor and the function of the media related to officer accountability remain unexplored.

Friedmann looked at media involvement in community policing in yet a different light. He relates that televised media portrayals of police and police activities may actually hinder community policing initiatives because they send the message that crime is "better left to the police professional" (1992, p. 82). Conversely, Bolger suggests police should seek public support based upon those very same reasons (1983). Metchik and Winton cited the problem of media-enhanced images of police

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officers as being problematic for officer selection within community policing settings, again, due to media-reinforced, public perceptions of what a police officer is supposed to "look" like (1995).

Ross raised the issue of media propagation of community policing as a form of police-public relations: "promotion of community policing depends in part, on a series of factors related to the operation of mass media organizations. In general, media propagation and/or co-optation are important in the use of community policing as public relations. Of paramount importance is the role of the local media, especially the working relationship between police and crime/police reporters" (1995, pp. 248-9). Ross also cited organizational constraints within media organizations that may "preclude in-depth coverage of particular issues," i.e., community policing (p. 249).

Manning, who has examined, in depth, the interplay of many of the above mentioned concerns, proffered that "the police are losing their monopoly and are now competing with self-help groups, private security firms, and the media for dominance in social control" (1995, p. 375). Manning termed this interplay of media, police, and the resulting elevation of police and crime issues into "national issues" as *"media reality* of crime" (p. 376). In another community policing article, Manning spoke of "the increasing dependence of the community upon the police for ordering social relations and the increasing use of media to influence public concern" (1991, p. 41).

For Stenson, what Manning referred to as *media reality* of crime and the increasing use of media to influence public concern, translated into the type of influence that drives agenda setting and policy making. Influencing policy makers in the government led to "*serious* funding for research" (1991, p. 21).

Similar to expressions of media function in the aforementioned literature, the Community Policing Consortium in a past edition of *Community Policing Exchange*, announced the availability of a "media facts sheet," which reflected the following community policing-related media functions: (1) increasing public understanding about community policing, (2) increasing public support for community policing, and (3) building public confidence (community empowerment) (March/April, 1996, p. 7).

Having surveyed government and community policing literature related to how media's function has been identified by entities outside the discipline of journalism, one final task remains to accomplish development of the background framework. That is to illustrate and critique the existing research involving media's function in community policing.

Evaluating Media Involvement in Community Policing Efforts

Research pertaining to the actual extent of media involvement in community policing remains scant. Evaluation of the Flint Neighborhood Foot Patrol Project appears to represent the most extensive example of case study research related to media and community policing. Content analyses of four Flint newspapers were performed between the years of 1979 and 1981 (Trojanowicz, 1982). A total of 1,205

articles were analyzed and several dimensions were examined. Among the findings were: (1) the press balanced their evaluations of the police when they made any assessment whatsoever; (2) according to press accounts, foot patrol was not a prominent or visible part of the Flint police activity and did not increase or decrease the visibility of the Flint Police Department; (3) foot patrol resulted in an overall positive effect upon the image of the police; and, (4) articles which mentioned foot patrol portrayed much higher (positive) images of police than articles with no mention of foot patrol (pp. 182-6).

One could speculate that this last finding contributes to the amount of CPO/non-CPO divisiveness within some police agencies, in spite of the fact that officers tend to overlook that media coverage of a department's community policing initiative serves to reflect positively upon the department as a whole – not solely on the community policing officers or community policing unit.

Also emerging out of the Flint evaluation, was the fact that 11% of the citizenry learned of the Flint Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program from media coverage (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990, p. 220). An additional 67% had learned about the program via direct contact with a foot patrol officer. These findings, perhaps, reflect the earlier, police expressed function of media serving as one source of information at the planning and implementation stages of community policing.

Second year evaluation results from the highly evaluated Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) echo the need for media coverage in terms of informing the citizenry:

...one concern pointed out in the second-year report was that surveyed residents reported being less aware of the community policing program than they had been when polled the previous year. Skogan said this could be because CAPS received so much newspaper and TV coverage in its first year. "Since that time, however," he said, "there has been little if any, media attention on the program which might better inform citizens about the policing changes taking effect." (Travis, 1995, p. 9)

In the 1994, *Community Policing: A Survey of Departments in the United States*, Trojanowicz (with Woods, D., Harpold, J., Reboussin, R. and Trojanowicz, S.) found that police chiefs in 48% of the departments claiming to practice community policing, had "often" encouraged local media to do feature stories on their initiatives. Further 40% of the departments reported that their chiefs "sometimes" encouraged local media to do feature articles (Table 72)[21]. What cannot be determined from these findings is the actual number of articles produced as a result of police chief encouragement.

When queried about whether CPOs were permitted to talk to the media, 35% of the departments responded "all the time," 23% responded "most of the time," and 31% responded "some of the time" (Table 73). Again, the actual amount of CPO/media interaction cannot be determined from the findings.

A second research study evolving from the national survey was a content analysis of community policing definitions and community policing officer job descriptions submitted by departments claiming to practice community policing. Because the *Trojanowicz Paradigm* specifies the media as one of the Big Six necessary

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[21] **Table numbers** refer to tables within the Trojanowicz, et al., document. Pages in that **document are** not numbered.

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for a successful community policing initiative, job descriptions were analyzed for evidence of required (or allowed) interaction between CPOs and the media. Very few departments (14%) listed contact with the media as a community policing job requirement. If mentioned, the requiring department was likely to be a small agency. One logical reason for this finding might be that large departments commonly have Public Information Officers through which media access information or Public Relations Units which deal with media personnel (Ziembo-Vogl & Woods, 1996).

Coming at the issue from another angle, Ziembo-Vogl (1998) analyzed "media contacts" or "requests for information" received by the National Center for Community Policing between April 1, 1989 to April 1, 1995" (p. 9). Ziembo-Vogl performed the research with three objectives in mind: (1)"to determine what media entities utilized the NCCP," (2) to determine the nature of media requests for community policing information," and (3) "to determine if a clear-cut media function could be identified from the data" (p. 9).

Finding that the greatest share of media information requests (59%) came from the newspaper medium, Ziembo-Vogl found this supported existing literature which indicated police agencies "should and do contact the press for assistance with their community policing initiatives" (p. 10). In analyzing the nature of newspaper requests, the author states:

> The press or newspaper category of medium was the format comprising the greatest proportion of both immediate and non-immediate information requests. This is not surprising considering the press comprised the greatest number of cases. Further, the press produces a mixture of story types, shorter daily news articles and longer, more detailed feature articles. Newspaper reporters have both short production deadlines, such as for daily stories and

long production deadlines, such as for once a week or once a month feature articles. (p. 10)

Isolating distinct media functions proved problematic for Ziembo-Vogl, who recommended that future research should also focus on "determining how vigorous police departments have been in pursuing media coverage and media cooperation in their community policing efforts" and that "determining why media have been cooperative or non-cooperative will require an examination of the social relationships existing between the two organizations – social relationships of trust, exchange, and conflict – which will vary from department to department" (p. 11).

Whether media coverage is actively sought or passively realized, the actual extent of media involvement in community policing may be far greater than anyone realizes. This statement is supported by various police agencies that have received extensive, positive support for their community policing initiatives.[22] Also unknown, is the extent to which a department solicits such involvement or whether it is "freely" realized and given under the auspices of journalism's commonly accepted and historically evolved functional standards.

Identified in this background chapter were several media functions in community policing as specified by government and community policing proponents. In summary, these criminal justice-specified functions are: (1) publicizing the initial city-wide meeting and later public forums, (2) informing and educating the public

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[22] The Bay City Police Department (Michigan) and Lumberton Police Department (North Carolina) are two examples.

about the concept of community policing, (3) writing feature stories pertaining to the department's community policing efforts, (4) initially marketing and providing sustained support for community policing, (5) cooperating and communicating with other members of the Big Six, (6) increasing public support for community policing, and (7) building public confidence (community empowerment). These functions have been developed by "media outsiders." Whether these functions are viable from media's viewpoint is another question. Attention is now focused upon the journalistic perspective of media functions that is reviewed in depth in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review

Introduction

Within Chapter Two, literature pertaining to the historical development of media function are reviewed. Discussion in this chapter focuses on the newspaper medium – the primary medium researched within this study. However, inherent within the evolution of newspaper functions must be reflection about the emergence of electronic media, specifically radio and television, and their impact on the evolution of press function. Beginning with background framing related to the schools of thought used by various journalism historians, this chapter moves into general and then specific examinations of media and press function, ending with a focused look at the news function and the civic journalism movement. At the close of this chapter, the media functions previously identified within community policing literature are contrasted with the historically developed and discipline-based functions identified within media literature.

Background and Framework

This chapter begins with a discussion of Sloan's (1989) bibliographic compilation titled, *American Journalism History*. Sloan's introduction surveys the various

perspectives and schools of thought used by journalism historians. Sloan cautions that readers must be aware of the historian's perspective (school of thought) if true insight is to be gained by studying any particular piece of historical work. Sloan notes these seven schools of thought (p. 2).

Nationalist School: Nationalist historians, like Isaiah Thomas, "believed the essential story of journalism history was the progress of freedom within an overall story of the developing liberty of mankind and, in particular, of the American people" (p. 2). Nationalists viewed the press as functioning toward the advancing improvement of mankind and viewed America as the leader in this process. These historians "were from New England's elite (and conservative) families" (p. 3).

Romantic School: According to Sloan, romantic historians were similar to nationalists and favored the Northeastern, elitist, conservative viewpoint. The "structure of their writings" distinguished national from romantic historians.

Developmental School: Developmental perspectives emerged among journalism historians after WWII. The focus of this school of thought, which emerged after the post-war 50s and social upheaval of the 60s, was that the "press, though its freedom and press-government relations, confronted other units of society." Developmental historians suggest that the press should be devoted to "journalistic ideals rather than to a nation" (p. 5).

Progressive School: Progressive historians "thought of the press as an influential force in helping assure a better future. They wrote in such a way as to show the media as tools for social change, progress, and democracy." This approach was

strongest before WWII and its followers attacked newspaper owners (this influence is still felt currently) who Progressives claimed had forsaken social crusading for "private profit-seeking" (pp. 5-6). As Sloan presents the progressives, they seem to fit a "conflict perspective" when speaking in terms of sociological thought. Progressive appears to mean the rich versus the poor or the powerful versus the powerless.

Consensus School: Those historians holding consensus views believed "that the press should work with government to solve problems rather than create divisions by emphasizing problems and conflicts" within American society. Consensus thinkers emphasized the status quo and criticized "extremism" (press extremism) "in radical and labor publications" which confronted the elitist and primarily northeastern, elitist status quo (p. 7).

Cultural School: Similar to the consensus approach, cultural thinkers also viewed "the press as part of society rather than a separate institution" and viewed the press as an entity influenced by surrounding society (p. 7). Sloan cites Robert E. Park, a sociologist at the University of Chicago ("Chicago School of sociological thought") who suggested that the evolution of American journalism was a product of its interaction with its environment. The primary factors in determining the nature (function) of the newspaper were "...the conditions of the society and the system in which the press operated." Social factors, such as "economics, politics, technology, and culture acted on and influenced the press." Out of this school of thought emerged the thinking that the "press was a mirror of society" or a "product of environment" (p. 7).

Sloan also discusses Carey, who had "popularized (in 1974) a "cultural" approach to understanding the role of present-day communications." Speaking from a symbolic interaction framework, Carey argued that "mass communication plays an essential part in people's understanding of the world about them." Carey focused on the "symbolic meaning" of media content" or "what media content means to the audience" (p. 8).

Libertarian School: Sloan cites that the Libertarian approach "is as old as the press" (p. 7). Libertarian thinking is based upon freedom of expression guaranteed by the First Amendment of the Constitution. Sloan cites Levy (1960) who believed "freedom of expression in early America was narrow and that the First Amendment was not intended to supersede the existing common law against seditious libel, and that it was not until the debates over the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798 and 1800 that a libertarian concept of freedom of expression found a foothold" (1989, p. 8).

While Sloan and others, like Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956), discuss various perspectives or press theories, Johnston is one historian who favors only the libertarian framework. He furthered the examination of press within the libertarian school of thought and stated that the "initial concept of the American press was based on the 17th and 18th century libertarian philosophy shaped by such theorists as John Milton, Isaac Newton, John Locke, and Adam Smith. This philosophy saw people as naturally rational, free, equal, and moral, all seeking knowledge and truth in the 'marketplace of ideas" (the press) (1979, pp. 12-13). According to Johnston:

> The emphasis was on individual fulfillment through knowledge; it was believed that as each individual pursued his own enlightened self-interest, society would

benefit. Finding the truth required free interplay of information and ideas which, in turn, required a free press as an aid to communication. Under libertarian theory, there was no constraint to be nonpartisan. Truth would emerge because rational people, when presented all the options, would be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood; and being also moral, they would act correctly on the basis of the truth. (p. 13)

The libertarian concept only had one flaw, as Johnston pointed out, "in the late 18th Century, those seeking knowledge and truth in the marketplace of ideas were the educated elite" (p. 13). Libertarians believed that knowledge was necessary for those who voted – those who participated in government. Unfortunately, many at this time were politically disenfranchised, leaving "landowners, merchants, politicians, and publishers (all males) directly involved in the marketplace of ideas and government" (p. 13).

Referred to earlier, Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm present four theories or conceptual frameworks of the press; the libertarian concept being one. The remaining constructs are authoritarian, social responsibility and soviet communist. According to these authors, the primary key point to consider is "that the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates" (1956, p. 1).

In terms of press function associated with each of the four theories, these authors note the following "chief purposes." From an authoritarian rationale, the chief purpose of the press is "to support and advance the policies of the government in power; and to service the state." In agreement with Johnston and Sloan, these authors identify the libertarian press purpose as "to inform, entertain, sell – but chiefly to help discover truth, and to check on government." The press function

within a social responsibility rationale is similar to the libertarian construct, "to inform, entertain, sell – but chiefly to raise conflict to the plane of discussion." Last, according to the Soviet-totalitarian rationale, the press should function "to contribute to the success and continuance of the Soviet socialist system, and especially to the dictatorship of the party" (p. 6).

It could be speculated that Siebert's, Peterson's, and Schramm's discussion of Soviet-totalitarian theory might be in response to the 1950s decade, anti-communist movement and the "red-scare" prevalent after World War II. Aside from Schramm (primary discussant) and his colleagues, the Soviet-totalitarian perspective has remained largely ignored by other historians. Nor, does the Soviet-communist rationale mesh with any of Sloan's seven typologies.

Much agreement does exist, however, regarding the major functions of the media (media used in an all inclusive sense). These functions include providing information or news – which includes the "watchdog" concept, entertainment, influence or persuasion, and advertising – which is directly associated with the function of profit. These widely accepted functions – discussed with an emphasis on the press – are examined in the following section. This overview is followed by a medium-specific discussion of the evolution of press function.

General Discussion of Commonly Accepted Media Functions

In 1947, White cited five functions or tasks "for all media of mass communication" as put forth by the Commission on Freedom of the Press (broad use of the term) in its general report, *A Free and Responsible Press*.

> Today our society needs, first, a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning; second, a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism; third, a means of projecting the opinions and attitudes of the groups in the society to one another; fourth, a method of presenting and clarifying the goals and values of the society; and fifth, a way of reaching every member of society by the currents of information, thought, and feeling which the press supplies. (pp. 5-6)

Thirty years later, Johnston perhaps expressed the fluid state of media function best by stating, "though the American media have taken many twists and turns during their 200 year evolution, four functions have emerged as principal in the system's operations: information, influence, advertising, and entertainment. The degree of each function depends on the medium" (1979, p. 14). As Johnston alluded, the idea of proper media functions changes – within White's earlier citation, above, we see only aspects of information and influence. We also see aspects of the various schools of thought presented in the most previous section. Further, many (like White) would add the function of education—whether as an intended or latent outcome—as an important purpose of media.

As example of function fluidity, consider White's remarks about radio's education function in post-war 1947. "...A-bomb makes education for survival an urgent priority...(the) question became whether radio shouldered a disproportionate

share of responsibility for educating citizens about possible survival...more so than newspapers" (1947, p. 2).

Like Johnston, White reflected upon function as it applied to all formats. "In varying degrees all the media—newspapers, magazines, books, radio, and motion pictures—are vehicles for entertainment, information, education, and advertising. All are profit-seeking private enterprises, which for the most part have voluntarily assumed certain 'public service' aspects. All are marked by keen competition for mass circulation" (pp. 3-5).

Hulteng (1979) surveyed mass media functions in terms of consumers and media managers. He noted that these perspective do not necessarily coincide and that media "are not always in tune with the consumers they serve" (p. 82). Hulteng did find agreement among other media analysts in terms of what the public "consciously seeks from the media:" information and ideas, entertainment, and advertising messages as clues to products and services that may be useful" (p. 82).

Television and radio are chief providers of entertainment, noted Hulteng. Television is also the chief source of nonlocal news; newspapers and newsmagazines provide local and analytical news. All media carry advertising (pp. 81-2). Hulteng also highlights that the doling out of function is not quite as black and white as presented – rather, magazines and newspapers also provide entertainment – and television, "to some degree, provides analysis and opinion, although most turn to newspapers for this depth" (p. 82).

Three important social function of the media were also cited by Hulteng. The first, is "providing a watch on the environment and alerting the public to threats or problems developing in the world. Hulteng termed this the "surveillance function" (he also termed this the "Watchtower" function) and mentioned that it is "performed for most of us by headline bulletins on morning radio and television." Later evening broadcasts and newspapers detail the earlier headlines "providing us with elaboration regarding the changes in the local, national, and international world" (pp. 82-3).

Second, the media "coordinate and categorize the various elements of the social structure…so that members of the public can comprehend the forces with which they must cope to survive and prosper" (p. 83). The same later elaborations mentioned above help citizens to order their environment.

Third, the media "hand on from one generation to the next, the knowledge and ideas that represent our cumulative cultural heritage." Media play a secondary role in passing on cultural heritage, according to Hulteng. The family and the school "still play significant roles" (p. 83). While this may have been true in 1979 when Hulteng presented this literature review, it was clear, even then, that the media were capturing an increasing portion of this function. "It may well be that in an era when children are spending two to three times as many hours being educated by television, they learn more of their heritage from that mass medium than from any other source" (p. 83). In 1998, many feel the socialization power of the media (television and the movies in particular) is even more the rule. Further, Surette points out that as the influence of the traditional socialization mechanisms (family, schools, churches) have

become less pronounced, the influence of the media takes precedence. As Hulteng expressed in 1979, "we probably don't appreciate the significance of the media as educative forces. We probably don't comprehend how instantaneously the media can infuse new cultural concepts into society" (pp. 83-4). While the "instantaneousness" and degree of cultural transference is highly debatable, Hulteng's overall point is well taken.

Historical Evolution of Press Functions

Sloan divides the history of the press/journalism into the following eras that will be used to order the remainder of question one. It should be noted that the time frames presented are *generally* in keeping with most historians' views. As validation, Sloan's dates were compared or cross-checked against Emery's and Emery's (1992) historical chronology. The Emerys used different chronological terminology in terms of press development but their time periods were similar and sometimes identical to Sloan's. While Sloan's dates do *not* represent distinct divisions, they do provide overall guidelines.

- The Colonial Press   1690-1765
- The Revolutionary Press   1765-1783
- The Party Press   1783-1833
- The Penny Press   1833-1860
- The Antebellum & Civil War Press   1820-1865
- Press of the Industrial Age   1865-1883
- Age of New Journalism   1883-1900
- Frontier & Regional Press   1800-1900
- Reform Press   1900-1917
- Modern Press/Journalism   1900-1945
- Contemporary Press   1945-Present

Next, each of these press evolution time periods is examined separately and specifically to determine press functions.

The Colonial Press

According to Emery and Emery, the first "publication meeting all the qualifications of a true newspaper appeared in 1704" roughly "84 years after the establishment of the first successful colony" (p. 15). The first function of the press in the New World was the production of religious texts for emerging schools, followed by the production of cultural materials such as poetry and colonial history. News as a function was unnecessary because English papers arrived on ships bringing news from the Old World and because colonists sought news in local coffee houses (pp. 17-19).

The function of advertising began to emerge as merchants soon realized they could "move their goods to the local customers faster if they printed notices, or advertisements, in publications read by their customers." The emphasis on this early aspect (function) of journalism "was indicated by the number of early newspapers with the word 'Advertiser' in the name plate" (p. 17).

During the late 1600s the literacy levels in the colonies were sufficient enough to encourage the publication of literature for the masses and in September of 1690, a London newspaperman, Benjamin Harris, published what many consider to be the first American newspaper. It was titled the *Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick* and included local news and news from abroad. Harris also included the function of entertainment by "spicing up" his paper with immoral accounts of foreign

royalty. Eventually "the Massachusetts licensing act ended Harris's career" and it would be fourteen years before another paper would be published in the colonies[23] (pp. 19-21).

Postmasters were often newspaper publishers in the colonies as they were in a position to hear much of the local gossip which enhanced the entertainment function of colonial newspapers. Postmasters also printed newsletters for circulation between "special correspondents" in the various colonies and often the information was subject to political oversight from the governing Crown. "Every issue of the papers was approved by a government representative before publication, even though formal licensing laws had expired before 1700 in England. The line, 'published by authority' also provided an aura of credibility to the contents at a time when it was difficult for the printer to indicate the sources of his news and verify the reliability of specific items" (pp. 23-4).

The beginnings of the influence function via expressing opinion and the watchdog function was evidence with the crusading *Courant* and the *Gazette*, both early 1700 Boston papers. As newspapers began to be published in other cities (Philadelphia, in particular) competition rose which was fueled in part by the watchdog, opinion/influence, and entertainment functions. Publishers became braver about criticizing government (watchdog function), citizens and publishers became

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[23] According to Cote', "actually, the government shut down the paper after just one day! Many historians don't count it as the first newspaper because it "lacked continuity" (only one issue). The *Boston News-Letter* (published 14 years later) was the first continuous American newspaper" (personal communication, June 5, 1998).

braver about stating opinions, and citizens thrived on entertainment pieces such as those appearing in Andrew Bradford's *Mercury*, a New York paper. As some publishers found out, popularity with readers brought increased advertising revenues to supplement government printing contracts. Benjamin Franklin, publisher of the Philadelphia paper the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, became *the* advertising master of the day and according to Emery and Emery "made American journalism respectable" (pp. 26-29).

Advertising was also fueled by the ever developing rise in commerce. Trade between the various colonies also resulted in the need for increasing amounts of information and "American journalists could provide information quickly and cheaply" (p. 32).

The Revolutionary Press

Another important function, the watchdog concept or "Fourth Estate," also emerged strong and kicking from the colonial era. Steeped in libertarian philosophy, "the right to criticize officials is one of the main pillars of press freedom" (p. 38). This aspect of press function came to a head with the trial of John Peter Zenger, editor of the *New York Weekly Journal*, a newspaper published at the urging of "wealthy landowners and merchants who wanted greater control over their own affairs." In complying with this request, Zenger angered the governor who brought charges against Zenger for "raising sedition" (pp. 34-5). Zenger's "cause of liberty" was argued by Alexander Hamilton, who urged the seated jury to consider the truth, "...the Nature of Laws of our Country have given us a right—the liberty—both of

exposing arbitrary Power by speaking and writing—Truth" (p. 36). This victory carried over into the Revolutionary press time period.

Toward the end of the 1700s, the "greatest stimulus to the development of the American press was the rising political tension" that would ultimately result in the "War of Independence." As the colonial press had won small victories throughout the century related to restricted liberty and the major victory of the Zenger trial, the press was viewed as a "powerful weapon" in the struggle for independence. The Stamp Act of 1765 also paved the way for independence.

> It is significant that the Stamp Act of 1765 alienated two very influential groups: the lawyers and the journalists. The new law placed a heavy duty on paper used in publishing newspapers. There was also a heavy tax on all legal documents. Thus, the lawyer, who swayed people by spoken word, and the journalist, who had an even wider influence (i.e., influence function) through the written word, were both turned against those who favored the unpopular act. (p. 41)

The function of influence or "propaganda" as it was termed during revolutionary times was the ruling function of the day. Samuel Adams was considered the epitome of propagandists. Adams believed that the advantages of a revolutionary victory over England needed to be advertised; that the masses needed to be aroused by "instilling hatred of enemies;" that the messages and arguments of the opposition needed to be neutralized; and that "all issues must be in black and white, so that the purposes might be clear even to the common laborer." Adams was successful at these tasks and his "tool was the colonial newspaper" (pp. 46-7).

Keeping track of revolutionist propaganda and propaganda communications from England resulted in promoting the news function of the press. It became

necessary for revolutionaries to gather news. News took on a heightened function as the War of Independence began and Isaiah Thomas became "one of the important pioneers on the American Fourth Estate." Thomas used the press as "an instrument of war" and his battle news reports were "highly colored with propaganda favorable to his compatriots" (pp. 50-51).

The Party Press

According to Sloan, the party press "was a natural development from American journalism's earlier involvement with the political system. In a partisan environment, newspapers ceased to be carriers of gossip and became journals of opinion whose role (function) was to be party mouthpieces" (1989, p.7). Sloan (1982) examined the Federalist-Republican party press in detail identifying various press functions, including: influencing public opinion, promoting political ideals, supporting party principles, defending the party and its politicians, preaching the party line to the party faithful, attacking opponents, and providing a method of electioneering (pp. 18-24).

Sloan's is a highly informative article identifying "the functions of the newspaper press in America's first party system during the years 1789-1912" that have been regarded as the "dark age of journalism" due to partisan publishing and the absence of journalism's development during this time. Simply put, Sloan states the functions of the press at this time were political "rather than journalistic." More complexly viewed, by journalists and politicians alike, much is left to be resolved regarding the actual level of influence wielded by this era's newspapers. Strikingly

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non-objective in view, all *do* agree that the "overriding purpose of the press was to serve a partisan cause," in fact, the press was never *meant* to be objective. As Sloan indicates, editors and politicians met to discuss how newspapers could achieve their main purpose of supporting political ideas. Further, Sloan cites James Cheetham, editor of the New York *American Citizen,* who "told readers that he would report the news but would not even consider being impartial in sentiment." Many editors of this era openly felt that being impartial would be doing an injustice to the country (pp. 18-19).

More specifically stated, Sloan identifies the functions of the Federalist and Republican press:

> As a general framework, the purpose of both the Federalist and Republican editors was to present news and divergent views on political issues in order primarily to condition the party faithful for political action and secondarily to win adherents to the cause. To accomplish these two goals, editors and politicians expected the press to perform, along with influencing public opinion, a number of other specific functions.
>
> These may be categorized as the following: (1) promote political ideals, (2) support party principles, (3) defend the party and its politicians, (4) provide a medium for expression of party views, (5) provide "information," (6) preach the party line to the party faithful, (7) attack opponents and (8) provide a method of electioneering.
>
> Yet the purposes of the newspapers of the two parties were not identical. Each supported the principles of its party, opposed the other party, supported the "Constitution," presented the "truth," attempted to get the party faithful out to vote and so forth. There was, however, a vast implicit difference between the underlying purposes of the newspapers. Federalists generally stated their purposes in terms of traditional values, while Republican purposes were wedded to contemporary or emerging conditions. The Federalist press was a defender of a disappearing political and social style, while the Republican press became an advocate of changes toward greater political freedom and participation b the "people."

Federalist editors frequently declared that their purpose was to promote morality, religion, peace, love of country or some other ideal not clearly identified with partisan politics. They mirrored the viewpoints of Federalists in general who wanted government to foster virtue. (p. 19)

The Federalist viewpoint that the primary purpose of the press was to uphold traditional values held near and dear by that party was in opposition (or at least different from) the Republican's emphasis on the necessity for a "well-informed public in a democracy." This belief transformed into the primary press function of diffusing knowledge "to provide a medium for information on political subjects." It would be simplistic to believe that the Republican view of press function has prevailed in a journalistic, evolutionary sense for the Republicans, themselves, prevailed. Had the Federalists predominated, journalism history might have been written differently. Sloan reflects and reinforces this evaluation in his summary: "newspapers were an integral part of the political system and were regarded as such by politicians and journalists, alike" (pp. 22-3).

Knudson (1974) also documents the evolution of the political press and focuses upon the Jefferson Era of political history. While the "political press was forged in the crucible of the American Revolution" and historians next "spotlight the political fury evident during the presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829-1837)," Knudson steps back—finding that the "fury of partisan journalism continued unabated during the presidency of Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809) which marked the first transfer of political power" in this nation's history (p. 20).

At this time (1801), 235 newspapers existed in the U.S., 80% of these controlled by "the defeated federalists" who "were overwhelmingly" the more powerful press (p. 20). Knudson notes that the press of this day was personal in nature with little capital required to set up shop. Federalist press editors were "self conscious of their (political) function" and many found themselves the recipients of lawsuits and dueling challenges for libelous writings.

Understanding political press writings from this time is problematic, according to the author, since satirical writings from Federalist and Republican papers were not meant to be taken at face value. Such mistakes have been made by 20th Century historians when cutting and pasting 19th Century press quotations (thus taken essentially out of socio-political context) into their historical works.

In focusing upon the Jefferson Era and its competing Federalist and Republican newspapers, Knudson makes a key point about the political support function of this era's press (regardless of affiliation). Knudson notes that "the major device used by the editors to further their (political) cause was the appearance of editorial comment as a separate feature of newspapers at the turn of the 19th century" (p. 21). Through this mechanism (Republican) "editors learned how to lead rather than to thwart public opinion" (p. 22).

The Antebellum Political Press and the Civil War Press

While the two-party system grew in America during the decade of the 1820s, partisan newspaper editors fueled this growth with bias leading Frank Luther Mott (an

editor of the era) to term the "antebellum political press as 'the Dark Ages' of American journalism" (Baldasty, 1980, p. 104). Editors at this time were considered pens-for-hire and used their respective papers for "arguing their own partisan beliefs" and candidates. Because political parties were yet to achieve the status of highly-organized machines, editors often served as the "partisan leaders at the local level" with duties "comparable to latter-day state county party chairmen" (p. 104). Boston editors, acting as the "very symbol of party organization" in that city, "were an integral part of the state's political system." The political party depended on these editors (to use their papers) to "maintain party activity and debate" (p. 104). As a result, the press functioned as a mechanism for political symbology. This was only one side of the "function coin," however, and out of political function grew an exchange relationship whereby political parties "supported and nurtured their own editors through subscription, financial subsidy, and moral support" (p. 104).

Boston was the "undisputed newspaper capital of Massachusetts" and was also the state's political capital. Circulated state-wide, the *National Republican Daily Advertiser* and *Boston Patriot* were edited by Nathan Hale, the Jacksonian *Boston Morning Post* and *Statesman* were edited by Charles G. Green, and the Antimasonic *Boston Advocate* was edited by Benjamin F. Hallett. Together, these papers functioned as "important forums" for the various Boston political interests and their editors functioned as the major political spokesman for their respective parties (p. 105).

In return for editorial support, Boston political press received "substantial financial subsidies" from the administration in Washington via post office contracts.

Post office contracts for supplies such as "paper blanks, printed materials, twine and wrapping paper" were let to the *Morning Post Statesman* "without competitive bidding." As a result, the *Statesman's* editor reaped "healthy profits" (p. 106). It seemed that during the political press era, no one was "watchdogging" the press.

The *Boston Advocate*, a daily, emerged to function as a source of information and a platform for Antimasonry discussion. Baldasty cites that the "major importance of the *Advocate* was its function as the sole newspaper voicing Antimasonic party policy in Boston" (p. 107). Reilly (1979) also examined the Antebellum political press in an article, which examines the role of the Illinois press, reporters in particular, during the 1858 Lincoln-Douglas election. Reilly's article is relevant only in that the author concludes "the press of Illinois (and the nation) had grown considerably during the 1850—and not only the political press but the more independent penny press as well. What can be seen in this study is that the function of political reporters and the inter-relationship between the press and the politicians were sharpened somewhat by the intensity and importance of the 1858 campaign" (p. 72).

At this period in American history, a primary press function was to support political candidates via coverage of the candidate's speeches and activities, and through editorial support. Partisan support was the newspaper practice of the time. Some Springfield, Illinois papers provided political support solely by editorial comment versus news coverage, per se (pp. 735-6). Others, like the *Missouri Republican* provided activist political support for Douglas, the Republican party candidate.

Meanwhile, the *Missouri Democrat* "matched the *Republican* blow-for-blow throughout the campaign" (p. 736).

Reilly also refers to a latent function being served by reporters during this era, whose verbatim coverage of political speeches (Lincoln's & Douglas's) and their newspapers' ensuing publication of same allowed for historical preservation of political debates (p. 737).

Reilly's work recounts the partisan coverage provided by various newspapers of this time, until the Chicago *Press and Tribune* broke the newspaper practice "of ignoring the opposition" by running a story and full speech given by Douglas. Dramatic at the time, this new practice was explained by an accompanying article which read, "The publishers of this paper have determined to introduce a style of journalism heretofore unknown in Chicago" (p. 738).

This era also witnessed the first black newspaper in America, *Freedom's Journal,* which was an anti-slavery publication and considered an abolitionist paper although Nordin points out that the term abolitionist is too narrow a description for the publication. Its objective or function was broader than promoting anti-slavery.

The *Freedom's Journal* "was designed to be the major paper for blacks" and provided "news and information, entertainment and culture, and strongly worded editorials" (Nordin, 1977-78, p. 123). In doing so the *Journal* also functioned as a tool or mechanism for promoting a "sense of fraternity, a black consciousness...among the freemen and ex-slaves living in scattered communities throughout the northern

states." Further it functioned as a tool for "counter-acting anti-Negro prejudice among whites" (p. 104).

Although it survived for only two years (first printed in March of 1827), the *Freedom's Journal* pulled black readers together via providing a forum for discussion of issues of concern to the black community. Providing this forum or "medium of intercourse" as it was then called was a key function of specialized press during the 1820s and 30s. The importance of this forum was recognized by Alexis de Toquerville who identified the "associational function" of the *Journal* (p. 124).

Nordin opposes some historians who believed blacks were illiterate and that the *Freedom's Journal* was subscribed to primarily by whites espousing anti-slavery sentiments. He cites the *Journal's* two editors who "estimated that there were 500,000 free colored people living in the U.S. in the 1820s and that half of them could read" (p. 124). Thus the paper was truly a vehicle for those intended.

Nordin describes four stages of the *Journal's* two-year evolution and cites that in each phase the "character of the *Journal* altered somewhat" (p. 124). Contrary to other historians, Nordin found that in stage one many news items were general interest in nature and did not specifically concern the black community. As was the press habit, many stories came from other press (white press) and much of it was sensational in nature, exploiting "blood and sex." Nordin's content analysis of the *Journal's* stages indicated a growing dependence on such borrowed feature stories from other press and a decreasing amount of news over time (p. 124).

While it borrowed stories from the white press, the *Journal* served to counteract white opinion regarding blacks and black slavery. It also provided news of interest to blacks which was ignored by the white press. As Nordin summarizes, *Freedom's Journal* "tried to establish a sense of fraternity among blacks and chart the course people of color should take to improve their positions in American society. It tried also to provide its readers with a sense of culture and to furnish them with the significant news of the day" (p. 128).

The Penny Press

The Penny Press was oriented toward entertainment & informing the public as opposed to being oriented to politics. According to Hudson, "true journalism emerged only with the appearance of the penny press" (in Sloan, 1989, p. 5). According to Emery and Emery (1992) the Penny Press was the press of the masses and by 1833 "technical progress had reached the point at which this was possible" (p. 92).

Shaw's (1981) findings are perhaps most telling of this era of press history. Shaw's study focuses on newspaper trends during the four decades from 1820 to 1860. Shaw's intent to is to examine these years, identified as "historical crossroads", in order to determine if the style of the press remained constant throughout these decades. Specifically, he examined the impact of the 1830s penny press, shifts from politics to advertising, and the responsiveness of the press to national versus local concerns. A summary of Shaw's findings are listed below, however the more relevant

information results from this writer's meta-analysis of Shaw's Table 2 data, titled "News Topics." This analysis follows the summary of Shaw's major findings.

Shaw's Findings: Contrary to other historians, Shaw found that "content and style of the press remained constant from 1820-1860, while (in keeping with other historians) news more often began to be gathered by reporters, to be delivered more rapidly, and to focus more upon the home community" (p. 38). Further, Shaw found the penny press did not become the model for other newspapers, as many thought; "the North emerged as a dominant news source region;" reporters began to emerge as professionals; and "newspapers of this time did not become less political and more social-these topics remained constant" (pp. 38-49). Also contrary to the opinions of other historians, Shaw found the press of these decades were not particularly "responsive to their audiences" in some ways as level of readability remained difficult (P. 48).

Meta-Analysis: Data in Shaw's Table 2 - News Topics - were analyzed with respect to function. In keeping with Shaw's time periods, the percentages of function emerging from news topics are presented for his sub-periods (see Table 1, below) and for the total time period of 1820-1860. Shaw's topics of Elections and Politics, General Government, Slavery, Sectional Differences, Territories, and Foreign Relations were collapsed into "News Function." His Economic News and Science & Technology were collapsed into "Information Function." Social Activities and Intellectual and Cultural were collapsed to form "Entertainment Function" and Shaw's Education topic was left as "Education Function." While this collapsing is

non-scientific and based on Shaw's limited description of news topics, it is an objective evaluation based upon what topics the reviewed literature of this era would suggest fit with what function.

Table 1

Function Meta-Analysis of Shaw's Table 2: "News Topics" Data (p. 40)

FUNCTION	1820-1832	1833-1846	1847-1860	1820-1860
News	47%	44%	46%	46%
Information	15%	19%	14%	16%
Entertainment	35%	35%	37%	36%
Education	2%	2%	2%	2%

Findings: As one can see and what is most interesting to note, is the consistency of function percentages over these four decades. These basic press functions remain virtually constant from 1820 through 1860. While important, these findings represent only a piece of the picture as a content analysis of the actual newspapers would be necessary to determine the *nature* of these functions and the existence of other functions such as watchdog, social control, and community building. Nor does Shaw's original data deal with advertising or editorial content which might have reflected additional newspaper functions.

As the press of the masses, we also see the emergence of Native American journalism during the era of the Penny Press. LaCourse (1979) notes that "the birth of Indian media came in the spring of 1828" and capsulizes the development of Indian media in the phrase "acculturation with assimilation." This phrase refers to "a set of technologies or techniques utilized by a distinctive ethnic or cultural group and put to work for their own interest in their own fashion" (pp. 34-8).

The Cherokee Phoenix (1828) was the first Indian newspaper. In 1838, the first Indian radio broadcast occurred in Alaska. The author refers to the years from April, 1828 until 1910 as the "century of tribal journalism - the development of mostly newspapers, but also a few magazines by tribes" (p. 38). By the early 1960s Indians were producing their own television shows.

La Course's article focuses on the educational advancement (education function) of American Indians and how this pertained to and paralleled development of Indian media. While he provides an interesting discussion on the alphabetizing of the Indian language and discusses shipments of printing press to various Indian lands, the closest LaCourse comes to identifying specific media functions is to state that Indians began publishing *The Cherokee Phoenix* to "articulate their own issues" (p. 35).

With the move toward producing newspapers for the masses came the aspect of sensationalism or "yellow press." Francke (1985) examines the function of sensory detail used as a mechanism to increase circulation. Francke deals with the evolution of reporting styles and the "histiography of sensationalism," more commonly known as yellow journalism or yellow press. As Francke notes, "from roughly the 1830s to the 1880s, journalistic news reporting first came into being as an institutionalized activity and then evolved into a mature form that changed little in the next one hundred years. This journalistic evolution was accompanied by "three basic reporting techniques – documentary, observation, and interview" (p. 81). Other factors impacting journalism at this time were a wider variety of news, increasing status for reporters whose jobs had become accepted as full-time occupations, and the

press's desire to increase readership. Key to Francke's report is that "newspapers which sought to attract a mass audience certainly developed a greater *capacity* for sensationalism" (p. 81).

Attracting a mass audience did not in and of itself lead or equate to yellow journalism. Sensationalism predated journalism and existed in the form of court documents containing sensational detail. Such "documentary sources were the staple of the passive news-receiving that dominated the colonial press" (p. 82).

Interviewing as a news gathering technique developed later and is associated with the Penny Press era.

Interviewing was sensational because reporters had access only to "low-level sources." In many instances these sources were virtually interrogated, police-style, by reporters seeking sensory detail. The observation reporting technique also resulted in the sensational as reporters toured "prisons, asylums, tenements, and slums" (p. 83). Francke refers to a reporter for the New York *World* who "fleshed out" his interrogation/interview questions with "exaggerated physical description common to court reports in the Penny Press". Such observational reporting "was the richest source of sensory detail" (p. 83).

Examining the evolution of reporting techniques, beginning with court documents that contained sensory detail, it is easy to track the almost natural evolution of yellow journalism that advanced as reporters supplemented documents with interrogation and observation. According to Francke, "by 1890, the possibilities

for reportorial gathering and narrative treatment of sensory detail were indeed sensational" (p. 85).

Industrial Age Press, Age of New Journalism, Frontier Press, and Reform Press

The years 1865 to 1917 span several eras as identified by Sloan (1989). These years are especially overlapping in nature and because so much was happening in American society, which was in turn reflected in the country's press, this writer deals with the overall time frame as opposed to the breakdowns that Sloan presents. While Sloan places the reform press era during the years 1900 - 1917, other historians begin identifying reform press functions as early as 1877. Folkerts (1985) is one of these historians.

According to Folkerts, reform press refers to press that supported agricultural and labor reform in 19th century America. On the agriculture side, the Farmer's Alliance was formed in Texas in 1877" (p. 22). Representing the farming community in the reform movement, Farmers' Alliance newspapers such as the Texan *Southern Mercury* and *Rural Citizen*, North Carolina's *Progressive Farmer*, and northeastern *Kansas Advocate* "performed three important functions for its readers: (they) provided information that mainstream newspapers either neglected or chose to ignore; they formed the core of a communication network that helped Alliance men and women to develop a sense of community; and they presented the Alliance movement as a legitimate effort to oppose the dominant political and economic structure" (p. 22).

This dominant political and economic structure was represented by the mainstream press.

According to Folkerts, "analysis of the functions of the Alliance press refutes the common concept that late-19th century newspapers functioned for a mass, undifferentiated audience" (p. 22). According to Cote´, the debate centered on whether the Alliance press "served as general-circulation newspapers or simply as specialized 'trade publications'" (personal communication, June 5, 1998). These papers, often discounted by historians, were dismissed as being nonobjective, financially unstable, void of "innovative journalistic techniques." However, much of this dismissal was really the result of Alliance newspapers lack of dominant political, cultural, and economic traditions and support- which were the luxury of the mainstream press of the day. As such mainstream newspapers "operated to the consistent benefit of some and exclusion of others" (p. 22). Functions served by reform papers are noted below.

Information Function: "Reform newspapers printed stories that varied greatly from those printed by mainstream papers" (p. 22). The mainstream press printed a macro view of farming problems while the reform press printed a micro view. In their coverage of droughts that hit Texas and Kansas, mainstream/macro press were interested in the "urban viewpoint" of how crop damage might affect property values for land speculators and the price of beef. Reform press took a micro perspective and examined how these droughts hurt the farmer. As Folkerts points out, "The reform press -not the mainstream press- provided the most information about the

drought and subsequently helped get relief for distressed farmers" (p. 23). The reform press also carried detailed agricultural information that mainstream papers failed to provide.

Community Function: Like the functions of suffrage and ethnic press (specialized press forms), the reform press contributed to developing a sense of community and unification among farmers. Alliance newspapers viewed their community "as a national one" and focused on "communication among people" as opposed to "communication to a group of people" (p. 23).

Legitimation Function: Alliance newspapers served to legitimize the agricultural reform movement. These "populist newspapers presented farmers as reasonable, competent, cooperative, stable, peaceful, and progressive members of society who worked through legal channels to achieve change. Mainstream newspapers viewed farmers as naïve, unsophisticated, unintelligent troublemakers" (p. 24). Folkerts cites Hall's concept of the politics of signification and the media's increasing power to signify events whenever mainstream interests are challenged (in this case by the reform press). Because the mainstream press had a wider circulation and more political and financial backing, it was able to dominate at this time and this is probably why Alliance newspapers were viewed as no more than "simple propaganda *tools* of (reform) party leaders." Viewed as such, "they failed to legitimize the movement to the dominant society...they did, however, create an alternative to the dominant structure" (p. 24).

Folkerts suggests that "the challenge to the dominant value system and mainstream society and its editors," represented by the reform press (or Alliance newspapers, also termed the Populist press) is similar to the challenges presented by the "socialist and labor press" (p. 25). As such, the role of the reform press in journalism's history has also been overlooked.

The same year the Farmers' Alliance formed (1877), Atkinson first published the *Farm Journal*. Quebral (1970) researched this publication using the terms newspaper and magazine interchangeably within her article. This fact is indicative of a time when newspapers and specialized publications, such as the *Farm Journal* were considered nearly one and the same. Further confusing this issue, Quebral describes the *Farm Journal* as a "small, three-column farm paper, folded into eight pages sans stitching" and two sentences later states that "the paper unobtrusively entered the farm magazine publishing field." Citing circulation figures a paragraph later, she mentions, "By 1882 the magazine claimed more subscribers than any other 'legitimate agricultural paper' in the country." It seems that Atkinson, who "cast about for a suitable vocation after his last newspaper had gone out of business...decided to try his luck with a farm paper" and "introduced his magazine" (p. 65).

Atkinson's "new magazine was a monthly" and while he solicited advertisements via mail, Atkinson disdained personal forms of solicitation. Through "proper" ads (those void of charlatan-like claims or promises-in fact, Atkinson *guaranteed* the advertisements appearing in his publication) were sought to support his magazine, he depended on circulation via subscriptions for financial security. Despite

Atkinson's penchant for subscriptions as opposed to advertisements, Quebral points out some historians have charged Atkinson with being in the back pocket of John Wanamaker and his department store. Those who called the *Journal* "Wanamaker's paper" stung Atkinson who would claim total ownership of the newspaper/magazine (pp. 65-7).

With articles written by farmers and farm wives, Atkinson stated the function of his newspaper/magazine to be that of "a medium of information for and by practical farmers" (p. 69). He eschewed agricultural colleges and their professors, believing farmers could best advise farmers on how to farm. In succeeding years the *Farm Journal* served a forum function- a forum where farm problems could be explained to farmers from a farmer's point of view. As Quebral points out, the *Farm Journal* was a "low-priced source of information tailored to their (farmers') frame of interest" (p. 80).

Falling within the reform era, by some historians' accounts, is the frontier era. Newspapers served the function of "boosterism" during the frontier era of the press. Burd (1981) identifies several time frames that can be labeled as "frontier journalism" also variously termed pioneer, territorial, and Western journalism. These several times spans include "migration west of the Appalachians from 1786 to 1810 and pre- and post-Civil War periods of westward movement from 1833 through 1860 and from 1865 through 1900 (p. 99). Frontier journalism's primary function can be described as "boosterism" or promotion which was used to encourage migration. Burd cites Taft (1971) who rightly cautions that much of this boosterism was "over

enthusiastic…and more reflective of hope than fact" (p. 174). It is within this functional framework that Burd examines frontier journalism in a global sense as opposed to examining each of the several time frames individually.

The impact of frontier journalism's promotional/boosterism impact is evident in Burd's comment that "it is impossible to separate the history of a single newspaper from the history of the times during which the newspaper was published" (1981, p. 100). Boosterism, the primary function of frontier journalism, also served other secondary functions. A summary of these secondary functions is noted as: (1) the language, exaggeration, optimism, and praise of boosterism press offset the hardships of a harsh frontier, (2) this same language supported the notions of conquest and individualism necessary to conquer the frontier, (3) frontier newspapers were "unifying elements" and "kept struggling frontier cities alive during early adversity," and (4) in isolated mining camps (those in Colorado are mentioned), newspapers were miners' only links to "what was going on in the rest of the country" (p. 100). Mining papers also relied on inaccurate portrayals of life in "exciting" mining town in order to attract immigrants…as Burd notes, "the (mining) town's press image was paramount" (p. 100).

In that frontier journalism was devoted to aspects of maintaining an area's image, be it a mining town or a settlement), most examples of frontier press were part and parcel of the business class—the mining companies or mercantile owners, who were the local power structure. As such, Burd notes that present day functions of the

press, such as its "watchdog function," remain either absent or unevaluated in frontier journalism.

In 1870, Henry B. Blackwell and his wife Lucy Stone, both moralists and feminists, began publishing the *Woman's Journal*, a primary example of suffrage press, another specialized publicaton of this overall reform and industrial time frame (Masel-Walters, 1976-1977). The function of this publication was feminine advancement and the *Journal* was the "widest circulated, longest running (44 years) suffrage newspaper" (p. 103). Disgruntled with the New England Woman Suffrage Association and its leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, Stone developed the *Woman's Journal* as the official mouthpiece of the newly formed American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). Masel-Walters notes several functions served by the *Woman's Journal*. First, The *Journal* "enunciated the goals of the suffragists and suggested the ways in which these goals could be attained" (p. 104). Second, the *Journal* "functioned in the political socialization and education of its readers and provided them with role models" (p. 104). Third, the *Journal* provided a forum for its members.

To achieve these functions the *Woman's Journal* sought to franchise women via obtaining the right to vote and making women equal to men in legal, economic, educational, and social issues. Through supporting the role of women, the *Woman's Journal* "was one of the greatest cohesive forces for the suffrage movement" (p. 109).

Also part of the reform and industrial era were the specialized labor dailies. The primary functions of these papers were to serve a watchdog function, to instill political involvement, encourage communication, counter anti-union bias, present the

labor viewpoint and to provide news. Halverson and Ames (1969) examine the function of the Butte *Daily Bulletin,* a "labor daily" described as "among the most colorful and militant," in counter-acting the "anti-labor bias inherent in the mainstream," commercial press (p. 261). Born of a mining tragedy which left 164 men dead and a subsequent, violent workers' strike involving four unions, the *Bulletin* emerged out of the strike leaders' awareness for the "necessity of a daily newspaper to counter the incessant anti-union bias of the local press" (p. 265). Thus, the *Bulletin* was to function as a vehicle to "present the labor viewpoint to the townspeople" and to "provide a communicative channel for the political opponents of the Anaconda Company" who had access to the area's mainstream press (pp. 265-66). With the financial support of Burton K. Wheeler, et al., (an attorney who openly "rebuffed" the "Anaconda-supported political machine") the *Bulletin* was established with the express function of "being a labor paper of general news interest" (p. 266).

What is most interesting and what surfaces from this article, is the extent of competing forces between the mainstream papers at this time period which were under heavy political and business influences ("the press of Montana was, by and large, controlled by the Anaconda Company") and the efforts of specialized newspapers, in this case a labor paper. In the *Daily Butte's* case, "it failed, in part because it couldn't overcome the severe campaign of intimidation waged against its advertisers by Montana business and political interests" (p. 261).

Similar to many mainstream papers of the time, the *Bulletin* served a reform function. In its six-year history the *Daily Bulletin* "participated directly in burning

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political and social issues of the time; its editors looked upon this newspaper as not just a cold vehicle of facts (information function) and objective analysis but as a participant in social struggle" (p. 260). Much of this struggle was defined politically in 1917.

Serving a "watchdog" function, the *Bulletin* "fought corruption in the local police department and was instrumental in the removal of one of that department's key officers." Further, the paper fought against Anaconda Copper which held economic and political dominance in the Montana city. The *Bulletin* survived from 1917 until 1924, throughout the mining reform and industrial unionism "that was sweeping" Montana during those years (p. 260).

Modern Press

During the era of the modern press (1900 - 1945) newspapers adopted several specialized functions. During both World Wars, newspapers served patriotism, propaganda, and social consciousness functions. An example of this is provided by Pickett's (1965) examination of soldier journalism. Another specialized press of this era was the black press or "boulevard press" and is discussed using Stevens' (1980) article. Last, America was in the midst of the Progressive Era and the New Deal. The functions served by newspapers during these eras were news and the dissemination of knowledge regarding public service. Blanchard's (1978) article provides a glimpse of this age.

One of the most interesting "specialized newspapers" was the *Stars and Stripes*, which was published in France by the American Expeditionary Force. The first issue was dated February 8, 1918 and the last, 71 issues later, on June 13, 1919. The *Stars and Stripes* was the first soldier's newspaper and became the "pattern for newspapers of later wars" (Pickett, 1965, p. 61). The *Stars and Stripes* was produced by a staff of army privates who brought with them journalism experience earned at major papers such as the New York *Sun*, the Springfield *Republican*, the San Francisco *Call*, the New York *Times* and *Tribune*, and the Washington *Post* (p. 62).

Within its eight pages, the *Stars and Stripes* contained the same basic features of most American newspapers: news, editorials, jokes, features, cartoons and sports. Unlike those same papers, the *Stars and Stripes* was not economically driven, and while it did contain advertising these ads were used "largely to break up the gray space" (p. 67).

Beyond the standard news and entertainment functions, this publication served functions specific to its soldier readership. First, it was an entertaining paper... "a newspaper for the troops." Second, it served a news function by bringing soldiers news from home (especially about Prohibition, as Pickett mentions). Third, the *Stars and Stripes* served an advice function via editorials that moralized and were high on opinionated content. Opinion and moralizing spilled over to provide a function not overtly evidenced in newspapers, that of propaganda. "Propaganda would become an important function of the paper...propaganda that was frequently of a sentimental or hysterical nature." Fourth, an entertainment function was served

by content such as poetry, "stories of battle and heroism," and cartoons. After armistice, the *Stars and Stripes* began to serve another function, that of raising social consciousness via news and editorial content which prepared soldiers for "the peace that lay ahead" (pp. 60-68). The new *Stars and Stripes* exists to this day (W. Cote´, personal communication, June 5, 1998).

During the decade of the 20s black newspapers "became viable businesses." Stevens terms the Chicago *Defender*, the Pittsburgh *Courier*, and the Baltimore *Afro-American* and 200 smaller papers, the black press or "fighting press." The term fighting press reflects the opinion-leader role of these papers, although Stevens notes that, over time, their function turned "more and more to news" (1980, p. 109).

Stevens cites DuBois, the editor of the NAACP's monthly *The Crisis*, who suggested this shift to news was the result of those who stayed behind during the Great Migration of 1914-1929 and were hungry for news about those who had "gone north and vice versa."[24] Stevens categorizes the black press as a form of frontier press in noting that this "linking" of pioneers and stay-behinds "always has been a function of any frontier press" (p. 109). Further, the black press functioned as a promoter of the Great Migration, sharing a role similar to the labor recruiters of the time.

Stevens also cites Myrdal (1944) who credits the black press for serving the function of "shaping a sense of shared community among American blacks" (p. 109).

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[24] Dubois made these comments in a February 20, 1945 article written for the Chicago *Defender*, another black newspaper.

Having little "to admire" or identify with in the "white press," the black press also functioned as a criticizer of the mainstream press which frequently portrayed crime as associated with the black race. This over-emphasized portrayal of crime distorted black life and some felt it encouraged the Ku Klux Klan. As a result, the black press editors felt it was their duty to tell the black story themselves (function). Stevens notes, however, that much of the white press criticism was really focused at the New York tabloids that moralized against blacks while at the same time sinking, themselves, to sensational coverage of sexual themes and "tons of pornographic trash" during the 1920s (pp. 110-11).

Smaller white press publications were also guilty of racism against blacks and Jewish peoples. Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*, "sold by subscription through Ford auto dealers," is one example. Aside from pro-slavery and segregation articles, one of Ford's "recurring themes was that paid communist agents were trying to organize the blacks for revolution" (p. 112). Criticizing Ford's and other (white) general press publications was a major function of the black press during the decade of the 20s.

Stevens summarizes the curious findings of Young, who analyzed "the seven leading black weeklies in 1929." Young found the highest rates of crime news and sensationalism in the *Afro-American*. As Stevens notes, "the black papers were lurid" but this quality helped to move papers which had to depend upon sensationalism for street corner sales and economic support, since black papers had few subscribers.

"Every issue had to sell itself and sex and gore sell newspapers" (p. 110). This is suggestive of a profit-making function to remain viable.

Blanchard (1978) identifies that the Progressive Era and New Deal were reform movements focusing on wealth. As such, press critics also attacked within this framework charging that the press had sold its soul to the wealth-holders (or capitalist class) and calling for press reform. "News according to these critics, was suppressed, manufactured or distorted in order to increase circulation"; circulation difficult to achieve as "advertising dollars became difficult to obtain." Press critics cited moneymaking as the primary press function. According to Blanchard, the press had "forfeited its sacred charge to serve the people," and "freedom of the press became freedom of the press to make money" (p. 33).

Blanchard cites that as society advanced from rural to urban or agrarian to industrial, the function of the press changed in parallel and mirroring fashion. She refers to Silas Bent who viewed the latter years of the 1920s as a time when advertising came into modern form due to mechanization, increased circulation, and the need to offset increased production costs in some way other than increasing subscription prices. Further but also reflecting societal advancement, Blanchard cites Alfred McClung Lee (1937) who felt that population shifts to urban areas brought greater personal anonymity that led to an increased dependence on the press's information function. So, the cycle was circular or near circular in nature: increased circulation as new urbanites depended on newspapers for information and news led to increased mechanization to meet the demand for more papers, which in turn led to

an increased emphasis on advertising to offset production costs. Citing Bent (1927), Blanchard indicates that "advertising represented 28.9% of newspaper content in 1875, 32.1% in 1900, and 60.5% in 1925" (p. 33)

Emerging from the "political era" (this writer's terminology) of the late 1800s, nudged forward by changing industry and demographic shifts, and pressured by critics to reform, the look of newspapers was changing by the early 1900s. Aside from an increased focus on advertising that reflected the developing business aspect of journalism, papers were more likely to be owned by syndicates than by individuals. While professionalization was desired by critics and the press, alike, journalism throughout the 1920s more reflected a similar "corrupt era" among police.

Press critics charged corruption in several ways. First, Blanchard cites Seldes (1935) who felt that "reporting was deliberately kept as a poor-paying trade so that reporters would have to seek outside employment in order to attain a living…usually with a news source and this arrangement seriously compromised the reporter's ability to function objectively" (p. 34). Upton Sinclair (1920) is referenced, who charged reporters with being in the back pockets of their sources, "ready to adjust his opinions to the pocketbook of the new owner" (p. 134). Second, some critics felt that advertising tainted journalism because "some newspapers allowed the printing of a feature story or an editorial for purchasing a certain amount of advertising" (p. 34). It was felt this relationship between advertising and printed news was crucial because people in society tended to take the word of newspapers as "gospel truth" and

newspapers were considered "sacred sources of knowledge…second only to schools for immigrants to this country" (Blanchard citing Holt, 1909).

Blanchard also identifies the 1920s as an era when "feature syndicates blanketed the country with identical columns, stories, and comics" thus creating a "mass mind". In this era of standardization, newspapers adjusted their format and "newspaper size and column width" were standardized "as a convenience to the national advertiser" (p. 35). Political affiliations dropped by the wayside in order to appeal to a standardized (mass) audience.

As "the Tabloid War was raging in New York because advertising dollars went to the paper with the highest circulation," critics like Sinclair (1920) recognized the economic/class issues underlying newspaper production. "There is no daily newspaper in America which does not represent and serve vested wealth, and which has not for its ultimate aim the protection of economic privilege. We have a class-owned press representing class interests" (Blanchard, 1978, p. 35).

The issues raised by Sinclair, Blanchard finds exemplified in critics' charges against the press's handling of the Teapot Dome scandal, the stock market crash (instability of banks was generally concealed on inside newspaper pages), the concealment of the alarming growth in unemployment, and deprecating reports against labor unions.

As Blanchard summarizes, the ultimate question is one of "how responsible the press should be and to whom." She reminds the reader that the press is "a social

institution and that if it gets too out of line with the overall needs of the society it serves, moves will be made to return it to a role perceived as more appropriate" (p. 54). For press critics of this era, newspapers functioned as supporters of the economically-fortunate business class via (in a broad sense) emphasis on advertising monies to support growing circulations. While it could be argued that the 1920s press was emphasizing the news/knowledge function for the advancement of its readers, this function was (according to critics) wrapped in the framework of America's wealthy class via advertising and "bought" news stories.

The previous section has examined the historical evolution of press function from the Colonial Press (1690-1765) through the Modern Press (1900-1945). Coverage of the contemporary press (post World War II to present) is dealt with in the next section, which focuses on news media function. Inherent in this next discussion is an examination of apparent changes in media function; changes which have been driven, in part, by competition between media.

<u>News Media Function</u>

<u>News in Radio and Television</u>

While the press had been around for centuries, radio and television are far newer media formats. Karnick (1988) focuses on the development of news broadcasting in the infant television medium. Television news began developing in the early 1940s when executives began discussing how to fit news into the new medium of television. Karnick cites the most important time period for television

news development was the years between "1945, the year in which NBC formed an organization for its news film, and 1953, when the network's attentions began turning from the expansion of its news operations to possible ways of cutting back on costs without giving up its (television news) dominance to CBS's news division" (p. 26). News as it was packaged in 1988 was, according to Karnick, "historically determined" by the NBC television network which "innovated television news in the period of its infancy" (p. 26).

NBC's first problem was how to format the news and it experimented with formatting from radio and newsreel broadcasts as well magazines and newspapers. Thus, NBC's initial foray took the form of still pictures over an announcer's words (in 1940). By 1945, NBC had established a news organization to produce news film but had to depend on "theatrical newsreel companies for material during its early days of newsreel development." In 1948 and influenced by radio, *The NBC Newsroom'* appeared in which "radio newsmen read the news from the NBC radio newsroom" (p. 27).

At this same time, newsreel companies were concerned about their own fate and the impact ("freshness") of their twice-weekly newsreels when television could provide the same information on a daily basis. To off-set their concerns, these companies set up organizations to provide newsreels to television networks but technological differences between newsreel film and television sometimes made for poor visual quality of this supplied news form. As a result, NBC began using its own film and doing its own filming. The end product of this process was the *Camel News*

Caravan with John Cameron Swayze. Critics from the press (*Variety & The New York Herald Tribune*) were soon to criticize television's use of film and its focus only on "top news stories" (p. 28).

Other newsreel companies did not fall by the wayside, however, as NBC "established exclusive agreements with domestic and overseas newsreel companies; newsreel material provided to NBC would be provided to NBC exclusively" (p. 29). By 1953 NBC was entering a financial slump due to its own supplemental news production, and CBS "emerged with its own newsfilm organization," which in 1954 surpassed the ratings of NBC (pp. 30-32). This competition resulted in a new era of news expansion at NBC with specialized news branches and productions. Expansion also resulted in the "TV news' 'first superstars'...Chet Huntley and David Brinkley, who ushered in the mainstay of charismatic news anchor" (still evident in 1998). In 1957, NBC was finally able to once again head the ratings chart.

Riggs (1964) provides a "60s-look" at the evolution of radio's role in society.[25] What Riggs terms "role" is equal to function, per se. According to Riggs, instability and confusion regarding radio's identity and role are hallmarks of the radio industry in the 60s and the function of news comes into play.

Riggs begins his review with "the six-year period following 1948, when radio became a markedly depressed industry due to the appearance of television and the lifting of restrictions on new stations" (p. 332). Citing Codding (1959) and Chester

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[25] Frank L. Riggs, "The Changing Role of Radio," *Journal of Broadcasting* VIII (fall 1964): 331-339.

and Garrison (1952), Riggs provides the following data, which this writer presents in table form for increased clarity of television's competitive effect.

Table 2

Use and Ratings of Radio Versus Television from 1949 to 1954 (p. 332)

Year	Radio Listening	Television Viewing	Radio Ratings
1949	4 hrs. 46 min	6 minutes	27.4
1952	3 hrs. 16 min	1 hr. 54 min	
1954	2 hrs. 42 min	3 hrs. 3 min	9.2

As Riggs cites, even by 1952, "TV's ascendancy made it impossible to sell a nighttime radio show even with inducements" (p. 332). Further, "things went from bad to worse," and in 1960 it was "generally agreed that the year 1954 was the signal year in contemporary radio history...not only was it the year that saw television ascend over radio, but it marked the first time in sixteen years that radio revenues failed to advance" (p. 332). Falling ratings during this time period indicated that there was more to the dire news than just more people watching television.

Another reason for radio's downfall, according to Riggs, was its failure to "recognize its relationship to changes in the needs of the audience" (p. 332). Riggs discusses this failure in terms of radio function and provides a continuum of radio's changing function from its inception up to the 60s.

Traditionally, the function of radio was entertainment. By 1954, television had changed America's concept of entertainment. In response to television, independent

radio broadcasters switched to a "formula" concept whereby they hoped to "push radio back into the public's consciousness." This "formula" added news and "razzle-dazzle" promotion to radio's traditional entertainment function (p. 332).

Riggs cites a two-fold effect resulting from this formula concept. First, "it kept the idea of radio alive"; and second, "it lowered the medium's stature through inept application by imitators" (p. 333). On the heels of the formula concept's partial failure, broadcasters again dealt with the question of how to win a greater audience share. A service function was their answer.

Service broadcasting, as it was called, was developed to keep pace with the changing tastes, education levels, and age demographics in post-War, American society. The need to be informed was identified as foremost among this new era of listeners. Studies at that time indicated that listeners "had considerable confidence in what it hears via radio...and the speed of transmission tends to create the feeling that there is less opportunity to edit, distort, or otherwise modify the news" (p. 335).

Companionship was another function satisfied by radio during the 50s decade. Citing Munn (1957), Riggs speaks of the creating of station "personalities" in the minds of listeners. The personalities of various radio stations played into and paralleled the fragmentation of the mass media market, the defining of audience segments, and broadcasters' focusing on these individual audiences. Driving these changes was not so much the overt desire of broadcasters to cater to listeners' needs, but the underlying power of advertising dollars and the need to reach audience segments with spendable income.

In the latter part of the 50s decade and at the start of the 60s, "talk trend" radio grew out of service broadcasting. Talk radio included "a potpourri of news, interviews, skits and readings, book and theater reviews, sports, and business trend analyses." The function of information was realized via the talk radio format, with some terming this new era "information programming." As a result of information programming, "there was a rebirth of interest...and the simple news formats of the past were gradually being surpassed by a format switch to conversation in radio resulting in the growth of radio audiences" (p. 337). With this growth came a significant growth in advertising revenue.

What Riggs presents in this 1964 article, written in the midst of information programming, is essentially a continuum of radio's function. Beginning with an entertainment function, radio shifted to formula programming, through the talk trend, and into service and information (news). However, these shifts might also be termed "audience-driven programming" or "market-driven programming" as broadcasters sought to regain advertising revenue.

In 1948, Marx noted the purposes (functions) of radio and television as specified by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters. According to the NARTB, the chief functions were:

> "....Enrich the daily lives of people through the factual reporting and analysis of the news and through programs of education, entertainment, and information; ...Provide for the fair discussion of matters of general public concern; engage in works directed toward the common good; and volunteer our aid and comfort in times of stress and emergency; and...Contribute to the economic welfare of all, by expanding the channels of trade; by encouraging the development and conservation of natural resources; and by bringing

together the buyer and seller through broadcasting of information pertaining to goods and services." (pp. 1-8)

That same year, Williams (1948) looked at radio from a more realistic perspective. He commented that "radio is not, today, any of the things it was born to be. It is not operated primarily in the public interest. It is operated in the specific interest of certain patent medicine makers, soap chemists, and tobacco curers. It becomes an educational, political, and social force only after the salesmen have enjoyed their sport. Somebody has to fill up the remaining time, the hours when nobody is suppose to be listening and radio might as well be a news organ and a public service at that time, particularly when such fare cost little or nothing to prepare" (p. 71-7).

Houseman (1950) was even more critical in his evaluation of radio's worth. "Radio was never more than a transitional stage, a step toward television. It is likely to continue fulfilling a useful, though minor, function as a carrier of music and a disseminator of cultural items not appreciably enhanced by the addition of sight. In the major fields of entertainment, including news and drama, radio is almost certainly a dead duck" (p. 9). Note Houseman's 1950 reference to news as entertainment.

Specific to television's function, Peter Levathes, President of 20th Century-Fox Television, Inc., reported in a 1959 *Variety* article that "You've got to look at television realistically, as what it is today. The sponsor buys a show to sell his product. That is the basic purpose of TV. To sell someone's product" (p. ii).

News Function in the Press

"While other functions have grown in emphasis over the years, the supplying of information, or news in its broadest sense, has been regarded as the foremost role of the press since the United States was formed" (Johnston, 1979, p. 10). As Johnston relates, "the founding fathers, though they sometimes used the press to promote their own political interests, recognized the (libertarian) principle championed by Thomas Jefferson and other respected thinkers of the time – that a republic, if it is to work properly, must have a free flow of facts and ideas among its people" (p. 10).

"The function of journalism and the news media is to transmit information, to enlighten the public by reporting and explaining what is happening in the world. Journalists serve as the Public's eyes and ears" (p. 7). This is the duty (or function) that long ago earned the press the name "Fourth Estate" as credited to Thomas Caryle who said "Burke said there were three estates in Parliament, but in the Reporter's Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate, more important by far than them all" (p. 8).

By 1979, Johnston found the American public deeply ingrained in the news. "The United States is now so media-oriented that most people could not imagine life without the daily newspaper and the evening newscast...following the news has become a habit, a daily ritual, regardless of the content (p. 9). According to Atkins (1990), who researched audience exposure patterns, by 1990 this news media orientation was the purview of older, higher income individuals (he found no

significant gender differences). Overall, these citizens were spending 30 minutes a day reading a newspaper and the trend was on a downward slope. Television viewing (primarily for entertainment not news) was trending upward with older, low income females (the group which watched the most often) viewing an average of 4 ½ hours a day.

Currently, "newspapers and newsmagazines are the primary purveyors of information. General magazines, and to a greater degree the trade magazines, provide information about fewer subjects in each issue, but usually more information about each subject" (Johnston, 1979, p. 17). Today, one cannot discuss the news function of the press without also discussing advertising and entertainment functions; they are explicitly connected.

At the onset of the 80s decade, "the average newspaper filled about two-thirds of its space with advertisement—display and classified—and derived approximately 80% of its income from advertising. In comparison, broadcast stations filled the air with two to twelve commercial messages an hour and must obtain all its income from advertising" (pp. 16-17). While 1998 comparative figures are not available, one could safely estimate an increase in advertising in both the newspaper and broadcast formats. WSGW[26] reported (12/1/96) that a then recent broadcast of *It's A Wonderful Life* contained 51 minutes of advertising. This is certainly greater than the two to twelve advertising spots mentioned above. Even at sixty seconds a spot, twelve spots

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[26] Michigan AM radio station, reporting on advertising time sold for the showing of this movie over local television stations.

would only amount to twelve minutes an hour—far below the 51 minutes over the course of the standard length movie.

Examining the advertising function of newspapers further, this function has changed as society changed. Initially, in colonial times, "advertisements were few and took the form of political and shipping notices. But as free education produced more readers, improved printing and transmission processes produced more papers to circulate, and more industries produced more goods to sell, the economic benefit of expanded advertising was realized" (Johnston, 1979, p. 16). This increased advertising meant less dependence on political subsidies and the Industrial Revolution resulted in advertising fulfilling "an integral part of the national economic process" (1979). Thus, advertising became an accepted and necessary function of both the entertainment and news media.

The function of entertainment is also associated with the news function. "Entertainment function is generally regarded as divided into two broad categories: one is entertaining news, and the other is features about self-help, leisure, sports, culture, and entertainment itself" (p. 17). Newspapers of the nineties include information about many of these topics under the umbrella of news.

According to Johnston, "entertaining news" emphasizes human interest written with a light touch...it deals with events that are odd, humorous, exciting, or sexual. Inclusion of such entertaining news items is as old as the penny press (p. 17). Industry competition and the "market model" of journalism have led to the presentation of news events and information in increasingly entertaining formats in

order to maximize circulation and ratings. Surette (192) terms this blurring of news and entertainment, "infotainment" (p. 249). Ehrlich (1996) terms this phenomenon, "tabloid television news" (p. 155). Bringing the market (economic) aspect of media into play, Surette believes that the emphasis on tabloid style news in broadcast media sets up a vicious circle, whereby newspapers are forced to follow suit in order to sustain circulation figures.[27]

Market-driven journalism is a phrase coined by McManus (1994) which builds upon the market model presented by Surette. According to McManus, the primary purpose (function) of news is "to empower the public by maximizing its understanding of those current issues and events that most shape its environment" (p. xiv). Further, he proposes that "as news becomes more explicitly a commodity, it may lose its informational value." McManus cites Ben Bagdikian (1973) who believes that "market journalism gathers an audience not to inform it, but to sell it to advertisers" (pp. 1-2).

Reviewing the field, McManus cites from Underwood (1988) who discusses Michael Fancher, "Executive Editor of the *Seattle Times*, a leading spokesperson for the market model approach." Fancher states "a successful editor must integrate the business and news subdivisions and become a marketing expert" (p. 2). Neal Shine (1996), of the *Detroit Free Press* takes a broader perspective of the market model and mentions it is not a new concept. Rather, Shine says, "the truth is, of course, that

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[27] Empirical evidence to support this circular process between broadcast and print media is not available.

there has never been a newspaper publisher who, from the moment he or she first decided to put ink to paper, did not understand that a prudent business course should probably involve making a profit" (p. 26).

McManus examines "the application of market logic to news." He offers a "new" theory of commercial news production – the first to incorporate the idea that media firms compete in markets, not just for readers or viewers, but for advertisers, sources, and investors. McManus uses this theory to predict "what will become news and what will remain obscure at a time when much of the news industry is moving to replace journalistic judgment with market judgment" (1994, pp. xii-xiii).

In the United States, "most news media trade in four markets at the same time: market for audience, stock market, advertising market, and market for sources" (p. 5). McManus states that "if each of these markets operates properly, news ought to be an outstanding commodity. Consumers ought to give allegiance to the firm providing the highest quality news" (p. 5). Without providing proof of his premise, the reader is left to accept his model on faith. McManus also believes that advertisers, who subsidize part of the cost of producing press news, increase news integrity as "bias and censorship is lessened because the news firm does not depend economically on the patronage of government or a single private funding institution" (p. 6).

If one accepts McManus's logic, the outcome of his model is that "reading trends have changed and that press has restructured its approach to readership." The press is now more sensitive to readers' needs and the role of journalists in the gatekeeper process has become lessened. McManus goes so far as to say that

"managers are telling journalists to let the public decide what becomes news by paying more attention to what kinds of reports are most valued in the marketplace" (pp. 5-6).

Two other factors impact the news function of the press. The first is "cyberspace journalism," the second is "public journalism" or "civic journalism." The first factor is a result of advancing communication technology; the second a result of journalism's attempt to reconnect with their local communities. Cyberspace journalism will be mentioned only briefly for definition purposes as it was not an issue during the 1989 - 1993 time frame of this research. Civic journalism, a viable movement during the research time frame, will be discussed in detail.

Cyberspace Journalism

Cyberspace journalism or electronic newspapers have been called "more flash that substance" and are "clearly market-driven" with 175 daily newspapers online on the World Wide Web in 1996 (Pogash, 1996) and an estimated 700 plus "channels" (on-line newspapers) active a year later (Lasica, 1997). Termed "the birth of a new mass media," the content (available free) and the audience vary daily. Readers tend to be short of attention span (1500 words seems the maximum) and often have "linked" (moved on) to other sites via keywords within news documents (Pogash, 1996). Proponents of cyberspace journalism believe that electronic newspapers can "serve local areas with data (news) important to the community" (p. 29). Opponents claim that if these sites are to work, they need to become "less cool (and flashy) and more useful" (p. 31). Others, like Lasica, worry about the transformation of news delivery

and caution that "as Web publications evolve into true news channels, it's critical that they nail down the facts before they post the stories" (1997, p. 64). Such validation of news (i.e., news function) came to a head during the recent alleged sexual tryst between Monica Lewinsky and President Clinton when newspapers (and news magazines) debated about the level of corroboration required before "going on-line" with the story (Shepard, 1998). Indeed, a new and curious type of competition has emerged due to online newspapers; it is an intra-organization competitive factor: that of scooping the newspaper's print copy by publishing in the newspaper's electronic version first.

During the time frame of the present research, the *Lansing State Journal* did not publish an electronic version of its daily paper. Thus, cyberspace journalism will not be discussed further. Attention is now directed to the movement of civic journalism within the mass media system, particularly as it applies to newspapers.

Civic Journalism

Defining Civic Journalism

Quoting from Jay Black (1996), a staff writer for the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, "Public (civic) journalism[28] is hard to define succinctly. It has arisen in response to various signals warning that democracy and public lives are in trouble and that journalism is in disrepute, and in response to the belief that certain bad habits of conventional journalism have contributed to these problems" (p. 1A). Black notes

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[28] The terms civic journalism and public journalism are used interchangeably.

these bad habits include: (1) "overreliance by journalists on politicians, experts and celebrities as the only ones worthy of being quoted, consulted, or covered has encouraged public passivity by assigning the average citizen no role other than recipient of the news, (2) ...the legendary cynicism of journalists which has helped create a public which mistrusts major public institutions, and (3) journalists, who because they are obsessed with maintaining their detachment, give the impression that they don't really care whether society thrives or falls apart" (p. 1A).

According to Edward M. Fouhy, Executive Director, Pew Center for Civic Journalism (1995), the bad habits mentioned by Black, include "the communications revolution that has changed the way people get their news" and results in a threat to the media's existence (p. 2). Fouhy refers to electronic advancements in news delivery and how these advancements have resulted in a disconnection between journalists and citizens. Resulting from this disconnection is the recognition that "civic life and journalism are inextricably bound together" and that journalists must "stimulate citizens to re-engage with their communities by fostering journalism that includes the public voice" (p 3).

At the center of the civic journalism or public journalism concept is the idea that the press should help communities improve. Within what Paul Keep, Editor of the *Bay City Times*, terms "a movement"[29] in journalism, is found the press acting as "catalysts for change" within their communities (1996, p. 12A). According to a

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[29] According to the Pew Foundation for Civic Journalism, "Wichita, Kansas...America's heartland may well be the birthplace of civic journalism, the *Wichita Eagle* has been at it since 1990" (1995, p. 10).

survey developed by Don Corrigon, Editorial Board, *St. Louis Journalism Review*, the following attitudes and practices are suggested for journalists: (1) journalists should offer solutions to the community problems they write about in their stories, (2) journalists should see their jobs as that of initiators of public debate, (3) journalists should get directly involved in helping solve the problems of the communities that they report in, (4) journalists should see themselves more as participants in the democratic process, rather than as watchdogs of democratic government, (5) journalists should write more on what affects ordinary citizens rather than on the major news events of the day...similarly, civic journalism relies more on intense local coverage than on news from national and international bureaus, and (6) journalists should not view people as potential customers of news, but as potential actors in the democratic process who can solve community problems. Ideally, civic journalism involves a media alliance: "ideally a newspaper, a commercial television station and one or more radio stations" (Fouhy, 1995, p. 3). As might be expected not everyone embraces these tenants or this new journalism concept.

Conflicting and Critical Views of Civic Journalism

There appears to be a degree of animosity between journalism academics and journalism practitioners when it comes to the issue of civic journalism. Stein (1997) reported on a presentation made by two journalism professors who, speaking on civic journalism, claimed "journalists hate it because they don't know what it is, and academics love it because they don't know what it is and they like not knowing

because it generates more study…easily defined subjects don't often generate study" (p. 31).

Black and Stein both imply that civic or public journalism is nothing more (to coin a community policing phrase) than old wine in new bottles. According to Black, "it's much ado about nothing, something in which old-fashioned journalistic virtues are given fancy new names so that newspapers and broadcast stations can claim to be doing something abut the perceived rising tide of customer alienation" (1996, p. 1A). Thus, there is some inherent "market-modeling" or economic value to civic journalism; more readers equates to more advertising and more advertising equates to more newspaper profit. Stein mentions, as do other practitioners, that civic journalism is "nothing more than good journalism" and involves what journalists "have been doing all along" (1997, p. 31).

Journalism practitioners also raise the ethical dilemma of whether it is a reporter's job to report about problems or to solve them. Black is strong with his criticism and cites that "public journalism is a bad idea that will divert resources from good old-fashioned reporting, a dangerous idea that violates important journalistic principles of objectivity or a cynical idea that will lead to even more pandering to the public than the media already practice" (1996, p. 1A).

In contrast to the ethical issue posed above, Jay Black, editor of *Mixed News*, cites Rosen (1996), identified as the leading theoretician of public journalism, who discusses the press as an active and natural participant in American life:

> Public journalism is thus a confrontation with a long-suppressed fact: the press is a participant in our national life. It suffers when the quality of public life

erodes. And when the performance of the press deteriorates – as it has in recent years – then public life suffers as well. This means there are limits to the stance of the observer in journalism; but the American press has no philosophy that takes over when those limits are reached. Public journalism provides one. (p. 34).

A certain degree of resistance to civic journalism has been experienced among reporters. Black (1996) contends that "a small group of would-be reformers" has achieved success selling the concept of civic journalism to editors and to publishers, "but they have met a wall of suspicion and resistance among large segments of the working press" (p. 1A). Liz Chandler, a practicing civic journalism reporter at the *Charlotte Observer*, a newspaper which ran a nationally acclaimed and highly successful civic journalism effort to fight crime and neighborhood deterioration in that city, mentions that public journalism is only one tool reporters use, and hesitates to embrace civic journalism as a replacement for traditional investigative journalism (in Waddell, 1997).

Having provided basic definitional information and current criticism related to civic or public journalism, those readers familiar with community policing have likely noted a variety of similarities between civic journalism and community policing. Additional similarities are compared in the following section.

Comparing Civic Journalism and Community Policing

The concept or movement (as identified by Keep) of civic journalism is strikingly similar to the community policing movement within law enforcement. From a police perspective, the community -oriented movement raises the question of what the proper role or function of police should be in terms of how police services

are delivered. Within a media framework, and again referencing Keep, the issue is "whether helping communities improve" is a proper role or function for newspapers. Keep muses that the overall debate is one that emerges from absolutists who believe that "newspapers should play no direct role in helping their communities" and activists who argue "that newspapers have a responsibility to be more involved participants in the future of their communities" (1996, p. 12A). The absolutists claim objectivity is lost by activist approaches whereby journalists and newspapers become "friends" of the community. Keep disagrees with both the absolutists and activists, citing (essentially) that community improvement results from, and is inherent within, the traditional news and entertainment functions of newspapers.

According to Akhavan-Majid (1995), "the (media) pendulum appears to have swung back in the direction of greater community and civic involvement by newspaper organizations, in the context of a movement which reflects a new, and somewhat unexpected, convergence of economic and intellectual motivations" (p. 30). Latent economic motivations result from personal interaction with local "political elites who function as major sources of news and advertising revenue for the newspaper" (p. 30). A similar latent function of community policing is enjoyed by law enforcement agencies that receive governmental funding and grant money for additional hiring of police officers. Whether either institution, press or police, takes to heart the concepts of these civic/community movements, or simply uses them for their latent benefits, is yet to be determined.

One of the as yet unfounded fears of community policing is the question of increased potential for corruption – corruption the result of closer, sustained contact with the community.[30] This same potential for corruption could be directed toward media representatives who become too "palsy" with local political elites due to the inherent economic benefits to their organizations.

Like community policing, civic journalism suggests that journalists refrain from viewing people as clients and think of them more in terms of actors or partners in the democratic process who can solve community problems. Some journalists debate the appropriateness of this "community-reporter partnership" in terms of its impact on reporter objectivity. This suggestion of a proactive partnership is further developed in materials disseminated by the Pew Center for Civic Journalism that suggest that civic journalism reflects a new investigative style of journalism – an investigative style that requires the watchdog concept, but one that goes beyond this press function to solve the uncovered or discovered (community) problem. In such an instance where the community problem might revolve around some form of police corruption, civic journalism holds potential for adding another layer of accountability.

The issue of civic journalism and its inherent press-related, function issues show promise of remaining in the media forefront. Chronologically, it appears to have started well after the onset of the community policing movement. Thus far, it has developed in mirror-like fashion when compared to community-oriented law

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[30] This writer is aware of no valid incident of community policing corruption (to date). Nor, has any incident of corruption been documented within community policing literature.

enforcement. Because civic journalism was a viable movement during the time frame of this research it would be logical to examine the civic journalism concept within the parameters of this study. While a more comprehensive discussion of civic/public journalism is beyond the scope of this research, the aspects noted in the sections above provide necessary and appropriate structure to this case study. Also logical, is to summarize and contrast media (focusing on press) functions as identified in the law enforcement literature with the historically accepted press functions identified in Chapter Two.

Summarizing and Contrasting Press Functions

Review of the historical literature related to media function revealed a consistency in terms of accepted media functions in general and press functions, specifically. Witnessed within this chapter has been the evolution of press function in America, the fluidity of press function throughout America's press history, and the interaction and inter-dependent quality of various press functions over time. Framing those topic areas was a conceptual framework based upon various school of thought in journalism history and four "theories" or rationales for the functions served by the press.

In summary and emerging from these materials were the following historically developed and accepted functions of the press: (1) the news function, which includes information, (2) the "watchdog" function (particularly on the government), (3) the entertainment function, (4) the education function, (5) the influence or persuasion

function, which may underlie general reporting and that currently manifests in the shape of editorials and opinion columns, and (5) the profit function based upon advertising and circulation. Also witnessed were specialized functions indicative to particular time periods in history or specialized press such as the propaganda function of revolutionary times, the political function of the colonial press, the "associational" function of the black press, the sensory detail function of the yellow press, and the boosterism and community (building) functions of the suffrage, ethnic, and frontier presses.

The functions noted above are a compilation of visible, day-to-day functions that appeared in the press of times past. Some remain visible and viable in today's current press. However, also important and underlying these visible functions are additional, non-visible functions that may permeate current reporting. These functions tend to be social in nature. Included among these functions are promoting social change, promoting democracy, and supporting and advancing policies of the government.

This is an opportune time to recall the functions of the media (this study focusing particularly on press functions) as identified by community policing proponents – media outsiders. Specified functions included: (1) publicizing the initial city-wide meeting and later public forums, (2) informing and educating the public about the concept of community policing, (3) writing feature stories pertaining to the department's community policing efforts, (4) initially marketing and providing sustained support for community policing, (5) cooperating and communicating with

other members of the Big Six, (6) increasing support for community policing, and (7) building public confidence (community empowerment). When contrasting these media outsider-identified functions with those historically developed media functions reviewed in this chapter, similarities and differences are apparent. Functions one through three are in keeping with media-identified functions. Functions four through seven are more tenuous in terms of meshing with actual media-identified functions but might be appropriate if viewed as non-visible functions (mentioned earlier). Whether this is true, and how these contrasts emerge and play out in an actual community police - press case study is the focus of this research.

CHAPTER 3

Historical Background of the Organizations

Introduction

As with any inter-disicplinary research, the background information is extensive yet critical to understanding the research topic. Thus, Chapter Three continues to create the foundation of information forming this study's framework. Three areas are examined within this chapter.

Provided first, is historical and organizational information related to the mass medium focused on in this case study, the *Lansing State Journal*, the City of Lansing's only daily newspaper. Second, is historical and organizational information related to the law enforcement organization focused on in this case study, the Lansing Police Department, which began implementing community policing late in 1989.

Both organizations are located in Lansing, Michigan, the State's Capital. Lansing remains a thriving city that had an ethnically diverse population of approximately 130,000 at the time of this case study. In addition to being the State's center of government, Lansing enjoys a large industrial base and it is home to Michigan State University (in adjacent East Lansing) and Lansing Community College.

After specific focus on the *Lansing State Journal* and Lansing Police Department

follows a general discussion based on existing literature of organizational relationships

between police departments and newspaper organizations. In addition to providing

necessary background, this last topic area will allow for later comparison between

what the literature suggests about organizational factors related to police and

newspaper organizations and the findings from this case study specific to two such

organizations.

The *Lansing State Journal*

Ownership and Circulation

The *Lansing State Journal* is a Gannett-owned, daily, morning newspaper[31]

housed in downtown Lansing, Michigan. While Lansing's population was 130,000 at

the time of this study, the *State Journal's* circulation was not bound by city limits. A

circulation department staff member described the paper's geographic boundaries as

north to Alma, Michigan; south to Jackson, Michigan; east to Howell, Michigan;

northeast to Owosso; and west to Ionia, Michigan. Daily circulation figures[32]

numbered 70,679 copies with Sunday circulation swelling to 91,851 copies. Weekday

editions (Monday through Saturday) numbered from 30 to 52 pages in length and the

Sunday edition ranged from 70 to 82 pages – most of the increase due to additional

advertising and expanded features related to travel, fashion, entertainment and

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[31] The *Lansing State Journal* has a 4-5 P.M. news deadline and "goes to print" between 11:00 P.M. and 12:00 A.M., "sometimes a little later if there is a special issue being covered" (Cote´, personal communication, June 25, 1998).

[32] Circulation figures are the measurement 'standard' of comparison in the newspaper industry.

business. As the city's only daily newspaper the *Journal* receives insignificant (if any) local competition from neighboring, non-daily, publications.[33]   The issues of competition and Gannett ownership are discussed in the following sections.

General Impact of Declining Newspaper Competition

Lack of competition has been the growing trend in journalism. Statistics presented by Lacy (1987) revealed the historic decline of intra-city newspaper competition: "Of the cities with daily newspapers in 1880, almost 68% had two or more such papers. By 1984, only 30 cities had two or more separately owned and operated newspapers" (p. 281). This figure had dropped to 20 cities by 1992 (Johnson and Wanta, 1993, p. 136). Lacy's review of literature in his above article, cited Rarick's and Hartman's (1966) replication studies that found "a decline in local news coverage after (intra-city newspaper) competition disappeared" (p. 283).

Message diversity (lack thereof) is another issue addressed by Lacy (1987, 1989) and Johnson and Wanta (1993) who found that lack of intra-city and inter-city newspaper competition resulted in decreased diversity of (news) messages. In addition to declines in local news coverage and message diversity resulting from a lack of within-medium competition, the impact of "outside" competition from electronic media is another factor to be considered.

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[33] Refer to Appendix A for a complete listing of Lansing area media. According to Dr. Bill Cote, of Michigan State University's School of Journalism, reporters at the *State Journal* do keep somewhat of an eye on the *Jackson Citizen Patriot* (to the south) and the *Grand Rapids Press* (to the west) although these publications should not be considered as directly competing for readers, except in the fringe areas of the *State Journal's* coverage (personal communication, October 12, 1994).

Competition With Electronic Media

Morton approached the issue of the declining numbers of newspapers from a different perspective, claiming that "the growth of electronic media has actually contributed to the newspaper industry's economic efficiency by helping to drive weak newspapers out of business" (1993, p. 18). Specific to police-related coverage, Lovell (1993) warned police reporters to "be prepared for competition from television" (p. 197). Further, he remarked that decreased competition between newspapers has diminished the need for sensationalistic or even full coverage of every crime incident. Television stations, however, do not share in the luxury of non-competition. Because of this, as Lovell put it, "they (electronic media) cover the police department in the way newspapers used to" (p. 197).

Do newspapers and electronic media compete or do they compliment each other? Ehrlich (1991) believed "newsworkers and their organizations generate a competitive environment through their actions and interactions and their ongoing efforts to interpret each other's actions" (p. vi). In contrast, Brown (1992) found no distinct pattern to indicate whether television or newspapers set the news agenda and found these two media organizations to be complimentary.

In terms of this research, the issues of inter-city newspaper competition and potential competition from area electronic media were examined during the field research component of the case study. From a methodological standpoint, the absence of intra-city newspaper competition was viewed as a positive research component as any police-related coverage in the *Journal* could be considered

"unenhanced" and not driven by competition. Having explored the *Lansing State Journal's* media "competitive position" in the city, attention is now focused on its parent company, the Gannett Co. Inc.

Gannett and Impact of Gannett Ownership[34]

Gannett Co. Inc. is based in Arlington, Virginia with international headquarters in New York City. In addition to national and international versions of *USA Today*, Gannett owns daily and non-daily publications in 35 states and the U. S. territories (Best of Gannett, 1993). Newspapers are not the only medium owned by Gannett. Gannett Broadcasting owns nine television stations and eleven radio stations. The corporation is further diversified by ownership of Gannett Outdoor Group, Gannett Direct Marketing Services, Inc., Gannettwork, Telematch, and Louis Harris & Associates (1993). Along with the *Lansing State Journal*, other Gannett-owned Michigan newspapers included the *Battle Creek Enquirer, The Detroit News*, and the *Times Herald* in Port Huron.

When examining the impact of Gannett ownership upon another daily, the *Arkansas Gazette*, a former independent newspaper, Yarbrough (1991) identified several changes. Yarbrough indicated that the *"Gazette* was altered to more closely resemble *USA Today*. Although overall newshole increased, the percentage of newshole available for articles actually dropped. More emphasis was placed on visual

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[34] Information about the Gannett Co. Inc. is provided as it existed during the time frame of this case study.

and display elements including headline space, informational graphics, and photographs, and a slight increase in readability occurred" (p. iv). The *Lansing State Journal* has been Gannett-owned since 1972 and while such "overnight" changes are not trackable, Gannett company policy can be assumed to background news production and is examined in this case study.

Focus on community, reporting on trends, database journalism,[35] and mainstreaming[36] are Gannett-blessed factors that earned a Nashville paper, *The Tennessean*, top honors for outstanding achievement in best news performance in 1993 (1993). News performance, like *The Tennessean's*, was important to Gannett for marketing reasons, especially during the research time frame.

According to Gannett executive, John Curley (1993), "the bedrock of our business is newspaper publishing that provides more than 80% of Gannett's revenues and operating income. In general, our newspapers enjoy good market penetration. Advertisers will pay more every year if you deliver the audience, and we *do* deliver the audience" (p. 1). Curley also discussed the recession period within the newspaper industry (from 1989 to mid-1992), and mentioned that retail advertising had dropped by 20% at 82 of Gannett's local newspapers (p. 1). Since advertising accounts for about "70% of a newspaper's revenues" (read Gannett revenues), advertising and

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[35] Database journalism can be defined as using computer databases to gather and analyze information for stories. At the time of this study, this researcher viewed database journalism to be a relatively new specialty area for journalists.

[36] A *LSJ* reporter defined mainstreaming for this researcher, as "representing all races." "If we need an expert and we have two experts from a university, one black and one white, we will probably quote the black person because there are plenty (of stories) quoting white people" (personal communication, January 26, 1994).

readership were key to Gannett. To boost revenue and circulation, Gannett corporate mantra dictated "serving the local community and balancing that service with balanced, outstanding coverage of national news" (p. 4). A Gannett advertisement for one of its ongoing company programs, "NEWS 2000," reflects its corporate focus: "Newspapers must cover the news – bad and good. But readers sometimes feel that the good things in their lives and communities don't get into print. Gannett newspapers work hard to overcome that perception. Our newspapers reflect communities as they are – pointing to problems and suggesting solutions but also celebrating successes" (in *American Journalism Review*, November, 1997, p. 2). The issue of Gannett company policy was examined during the field research component of this case study; those findings are presented in Chapter Five. Having examined the general impact of Gannett ownership on local newspapers, attention is now focused upon the historical evolution of The *Lansing State Journal*.

History of the *Lansing State Journal*[37]

The first paper published in Lansing was a Democrat publication called the *Free Press* in 1848. "Its name was soon changed to *The Michigan Journal* and later *The Lansing Journal* (May 27, 1984). *The Lansing Journal* was "more or less a weekly" paper run by the "ardent and powerful orator, George Washington Peck" (1984). It would be seven years before a Republican paper would appear to wage political battle.

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[37]Historical information in this section is derived from numerous *Lansing State Journal* news articles published from 1952 to 1985. Because some of these articles are not attributed to a specific reporter, this writer has included a complete listing of all articles in Appendix C. Citing within this section will be by date only.

When Detroit native, H. Barnes printed Vol. I, No. 1, of the *Lansing Republican* on the night of April 28, 1855, Lansing was seven years old[38] and merely "two dots in the wilderness" with "'Lower Town' (North Lansing) and 'Upper Town' (a collection of crude homes and stores around the original wooden Main Street bridge" (April 28, 1953). The present downtown area did not yet exist, save for a "frame capitol...the new two-story state building... (and) a couple primitive hotels and some huts" (1953).

Describing the mission of his newspaper and in keeping with the Antebellum political press of the era, Barnes "announced that the publication stood for states rights, freedom, the Republican party, and deplored slavery" (1953). Barnes was "a founding member of the new Republican Party begun a year earlier in Jackson (Michigan);" thus, it was no surprise that his publication reflected his political views (April 28, 1980). The paper's "aim" or function, according to Barnes was to "keep the public advised of all matters of general interest transpiring at the State Capital" (April 28, 1953). Although Barnes "envisioned his weekly newspaper as a profitable operation in a Republican town, he sold it two weeks later" but had accomplished his purpose of creating a competing paper to the existing Democrat paper, the *Lansing Journal* (April 28, 1980).

The new owners of the *Lansing Republican*, Rufus Hosmer and George Fitch "pledged support for the anti-slavery movement" and carried out the "backbone of the *Republican*," which was "furthering the Republican Party's goals and the damning of all Democrats" (1980). Over the next forty years, both party papers suffered

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[38] Lansing was incorporated as a city in 1859 (May 27, 1984).

periods of financial hardship and were eventually purchased by printing companies. By 1883, the *Lansing Republican* had become the *State Republican* and was publishing daily. When it began printing two editions daily, in 1910, the competition was too much for the Democratic *Lansing Journal* and it was 'absorbed by the *Republican* and the name of a new Michigan newspaper, *The State Journal* was born" (1980).

In 1914 *The State Journal* was purchased by Ard E. Richardson and Charles N. Halsted. With the new owners came changing looks as *The State Journal* dealt with headline world events like Prohibition, a world war, and the depression. It was during this time that photos became important in terms of providing news coverage (1980).

Competition, in the form of radio and television, forced the need to "publish and distribute editions faster." While electronic competition first became apparent in the 40s, it was not until 1951 that *The State Journal* moved into its present location and first newspaper plant, "housing all facets of the newspaper operation" (1980). Using "slow, cumbersome Linotype machines" throughout the 50s, it was not until 1962, under the direction of Publisher Louis A Weil Jr., that a move to a more streamlined operation began" (1980).

Publisher Weil was also President of Federated Publications, Inc., which owned *The State Journal* and it was Weil who moved the paper away from Linotype setting – a "hot type" method involving stamping each word onto hot slugs of lead – to the faster, more efficient "cold type" – a method involving rapid photography (1980). Labeled by some (at this time) as "the worst paper in the state," Weil beefed

up local coverage and improved the looks of the paper in order to improve circulation.

During 1972, Federated Publications "became a wholly owned subsidiary of the Gannett Newspaper chain" and began using computer technology and photo typesetters (1980). Where the paper used to print "eight to ten lines a minute" it could now print 2,000 lines per minute" (1980). Further technological advancement came in 1978 "when the newspaper shifted to an integrated computer typesetting system" and became "strictly electronic" – a change that forever changed the look of the newsroom (1980).

A last major change came "in August of 1980 when *The State Journal* was given its current name, the *Lansing State Journal*, in the interest of presenting a more positive identification with the greater Lansing area the paper covers" (May 27, 1984). This was the seventh and final name change for the original Republican party press.

Having examined ownership and circulation, declining competition among newspapers, newspaper competition with electronic media, the Gannett Co. Inc., and the history of the *Lansing State Journal*, attention is now directed to the second research organization, the Lansing Police Department.

The Lansing Police Department

Early History of Law Enforcement in Lansing

Lansing's early law enforcement history mimics the politics that influenced its first two newspapers and the "political era" of Kelling and Moore's (1988) discussion of police evolution in the Northeast. When Lansing was incorporated as a city in

1859 the Lansing Police Department did not exist. Rather, "the first law enforcement officials were known as city marshals and were appointed by their political group…as the political winds changed" (the first settlers were Democrats, with Republicans from New York and New England following shortly after) so did the city marshal" (Heyden,[39] 1991, pp. 11-12). The tenure of city marshals was, thus, tenuous at best as was their work quarters that consisted of shared, rented office space with the Ingham County Sheriff.

As the population of Lansing was small and the city primitive (refer to comments in the previous section on the *Lansing State Journal*) the city marshal had no need for a formal police department and appointed a "city watch of three men." These men "reported fires and kept loiterers away from the railroads" (p. 12). As the city grew and organized "wards" (six by 1880), three more watchmen were appointed (one for each ward). The six watchmen are referred to as policemen in historical accounts and were assisted by "a group of special service men" who provided part-time assistance to the watchmen in their wards. Even though the number of watchmen had grown, the duties they performed were predominately order maintenance in function, such as "keeping drunks off the streets and rescuing runaway teams of horses" (p. 12). At the close of the 1880s "arrests were averaging 328 a year…for such offenses as vagrancy, larceny, assault and battery, cockfighting, prostitution, and drunk and disorderly…and tramps cared for and ordered out of

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[39] Pat Heyden is a local historian and the wife of retired Lansing Police Officer Jim Heyden.

town numbered 350 individuals. At this time "the city marshal and one watchman were on day duty and five watchmen guarded the city at night" (pp. 13-14).

In 1893 the nonpartisan Board of Police and Fire Commissioners was formed with members (three Democrat and three Republican) appointed by the mayor. The board was vested with the power:

> ...to appoint a city marshal, a captain of police and such other officers, policemen, and watchmen with pay and such number of policemen and watchmen without pay as the said Board shall deem expedient: provided no greater number of policemen, watchmen, with pay, shall be appointed than shall be authorized by the Common Council. The marshal shall be the Chief of Police of the city subject to direction of the council and board. As peace officer he shall be vested with all the powers of sheriff for the preservation of quiet and good order. (pp. 15-16)

And, appoint is just what the new Commissioners did, naming "John P. Sanford as Lansing's first Chief of Police effective August 3, 1893" (p. 23). Chief Sanford organized the new Lansing municipal police department – consisting of himself, a captain, seven patrolmen, and two jailers – in a military fashion. His officers "worked twelve to fourteen hour shifts," seven days a week. Patrolmen were not given days off nor were they "allowed to leave the city without written permission from the chief, a policy that remained in effect until the 1950s" (p. 23).

The 1890s found Lansing to be a growing city with tourists camps by the river, a growing downtown area, and increased activity around the railroad yards. At this time Chief Sanford's officers practiced a combination of reactive and proactive policing. Hanging around the station "until a call for assistance came in, they would then either ride a bike or walk to the area of the call. It was also at this time that Chief Sanford divided the city into "sectors" and assigned an officer to "walk a beat," and

keep the peace: (p. 25). It was also during the 1890s that Lansing officers first became uniformed.

In 1902 the city had its second police chief, Chief Adolph Starmont, and fifteen patrol officers who walked their beats. "The Captain would walk or ride a two-wheeled bicycle to each beat and check on each officer at least once during their shifts. If an officer needed help, he had to rely on a good citizen to lend a hand" (pp. 29-31). An increase in the number of officers was not the only indication of evolution in the department. Over the first seven years of Chief Starmont's tenure, he added police call boxes, one in each beat (1991). In addition to these call boxes, Starmont fought for increased wages for his patrolmen and better working conditions. He also purchased equipment, consisting of a horse-drawn wagon, for picking up drunks and arrested persons. "When a beat officer made an arrest, he took the arrested person to the nearest call box and notified headquarters to send the patrol wagon…this eliminated the sight of an officer dragging a drunk or disorderly person down the street" (pp. 31-36).

The next twenty years witnessed a variety of change and growth in the city and within its police department. Several police chiefs came and left. The Board appointed Henry Behrendt, a strict disciplinarian, as Lansing's third chief. Chief Behrendt had been the department's first detective, a position previously added to the department at former Chief Starmont's request. Chief Behrendt instituted the department's first Sergeant position, was an active member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and met with each of his officers "on an individual

basis…explaining what facts and circumstances, by using discretion, constituted an arrest. Behrendt felt that by "using discretion the officers would have more time to spend in pursuit of the habitual criminal and crimes of a serious nature" (pp. 37-8). Discretion also extended to juvenile offenders, whose parents would be required to meet with the Chief "on a weekly" basis if their offspring were picked up by the police.

It was also during Behrendt's "watch" that Lansing Police Department received its first patrol car, an Olds Touring car loaned to the department by Mr. Olds. As Heyden described, "Lansing police were among the first in the nation to have an auto patrol" and by the "late 20s LPD had three patrol cars, but they still didn't have any glass windows…rather, leather flaps" (p. 38). As with other departments of this era, the addition of the automobile brought with it a mobility previously unknown and contributed to the look of policing in Lansing. Chief Behrendt assigned two officers to each patrol car with the more senior officer having the privilege of driving (1991). The emergence of the automobile also resulted in traffic congestion within the city. To deal with the artifacts of such modernization, Behrendt created a "Traffic Service" assigning three officers to assist with traffic congestion. "Two of the (Traffic Service) policemen stood at the intersection of Michigan and Washington with a portable 'stop and go' signpost. The officers manually changed the sign to stop or go, in an attempt to regulate the flow of traffic" (p. 41).

In 1911, "the first motorcycle was added to the Traffic Service" and in 1922 the manual stop and go sign "was replaced by the first electric traffic signal" (p. 41). However this new signal did not resemble its contemporary counterpart: rather, "An officer would climb to an enclosed booth at the top of the (signal) tower and operate the four-sided traffic signal. Before changing the light from red to green, the officer rang a bell to warn drivers the signal was changing" (p. 41).

Chief Behrendt's efforts at Lansing Police Department were not without reward. In 1914 he was appointed to the U. S. Marshal's Service by President Woodrow Wilson. As Chief Frank Cole replaced Behrendt, LPD sworn personnel numbered 27, "but was still inadequate to handle offenders" in the growing city (pp. 4-45). Cole's reign was short and he retired in 1918 after being exonerated of taking $200 "from the animal license fee drawer" (p. 51).

Prohibition's era ushered in the same disrespect for the law that was evident across the country. "The period from 1917 to 1933 in Lansing brought widespread defiance of law and order never before experienced in the city. Racketeering, gambling, bootlegging, and other forms of vice could be found" and a special detail of patrol officers "were transferred from patrol to the detective division and became known as the 'dry squad,' the nemesis of bootleggers" (pp. 55-6). The Dry Squad was effective but elicited complaints from citizens who claimed the police department "smelled like a brewery" due to the dumping of confiscated liquor down a "large sink by the police desk" (p. 58).

The department's next technological advancement was realized in 1931 when patrol cars were equipped with one-way radios. Along with this advancement came the first mention of traditional police effectiveness, response time – that was two minutes in the downtown area (p. 67). A fleet of six motorcycles "Indian and Harley Davidson brands" were also added in the 30s, to the traffic division that was still "busy directing traffic at congested intersections in the city" (p. 69). Motorized patrol in Lansing was popular among its officers during the thirties but by the decade's end the equipment was dilapidated and retiring Chief Seymour threatened to put his officers "back to walking the beats, which would have discontinued the use of one-way radio in patrol cars" (p. 77). This threat was short-lived and served its purpose as the department's old autos were soon replaced with "six new REO sedans that were made in Lansing" (p. 77).

Two-way radios were purchased at the end of the decade and by 1949 police and fire services shared a "dual communication center with dual telephone exchanges" (p. 78). This dual center was used until 1958 when the police department was relocated into the new city hall building.

The forties decade found traffic congestion a persistent and growing problem. In response, the department created an "Accident Prevention Bureau" staffed by officers trained at the Northwestern Traffic Institute, who applied scientific principles to accident investigations. The forties also found the department short-staffed until officers returned from World War II. Several other particular noteworthy police practices occurred during this decade: the department appointed a school safety

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officer; a "Crime Prevention Bureau" was created in 1946 to deal with "gaming investigations, liquor inspections and regulation enforcement, and the investigation of crimes committed by juveniles and women;" and as a result, the department saw its first female officer, Officer Clarissa Mae Young (pp. 90-91). A graduate of Central Michigan University and Michigan State University, Young "became one of the first 'lady cops' to attain the rank of Captain in any police department of comparable size" (p. 92).

By 1950, the department had five captains and "three, eight-hour platoons of patrol officers, each assisted by a lieutenant and a sergeant" and Lansing had a population of over 92,000 (pp. 95-98). Training and education began to take on heightened importance during the 50s decade with command officers required to attend seminars at Michigan State University and all recruits "required to pass a two-week training course that included firearms training" (p. 50). Perhaps reflecting the supposed happy era of the "fabulous fifties" little of major importance (save for the training issues mentioned above) was reported by historians covering this era of Lansing Police Department history. The decade closed with officers running a band of gypsy fortune tellers out of town – who drove out "in a parade of Cadillacs" – and the department found itself in a new home east and adjacent to the new city hall (1991).

Lansing Police Department was 165 officers-strong at the start of the 60s, new recruit training had increased to six weeks, and the rank of "Corporal" had been added by the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners. The problem of minority

relations is eluded to by historian Heyden, who cited the creation of the Lansing Human Relations Committee with a Lansing Police Officer appointed as "a liaison between the commission and the police department" (p. 116). While details are not provided, the time frame is consistent with the police/human relations movement discussed in Chapter One.

While call boxes still served the department and patrol cars were equipped with two-way radios, LPD "experimented with an electronic partner for beat officers, the walkie-talkie. By 1967 most officers were equipped with the hand held sets and call boxes became obsolete" (p. 116). One assumes from Heyden's documentation that the primary job of patrol cars was to deal with the ever-present problem of traffic congestion, traffic accidents, and traffic violations. As I-496 was being constructed, radar was being used for the first time in an effort to reduce speeding (1991).

The department was also becoming more specialized as it grew. An underwater recovery dive team was formed by two officers fond of scuba diving and another group of officers "voluntarily organized the Lansing Police Drill Team," which won numerous honors prior to its disbanding in 1971 (pp. 120-1). A new "Motorola radio console and a LEIN" (Law Enforcement Information Network) "Teletypewriter in 1967 were major developments in the communications center" (p. 129).

To deal with the department's growth and increasing specialization, an efficiency study was contracted out to Michigan State University (also in 1967). The "Kenny Report" – a "Master Plan for the Reorganization and Management of the

Lansing Police Department – was submitted to the Board of Police Commissioners. The major recommendations of the plan took two years to complete through budgeted funding" (pp. 132-3).

As the city and its police department advanced into contemporary times, specialization continued to increase at the Lansing police agency and a variety of new, grant-funded police practices were implemented. At this crossroads between the professional or reform era[40] and community-oriented era[41] of law enforcement (per Kelling & Moore, 1988) a shift to a topical discussion format best serves the present study. Focus is redirected at this time to the advancement of women and minority officers in Lansing Police Department.

Women and Minority Officers in Lansing Police Department

When Clarissa Young became the department's first Patrolwoman in the mid-1940s, she exemplified the accepted role for females officers of the day – that of working with women and juveniles. Schulz (1995) identifies this as the "First Period" of female involvement in law enforcement. It was not until twenty years later that "Officer Nancy Cochran Small set a precedent when she became the first sworn

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[40] Kelling and Moore described this police era as being marked by increased education for officers, advances in technology, and a narrowed focused on the police function of crime fighting. According to these authors, this narrowed focus contributed to officer isolation from the community.

[41] Kelling and Moore described the community-oriented era, beginning roughly around 1979, as being marked by attempts to reestablish ties with the community, several foot patrol experiments implemented around the country (one in Flint, Michigan) and the expansion of focus related to police function – a movement away from the narrowed crime-fighting function of the professional era to renewed focus on the order maintenance and service functions of law enforcement.

female officer of the Lansing Police Department assigned to the patrol division in November, 1973, a job previously carried out only by male officers" (p. 163). Again, the department reflected the national pattern and Cochran Small ushered in the "Second Period" of female involvement in law enforcement – that of equal patrol duties with male officers (Schulz, 1995). Effective July 1, 1974, all Patrolmen I and Patrolwomen I were reclassified to Police Officer I through authorization of the city council (Heyden, 1991, p. 164).

The Lansing Police Department employed 24 female officers by the time of this study, "who served in various capacities in patrol, the K-9 unit, park police horse patrol, hostage negotiations, community policing, special crime unit, detectives, and as Field Training Officers" for new recruits (Heyden, 1991, p. 221). Lt. Helen Perry-Buse "holds the record as the first female officer from LPD assigned to the Tri-County Metro Squad (see following section on drugs for a description of this squad) and as the first female lieutenant assigned to supervise a patrol platoon. Also during this study's time frame, the department realized its first female motorcycle officer, Officer Lisa Phillips (1992). In the midst of these first, the department continued efforts to attract minority officers.

Like other cities, Lansing experienced "several nights of civil unrest during the late 60s." This added impetus to the department's continued efforts to increase minority recruitment. At that time "Chief Husby actively attempted to recruit minority officers through the Michigan Civil Rights Commission and the Police Recruit Project of Michigan. He sent out over forty letters and received only two

replies from unqualified persons and he continued to meet with minority members of the community" (p. 140).

In 1978 the city built affirmative action programs into its revised city charter and the police department stepped up its minority recruitment program by "sending minority officers into locals schools where they discussed their roles as police officers and encouraged minority students to apply to the department." This type of minority recruitment effort continued and expanded into the 90s with officers traveling statewide to encourage minority recruitment (pp. 183-209).

Training and Technology

With the creation of the Mid-Michigan Police Training Academy in 1967 and due to Michigan legislation "requiring a minimum of 240 hours of training for all Michigan law enforcement officers" (in 1970), police recruits were entering the department with an increased level of training. Additionally, Chief Husby, in 1968 initiated "an in-house Training Transfer Program that offered diversified training" to existing Lansing officers. "Officers who volunteered for the program were placed on a scheduling process that allowed them to spend time in various divisions and bureaus of LPD, working with experienced officers" (pp. 142-3).

Coupled with the above pre-service and in-service training, was the creation of the "Lansing Police Senior Cadet Program" in 1969. According to Heyden, this program had three purposes: (1) "it enabled LPD to recruit officers at a younger age, (2) exposed future patrolmen to on-the-job training, and (3) aided the cadets" with their college tuition payments. The cadets, who "were paid minimum wage and

received fringe benefits" became eligible to apply for police positions with the department upon reaching the age of 21 (p. 145). As training was improving, so was the department's technology resources.

In 1971 the department received a grant to improve its radio communications. As a result, multiple frequencies were now available for transmissions and officers now had mobile-to-mobile and portable-to-portable communications capabilities within the department and between the department and other tri-county law enforcement agencies. Several years later, in 1974, the radio communications center was reorganized and centralized and in 1977 the department received federal funding to "implement a 911 Computer-Aided Dispatch System" (pp. 151-177). By 1980, the 911 Center was receiving 69,000 calls for service a year (p. 187). Nine years later, the department shifted to "Enhanced 911" – an automated identification system whereby dispatchers are able to view the caller's location on their computer screens.

Increasing Specialization

As the department grew, its ability to specialize services also grew. A variety of specialized units emerged between the 70s and 90s. This section focuses on the main, long-term specialty units and notes that other grant-based specialty task forces emerged from time to time that were temporary in nature.

Fraud Squad. Beginning in 1987 and made possible by an increase in the multi-channel capability of the department's radio system, the fraud squad members were "bearded, plainclothes officers, assigned the task of watching known burglars and other "suspects." A hotline number was implemented and citizens were encouraged

to report suspicious activity. Heyden noted the effectiveness of this squad in terms of crime displacement, "as Lansing's burglaries went down, burglaries in surrounding areas increased" (p. 151).

Saturation Patrol Unit. Working random hours in uniform and plainclothes, "two sergeants and thirteen officers" formed the Saturation Patrol Unit. As areas of high crime were identified via intelligence reports, "the unit would enter the areas identifying and apprehending known criminals" (p. 159).

Legal Unit. Lansing Police Department's Legal Unit was one specialized unit that began with grant funding but has continued to provide service to the department since its creation in 1973. A legal advisor, "a civilian who must have a law degree and be a member of the State Bar of Michigan," provides "immediate access for Lansing officers to professional legal counseling in various aspects of their duties, including court cases." Additional duties include: "research, issuance of legal opinions, and consultation with police personnel on any legal issue having an impact on the law enforcement process" (pp. 160-1).

Helicopter Unit. Another long-term specialized unit that began with grant funding was the department's Helicopter Patrol Unit. Beginning in 1974, the goals of the helicopter program were: "to reduce Part I crimes by five percent, improve police patrol, increase the apprehension rate of crimes-in-progress, and provide citizens with a feeling of security" (p. 162). The department had two helicopters, a main unit and a backup, which were staffed with two officers, one a pilot and the other an aerial observer. The department lost Officer Dean Whitehead due to an accidental crash of

'Air 80' in 1985 and eventually budget reductions forced the permanent grounding of the helicopter unit in June, 1991 (pp. 162-7, 196).

S.T.A.R.T. Team: Owing its creation to the Crime Control Act of 1973, the S.T.A.R.T. Team eventually became an integral part of the "Regional Enforcement Against Crack Houses" team (see next section). S.T.A.R.T. was a highly trained, tactical team that was called into service "to handle emergency situations such as barricaded persons or hostage situations." While tactical teams conjure up television-enhanced visions of "swat" forces, the S.T.A.R.T. Team's "primary responsibility is **Safety**: that of police personnel, hostages, citizenry and perpetrators. The secondary responsibility is the apprehension of perpetrators and recovery of property" (pp. 165-66).

Crime Scene Investigations: Ten officers received specialized training in crime scene techniques in June, 1976 and the Crime Scene Investigations Unit was born. Responsible for crime and accident scene protection, collection of evidence, and identification of witnesses, the unit became a permanent fixture within the department.

Internal Affairs: The position of Internal Affairs Officer was created in 1974 and replaced more primitive forms of investigating complaints against officers that up until that time had been investigated primarily by the Chief. New disciplinary procedures were implemented with three primary objectives: (1) to establish a system of accountability for the receiving, recording and investigating of complaints; (2) to establish a system of internal discipline that was fair and just through an impartial

investigation and a timely adjudication of the case; and (3) to provide a track record for consistent, standard procedures relating to disciplinary actions" (p. 180). Eventually a second Internal Affairs Officer was added as procedures and policies were implemented related to "civil right infractions, human relations problems, reported officer misconduct, and other forms of procedural complaints" (pp. 180-1).

Canine or K-9 Unit: The Canine Unit was organized in 1986 with three officer handlers and three dogs. The next year the unit added "six additional officer handlers and dogs." The Canine Unit has been cited as overwhelmingly successful with "three of the nine German Shepherds trained in narcotic and bomb detection" (pp. 197-8).

Drugs and Drug Enforcement

The late sixties found Lansing with a growing drug problem. Federal grant funding under the Safe Street Omnibus Crime Bill allowed for the creation of a "Metropolitan Narcotics Squad," which later became known as the Metro Squad or Metro Unit. Organized during the summer of 1970, the Metro Squad "included officers from LPD, East Lansing Police Department, Ingham County Sheriff's Department, Michigan State University, the Michigan State Police and the Eaton and Clinton County Sheriff's Departments (pp. 147-8).

In 1984, REACH – Regional Enforcement Against Crack Houses – was formed, combining the "LPD Special Tactics and Rescue Team, the Crime Suppression Unit, the Criminal Intelligence Unit, the Metro Squad, and the Ingham County Prosecutor's office" (p. 203). REACH was formed in response to the growing crack cocaine problem in Lansing. Conducting raids and investigating

individuals associated with the crack cocaine "trade," REACH efforts were enhanced by the "Michigan Forfeiture Law that was revised in 1988 and allowed for confiscating property seized during raids" (p. 203). REACH continued in operation throughout this case study's time frame as did Lansing's drug problems.

Crime Prevention

Crime prevention programs are discussed just prior to the section detailing Lansing's community policing efforts as Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990) noted community policing, in part, emerged from such programs. Crime prevention efforts were not new to Lansing Police Department – recall the establishment of its Crime Prevention Bureau in 1946. Other early forms of crime prevention were conducted within the school system.

LPD has a history of involvement with the city's school system. The Safety Education Program began in 1928 when concern arose about the safety of Lansing's children related to the congested streets in the city. The program was "jointly sponsored by the Lansing Police Department, the Lansing Safety Council, and a media partner, the *State Journal*" (p. 63). The essence of this program was to train older children to be safety patrols...these older students would then assist younger children across busy intersections especially while walking to and from school. Continuing its crime prevention role within the schools, a school safety officer was appointed in 1946. This officer taught child safety programs through the use of a puppet and his ventriloquism skills (1991). In the early seventies, "Officer Nerbonne

and Lansing School District teacher, Alice Schinkel created a book titled *Stay Away From Strangers*," as part of the police department's school safety efforts (p. 152).

By 1974 the department's grant-funded, Crime Prevention Unit (not to be confused with the department's Crime Prevention Bureau) consisted of four officers and a supervisor. The unit had mobility thanks to its Crime Prevention Van that officers took from neighborhood to neighborhood. The Crime Prevention Unit "through an intense public awareness program, provided information to make property and persons less vulnerable to criminal attack. The unit encouraged the permanent marking of valuables, provided security inspections of residential and commercial property, and assisted with the formation of "Blockwatchers" a citizen involvement program" (p. 160).

The Crime Prevention Unit evolved over time and by 1984 was involved with drug awareness programs within the city's schools, assisted the community with Neighborhood Watch programs (emerging out of the earlier Blockwatchers program), continued to provide safety education programs in the schools, and assisted senior citizen victims of crime. In the mid-eighties, the unit was renamed the Community Services Bureau, also termed the Community Services Unit.

One of the early glimmers of community policing and a precursor to foot patrol, was the restructuring of the Community Services Unit "in hopes of improving information flow to and from the police department" (*Lansing State Journal*, May 19, 1985). The Community Service Unit became decentralized in 1985 when a pair of officers (from the unit) were assigned to each of four "sectors" that coincided with

the Lansing School District's four middle school districts. The new look of the Community Services Unit was described like this:

> Under the old scheme, one officer was assigned as 'Officer Friendly' to do school safety programs, others were assigned as crime prevention officers and others as neighborhood watch coordinators throughout the entire city. But under the new scheme, two officers will handle all such programs in their own sectors..."this in effect gives us nine Officer Friendlies instead of one when we had nine crime prevention officers." "It also gives the officers a better chance to get to know the business, school personnel and Neighborhood Watch people in their sectors." When sector officers aren't busy putting on programs, they will be able to more easily meet informally with area residents. (1985, p. 1B)

One last crime prevention effort was a media-based program instituted in November, 1989, called "Crimestoppers." An on-going and successful program – it netted "fifteen felony arrests and over $25,000 of stolen property and embezzled money within its first few months – the program "presents a one-minute broadcast on local radio and television stations relating the facts of a crime" and donated cash rewards were offered to anonymous callers who provided information (p. 204).

Foot Patrol

From its inception, Lansing Police Department had beat officers performing patrol on foot. Over the course of the department's history, inklings of a community-oriented policing philosophy surfaced from time to time. Certainly, LPD seemed to recognize the service and order maintenance functions of policing and not just the crime-fighting function that media historically emphasized for its inherent news value.

Service and order-maintenance were evident in a variety of the department's programs and specialized units that brought the officers into contact with the

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community. Examples of these efforts, mostly couched within safety and crime prevention issues, were noted earlier. While crime prevention efforts do not equate to community policing (per Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990), they were, in part, harbingers of Lansing's current community era of law enforcement. The evolution of LPD's modern community-oriented effort, the initiative this case study is based upon, began with earlier foot patrol efforts.

As happened across the nation, Lansing's implementation of community policing was pre-dated by experiments with foot patrol throughout the 1980s. At this time police agencies (some that had always retained foot patrol to some degree) across the country had watched the early foot patrol experiments in Flint, Michigan, Newport News, Virginia, and Baltimore, Maryland. LPD was no exception. With the National Neighborhood Foot Patrol Center[42] and its Director, the late Dr. Robert Trojanowicz located nearby at MSU, there were convenient foot patrol resources to draw upon[43].

On February 14, 1986, Mayor Terry McCane and Police Chief Richard Gleason "announced an experimental program that will place a uniformed beat cop in a northwest Lansing neighborhood" (Barker, p. 1B). This program began in March, operated in a 20 block area, and was called "Neighborhood Oriented Policing" (NOP). According to the Mayor, the program would "place an officer in a position of high visibility, giving residents and businesses a more secure feeling" (p.

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[42] The original name of the National Center for Community Policing.
[43] Trojanowicz, with Mott Foundation funding, performed an evaluation of the Flint Foot Patrol Project.

1B). Remarking that he had been considering the program for three years, Chief Gleason added that NOP would improve the quality of life by "curtailing activities that disturb neighborhood tranquillity" (p. 1B). The foot patrol officers, after "attending a foot patrol seminar at Michigan State University" would handle routine complaints, would serve as liaisons when residents needed assistance from other city agencies, and would be patrolling the area on foot and with a three-wheel scooter. This initial NOP, foot patrol project proved successful among community residents. A year later, members of the Lansing Neighborhood Council were publicly calling for expanded foot patrols and more officers (Moore, 1987).

In February of 1988 the Mayor and Chief announced a different mechanism to bring the department closer to the public – the "Neighborhood Quality of Life Mobile Headquarters Program" – a 20-year-old Capital Area Transit Authority bus the department had purchased for "about $1,700." Another "approximately $13,000" was transferred from the department's "helicopter equipment account" to remodel the bus (Williams, 1988, p. 1B). Interestingly, in addition to serving quality of life purposes, the bus was outfitted to serve as a mobile command post "at major crime scenes and civil events" and was to be used by the department's "underwater evidence and body recover team and the Special Tactics and Rescue Team" (p. 1B). Although the lines between the department's traditional reactive strategies and its early proactive efforts seemed blurred, the result was an eventual shift to contemporary community policing.

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Community Policing

According to department documents, in November of 1988, the Lansing Police Department began a study of community oriented policing. Emerging from this study was a combination foot patrol-community policing effort implemented via grant funding provided by the Michigan Department of Transportation. The "Transportation Center Foot Beat/Community Policing" project was intended to be a pilot study of the community policing concept. It was implemented on June 10, 1989. According to Heyden (1991), "a beat officer, authorized through a grant, walked the downtown streets to assist the public and offer a feeling of security...a Transportation Center Footbeat (sic) Officer patrolled the area of the bus station and the surrounding Cherry Hill neighborhood" (p. 205).

Lanier (1993) provided the following documentation related to Lansing Police Department's next community policing step, "Community Officers Patrolling Streets" (COPS):

> During the fall of 1989, Robert Trojanowicz, Director of the School of Criminal Justice at Michigan State University, began meeting with representatives of the Michigan State Police, Louis Glazer – the Director of the Neighborhood Builders Alliance, and Donald Reisig – the Director of the Michigan Office of Drug Agencies. The purpose of these meetings was to develop a policy initiative that could reduce crime, drug abuse, fear of crime, reduce social and physical decay, and enhance communication between citizens and representatives of law enforcement agencies. ....During the course of these meetings a comprehensive strategy founded on community policing was formulated. At the conclusion of these meetings the plan was presented to Governor James Blanchard. At the Governor's State-of-the State address he endorsed the plan and outlined the initiative. The plan was titled Community Officers Patrolling Streets. (pp. 39-40)

COPS was a pilot community policing project for LPD. This pilot, endorsed by the Governor, the Mayor, and current Lansing Police Chief Charles Reifsnyder, began in January of 1990. Officers who were to participate in the pilot received training through the Neighborhood Foot Patrol Center at Michigan State University. The city's first two Community Police Officers (CPOs), veteran officers Dan Christian[44] and Robert McKedzie, volunteered for the newly created positions. CPO Christy was assigned to an east-side neighborhood and CPO McKedzie to a neighborhood on the west-side of the city. CPO McKedzie was soon to leave, however, being called to active military duty during Desert Storm (Heyden, 1991). Until his return thirteen months later, CPO Louie King worked this area.

The success achieved by CPO Christy in his east-side, Green Oaks/Sparrow Estates beat area soon garnered national attention. Emerging from Christian's first-year community policing efforts was the Neighborhood Network Center (NWC) concept.

Lansing Police Department's Neighborhood Network Center was touted and considered to be an expansion of the department's Community Policing Unit. According to Dr. Robert Trojanowicz, the "goal was for this new Center to be the hub of direct service to the community" (1990). The Network Center concept would achieve this goal by seeking "to apply the decentralized and personalized model of community policing to the delivery of other public and private social services" (Sinclair, Trojanowicz, & Bucqueroux, 1994).

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[44] All names in this study are fictitious.

The Neighborhood Network Center was opened in January, 1991, in CPO Christian's Sparrow Estates/Green Oaks neighborhood beat. Officer Christian served as the informal leader for the public and non-profit social service providers who progressively joined him in donated office space furnished by a local builder who was impressed with community policing's ability to improve the surrounding neighborhood (Trojanowicz, 1993). CPO Christian served in this capacity (and as the neighborhood's CPO) until June, 1994 when he was reassigned to regular patrol duties.[45]

The department's first Community Policing Sergeant, Randy Gross[46] described the Center's etiology in practical terms at the *Community Policing Interactive Training Seminar* in April, 1993. According to Sergeant Gross, there had been a prevailing attitude of frustration among police officers who felt inadequate to deal with the multiplicity of needs exhibited by those individuals they came into contact with throughout the course of their shifts. One such officer was CPO Christian, who had felt overwhelmed with the problems plaguing the "neighbors" in his beat area. It was evident to Christian that many service agencies would need to work together if the needs of those who were "at risk" were to be addressed. Christian began working with the Bingham Elementary School's multiagency team (that targeted troubled students) and with Dr. Robert Trojanowicz, and out of their efforts the Neighborhood Network Center concept was born. Several years later, in 1994, the

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[45] Christian was later promoted to the rank of Sergeant and made a detective.
[46] Gross also later returned to patrol work, was promoted to Lieutenant, and eventually to the rank of Assistant Chief.

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation awarded a $50,000 planning grant to develop a model for possible replications of the concept at several additional sites throughout the city.

While the Neighborhood Network Center concept was emerging, community policing was slowly growing in the city. In August of 1990 two additional community officers were assigned as a result of grant funding. Gross was assigned as the department's first Community Policing Sergeant (Lansing Police Department, 1991, 1992).

A year after the onset of community policing, the Lansing Housing Commission by means of a Department of Housing and Urban Development grant, provided the city with funds to assign three CPOs to five public housing areas in the city (Refer to Figure 1 in Appendix H for organization chart.). The project was called 'C.O.P.E.' or Community Oriented Policing Efforts of public housing.

> The C.O.P.E. Program was started in February, 1991, in collaboration with the residents and the Lansing Police Department. The program was started with a notion that to understand the dynamics of drug-related crime or drugs in Public Housing, the Housing Commission and the Police Department needed to understand that not all residents are addicts or involved in drugs, and the ones that were involved needed help on a personal basis. Frequent arrests by the Police Department and going through the long drawn out process of eviction, did not resolve the problem. In order to make an impact and to bring change dramatically to the Housing Developments in reduction and a complete stop to the flow of drugs, the approach of Community Policing was introduced. (Lansing Housing Commission, 1991)

In July of 1991, with expanding community police efforts, the police department established written goals and a mission statement that reflected community policing philosophy. The department's Community Policing Unit was

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further expanded in 1992. By this time, the unit was comprised of 12 officers, one Sergeant, and one Lieutenant who served 14 different Lansing neighborhoods (Refer to Figure 2 in Appendix H for organization chart.). "In December of 1992 many neighborhoods were requesting a community policing officer." This demand resulted in the development of new criteria for establishing beat areas. The department's last two CPOs were assigned via this new criteria that identified the areas in greatest need (Lansing Police Department, 1992).

Throughout 1993 the department continued practicing the *Trojanowicz Paradigm* of community policing. However, a series of events took place that changed the way community policing was practiced in Lansing Police Department. First, with the death of Dr. Robert Trojanowicz, in 1993, the department lost its biggest promoter and without his impetus and support the department moved away from Trojanowicz's pure model of community policing. Second and shortly after the death of Trojanowicz, rumors began to flourish in the city related to the police department's intent to discontinue its community policing efforts. Citizens pressured the department and mayor's office for information. Finally, capitulating to public pressure, a public press conference was held in December, 1994. Lansing's Mayor and Police Chief assured city residents that community policing was not being disbanded and presented their case for a total reorganization of Lansing Police Department – a reorganization that split the city into precincts and became effective in March, 1995. The Mayor and Chief stated the reorganization came "after more than three years of experience and research probing how the department could

expand its community policing program" (Evenson, 1994, p. 1B). Citizens were temporarily appeased but the reorganization served to move the department away from the *Trojanowicz Paradigm* of community policing and toward a team approach to problem-solving policing. Because of these changes, the 'pure era' of community policing was over at Lansing Police Department. Where individual community officers had previously walked the beat, problem-solved with the community, and assisted neighbors to build a sense of community in their neighborhoods (thereby and ideally preventing crime), the department's community police officers, road patrol officers, and ranked supervisors were assigned to "teams." In theory, these police teams were to work together (with the community) to problem-solve and proactively address crime problems.

Having presented a review of the organizations focused on in this case study it is now appropriate to examine current research related to how press and police organizations interact and shape each other's functioning. These organizational relationships are highlighted in the next section.

Organizational Relationships Between Police and Media

Visualizing Deviance: A Study of News Organizations, Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources, and *Representing Order: Crime, Law, and Justice in the News Media* constitute an ethnographic research trilogy of works produced by Ericson, Baranek, and Chan (1987, 1989, 1991). Their work examines the news media as a primary source of

social control, thus, resulting in a functionalist[47] perspective of news media effect. Such control results from knowledge and socially constructing reality (and one's social construction of criminal reality per Quinney) through defining what constitutes morality (or "deviance") in society. According to the authors, defining morality results from the news – the final product of the news production process. While the authors' framework and discussion would seem to suggest the writings of Manning (1987) who discussed the pragmatic aspect of semiotics, they seem to advance views more in keeping with Merton's thoughts on intended and latent (or unintended) functions[48]. And, they certainly reflect Quinney.

Quinney (1970) wrote that the "social reality of crime is constructed by the formulation and applications of criminal definitions, the development of behavior patterns to criminal definitions, and the construction of criminal conceptions." These criminal conceptions, Quinney noted, "are constructed and diffused in the segments of society by various means of communication" (pp. 15-23). Media are part and parcel of the "means of communication" that Quinney notes.

Manning (1997) developed thinking in dramaturgical[49] fashion by discussing what aspects of policing the media (as used, the term encompassed all media) focused

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[47]Probably following the thinkings of Spencer, Durkheim, and Merton more so than Comte according to Turner, Beeghley, and Power's discussion of sociological theory (1989).

[48] Although not within the scope of the present examination, this writer would suggest that "visualizing deviance" and maintaining social control are latent rather than intended functions. What is absent from Ericson et al.'s examination is an understanding of the etiology of news media function from the perspective of the discipline actually performing the function.

[49] According to Manning who cited Burke (1989), "dramaturgical sociology focuses on social control. This perspective on social control examines how messages and patterns of communication selectively sustain a representation of social action" (1997, p. 6).

on by virtue of the newsworthiness of particular crime and police-related stories. He wrote, "the mass media conceal the structural limitations and the dirty work of policing – collecting dead pets and bodies, intervening in arguments, working traffic in snow and rain" (p. 328). Manning's statement reflected what is well-documented by Surette (1992): the media focus on the crime fighting function of police because it is the most newsworthy of the three historically accepted functions of law enforcement (peacekeeping/order maintenance and service comprise the remaining categories of police functions).

Media's focus on the crime fighting function of the police leads to crime and justice misconceptions by the public or as Surette wrote "the media presents a world of crime and justice that is not found in reality" (1992, p. 42). This focus also produces a "mean-world view," meaning the public views its world as more violent and dangerous" than it really is, per Gerbner, et al. (1978). Manning, exploring these same issues from a dramaturgical perspective, related this research area remains "relatively unexplored" (1997, p. 329).

To what extent the *Lansing State Journal* covered crime as police-related news, is one area to be examined in this case study. Attention is now redirected to Ericson et al., who investigated media organizational aspects that impacted newsworthiness.

In *Visualizing Deviance*, the authors focused on the process and organizational aspects that impacted how journalists deemed information to be newsworthy. *Negotiating Control* contained an analysis of how journalists and sources interacted, negotiated, and accommodated one another in order to control "signs and meanings"

that are presented as news that serves (from a functionalist perspective) to "solidify the knowledge structure of society" (Ericson et al., 1989).

Performed to determine how crime news varies "according to medium and target market," *Representing Order* analyzed and emphasized news content, per se, through the examination of law and crime news content from six Toronto media (1991). As Surette (1992) noted, crime and justice have always been news media (and entertainment media) staples and "printed news about crime is nearly as old as printing" (p. 50).

Considered collectively the methodology and key findings of the trilogy are noted next. Majority focus is on *Visualizing Deviance* and *Negotiating Control* as these are considered more comparable with this writer's fieldwork at the *Lansing State Journal.* As with any collective approach, some detail is sacrificed for discussion's sake.

Ericson et al.'s Methodology

During 1982 & 1983, Ericson et al. employed ethnographic methodology to study media outlets and news sources in Toronto, Ontario. Research was "based at the Toronto *Globe and Mail* newspaper and the Toronto CBLT television station" where the researchers spent "200 researcher days in the field, 101 days observing *Globe and Mail* journalists over a nine-month period, and 86 days with CBLT journalists[50] over a seven-month period" (1987, pp. 81-86). To supplement their fieldwork, the researchers also spent time with journalists from other media

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[50] The terms journalists and reporters, as used by Ericson et al. refer to all media. Use of these same terms by this writer refer only to newspaper reporters, unless specified otherwise.

organizations in the city. That all three authors were involved in data collection allowed for comparison of field notes and enhanced reliability.

Field study of news reporters permitted detailed observation of daily journalistic duties and processes. Throughout the course of this observation, any related documentation or information pertaining to reporters' news sources was carefully noted by the researchers. Observation (although to a lesser degree than was conducted with news reporters) and interviews were performed with assignment editors and news management (P. 87). Field study was not performed with reporters' news sources. Instead, nearly a hundred taped interviews were conducted with identified news sources from the three social control agency news beats highlighted in the study: police, courts, and the legislature (1989).

In order to analyze news content, the researchers randomly sampled six Toronto news formats (one "quality[51]" and one "popular[52]" newspaper, television station[53], and radio station) over a "33-day sampling period" (1991, p. 60). Sampled news items related to crime, deviance, legal control, and justice issues. Determining differences between news formats, sources, patterning, formatting, and placement were the goals of analysis.

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[51] According to the authors, quality media "seek acceptance through more 'literary' and symbolic means. Their formats include longer items, features and continuing stories on complex matters affecting business and political elites on a national and international basis" (1991, p. 35).
[52] Popular media were defined as seeking "acceptance through seeming to be close to reality. Their formats thus incorporate iconic elements, including pictures, brief items on simple themes, strongly opinionated columns on simple themes, colloquial expressions, and parochial interests" (p. 35).
[53] Broadcast transcripts were analyzed for electronic media.

Also content analyzed were letters to the editors. The goal of this analysis was to determine patterns of selecting (and rejecting) letters that served to reinforce or legitimize the organizational stance of the newspapers.

Qualitative and quantitative analyses were performed on the collected data. Qualitatively, samples were analyzed and coded within the framework of previous ethnographic information procured from field observation and interviews. Further analysis was performed within the framework of indexes developed by "scrutinizing the 1,485 sampled items" (p. 62). Longitudinal, qualitative analysis was performed on two specific news stories, one involving a murder; the other law reform. Quantitatively, a cross-sectional analysis was performed to examine variation "across news items and news sources" (over 5,000 news sources were referenced) (p. 66). Identified variables were dichotomized and cross-tabulated for each medium to determine significance. Inter-coder reliability was tested via log-linear analysis.

In their discussions of methodology, Ericson et al. mentioned encountering several difficulties while conducting their field observations that are worthy of mention for later comparison with this researcher's field experience in Lansing. First, they noted that "reporters complained that our presence made it more awkward to work generally" (1987, p. 88). Exclusion and confidentiality were other difficulties experienced by the authors who found themselves "occasionally excluded from particular interviews with sources because the reporter wanted to "protect" a source who wished to remain anonymous" (p. 89). These difficulties will be contrasted with

this researcher's experiences and will be presented in Chapter Five. Ericson et al.'s findings are presented below.

Ericson et al.'s, Findings Related to How the Media Shape Policing and Policing Shapes the Media

Ericson et al. tell us that the news making process results in a product shaped by organizational resources and routines (1987). This applies to both the journalism and policing sides of the news production coin. Presenting a model of source organizations (police) and news organizations, termed *The Contexts of Newsmaking*, the authors provide a design that is akin to the concept of gatekeeping. While they arrive at this model via a sociological perspective, it is still the same gatekeeping mentioned by Sherizen in 1978 and reviewed by Surette in 1992. According to Sherizen, "the key gatekeeper in the crime news process - the one who decides the news - is the crime reporter. A crime reporter must develop reliable police sources and maintain their access and trust" (in Surette, 1992, p. 59). In 1978, Sherizen's was perhaps, more of a one-way process of news production in that it was solely incumbent upon the reporter to develop access and trust. Ericson et al. spoke of a two-way model whereby journalist and police interests "eventually" converge and, although trust develops, each has something to gain from the other. To be successful in this process, police are suppose to adapt to and understand journalists' priorities, provide them with facilities, and supply them with information (1989). Herein lies the crux of how media shape policing and police shape the media.

Journalists want police information[54]. Police want to control information and to build their image in the public's eye. What results from the social and cultural processes controlling this interaction is called news. Depending on whose side the "news scales of justice" tip, will determine who has more influence in producing the type of knowledge that ultimately impacts the public's social construction of crime and criminal justice. According to Ericson et al., media's role in social control results from the symbolic value of news in influencing public opinion and from institutional effects media have on other organizations (police) as journalists go through the process of gathering news - in other words, the gatekeeping process (1987). Reporters usually have the last word in this process, called 'closure' by the authors, which puts police and other sources at their mercy (1989). In reality, the last step of the gatekeeping process is the receiver of the product-the citizen who chooses to attend or not to attend to the news[55].

Ericson et al.'s research in Toronto indicated that recently police sources had "made an effort to control their environment through a proactive strategy of selectively disclosing knowledge about their organizational activities...to control the version of reality transmitted, sustained, and accepted publicly" (1989, pp. 92-3). Building on their model of back region & front region, the authors also indicate that "in the past few decades, police have become more involved with news media by

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[54] In *Reporting Public Affairs*, Lovell (1993) devotes a chapter to police beat reporting.
[55] The extent to which receivers attend to news media depends on a variety of variables beyond the scope of this examination. Ericson et al., rightly distinguish between quality news media and popular news media. Who attends to which type of media, under what circumstances, and why has been the subject of research pertaining to attitude formation. See Eagley and Chaiken, for example (1994).

loosening some aspects of their back region enclosure over knowledge while effecting front region enclosure (control) through this proactive feeding of reporters (p. 93).

In Canada, the authors found that news media were being "incorporated into the architecture of new police buildings," newsroom facilities and public affairs units were being added, and that "media were becoming a part of everyday police practice" at the operational level by being included in organizational charts and agency procedures (p p. 93-7). In Toronto, they further found that "officers of all ranks were becoming increasingly oriented to the media" and that media were recognized as a "resource to be harnessed rather than a threat to be shunned" (pp. 93-4). The authors assumed these trends were true throughout all of North America.

Examining the culture of reporters led Ericson et al. to conclude that there were really two reporter cultures at work, the inner circle and the outer circle. (1989). Inner circle reporters based their news gathering and producing operations in the police newsroom and "established close affinities with police officers" (trust & exchange relationships) (p. 104). These police provided newsrooms became the "spatial, social, and cultural homes" for inner circle reporters and it was here that bonding with officers developed to the extent that reporters "would espouse the police perspective" and report more favorably toward police because they understood police culture (pp. 104-7). Here, the authors quoted Sherizen by stating, "Crime reporters became more like the police than like other reporters while the police, to a large degree, remained constant to their police occupational identify" (p. 108).

Outer circle reporters enjoyed no such relationships with police. The reporters worked out of the media newsroom and interacted with officers only in official or formal capacities, such as at the scene of an event or a press conference. They remained distinct from officers and did not internalize police culture. In fact, they were likely to criticize inner circle reporters for crossing the lines of objectivity. For outer circle reporters, Ericson et al. found that access to information was constrained due to reporters' limited access to police officers. According to the researchers' model, outer circle reporters had less access than inner circle reporters to back region knowledge (1989).

This back region enclosure of knowledge (termed secrecy) led the researchers to find that reporters often thought that police had something to hide. Citing a "moral panic" situation, Ericson et al. provided an example: "At one point...a reporter asked to have access to rape-case files to do an analysis of them. She was refused permission, and allowed only to consult the police major-occurrence news reports prepared for journalistic purposes by the public affairs unit" (p. 127). Secrecy was found to be commonly attributed to the police excuse that divulging of information would jeopardize an investigation (p. 127). Back region disclosure (termed confidence) was found to take the form of police "leaks" of information to reporters. Public information officers (PIO), the official mouthpieces of police agencies, were found to take a "nothing is off the record" stance when dealing with the media. This attitude protected PIOs from inadvertent or unintended leaks via being mistakenly quoted.

Pertaining to front region enclosure, the researchers found that police used their knowledge of libel laws to circumvent what knowledge a reporter could access. This process was termed censorship. Front region disclosure was termed publicity and was inherently "accomplished most regularly and routinely in the reporting of crime incidents, investigation, and capture" (p. 151). Publicity was also actively sought from reporters via direct police requests to focus on positive police activities in order to boost morale in the police department (p. 163).

Ericson et al. also produced a model of the news production process (newsroom process), using a flow-chart to visually represent various gatekeepers and organizational stages coming into play from start to finish. One key point made by the researchers, was that the production of news is a product of various interpretations along the organizational flow. The reporters' interpretations are key to the content of the resulting news item. The authors noted that even a laudable aspect, such as accuracy, is infused with value and meaning (1987, p. 106). In spite of the resulting interpretive content of the news item, another key finding of the researchers was that content was always secondary to marketing format of the news outlet (i.e., is it a print or electronic medium).

One last organizational factor to be discussed within the confines of this examination are journalists who conceived of themselves as investigators. It was found that reporters engaged in investigative reporting in order to "ferret out injustice and force accountability" – a process defined as the "watchdog" function in Chapter Two. A lofty, idealistic style of news gathering, investigative reporting was defined as

being mystical in character (pp. 113-4). The process of investigative reporting allowed a journalist to be creative and to attain a sense of individuality in their work,. These desires are, perhaps, artifacts of the editing stages along the news production process and reporters' longings for increased prestige and control.

Summary

Summarizing this chapter, the histories and organizational backgrounds of the *Lansing State Journal* and the Lansing Police Department have been examined. After these two research sites were detailed, focus was shifted to Ericson, Baranek, and Chan, who conducted and compiled one of the most comprehensive research studies, to date, involving newspapers and law enforcement, albeit in a much larger city than Lansing, Michigan. While a large degree of newsroom specialization was evident in Ericson et al.'s, study (due to Toronto's size) a review of their research provides a means for comparing findings, newsroom processes, and newsroom specialization with this study that focuses on a smaller city. In Chapter Four, research methods for this case study are presented.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

<u>Introduction to the Case Study</u>

The "field reality" of contemporary media involvement in community policing initiatives is complex, interdisciplinary, and under-explored. While community policing proponents have great expectations for media's functioning (terming it one of the "Big Six") in community policing initiatives, research examining media's distinct function is absent in current literature. Also unexplored is whether such functioning, identified by community policing's proponents, even meshes with historically evolved journalistic functions recognized by that discipline. Due to the inherent complexities which underlie any interdisciplinary research and the intricacies that specifically underlie any examination of police and media, a case study methodology was deemed most appropriate for this qualitative exploration.

One means to determine media's function within the confines of a specific community policing initiative was to perform a case study related to a particular law enforcement agency and a particular media organization. To that end, the primary focus of this exploratory research, a case study of the *Lansing State Journal's* function in the City of Lansing Police Department's community policing efforts, was conducted to distinctly identify the function/s served by the *Journal*, to determine if coverage

occurred "naturally" within historically accepted and developed journalism paradigms; and to determine whether police-related coverage change over time, i.e., pre & post community policing's implementation in Lansing, Michigan. While not the primary foci of the research, formats of media other than the city's daily press and national media coverage were chronicled in Appendixes A and B, for their supplemental value in understanding the overall effects that emerged in the case study.

By way of providing rationale for a case study approach, Stake (1994) noted the "name *case study* is emphasized by some...because it draws attention to the question of what specifically can be learned from the single case" (p. 236). This research is what Stake called an "*instrumental case study,* (whereby) a particular case is examined to provide insight into an issue" (P. 237):

> The case is of secondary interest; it plays a supportive role, facilitating our understanding of something else. The case is often looked at in depth, its context scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but because this helps us pursue the external interest. The case may be seen as typical of other cases or not. The choice of case is made because it is expected to advance our understanding of that other interest. (p. 237)

Descriptive by its nature and focusing on the "interest" (as noted by Stake) of media's function in community policing, this case study research was comprised of several qualitative components: historical analysis of the media and law enforcement organizations selected for study, historical analysis of police-related newspaper articles prior to the research time frame, field observation at the media organization, interviews of community police officers, public information officers, and other Lansing Police Department officials, interviews of *Lansing State Journal* police beat and

other reporters, and a five-year, chronological, content analysis of police-related articles.

The extensive conceptual framework and backgrounds developed within the previous chapters were part of the overall case study and emerged from the historical analyses portion of the methodology. In essence, those findings have already been presented. In most research, this would be putting the cart before the horse. In the present instance, such analysis and "para-normal" presentation is required in order to understand two organizations that hold scholarly residence within two disparate academic realms. A less extensive presentation would have short-shrifted one or the other organization and would have detracted from understanding their interrelationships.

Reflecting further on the background information, this researcher cites Strauss and Corbin (1990) who referred to the theoretical sensitivity derived from the background that the researcher brings to the research situation. In this study and reflecting their guidelines, the type of historical analyses and review of literature and other information provides a rich background that "sensitizes" the researcher to "what is going on with the phenomenon studied," informs the interpretation of data, and informs readers of the research (p. 42).

Considered as a whole, the variety of qualitative methods employed in this case study create a triangulated approach, thereby lending strength, explanatory power, and validity to the research. The value of triangulation lies within its definition as noted by Stake (in Denizen and Lincoln, eds.) who cited Flick (1992),

"Triangulation has been generally considered a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation. But, acknowledging that no observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable, triangulation serves also to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen" (1994, p. 241).

Presented first in this chapter are the research questions and rationales for focusing on those questions. Rationales are then provided for focusing upon the organizations selected as research sites, followed by an explanation of the various qualitative methods used, research ethics, and research limitations. Attention is now directed to the research questions posed in this case study.

Research Questions and Rationales

Several significant conceptual issues underlie the case study and are expressed in the research question rationales. These issues were addressed within the case study in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the function of the *Lansing State Journal* (as the media organization) in the Lansing Police Department's (the law enforcement organization) community policing effort.

Since the area of inquiry covered by this study was new and offered scant prior research, the research questions considered were several. As previously expressed in the backgrounding chapters, many question areas emerged. Because the inherent nature of this study was descriptive, the intent was to explore the underlying influences and dynamics related to the function of the *Lansing State Journal* in Lansing Police Department's community policing efforts, as well as to begin a social inquiry

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that might prove useful for future research.[56]   Specific research questions and rationales are posed below.

Research Question – Organizational Relationships

Prior to community policing's implementation and during the time parameters of this study, what was the overall relationship which existed between the *Lansing State Journal* and the Lansing Police Department? To what extent did this relationship reflect findings in the literature, predominately the findings of Ericson, Baranek, and Chan?

Rationale

Any inquiry into the relationship between two organizations must take into account and must be interpreted within the broader context of historical and exisitng social and organizational relationships which might effect the current-day and day-to-day interworkings of the two agencies.

Recognized in Chapter One was the dynamic of conflict between police and media which has been identified in a large share of literature as the accepted paradigm of police and media relations. The presence or absence of conflict must be explored in the present case study in order to identify to what extent any identified degree of conflict, if any, between the research organizations might have effected the day-to-day production of news, the interrelationships between individuals of both organizations, and the quality of police-related coverage in the city.

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[56] Per Babbie and Maxfield's (1994) discussion of exploratory research.

The dynamics of how police-related news is produced was another inter-organization process explored in the case study. Presented in Chapter Three was a discussion of how media shape police and how police shape the media. This construct suggested a complimentary inter-organizational relationship as opposed to the conflicting dynamics suggested by the previously mentioned literature. Essentially, two models of inter-organizational dynamics have been identified in the backgrounding information. Therefore, another significant conceptual issue was to identify which of these two "models" (or both) more closely reflected the working relationship between the *Lansing State Journal* and the Lansing Police Department.

Research Question – *Lansing State Journal* Involvement

To what extent was the media, predominately the *Lansing State Journal*, involved actively or passively with Lansing Police Department's community policing initiative?

Rationale

This inquiry area was directly developed from the background information related to the assumed active and willingly provided assistance of the media. From an active perspective, this research question provided a mechanism to discover the extent of media support openly solicited and realized by the Lansing Police Department.

Moreover, it shed light on the extent of community policing newspaper coverage realized from journalism's day-to-day working practices and the extent of coverage that was realized latently or passively via newspaper coverage of other

events. Exploring latent or passive coverage allowed for comparing the case study findings with the sociological perspectives presented in the earlier chapters, such as social control and creating support for police practices via coverage of related topic areas like crime and community disorder. In short, was coverage of Lansing Police Department's community policing efforts "filtered" through other non-police related reporting?

Focusing specifically on newspaper coverage produced by the *Lansing State Journal* this line of questioning also allowed the researcher to examine any connections between *Journal* coverage and outside, national media coverage which highlighted the Lansing Police Department during the research time frame.[57]

Research Question – Media Function

What function/s did the *Lansing State Journal* serve in its involvement with Lansing Police Department's community policing initiative?

Rationale

Identifying function, *per se*, has thus far been assumed as opposed to empirically examined. Based upon the historical development of media functions, this research question provided an opportunity to explore whether function/s could be identified from the data. If such identification was possible, the functions apparent within the data could then be compared with the literature. If such

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[57] Refer to Appendix C for a listing of national media coverage that took place during the research time frame.

identification was not possible from the data, this question allowed for examining the reasons why.

Research Question – Functional Perspective

To what extent were identified functions served by the *Lansing State Journal* in keeping with the functions specified by the perspectives of government, community policing proponents, sociological views, and historically developed, professional journalistic standards?

Rationale

This query served a comparative purpose and identified the field reality of media's function as opposed to the functions assumed to be served by the media in community policing. Community policing proponents have assumed particular functions for the media, however, these functions were based upon an "outsider" perspective of media function – or rather, were espoused without considering the historically evolved function/s of the media. This research question helped to discover to what extent the proponents' assumptions held true. It built upon and followed naturally from the previous research questions.

Research Question – Reporting Changes

Did *Lansing State Journal* police-related coverage of the Lansing Police Department change after community policing's inception? Did the reporting styles change due to community policing? For instance, was there evidence of more favorable police coverage, increased use of photographs, evidence of increased

column inches devoted to police, and evidence of secondary police coverage evident in other newspaper articles?

Rationale

This area of questioning was distinctly focused on identifying any and all changes in media practices related to covering community policing. Although degree of favorability (evident in articles) was examined, this research question went beyond identifying favorability – a shortcoming in the Flint Neighborhood Foot Patrol Project newspaper content analysis. Thus, the inquiry built upon the Flint findings and provided a comparative mechanism between media/community policing research performed at the onset of the community-oriented era and research performed over a decade into the era.

Conceptually, this inquiry also related to organizational policy at the *Lansing State Journal*, in particular the aspect of civic journalism and the influence of the parent corporation, the Gannett Co. Inc. The civic journalism movement was identified as beginning in 1990, which was within the time frame of this case study. Given the similarities and complimentary attributes of civic journalism and community policing, establishing the existence (or non-existence) of civic journalism was important to this case study. Likewise, any active or passive influence from the parent company may have impacted the production of police-related news in the city and, thereby, the quality of inter-organizational relationships. Therefore, this area was examined.

<u>Research Question – Media Impact on Police</u>

Was there evidence that media coverage had any impact on Community Police Officer versus District Officer relationships? Was there evidence that media coverage affected the police department in any fashion?

<u>Rationale</u>

Anecdotally, the potential for media coverage adversely impacting officer relationships was raised in the backgrounding review of literature. Including this research question allowed a mechanism to empirically examine the existence of such an outcome and the dynamics behind the outcome. This question encompassed relational dynamics between officers at the individual level and, from a more inclusive perspective, at the departmental level.

Having presented the research questions and rationales, attention is directed to the case study and the methods used to perform the research.

<u>Research Methods Employed</u>

<u>Site and Time Frame Selection</u>

The City Lansing Police Department and the *Lansing State Journal* were selected as the research organizations for examination in this case study. Prior to 1989 the police agency had experimented with and conducted pilot experiments related to foot patrol but it was not until January, 1990 that community policing (as opposed to foot patrol) was implemented. The year, 1989, is the baseline year. The years 1990 through 1993 comprised the time frame that the Lansing Police Department was

practicing pure community policing or what was also known as the *Trojanowicz Paradigm* of community policing.

In 1994, the pure model of community policing philosophy began to disintegrate as a result of two predominant factors: the death of the philosophy's originator, Dr. Robert Trojanowicz, who promoted the police agency, and the organizational restructuring of the policing agency into precincts and the introduction of a "team approach" to delivery of police services. These reasons, solely, drove the time frame for the case study as they were of paramount importance to the research topic.

Lansing, Michigan was served by one daily newspaper, the *Lansing State Journal.* This determinant was expected to further enhance the "purity" of the research, as a city served by two newspapers brings with it the aspect of competition. Such competition would have created great difficulties in trying to isolate the function of the specific media entities. As noted in the Introduction to this dissertation, this same competitive reasoning shaped selection of a newspaper medium for study as opposed to an electronic medium such as television or radio, as Lansing was served by more than one television and radio station.

Historical Analyses

Historical analyses of *Lansing State Journal,* police-related, newspaper articles was conducted for a period of years prior to the time frame of the case study. Having received clearance to conduct this research within the newspaper's library of clippings, articles related to the Lansing Police Department were located and analyzed

for their inherent flavor in terms of gaining a sense for the newspaper's overall reporting objectivity. Any article mentioning the Lansing Police Department was reviewed as were related articles, such as mayoral articles, city budgeting articles and crime-related articles. Due to previous organizational and library personnel problems at the *Journal*, this historical analysis was incomplete with respect to missing articles, but did encompass articles for years ranging back through 1970. Thus, this provided 19 years of "newspaper objectivity perspective" prior to the study's time frame and was deemed by the researcher as adequate.

Other historical analyses related to the respective research sites have already been discussed and presented within this chapter and within earlier chapters.

Field Observation at the Lansing State Journal

During the winter months of 1993, this researcher conducted seven weeks of field observation at the *Lansing State Journal* as part of her doctoral studies. Assigned to the paper's primary police reporter[58] she was allowed access to the newspaper's library, editorial meetings, and the newsroom. In addition, the researcher engaged in a variety of conversations with this police reporter related to the day-to-day process of news and newspaper production and accompanied her about town and about the newsroom as she went about her business of police reporting.

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[58] An additional police reporter had recently been hired but she was still learning the ropes. Contact with this reporter was minimal although she was observed extensively.

Entree to the setting was achieved through the efforts of Dr. William Cote´, of Michigan State University's School of Journalism and through the additional efforts of the School's Director, Dr. Stan Soffin, and *Lansing State Journal*'s "Metro" Editor.

Extensive field notes were written and later coded based on the following variable categories and sub-categories which emerged from the field notes:

Information: This variable category dealt with the gathering of the raw product – information – for the news production process. One variable sub-category dealt with the various verbal skills (and ploys) used by reporters to procure information from their sources. Skills within this sub-category included: *"Soft-soaping"* for information, *"Digging"* for information, and *"Negotiating"* for information. Other sub-categories included: *"Verification"* of information, the issue of information's *"Newsworthiness,"* the *"Gatekeeping"* process of information's procural and transformation into news, and *"Sensationalizing"* of information.

Relationships: This variable category dealt with relationships between police officers and reporters, public information officers and reporters, prosecutor and reporters, and police officers and prosecutor. Sub-categories within this variable included: *"Conflict"* in the relationships, *"Trust"* within the relationships, *"Exchange"* within the relationships, *"Knowledge"* of one another's roles and organizational constraints within the relationships, and *"Commonalties"* within the relationships.

Reporting Styles: This variable dealt the working personalities of various reporters and how those personalities impact the news gathering process.

Organizational Structure: This variable dealt with the organizational structures within the *Lansing State Journal* and the Lansing Police Department which hindered or facilitated how police shaped the newspaper process (and, thereby, the news) and how the newspaper process shaped the police.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with the reporters who were responsible for covering the Lansing Police Department. Several of these reporters were no longer with the *State Journal,* having moved on to new positions, therefore, subsequent interviews were conducted in a variety of locations, including Denver, Colorado and Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Interviews were also conducted with the police officers who were assigned public information officer responsibilities at the Lansing Police Department during the time frame of the case study. All but one of those officers were located and interviewed. The exception was a former public information officer assigned that duty just prior to the study time frame. That officer had retired and moved out of state. Not to have interviewed that officer was evaluated as having minimal and insignificant effect on the case study.

Also interviewed were community police officers and other police officials who had direct interaction with media personnel at the time or knowledge of police/media practices during the study time frame. A protocol of questions used during these interviews can be found in Appendix D.

Other individuals, not attached to either research organization, who had information related to the interactions of police and media were also interviewed. Among those individuals were those who had knowledge of Dr. Robert Trojanowicz's role in terms of his power to solicit media coverage of Lansing Police Department.

Five-year, Chronological, Content Analysis

This aspect of the case study was both qualitative and quantitative in nature. The chronological content analysis was qualitative in the sense that the police-related articles described in the process below were individually coded for content on seventeen variables.[59] It is quantitative in the sense that this coding was given numerical value labels and then analyzed using the computerized statistical program, SPSS.® The five-year, chronological, content analysis is described in the following sections.

The Population: All articles mentioning police were included in the analysis. Essentially there are two populations analyzed: the totality of articles mentioning police and the totality of articles mentioning the Lansing Police Department.

It is important to note that the descriptive outcome of the content analysis is based on populations not samples. Given the case study methodology, dealing with populations or the "universes" of articles mentioning police and the Lansing Police Department provided robustness to the findings. It is also important to recall that the

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[59] Refer to Appendix D to view the Five-Year, Chronological, Content Analysis Code Book.

intent of the case study was to describe rather than to make inferences.

In order to validate that all *Lansing State Journal*, police articles were included (thus, ensuring a population) newspaper articles gathered by the researcher were cross-checked with newspaper articles and clippings gathered during the time frame by Community Police Officer Dan Christian. Further, a Lexis/Nexus® database search was performed to double cross-check for *LSJ* articles, as well as for national media, non-*LSJ* articles (referred to earlier as supplemental information and noted in Appendix B).

Police articles not included in the study were those provided by wire services as these articles covered police news at the state, national, and international levels. The police article population of interest was the Lansing Police Department. All local police articles were analyzed for descriptive purposes.

The Time Frame: The following table presents and describes T1 through T5:

Table 3
Five-year, Chronological, Content Analysis Time Frames

Tn	Description	Date Range
T1	Baseline year	1/1/89 to 12/31/89
T2	First year of community policing	1/1/90 to 12/31/90
T3	Second year of community policing	1/1/91 to 12/31/91
T4	Third year of community policing	1/1/92 to 12/31/92
T5	Fourth year of community policing	1/1/93 to 12/31/93

The Process: All newspaper articles were derived via microfilm and photocopied via microfilm reader/copiers. Degree of magnifications and the microfilm lens used remained consistent throughout the course of data collection. After all relevant newspapers articles were gathered they were read and analyzed for the variable categories listed below. Numerical values (see Code Book in Appendix D) were then noted on coding sheets and the values entered into the statistical program.

The Variables: While the variables and value labels are presented in the code book, clarifying explanation is required to highlight certain coding categories. Those categories are noted next.

Police Agency: Articles were coded according to the local police agency mentioned. This coding was done for descriptive purposes in terms of analyzing what percentage of all local, police articles were LPD articles, and in terms of analyzing trends in the amount of police coverage over the case study time frame.

Civic Journalism: A dichotomized, coding category, this variable was included in order to determine if the civic journalism movement was reflected in how stories were reported.

Evaluation of Article Content: Probably the trickiest of the coding categories, articles were read for the flavor of their content. Many articles were read more than once in a desire to serve objectivity and impartiality. It should be noted that the value labels – positive, negative, neutral, and mixed – did not reflect the *topic* of the article, rather, the actual article content. Articles with positive *and* negative reporting

perspectives were coded as "mixed." This value label was also reserved for articles with content difficult to evaluate for favorable/non-favorable quality.

Function: Like article content, function was sometimes a difficult variable to analyze and great pains were taken to be objective. The value labels for this coding category were derived primarily from the media functions expressed by community policing proponents as presented in earlier chapters. Media (newspaper)-defined functions were allowed to emerge from the data content analysis.

Information Source: This coding category was included as a mechanism for empirically identifying the degree of police-media conflict evident within the newspaper articles. Reporters have often complained about lack of forthcoming information from police organizations. The researcher assumed the police, as a source of information, would be suggestive of information flow between the two organizations.

Article Location: Within the newspaper industry there are "stock" locations for various types of news with the front page reserved for news deemed more important – or – more newsworthy. This variable allowed the researcher to track, over the time frame, any changes in police article location.

Photo Size and Article Size: These two coding categories were the only variables above nominal level. Like location, size is important in the newspaper industry. As a general statement, the bigger the photo or the article, the more newsworthy. Size was calculated using the newspaper standard of measurement – column inches. For consistency, the measure of eight lines to the inch was used. Six

columns to the page was the "column standard." Thus an article three columns wide by four inches in height would equal twelve column inches.

Police or Cops: This coding category was included to reflect upon conflict between police and reporters. Reporters used both terms when referring to officers. The researcher wished to determine if any meaning could be attached to the use of either term.

Police Direct Quotes: This was another coding category meant to empirically measure conflict. Direct quotes from police were assumed indicative of flow of information between the organizations. It is important to note that only direct quotes were coded as "2s" or "yeses." Indirect quotes filtered through another source were coded "nos."

Reactive or Proactive Policing: This coding category was included to help describe how newspaper reporters viewed and reported on law enforcement and, also, to determine if articles reflected proactive policing to a greater degree over the course of the time frame.

Reflects Community Policing: This coding category was included for the same reasons mentioned in the variable directly above.

Reporter Byline: This coding category was used to analyze who wrote police articles, especially since particular reporters were assigned police beat responsibilities.

Topic: The addition of this coding category helped to describe whether crime news was a staple in Lansing, Michigan and if it was only through crime news that

police were mentioned. This variable was used to help understand the sociological perspectives discussed in the backgrounding chapters.

Data Analysis: Given the predominately nominal level nature of most of the data, analyses were limited to frequencies and cross-tabulations. Photo size and article size, the two ratio level variables, were analyzed using mean comparisons.

Review of Relevant Organizational Documents

A variety of organizational and other documents were gathered and reviewed in order to broaden understanding related to the research topic. These included yearly community policing reports, mission statement and goals, and procedural forms from the Lansing Police Department; grant proposals from the Lansing Police Department, the National Center for Community Policing, and the Lansing Housing Commission; year-end reports, company brochures and award announcement from the Gannett Co. Inc.; and media records belonging to Dr. Robert Trojanowicz. Much of the information derived from these documents enhanced the background information and conceptual framework found in the previous chapters. Some was used to supplement and assist with interpreting other data in the case study.

Research Ethics

This research was performed in compliance with the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCHRIS) at Michigan State University. Confidentiality was offered to interview subjects under UCHRIS guidelines. Individuals referred to in this case study were identified by means of pseudonyms.

Please refer to Appendix E for copies of UCHRIS approval and a sample consent form used with interview subjects.

Stake (1994) has noted that often case study research deals with "matters of public interest but for which there is neither public nor scholarly "right to know" (p. 244). He noted that qualitative researchers "are quests in the private spaces of the world...their manners should be good and their code of ethics strict" (p. 244). Such was the situation in this case study. Within the qualitative research at hand were occurrences that would have enhanced understanding and, most probably, voyeuristically satisfied readers' interests. However, gaining entree into the organizations meant that certain extra confidentialities be maintained. Beyond the safeguards noted above, were special instances of holding silent any references to particular news stories and informants who provided reporters with information related to those stories.

Limitations of the Research

Although attempts to knowingly strengthen the explanatory power of this research were applied via employing a variety of qualitative methodologies, limitations still exist. Of primary concern are two types of limitations, the inherent limitations which are realized when using a single case study methodology and limitations which come with using a single researcher.

Stake (1994) noted that "the epistemological question" (related to case study methodology) is: "What can be learned from the single case" (p. 236)? While "a case may be simple or complex," the aspect of being a single case, per se, presents

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generalization problems. He cited Stouffer (1941) who warned that the "case study methodology has suffered somewhat because it has sometimes been presented by people who have a lesser regard for study of the particular" (p. 238). Further, Stake noted that "many social scientists have written about case studies as if intrinsic study of a particular case is not as important as studies to obtain generalizations pertaining to a population of cases' (p. 238). The limitations presented by Stake and Stouffer are believed to be offset by the ground-breaking nature of the research questions and the overall research topic.

The case study at hand was the first, comprehensive, inter-disciplinary research pertaining to the function of the media in community policing. Also off-setting the mentioned limitations is the gained knowledge which may be of use to other police and newspaper organizations. Rather than making inferences to other sites (which was not the intent of this researcher or this research), others may examine the findings and identify comparative similarities within their own settings. Also, out of this case study emerged the need for further research and suggestions for the types of research still needed.

Another limitation related to the aspect of having one researcher conducting the case study. Two or more researchers coding data allows for inter-coder reliability. Such is not the case when coding is done by one individual. In spite of the best attempts to remain impartial and objective, the element and potential for researcher bias is always present.

Also limiting the study was the aspect of confidential information that must be protected due to research ethics. It was possible, however unlikely, that the addition of such information would have significantly changed the interpretation of the case study. With this type of limitation, readers must accept the researcher's evaluation related to the value of information not included. Again, researcher bias may have colored interpretation of the excluded data.

Summary

Within this chapter were presented an introduction to the case study and evidence supporting the selection of a case study methodology to research the topic of interest.. Coupled with discussions of the research questions and rationales were the methods employed in conducting the study and the concepts for coding field work and newspaper articles, the ethical precautions taken during the case study, and the limitations of the case study. The next chapter is a presentation of the case study findings. In the last chapter those findings are discussed.

CHAPTER 5

Case Study Findings

Introduction

Findings of the case study are summarized in this chapter. Presented first are general results of the five-year, time-series content analysis as they related to the overall number of newspaper articles mentioning police and the percentage breakdowns for the various police departments reflected in the overall results. This identified the population of interest in this case study, the articles mentioning the Lansing Police Department.

Descriptive information and interpretations related to specific variables for the LPD population of newspaper articles are appropriately presented within separate discussions for each of the research questions being examined in this case study. Those discussions follow logically from the general presentation of the five-year content analysis results and integrate findings from the other research techniques employed within this case study: field observation, interviews, and document review.

Before those presentations begin, a short commentary on the daily structural format of the *Lansing State Journal* is in order. It should be noted that newspapers tweak and adjust their formats from time to time. Usually, this tends to be done at the onset of a new year. Changes may be small – such as shifting a daily feature

column from a horizontal configuration across the six columns at the bottom of a page to a one column configuration running down the side of the page, or large – for instance, a major formatting overhaul in terms of font, masthead[60], and location of content. To identify any such major formatting overhauls, the date of June 6th was arbitrarily chosen as a yearly "checkpoint" for reviewing the structure of the *Journal*. Over the course of the study, only minor changes were evidenced; none that impacted the process of the study or the findings. The following listing notes the day-to-day sections of the *Journal* and the content within the sections[61].

Section A: This first section contained: the front page, also termed the banner page on 1A; weather, national news and the paper's index on page 2 A; national and world news on pages 3 through 9A; and the opinion page, containing editorials, letters to the editor, and "Your Views" – an opinion column consisting of two local citizen opinion pieces per day – on pages 10 and 11A. Overall, Section A went by the heading "Nation/World."

Section B: Section B was the 'Local/State' section. Pages 1 through 3B contained various local news with subsequent pages containing stock quotes and business topics. The size of Section B varied from day to day and Sunday editions of the paper sometimes divided the normal topics within Section B into two separate sections.

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[60] The masthead is the area at the top of the newspaper's first page that includes the newspaper's name and other information such as the date, scores of major or local sporting events, or 'teaser' headings for the issue's content.
[61] Page numbers are provided for general information only and varied from day to day, although the ordering of topics was consistent.

Section C: Section C contained sports news and classified advertising.

Section D: This section titled "Today" contained a column called "People, Etc." which highlighted local citizens and events. This section also carried health news, the comics, and fashion, food, home, and relationship news.

It should be noted that Sunday editions of the *Lansing State Journal*, like other city dailies, contained extra sections (for instance, the Sunday comics, a weekly entertainment guide, and a news/entertainment magazine) and feature articles that varied from week to week. Although the features and number of pages changed from one Sunday to the next, the basic structural format of the paper was maintained. Having discussed the *Journal's* format, attention can now be directed to the time-series content analysis.

Five-year, Chronological, Content Analysis: General Findings

Table 4 (on the following page) displays the number of newspaper articles mentioning police during the years from 1989 through 1993. As displayed in this table, the yearly samples comprising the population totaled 1,113 articles: 243 articles in T1, 186 articles in T2, 236 articles in T3, 199 articles in T4, and 249 articles in T5. The mean for the population of articles was approximately 223 (222.6) and flucuated somewhat from year to year.

Table 4

Numbers of Police Articles by Year

Year	Number of Articles
T1: 1989	243
T2: 1990	186
T3: 1991	236
T4: 1992	199
T5: 1993	249
Total	1113

N=1113

There existed some inconsistency in terms of the number of articles from T1 through T5, including a slight decrease in the number of articles mentioning police in the year 1990. This variance cannot be easily explained as potential intervening variables are numerous and immeasurable. Examples of these intervening variables, which might contribute to the fluctuation included the number of police beat reporters on staff and staff turnover, and the quality and amount of other newsworthy local events occurring during this year. One such "other newsworthy event" might have been the gubernatorial election and associated campaign issues which culminated in a 'nail-biter election' in the fall of the year. By default, especially in a capitol city, this event could easily (by itself) have accounted for the decrease in police articles in T2.

The next aspect of the content analysis which informs the case study is the location of police articles in the newspaper. Table 5 (below) contains frequencies and percentages describing article location. Tables 6 through 10, located in Appendix F, present yearly information related to article location. Front page placement is noted

separately from Section A as this location is reserved for articles of greater importance or newsworthiness. Page 1B is noted separately from the remainder of pages in Section B for the same reason.

Table 5
Article Location: Five Year Frequencies and Percentages

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Local/State - 1B	527	47.3	47.3
Front Page	244	21.9	69.2
Section B	182	16.4	85.6
Op/Ed Page	96	8.6	94.2
Section A	34	3.1	97.3
Special Report	15	1.3	98.6
People, Etc.	9	.8	99.4
Section D	3	.3	99.7
Section C	2	.2	99.9
Letters to Editor	1	.1	100.0
Total	1113	100.0	100.0

N=1113

Data from Table 5 and the supplementary tables (6 through 10) show the location of articles mentioning police was consistent throughout the course of the study. The greatest proportion of police articles was found on page one of Section B, the Local/State Section of the *Journal*. Overall, this location housed 47.3 % of articles mentioning police, and on a yearly basis this location accounted for a range of 39.8% (in 1990) to 53.1% (in 1989) of articles. If the remaining pages of Section B are included with page one, the section contained a total of 63.7% of all police articles, overall, and a high of 74.7% in 1990.

After Section B, the other newspaper location most often displaying police articles was on the front page. This naturally begs the question of what topics resulted in a police article making front page news. Selecting only those police articles which appeared on the front page, the following table overwhelmingly indicates that violent personal crime, more than any other topic, was responsible for a police article's placement on page one.

Table 11

Topics of Police Articles Appearing on the *Journal's* Front Page

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Violent Personal Crime	108	44.3	44.3
Police Budget-Procedures	19	7.8	52.1
Public Disorder	18	7.4	59.5
Drugs	16	6.6	66.1
Property Crime	15	6.1	72.2
Crime & Crime Prevention	14	5.7	77.9
Mayoral & Gubernatorial	13	5.3	83.2
Police Misconduct	11	4.5	87.7
Auto Accidents	10	4.1	91.8
Other Topics	9	3.7	95.5
Community Policing	5	2.0	97.5
Officer Death	3	1.3	98.8
Police Canine	1	.4	99.2
Jail & Prison	1	.4	99.6
Mixed Topics	1	.4	100.0
Total	244	100.0	100.0

n=244

That violent crime was the topic of police articles making front page news is no surprise. Literature was replete with crime as a news topic staple for media in general and for newspaper coverage, specifically. Violent crime also highlights the crime fighting function of police, a fact also reflected in the literature and in this case

study. Violent crime was the topic for page one police articles but what about the topics for police articles overall? Topics for all police articles, T1 through T5, are displayed in Table 12.

Table 12
Topics of All Police Articles: 1989 to 1993

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Violent Personal Crime	360	32.3	32.3
Police Budget-Procedures	148	13.3	45.6
Other	101	9.1	54.7
Drugs	82	7.4	62.1
Auto Accidents	82	7.4	69.5
Community Policing	61	5.5	75.0
Crime & Crime Prevention	58	5.2	80.2
Public Disorder	55	4.9	85.1
Police Misconduct	47	4.3	89.4
Mayoral & Gubernatorial	38	3.4	92.8
Property Crime	38	3.4	96.2
Police Canine	15	1.3	97.5
Officer Death	13	1.2	98.7
Mixed Topics	7	.6	99.3
Jail & Prison	5	.4	99.7
Post Arrest Process	3	.3	100.0
Total	1113	100.0	100.0

N=1113

Data for all police articles again evidenced that violent personal crime was a staple police article topic for the *Lansing State Journal.* Interestingly, "police budgets and procedures" was the second largest topic area for both the front page articles and for all articles (T1 through T5). Community policing was a topic in 5.5% of all articles over the study time frame.

Thus far, data related to all police articles have been presented. However, not all of the 1113 articles related to the Lansing Police Department. Table 13 displays the number of articles reflecting various local police agencies. From these findings emerge the population of articles for Lansing Police Department which comprised the focus of this case study.

Table 13
Police Agencies Referred to in *LSJ* Articles: 1989 to 1993

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Lansing Police Dept.	500	44.9	44.9
More than one agency[62]	196	17.6	62.5
Michigan State Police	71	6.4	68.9
Agency not identified[63]	70	6.3	75.2
Other police agencies[64]	69	6.2	81.4
Ingham County Sheriff	61	5.5	86.9
Eaton County Sheriff	40	3.6	90.5
East Lansing P.D.	37	3.3	93.8
MSU DPPS	29	2.6	96.4
Meridian Twp. P.D.	23	2.1	98.5
Clinton County Sheriff	17	1.5	100.0
Total	1113	100.0	100.0

N=1113

As can be seen in Table 13, the Lansing Police Department received 44.9% of the coverage during the case study time frame. Recalling the coverage area of the *Lansing State Journal*, it is not surprising to see that other law enforcement agencies were covered on a regular basis. Unexpected, was the number of articles (n=196,

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[62] This category was used when an article referenced more than one police agency.
[63] An indirect reference was used, such as 'police' or 'law enforcement.'

17.6%) which referenced more than one police agency. Most often this resulted from coverage of R.E.A.C.H. or the Metro Unit (discussed in an earlier chapter).

The population of articles (T1 through T5) referencing the Lansing Police Department was 500 (N=500). This population now becomes the primary focus of discussion. Examined, first, are location of those articles and the topics. This allows for comparison of general findings between all police articles (all police agencies) and the LPD articles.

General Findings for Lansing Police Department Articles

Table 14 exhibits findings for data related to the location of newspaper articles referencing the Lansing Police Department.

Table 14
Location of Lansing Police Department Articles

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Local/State - 1B	231	46.2	46.2
Front Page	118	23.6	69.8
Section B	62	12.4	82.2
Op/Ed Page	54	10.8	93.0
Section A	18	3.6	96.6
People, Etc.	8	1.6	98.2
Special Report	6	1.2	99.4
Section D	2	.4	99.8
Section C	1	.2	100.0
Total	500	100.0	100.0

N=500

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[64] Numerous other, *LSJ* coverage area, police agencies were also the subjects of articles, from time to time, for example: Bath Township Police, Williamston Police, Owosso Police Department, and Mason Township Police.

Comparisons between all police articles and Lansing Police Department articles are consistent. In each case, the "Local/State" section featured the majority of the articles. Section B (page 1B and Section B) contained 63.7% of all police articles and 68.6% of Lansing Police Department articles. This similarity is not unexpected if we recall that LPD articles comprised nearly half of all police articles (44.9%).

The next comparative task was to identify what topics were featured in Lansing Police Department articles published on the front page of the *Journal.* Table 15 contains that data.

Table 15
Topics of LPD Articles Appearing on the *Journal's* Front Page

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Violent Personal Crime	64	54.2	54.2
Property Crime	9	7.6	61.8
Drugs	9	7.6	69.4
Mayoral & Gubernatorial	9	7.6	77.0
Public Disorder	6	5.1	82.1
Police Budget -Procedures	4	3.4	85.5
Crime & Crime Prevention	4	3.4	88.9
Other Topics	4	3.4	92.3
Community Policing	4	3.4	95.7
Police Misconduct	3	2.5	98.2
Mixed Topics	1	.9	99.1
Officer Death	1	.9	100.0
Total	118	100.0	100.0

n=118

Again, consistent with the findings for all police articles on the front page, Lansing Police Department articles were predominately related to violent personal

crime (54.2%). Further, violent personal crime, property crimes, and drugs accounted for 69.4% of all front page articles referencing LPD. Community policing articles (n=4) accounted for only 3.4% of front page articles. Table 16 presents topical data for articles (all locations) mentioning Lansing Police Department.

Table 16
Topics of all LPD Articles

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Violent Personal Crime	203	40.6	40.6
Community Policing	52	10.4	51.0
Police Budget -Procedures	38	7.6	58.6
Other	38	7.6	66.2
Drugs	31	6.2	72.4
Mayoral & Gubernatorial	27	5.4	77.8
Crime & Crime Prevention	24	4.8	82.6
Auto Accidents	22	4.4	87.0
Public Disorder	17	3.4	90.4
Property Crime	14	2.8	93.2
Police Misconduct	12	2.4	95.6
Police Canine	9	1.8	97.4
Officer Death	6	1.2	98.6
Mixed Topics	5	1.0	99.6
Post Arrest Process	2	.4	100.0
Total	500	100.0	100.0

N=500

When comparing the topics for all police articles (Table 12) with the topics for the Lansing Police Department population of articles, violent personal crime is the predominant topic. While 32.3% of all police articles related to violent personal crime, an even greater percentage of the Lansing Police Department articles were of that topic (40.6%). This indicated that violent crime is not only a staple topic for police articles, as a whole – it was a staple topic for articles referencing LPD.

Referring to the topic of community policing, where only 5.5% of all police articles were community-policing related, 10.4% of the LPD articles reflected a community policing topic. In fact, community policing comprised the second most predominant article topic when examining LPD articles. Together, the topics of violent personal crime and community policing accounted for over half of all the LPD articles (51%). Trends in community policing coverage over the study time frame are discussed in detail within the findings specific to other research questions presented in the following sections.

Findings Specific to the Research Questions

Introduction

Presented in this section are findings pertaining to the research questions posed in this case study. Given the diverse nature of those inquiries, the exhibition of relevant data will vary from question to question. Further, an integrated presentation is used as overlapping findings emerged from the several qualitative methods employed.

This sections begins with an examination of the organizational relationships between the *Lansing State Journal* and the Lansing Police Department, including how police-related news was produced and the degree of conflict evident between the organizations' personnel. On the heels of this encompassing inquiry, more focused information related to community policing coverage and media function are examined. At that point, media function as identified in the data is compared with

various perspectives identified in the literature. Closing the chapter are study findings related to reporting changes – pre and post – community policing and the impact of *LSJ* coverage on police.

<u>Organizational Relationships</u>

The initial research question was posed in order to examine several comprehensive areas of the research topic. First was the issue of who covers police news and how news was produced at the *Lansing State Journal.* Inherently, this involves discussions of organizational structure at the news organization, the overall news production process, the process of producing police news, and the working relationship between Lansing Police Department and *Lansing State Journal* personnel. The issue of who reports on police is examined first.

Police Reporters: During the time frame of this case study, the *Journal* had two primary reporters covering what is commonly referred to as the police beat. Barb Miller's official title was court reporter and Angie Bing officially covered police. Barb had been employed at the *Journal* just over four years, Angie was new to the Lansing paper. Prior to Angie's arrival another female reporter, Lou Mitchell, and Barb Miller were the primary police reporters and worked as a team. Referring to herself as head of the "cops team," Lou had been employed at the *Journal* twelve years and did sole police coverage for approximately five years. While Barb and Angie conferred on occasion, it appeared their work relationship was far less collaborative than the more collegial affiliation shred by Barb and Lou. Prior to Lou and the case study time

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frame, Ron Alward covered police as did another male reporter who had since moved to Canada.

Several other reporters wrote police articles. The first was Jackie French who was a part-time police reporter during the case study time frame. Gloria Davis was a "reporter-in-training" who had some experience under her belt (enough to be sent out alone on stories) but who did not consistently report on police. Chas Grant, Rory Willem, and Jack Schecker also wrote police articles from time-to-time; Grant and Willem were staff writers and Schecker wrote a daily column for the Local/State section which appeared across the bottom of page 1B (18 column inches).

Field observation and content analysis data indicated that police reporting was not solely the realm of police reporters and that police reporters did not solely report on police. Table 17 indicates the reporters responsible for the population of Lansing Police Department articles.

Table 17
Reporter Bylines for LPD Articles

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Lou Mitchell	58	11.6	11.6
Barb Miller	56	11.2	22.8
None Listed/*LSJ*	47	9.4	32.2
Editor (Presumed)	39	7.8	40.0
Chas Grant	28	5.6	45.6
More than one reporter	19	3.8	49.4
Ron Alward	17	3.4	52.8
Rory Willem	15	3.0	55.8
Gloria Davis	14	2.8	58.6
Jackie French	12	2.4	61.0
Jack Schecker	11	2.2	63.2
Others (includes citizens)	184	36.8	100.0
Total	500	100.0	100.0

N=500

Data indicated that full and part-time police reporters accounted for only 28.6% of the Lansing Police Department articles. The cops team of Miller and Mitchell wrote 22.8% of the articles. Most intriguing, 71.4% of LPD articles were written by people[65] and reporters other than the two police beat reporters. Field data help to understand why this happens.

Whenever the need arose, such as during night shift or when primary police reporters were busy with feature stories, non-police reporters and part-timers (who were typically assigned to the night shift) were evidenced writing police articles. Sometimes police stories were not covered by police reporters due to geographic or "jurisdiction" reasons.

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[65] Included within the "Others" category were citizen-written opinions and letters. The majority of the others category was comprised of other reporters at the *Journal*.

Recall that the *Journal's* coverage (and thus, its reporting) area exceeds the city's geographic boundaries. Recall, too, that many articles referenced more than one police department (i.e., Lansing Police Department was sometimes mentioned in conjunction with another department). Because of this, some stories were written by regional reporters. If a police story occurred within their region it was covered by that region's reporter – not by the police beat reporter.

Field data also indicated that the determination of who would cover a police-related story was also dependent upon source considerations. Even though Angie Bing was technically the paper's police reporter and Barb Miller was technically the paper's court reporter, there was often a cross-over in terms of reporting responsibility, especially since Angie was a new reporter. Barb had a well-developed network of sources. Angie did not. In terms of LPD articles, note that Angie did not write any; her name does not appear in Table 17. This is explained by the observed difficulty Angie often had in terms of soliciting information. She had not yet cultivated LPD sources. Often, Barb was the more logical reporter to cover particular police stories. Further, field data indicated that reporters held their network of sources sacred, they did not share the sources they had so painstakingly cultivated over time.

The potential "impact quality" or newsworthiness of a story also affected who reported it and *LSJ* reporters were observed to be protective of their turf. In the case

of a murdered child, it was Zane Brinkley[66], the paper's Executive Editor, who made

the final determination of which reporter would write the story and when:

> *Brinkley:* "Okay, we have a story. Is there a question for me in this?"
> *Brinkley to Barb:* "I think it's reasonable to say you can't do the other story"
> (Miller had been working on a story about a missing woman). "Unless you
> want to give it to Angie."
> *Barb:* "I don't."
> *Brinkley, in a serious but joking manner:* "You don't? What a team player!"
> *Barb, in the same tone:* "I'm a selfish bitch."
> *Brinkley:* "What's the first opportunity for the other story…Tuesday? You
> have a lot of news here today that you have to go after."
> *Barb:* "Shit."
> *Brinkley:* "You have to do this one." (1994)

Lou Mitchell also referred to the issue of reporter turf: "If you care enough

about your stories you don't want to give them up. There are times when you don't

get to handle everything from start to finish. You pass things off and you trust

another reporter enough to do this. That's why Barb and I worked so well together"

(1994).

Like police officer, police reporters were observed to have their busy days and

their slow days. On a busy day, issues of turf and passing articles off was a news

production necessity. On slow days these issues were moot. One morning, Miller

greeted and advised the researcher that she was working on a weather related story

and commented, "It's slow time for police stuff" (1994). Whether the day was busy

or slow, in terms of police news, the issue of how police beat reporters were trained

underlied their reporting.

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[66] Brinkley unexpectedly passed away in 1994.

Police Reporter Training. A backgrounding glimpse of police reporter training

practices allows for contrasting findings from the field research. Mitch Gelman of the

New York Newsday, spoke of his six-month probationary period when first assigned as

a police reporter, referring to it as "a time when both sides (reporter and editors) had

mutual rights of refusal" (1992, p. 28). Knowing he could be "refused" at any time,

Gelman recalled "totally immersing himself and writing each story as though it were

his last" (p. 41). Proving oneself worthy to one's editors (usually senior reporters)

through skill and impression management meant that a reporter would pass

probation.

Formal training processes for police reporters (such as Gelman) appeared to

be associated with larger city newspapers, such as competing dailies in Chicago and

New York. Closer to home, Frank described a more informal process that existed in

Detroit, Michigan:

> The *Free Press* utilized an unofficial system for initiating Chesley and Schaefer
> to the DPD beat by keeping them in close contact with reporters Jack Kresnak
> and Brian Flanigan who had been partners covering the regular DPD for at
> least six years...Both Chesley and Schaefer regularly called or sought advice
> from Kresnak and Flanigan on story ideas, (and) writing and developing
> sources. The two veteran reporters theorized that with their help the younger
> reporters get on their feet without making too many big mistakes. (1994, pp.
> 72, 90).

The researcher discussed the issue of training with several present and past

police beat reporters and discovered the training process at the *Lansing State Journal*

was far less formal than that mentioned by Gelman or Frank. One reporter specified

there was typically a three-month probationary period for new reporters at the *Journal.*

While this was true, training specific to covering police and police-related issues did

not appear to exist. When asking another reporter how she came to be a police beat reporter she replied, "Rookies get the junk assignments." Laughing, she went on to say, "I trained one or two weeks, no probation, no real training. At school they teach you how to write stories, but nobody trains you for the job" (1994). Two reporters referred to the value of past experience and college internships that provided opportunities for professional practice.

Even if formal training was absent at the *Journal*, over the span of the research, numerous incidences of informal training (apprenticing) were observed and appeared to be part and parcel of the daily work process in the newsroom. For instance, at the copy desk a veteran editor explained a computer program to a much younger reporter. Together, they arranged graphics on the screen. "Thanks a lot," the younger reporter told the veteran (1994). In another example, a young male reporter (interestingly, not a police beat reporter) waited to speak with his supervising editor about a murder story. The editor offered information on how to find out what the victim's professional title was. She referred him to a type of directory and mentioned that it was public information.

The supervising editor for the police and court reporters was often observed making use of examples from prior situations to explain a point or clarify the ramifications of a particular situation. A prime example was taken from dialog and interaction observed during the initial stage of the murdered child case. After being asked by the police reporter if the paper could identify the child by name, the editor related to the reporter a previous, touchy situation when Lou Mitchell and Barb Miller

were brought up on contempt of court charges over printing a name. The editor advised the reporter that disclosing the name had been legally permissible. Analogizing the past situation to the dilemma at hand, the editor advised, "There are no charges filed in the murder case. There may never be. Therefore, we cannot print the names involved."

Training processes and learning the reporting craft were ever constant in the newsroom. Reporters conferred with one another and editors provided advice and suggested solutions to younger reporters. However, transmitting information related to police operational practices was not evident during field observation.

Having focused on reporters, attention is directed to work processes in the *Lansing State Journal* newsroom. Commencing with a physical description of the newsroom setting, findings related to the overall production of news, media competition (from the viewpoint of police reporters), and production of police news are discussed.

LSJ: Description of the Setting: The newsroom at the *Lansing State Journal* was a large open area comprising approximately half of the second floor of the *Journal* building. Several aisles of work stations filled the majority of floor space and copy editors worked at computers in a common area along the far wall. The individual work stations could be likened to mini-homes. Reporters and editors worked and ate at their stations, as evidenced by the pop cans and take-out containers which abounded, almost in a seemingly reproductive fashion, in the newsroom.

The "police/courts" workstations were located in the middle aisle. One of two police scanners was located atop a two-drawer file cabinet opposite one reporter's terminal and provided constant background noise. Pasted across the top file drawer was a bumper sticker that read "Have You Hugged Your Local Sheriff Today?" While the sticker definitely added to the aura of the police/court workstations, no one could account for its presence or its origin.

Barb's workstation closely typified the newsroom norm: clutter. It was often splayed with items: a coffee cup by her phone, plastic drink containers, a relatively neat pile of Christmas lights, papers, phone books, more coffee coups, a piggy bank, a draft report from the National Commission on Judicial Discipline and Removal (perhaps reflecting the watchdog function of the press), steno books...several open so her writings were visible, her dog-eared list of police and emergency phone numbers, and (for reasons unknown) a roll of toilet paper.[67] Except for Angie's and in comparison to the rest of the newsroom, Barb's area was one of the more orderly workstations.

Physical activity in the newsroom varied by the hour. During the day the cacophony of conversations was constant. Everyone sat at their computer terminals most of the time, but it seemed reporters' creative juices flowed differently. Some reporters sat constantly typing. Others would move about for a few minutes and then sit back down, preferring to type in spurts. Many reporters wore phone headsets, typing and taking calls simultaneously.

Mornings in the newsroom found reporters at ease and congenial. Late afternoons, referred to as "hunker-down time" by Barb, found reporters at their terminals seriously pounding out their stories. Night-time found the newsroom quieter by at least 75%. Fewer people walked about. Most were camped out at their terminals finishing stories and copy editors, who came on duty late in the afternoon, were busy editing others' work. At night the noise from the police scanner seemed especially intrusive, although no one seemed to notice.

To the researcher, evenings in the newsroom appeared slow and boring. While Barb assured me this was not always the case, one evening the tedium seemed to finally get to one copy editor who began walking around the newsroom while singing in a booming voice. His impromptu performance ("it's closing time, it's closing time") seemed natural and no one took any particular notice of him. The a-cappella "gig" finished, he returned to his copy terminal and all that could be heard throughout the newsroom was the sound of fingers tapping on keyboards.

General Staff Structure: Everyone's an editor. At least, this is how it seemed to the researcher. Mitchell was asked to clarify the general staff structure at the *Journal:*

> Zane Brinkley is Executive Editor. Managing Editor was Jessica Carl.[68] There are two editors – an editor and an assistant editor – and three reporters for "Business," and two editors and four or five reporters for "Features." There are three editors and ten reporters for "City Desk:" an Executive City Editor, a City Editor, and an Assistant City Editor. (1994)

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[67] Mitchell explained the mysterious roll of toilet paper by citing a cold and the scarcity of Kleenex® in the newsroom.

[68] Carl had recently transferred with promotion to another Gannett-owned paper. At the time of this study, her vacant position had not been filled.

The researcher inquired about Barb's supervisor who was the editor for the largest section in the newsroom and appeared to have a good deal of power (she conducted the editorial meetings described below). According to Barb, she "called the shots for a lot of the newspaper" (1994). However, it was Executive Editor Zane Brinkley who was the ultimate "shot-caller" or decision-maker.

Editorial Meetings: The news production process begins and ends with the daily editorial meetings held in the board room. The sign on the door of the board room read "IDEA ROOM, CHECK YOUR EGOS AT THE DOOR." The sign on the door at the other end of the board room read "TO THE NEWSROOM." A bulletin board ran the length of the wall at one end of the room. Seven newspaper front pages lined the bulletin board, each one under its respective heading: Monday, Tuesday, and so forth.

There were two meetings of the department editors per day in this room. The first, the morning briefing, convened at ten thirty for the purpose of discussing the day's developing budget (discussed in the next section) and the second convening around four thirty in the afternoon to review the previous day's edition and to further discuss the present day's issue. The meaning of the "ego sign" on the door was deduced from Barb, who said that the meetings "get pretty volatile, but that nothing (supposedly) is taken personally" (1994).

One by one, editors at the morning meeting discussed the day's stories. Critiques and comments from colleagues were candid and oft times humorous. While some verbal deviation from the task at hand was allowed, the Managing Editor would

refocus the group by moving on to the next editor's report. The group was highly adept at shifting from informal to serious discussion. Animated and dynamic described the morning meeting. However, Miller implied that animated and dynamic sometimes translated into disgust and frustration. One morning, the researcher noted a very disgusted male voice in the idea room: "Shit." An angry female replied, "You want to come in Saturday and write it?"

At the afternoon editorial meetings, copies of the updated budget and the previous day's edition were distributed. Quickly, and in unison, the editors flipped through the pages of the newspaper. *Leader:* "Business page?" *A reply:* "The ads are hideous, ugly." *Leader:* "Sports? Anything? Come on, keep goin'...."

After finishing with the previous day's edition, editors began discussing progress on the present day's budget – who was working on what stories and the amount of newshole needed for special articles. At this stage of the afternoon meeting, it began to sound very similar to the morning session, but with more detail.

Doors to the idea room remained opened during the morning and afternoon editorial meetings. Depending on the amount of noise in the newsroom and the decibel level of the voices which emanated form the meeting, sometimes reporters in the newsroom could hear what was being debated among the editors. Newspaper logic and informal protocol required that any problems or decisions pertaining to a reporter's story be brought to the reporter's attention by the editors – usually after the morning meeting. This allowed time for adjustments to the article.

The Budget: Knowing the budget was part of the *Journal's* computer system, but not grasping the full extent of its meaning the researcher asked Barb to explain its function in the news process:

> The budget is like an outline of the next day's newspaper. It lets the editors know who's doing what and who's busy. For instance, I'm already on for two stories. It lets them know, in the big scheme, what they have and what's missing. Is there a community story, a campus story? For reporters, it's a chance to collect thoughts. You have to make at least one phone call to write a budget line. I organize my story from my budget line. Budgets run about a month ahead. As tonight winds down, editors will look at tomorrow's budget. (1994)

Only one person could access or update the budget at a time. It was common to hear reporters calling out: "Who has the budget?" When a voice would reply from afar, the over-possessive, budget hog would be told, "Well, close it!" An informal protocol, based on exigency, controlled whose need of the budget would take precedent over another: *(Barb to another reporter),* "Rick, do you have the budget? That Lansing fire was an arson" (1994).

Computer glitches and quirks would cause frustration for the most easy-going personality types. For reporters with deadlines to meet these incidents caused increased stress. About once every six months, computers at the *Journal* "crashed" on reporters. While the system froze, tempers and frustrations flared. *Barb:* "Is anyone else having problems with the system being slow?" *Reporter from across the aisle:* "Mine's froze." *Angie:* "Shit." *Barb:* "Goddammit, I just lost everything (a feature story) I've done since 1:30" (1994).

The LSJ Library. Outsiders to the print media process would do well to be briefed prior to making the transition from the newsroom to the library. The newsroom abounded in computer technology with unbelievable graphics capability and instantaneous wire services. Entering the library was like stepping into Medieval times.

Rows of filing cabinets contained 4 x 6 envelopes of clippings. Archaic in comparison to the sophisticated equipment in the newsroom. The researcher was introduced to Pat, the librarian,[69] who was very slightly built and who never stopped moving. Inquiring about a master list of categories and how clippings were catalogued, Pat simply said, "It's all in my head." As it turned out, categories actually did exist beyond the boundaries of Pat's head – three of them: sports, people, and subjects. At the first opportunity the researcher questioned Barb about the library.

> We all get used to it. It's weird. I can go to Pat, looking to do a story on bad checks, and say, "thumb prints" to Pat and she will counter with, "bad checks?" then I'll say, "You have a bad checks file?" It would be a massive undertaking to computerize the library. (Besides) we have a whole day to do a story and go to the clip[70] file and pull out a clip. Even though it seems archaic, we all go in and come back with what we need. We do have a file we can pull up on the computer, but it's easier to go back to Pat and ask, "Say, where's the AIDS file?" (1994)

The sorting and filing of clippings was an important process, because as one reporter described, "We work from clips." Clippings were also associated with

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[69] Pat was replaced by a new librarian sometime after the completion of this study.
[70] A clip is an actual article "clipped" from the newspaper. Thus, much of the librarian's day was spent physically clipping apart many copies of the daily edition.

accuracy. "Mistakes you don't know about are just going to get repeated, over and over" (1994).

Reporter's Perspectives on Competing Media. As previously mentioned, the *Lansing State Journal* experienced no direct impact from competing newspapers and was the sole newspaper serving the city. Having identified that lack of message diversity was one outcome of non-competition, the researcher was particularly interested in the sameness of information which appeared in *Journal* articles and same topic articles in other newspapers across the state. Barb was asked whether a newspaper just took national and state news (not the focus of this study) off the wires and filled in with local news stories to personalize the paper. She admitted this was true to some extent but made another point: "What you have to remember is that most people don't read two or more papers a day. They only read one. They don't know papers are similar" (1994). In spite of Barb's and other reporter's overall disregard for other newspapers, they did keep an eye peeled for what local television stations carried on their news broadcasts. Several televisions were located in the *Journal's* newsroom and they were paid particular attention when news programs aired. During non-news times their volume was turned down and no one seemed to attend to the reduced background noise or broadcasts..

When queried about whether they competed with local television stations, reporters opinions differed. Barb told the researcher, "We compete with Channels 10 and 6 for news stories." "But were they direct competition?" the researcher asked. *Barb:* "We watch the news three times a day. We don't like it if they have a story we

don't" (1994). Competition between the *Journal* and television news was evidenced as

particularly strong during the child murder case. In one instance, televised news

coverage dictated when a reporter would cover a particular aspect of the story:

Brinkley to Barb: "Just deal with this. Concentrate on this. If they've (Channels 6 and

10) got a story at six you'll have to work overtime. If they don't have it tonight, don't

worry about it." In another instance televised news prompted another reporter to

play catch up. *Angie to the local prosecutor:* "Let me ask you this...I heard Channel 10

say you had issued warrants yesterday. Did you issue warrants?"

Lou Mitchell was stronger in her assessment of televised news in Lansing,

comparing the skills of television reporters with their newspaper counterparts:

> We constantly document, and call them idiots...because they are. They have
> poor reporting skills. They have shitty news judgment. They (television
> stations) hire kids, at dirt wages, who have no idea what they're doing. I've
> worked with them all side-by-side. They're dumb. Yet, at the same time that
> we acknowledge these truths, we let them run our news judgments. Well, they
> can be a gauge. They are the competition. (1994)

Field observation indicated that competition with electronic media was more

of an underlying awareness – a factor that only manifested itself in extraordinary

cases. Only one such news story emerged during field observation, that of the

murdered child. In the absence of heightened newsworthiness and on a day-to-day

basis, competition with local, electronic media seemed far less of an issue, and on

most days virtually non-existent. Yet the televisions remained on in the newsroom.

The Media Process at Lansing Police Department: Not as large as major

metropolitan law enforcement agencies, such as Detroit and Chicago, which staff a

press or public information office, Lansing Police Department employed only a Public Information Officer (PIO). Three PIOs provided information for this research with one PIO, Lieutenant Stan Crambell, the primary PIO during the study time frame. Lt. Crambell's s predecessor was Lieutenant John Weiler[71] and Crambell was succeeded by Lieutenant Hazel Sperry who became the department's PIO two months after the end of the case study time frame. As with many police agencies, monetary constraints during the course of the research had forced the department to "tighten its belt." Lt. Sperry described how budget constraints had impacted the organizational placement of LPD's Public Information Officer.

> The PIO is part of the Investigative Division. Prior to a year ago there were two lieutenants in the Investigative Division, one a day lieutenant and one a PIO. Due to budget constraints, a year ago, the duties of the two lieutenants were combined into one position. Chief Boles is now looking at expanding the duties of the PIO or maybe having a sergeant takeover PIO duties in the future. (1994)

When asked her opinion of her PIO predecessor, Lt. Sperry was restrained in her answer but complimented the communication skills of former PIO Crambell. Not everyone shared Lt. Sperry's opinion. In contrast, police reporter Lou Mitchell commented that Crambell "didn't have really good verbal skills," and referred to him as the "most media-deficient person I've ever seen in my life" (1994). Mitchell's comments preface the issue of PIO training.

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[71] Lt. Weiler had retired and was unavailable for interviewing during the time frame of this case study.

PIO Training: "He was so obviously never trained in any dealings with the media," Mitchell told this researcher (referring to Lt. Crambell). To verify Mitchell's statements, the researcher questioned both PIOs about the extent of training they received when given their assignments as Public Information Officers.

Evidence of formal training in police-media relations was virtually non-existent. Instead, each PIO seemed to have received hand-me-down information from the preceding PIO. *Lt. Crambell:* "Jerry said, here's what I do." *Lt. Sperry:* "I received no training from the department, Stan told me, this is what you do. He only told me how to update the tape." (1993, 1994).

There was some evidence that police-media relations training may have been available. Crambell referred to "flyers about police-media training" being passed along to him by the former PIO, although he admitted not attending the training promoted in the brochures. Lt. Sperry did note attending a series of training seminars where "there was a two to three hour lecture on media presented by a panel consisting of an Ann Arbor newspaper representative, a radio person, and two others from television stations" (1994).

PIOs Crambell and Sperry seemed to consider "street contact" with the media as a valid substitute for formal media relations training. Further, Lt. Crambell believed his two and a half year assignment in the Criminal Sexual Division made it easier to be a PIO. "I already had experience with the kinds of questions asked and with the reporters" (1993). Lt. Sperry also referred to past street experience and

interaction with reporters. Neither PIO distinguished between media or reporters in their comments.

Lt. Sperry had only been PIO for a month when interviewed. Interestingly, many of her comments were coincidentally reminiscent of Crambell's. Either the "passing of the torch" method of PIO training at LPD was very effective or the PIOs had coached one another prior to interviews with the researcher.

General PIO Work Process: Pace (1991) noted several responsibilities common to most Public Information Officers: (1) the PIO speaks for the police chief and all persons throughout the department, (2) the PIO will always be available to the press, (3) the PIO provides information about major cases to the media on a timely basis, (4) the PIO provides media with facilities and holds press conferences as requested, (5) the PIO makes available data on internal processes and procedures in the department and keeps the press informed about personnel investigations and any plans it may have for major operations (pp. 244-45). Given Pace's guidelines, the size of the Lansing Police Department, and the department's practice of community policing philosophy, the researcher expected PIO duties to be extensive. Instead, updating "the tape:" appeared to be the PIO's main responsibility. As Crambell and Sperry described (compiled comments):

> Updating the tape is part of the voice mail system here. There's a number the media call. The first duty when coming on (on duty) is to check what's happened and see what information can be released. I try to give out as much (information) as possible to keep the media happy. The television stations call on a regular basis around 5:15 to 5:30 P.M., the radio stations call about 4:30 to 5:00 P.M., and the newspaper calls later at night and up until midnight. If there's a big story on the tape, the Associated Press and United Press

International call. I refer any Capitol-related events to the Michigan State Police. (1993, 1994)

PIOs checked several documents and sources within the police department for information to include on the tape. These included daily logs, the jail log, and contacts with shift sergeants. Contrary to the statement that, "the newspaper calls later at night...." field observation indicated these calls were also placed during the morning hours.

One PIO mentioned that promoting the positive aspects of Lansing Police Department was another PIO duty. Drumming up coverage for retiring police officers or canine units fell under this heading. Content analysis findings (refer to previous tables) indicated coverage of canine units and retiring officers. Curiously, one of the most positive aspects of the department, that of community policing, was not mentioned by either PIO.

When queried about media policy guidelines at Lansing Police Department, Crambell deflected the question but Sperry did produce a one-page document entitled, *Tape Information* (refer to Appendix G). When asked if this document represented the only written policy pertaining to media, Sperry answered in the affirmative.

With this background information, attention is redirected to the process of news production at the *LSJ*. This discussion includes the subtopics of determining newsworthiness, gatekeeping, reporter styles, procuring information, and the issue of conflict.

What's Newsworthy? While the definition of news was provided in Chapter One, the issue of what makes a potential news story newsworthy requires a short commentary. Surette defines newsworthiness as "the value of any particular item to a news organization (1992, p. 58). Newsworthiness, like beauty, is sometimes in the eye of the beholder. But the concept of beauty also contains some generalizable criteria. A similar premise governs police-related news. The terms new and unusual are often found in the literature (Ericson, et al., 1987, 1991; Surette, 1992; Esterle, 1986, Chinball, 1977, Katz, 1987). The degree of novelty or uniqueness and the degree of deviance (from morality and accepted social norms) suggest a story's newsworthiness. From this it follows that "the rarest type of violent crime, murder, is reported the most often" (Esterle, 1986, p. 5). Roshier (1981) mentions seriousness of an event, sentimental and dramatic elements of an event, and the involvement of public or "high-status" persons. Surette applies the sociological concepts of private self and presenting self in his definition of front-stage and back-stage behavior. One's presenting/front-stage self is too common and ordinary. Therefore, it is not news. However, back-stage/private behavior (which includes crime) is unique, often occurs out of public view, and is always newsworthy. While uniqueness intimates newsworthiness, so does recurrence and especially so if the recurrence relates to crime (Ericson, et al., 1989). Examining the issue of crime newsworthiness from an economic standpoint, loss of money, property, or life determine what is and is not news. Two instances from field observation exemplified these criteria.

The first instance involved a bank robbery. Unlike a police officer, a reporter may hurry but is under no tremendous pressure to arrive at the scene. While police often arrive "after-the-fact," they are also expected to arrive "during-the-fact." With reporters there is less during-the-fact expectation.[72]

Having arrived at the bank, after-the-fact, the part-time, night-shift police reporter and the researcher spoke with a sergeant who provided details of the robbery. There were no injuries. The robber had escaped with an undetermined amount of cash. He was armed with a long gun. The reporter finished her notes and prepared to leave. "Aren't we going to interview anyone?" the researcher asked. "What for?" the reporter replied. "There were no injuries and the bank is insured. At the most, this story will get several lines" (1994). The issue of this incident's newsworthiness was later discussed with veteran reporter, Barb. "Do you think the lack of competition waters down the investigative quality of reporting in Lansing?" "Yes and no," she replied. "If there were another paper we might compete harder, but it wouldn't change the definition of news. A bank robbery with no injuries is pretty ho-hum" (1994). Limited newsworthiness. As predicted, the incident was covered in three sentences.

The discovery of a dead man found in his semi-trailer, at a local rest stop, was covered by a Channel 6 reporter on the eleven o'clock news. Foul play had not been

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[72] Certainly there are times when a newspaper reporter wants to get to the scene during-the-fact. During field observation, the researcher witnessed Miller's return from a fire in progress. Further, several references were made, by reporters and police, pertaining to reporters who covered certain events while they occurred. A past hostage situation was one example.

ruled out according to the television reporter. Scheduled for field observation the following day, one of the first items on the researcher's agenda was to ask Barb about the incident. "Did anyone cover it?" "No," she told me. "And I don't know if we will. He died of a heart attack. We usually wouldn't cover that type of thing" (1994). They didn't.

Gatekeeping and the Production of Police News at LSJ: Information (newsworthy information) is transformed into news via a series of "gates" or points of passge. Theoretically, the reporter is several rungs down the gatekeeping ladder with the top rung occupied by crime in society. At the bottom of the ladder is the printed form of the information which appears in the newspaper. Technically, society is the last rung on the ladder as the individual reader decides which newspaper articles will receive attention. The rungs in between the top and bottom of the ladder represent the various gates in the news production process: reported crime, police, reporters, editors, and copy editors.

Unless a reporter was developing a crime-related feature article, responding to a breaking crime-related story, or receiving information from anonymous sources, the gatekeeping process often began with the routine of making daily agency calls. One reporter remarked that she dreaded making these calls because it made her feel like a pest. Barb, in contrast, seemed to have no problem with this routine as evidenced during field observation:

1st Call: "Hi, Barb Miller, at the *State Journal.* Anything going on today? Okay."

2ⁿᵈ Call:	"Barb Miller, *State Journal.*" (Before she could ask her question the recipient of the call must have said there was no news because Miller's next words were simply) "Thanks very much, bye."
3ʳᵈ Call:	"Ya, Barb Miller, *State Journal.* Anything going on? Is there big news? Thanks a lot."
4ᵗʰ Call:	"Ah, Ric. It's Barb Miller at the *Journal.* What's going on? Okay. Right. Oh, really? How come? What would that be? When did she turn herself in? Okay.
5ᵗʰ Call:	"Just checking to see if anything's happening today. Nothing? It's been a quiet week after last week" (1994)

This litany continued until Barb reached the end of her phone list. Sometimes an

agency gate would open but the process seemed more dependent on whether a crime

or event had occurred rather than the willingness of the agency representative to open

a gate. However, this was not always true at Lansing Police Department.

Police also constituted a major gate in the flow of news in Lansing. The PIO

updated the tape each morning, but reporters would call for more details. While

police reports are (most often) public information, Barb mentioned they were hard to

access. Former PIO Crambell responded to this issue:

> Reporters have no idea how many reports we get in a day – 200 or more – and more in the summer time. I can't possibly have information on each report. I have to rely on the "highlights" provided by shift sergeants who pick out anything that might be newsworthy. *(At this point the researcher commented on how one reporter hated making the daily media calls because she felt like a pest.)* We're not just getting a call from the paper. We get calls from TV and radio. If it's a major case, we would give all the information we could. I would always say on the tape, "This is all I have at this time. If there are further developments I will update." In spite of this, they would always call. On a major case I might speak with ten different reporters. Ten different reporters asking questions about what was already on the tape. (1993)

PIO Crambell's comments reflect the gatekeeping power possessed by the

police and the power police had to control news. Even though police reports were

public documents, the police determined their newsworthiness and filtered information according to their judgments. Lou Mitchell also commented: "I never saw the true report. Crambell, the PIO, read me a version of the crime they put out. They controlled the information" (1994). Whether the practical aspects of the large number of reports cited by Crambell was valid remained unverifiable and unknown.

Tom Mackenzie, the City Hall Editor, also commented about PIO Crambell and cited that the Lieutenant "held information closer than the rest...LPD in general, wouldn't let reporters see police reports, even the cover sheets – which is standard to do." Mackenzie's next comments reflected deeper problems: "Stan Crambell couldn't stand being called at home. If there was a breaking story and if no one at Lansing Police Department answered the phone, during breaking news, reporters would be forced to call him at home. This enraged him" (1998). The researcher asked Mackenzie if preventing access to information was an individual issue between particular reporters and the PIO or if it was a prevailing attitude. "It was the attitude that prevailed at LPD, Chas Grant (a staff reporter) had a good working relationship with the department and they wouldn't give him stuff either" (1998).

Lt. Crambell cited an information constraining rung higher on the ladder -- investigators assigned to particular cases. "Until the investigator gets back to me I can't answer questions because I have no details at the time." Occasionally, police (non-PIOs) were overheard promoting the flow of information and opening gates. *Officer to reporter*: "We'll be doing a press release later, do you have our number? Not the general number, the number where you can reach me?" Evidently this was risky

behavior as the officer finished by saying, "If someone asks, you don't know who gave you this number" (1994).

Examining the issue of access to information from another perspective, LPD articles were analyzed to determine the source of the articles' information. The findings painted a different picture. Data are presented in Table 18.

Table 18
Sources of Information for LPD Articles

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Police	146	29.2	29.2
Police & Resident	116	23.2	52.4
Police & Prosecutor	51	10.2	62.6
Resident, Victim, Witness	28	5.6	68.2
Government Officials	22	4.4	72.6
Prosecutor Only	19	3.8	76.4
Police & Govt. Officials	19	3.8	80.2
Police, Prosecutor, Resident	15	3.0	83.2
Residents & Govt. Officials	15	3.0	86.2
No Source Mentioned	13	2.6	88.8
Trial/Court Records	10	2.0	90.8
Police, Residents, Govt. Officials	10	2.0	92.8
FOIA – Police Reports	3	.6	93.4
Not applicable	33	6.6	100.0
Total	500	100.0	100.0

N=500

According to data from the five year content analysis for Lansing Police Department articles, police were reporter's predominant source of information (29.2%). And, if all source categories that include police are totaled, police were involved with providing information to reporters in 71.4% of the cases. In fact, using the number of times reporters accessed police information via the Freedom of

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Information Act as a measure of police closing the information gate, such affidavits were only filed three times in the five year study time frame (.6%). Or, perhaps more correctly, the use of FOIA was only reported in three articles.

Measuring the occurrence of direct quotes given by police in news articles also suggested police cooperation with reporters. Table 19 presents data related to the use of direct police quotes.

Table 19
Use of Direct Police Quotes in News Articles

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Police Direct Quotes Used	329	65.8	65.8
No Quotes	171	34.2	100.0
Total	500	100.0	100.0

N=500

Direct quotations from police were evidenced in nearly 66% of the population of articles. This finding provided additional evidence that police cooperation in the news production process was more the day-to-day norm than the exception. Also valuable to consider, were the sources used in articles where police cooperation was not evident. Another consistent source of information for *Journal* reporters was the prosecutor.

Totaling all source categories related to the prosecutor in Table 18, indicated reporters depended upon Dan Marin (prosecutor during the study time frame) as a source of information in 17% of police-related articles over the span of the study. Data from field observation and interviews validated this finding.

The prosecutor's office represented a gate similar to the police as evidenced by Angie Bing's attempt to procure information: "At this point is your office still reviewing what was given to you by Lansing Police Department? We just want to talk about some of the issues involved in this case. Will there be a point when you are ready to discuss those issues?" Lou Mitchell had better luck with the prosecutor "Dan's the master of working with the media. He gives information the cops won't give. Dan would release information as it was available. Sometimes, even if it wasn't available. He was accessible" (1994). Tom Mackenzie also reflected on the prosecutor and described the PIO's reaction to Martin's cooperation with *LSJ* reporters. "Dan Marin was real helpful, he gave a fuller story. Dan and Crambell would get in arguments after Dan gave information to the reporters" (1998).

Just as gatekeepers controlled information flow and, therefore, reporters – comments from Lou Mitchell indicated that reporters also worked to control the gatekeepers. Reflecting an underlying watchdog function, she remarked, "Dan was a good working relationship. But Barb and I knew when to make him nervous, because we knew we couldn't like him *too* much. Someday he might flip and we'd have to roast him" (1994).

Gatekeepers did not always take the form of legal entities. Residents acted as sources of information for 34.8% of the articles. Sometimes a citizen source refused to cooperate, which hampered a story's development. *Barb:* "I need a real person to quote and the woman doesn't feel ethically right in speaking with the media." Lou reflected another side of citizen sources: "People would call me or people I'd call

would tell me things. You'd have to be careful, sometimes people have agendas of their own" (1994).

Editors on the gatekeeping ladder also determined the news at the *Lansing State Journal.* As Barb Miller mentioned, her supervising editor "called the shots" about a lot of what happened at the *Journal.* As referenced earlier in the research, Zane Brinkley, the Executive Editor was the ultimate shot caller and therefore the ultimate decision-maker and gatekeeper. While Brinkley was not observed attending the daily editorial meetings and appeared to leave the day-to-day newsroom processes to supervising editors, his advice was sought if a story was deemed exceptionally newsworthy (as in the child murder case). The issue of newsworthy in such cases involved serious undertones related to legality and newspaper responsibility (for example, whether to print a victim's name).

Cooperation between police reporters and sources was not always the result of gatekeeping. It was also found to be the artifact of differing reporter styles and methods used to procure information. These topics are addressed next.

Police Reporter Styles. Differences in reporter styles were apparent from the earliest stage of the research. Observed differences between police reporters were associated with behavior, and logic suggested these differences were the result of personality and experience. Age and gender were ruled out as factors, since all police reporters during the study time frame were female and roughly of the same age group. Each of the primary police beat reporters is discussed within the remainder of this section.

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Lou Mitchell was an award-winning reporter who had worked at the *Journal* for about twelve years; ten of those years prior to Barb Miller's arrival. Intensely dynamic, she could best be characterized as an "in-your-face" type. As Barb described Lou: "She was either liked or despised. There was no happy medium" (1994).

Mitchell manifested Gambill's (1988) "Pulitzer characteristics" in an outwardly, passionate way. She was dedicated to uncovering the truth: "My concern at the time, and I don't mean to sound "pollyannish" about it...I wanted to inform the neighborhood (she referred to a rapist). It (the truth) was something people just had to know about" (1994). Given the passion spent in describing her work at the *Journal*, to say that Mitchell was obsessed with her writing would have been an understatement. She was autonomous and there existed a degree of alienation from others she came into contact with – "I didn't side with anybody" – however, this could also have reflected journalistic objectivity.

Barb Miller was also an award-winning reporter[73] but more subtle in her approach. Barb compared herself to Lou: "I'm much more statistical, a "factoid." Observation proved that Barb possessed intensive "touchy/feelie" skills that she coupled with "numbers" and research when compiling a story. She just went about the job of reporting differently than Lou – no less obsessed, however.

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[73] In 1993 Miller received a Gannett award for Investigative Reporting. Her award winning story was a two-part series on unsafe railroad crossings in Michigan and the failure of the State to act on them. As Miller put it, "It's the work I'm proudest of" (1994).

Barb portrayed "Columbo-like" investigative skills, albeit, without Columbo's frumpled look. With a genuine quality to her style, she came across as friendly and casual. *Barb speaking with a fire department representative.* "So I hear you guys were going through hell wondering if there was anyone inside and not being able to do anything about it." *With the prosecutor.* "So, what's the inside skinny on your interview with Lisa? So this is arson of a residential dwelling? How we doing for arsons lately?" (1994).

Quest for information was especially evidenced in Barb's feature articles (none on community policing), such as her investigation of violence in hospital emergency rooms. During information collection for the violence piece, Barb's skills were pitted against those of Sparrow Hospital's public relations representative. The representative was slick. Barb was slicker. After much "song and dance" about Sparrow's lack of violence-related problems in the emergency room (even though the emergency room area was being reconstructed to intensify security) the representative attempted to toss a "sound byte" Barb's way: (regarding perception of a security problem versus reality) "If people think it then we have to take it seriously" (1994). His consternation was clearly evident when Barb failed to write his comment down.

Angie Bing was a newcomer at the *Journal*, having been there less than a year. Angie's and Barb's styles were as different as night and day. Where Barb was friendly and casual, Angie was stiff and formal. She seemed to approach a phone conversation with a chip on her shoulder. The differences between the two police reporters were striking.

In fairness, this researcher attributed Angie's demeanor to several factors. First, she was the new kid on the block, an especially difficult task in police reporting. Second, she was still in the infancy stage of developing police sources. This made the opening of information gates difficult. Very resourceful in spite of closed gates, Angie was witnessed to be persistent but often times frustrated. The various working personalities of the police reporters were reflected in their efforts to get information.

Getting Information. Added to the source of information data presented earlier in this chapter, field observation indicated that reporters used a variety of techniques to elicit information from sources. Several categories of procuring information arose from the data: digging to obtain information, soft-soaping to obtain information, and negotiating to procure information. Both police reporters (Barb and Angie) were witnessed using these three procedures. Examples of each technique are presented below.

Digging: Dr. R. mentioned that he had been at Sparrow for 15 years. Barb jumped on this by asking, "Do you have a historical perception?" (to the problem). In a later attempt to ferret out information, Barb mentioned, "I might call Sparrow and ask a hypothetical question." Angie also used this technique: "Let me ask you this, is there anything that's surprising about this case that's not coming out?" (1994).

Soft-soaping: Angie, in particular, was found to resort to soft-soaping when other methods failed her. "Will there be a point when your are ready to discuss those issues? Let me ask you this, have the police asked you to issue charges against anyone? Getting no where, she reverts to soft-soaping her source. "I realize how

frustrating it must be to field phone calls from all over." She then strikes up a personal conversation with the source: "How long have you been at ATF? Did you go right into Public Information? Do you miss being in the field?" (1994). Barb's method of soft-soaping was different. She referred to it as schmoozing: "Bob, how are you? You sick of us yet?" Or (in answering a call), "Newsroom, this is Barb Miller. Hi, Don. What's going on? Sounds like shit's hitting the fan" (1994).

Negotiating: Negotiating with a source for information sometimes took the form of using known information to procure new, such as when Barb anticipated how her meeting at Sparrow Hospital would go. Barb had received a letter from a woman present in the emergency room when a violent incident had occurred. Barb had been unable to confirm the story's details and the woman did not want to be quoted. However, the letter had barter value: "I'll use her as leverage if I need to" (1994).

Another example of negotiating, this time more direct, surfaced when Barb attempted to discover a fire's cause: "I do know, and so do you, that there was a six year old involved."

Negotiation was sometimes used in combination with soft-soaping to clear misunderstandings between reporters and sources and to verify the existence of other media inquiries. Once such instance took place between Angie and the prosecutor: "I've never meant to hurt or impede an investigation. You mention many calls. Can you tell me if you've gotten any (media) calls from outside Michigan?"

Negotiation tactics were witnessed to be good last ditch efforts when all other measures failed. Field data indicated that Angie, the more inexperienced police reporter, resorted to negotiation more frequently than Barb, her veteran colleague. This may have been the result of Angie encountering a greater number of closed gates. Barb, in contrast, used negotiation as a leverage skill more so than Angie. This type of negotiation was deemed an artifact of experience.

In spite of police reporters' carpet bags of information gathering skills and in spite of content analysis data which suggested a strong degree of cooperation between Lansing police officers and *LSJ* police reporters, field observation and interview data reflected strong suggestions of underlying conflict. After a discussion related to the presence of media confusion and police confusion, evidence of conflict is presented from the perspectives of the *LSJ* reporters and the PIOs they worked with. Additional data from the time series content analysis, related to the descriptive terms used to identify officers in LPD articles, are then examined.

Media Confusion and Police Confusion: Evidence of media confusion committed by PIOs (and other officers) and police confusion by *Journal* reporters abounded in the field data. The least "confused" of all the research subjects was Community Police Officer Dan Christian, although this likely resulted from having greater contact with the researcher over the time frame of the study and growing accustomed to the media distinctions she made.

During interviews with PIOs Crambell and Sperry, the researcher often had to refocus their thoughts back to the *Lansing State Journal* and to *Journal* reporters in order

to prevent generalizations. At times, this seemed a difficult task for the PIOs. When asked about *Journal* reporters, Lt. Crambell described a hostage situation where television, print, and radio media were present. "All of a sudden we were surrounded by cameras and reporters. They were told to get the cameras out of here or we'll arrest. One over-zealous reporter can ruin a good police-media relationship" (1994). Crambell's over-zealous reporter was a television reporter, but further statements to the researcher indicated he had generalized this individual's behavior to all media. In Crambell's mind the newspaper reporters were just as guilty. On another occasion, after having been asked specifically about the *Journal's* police reporters, Crambell engaged in a tirade-like conversation – about radio reporters.

Lansing State Journal reporters were no less guilty of confusing police officers and police departments. When asked about her working relationship with officers at the Lansing Police Department, Lou Mitchell went to great length describing conflict she experienced with a Michigan State Police trooper. Barb Miller, like CPO Christy, became more prone over time to making distinctions between police but easily slipped back into a mode of gathering all those in uniform under one umbrella. In spite of all the confusion, when asked about conflict reporters and officers were quick to respond.

Evidence of Conflict Described by Police and Reporters: Descriptions of conflict made by police reporters were colorful, quick, and direct. When the researcher commented to Barb that police criticism of *Journal* reporters was more innocuous, she accounted for the difference by stating that officers were trained to be more constrained in their

contacts with the public (including the researcher). She had a point. Her point aside, presented first, are examples of conflict evidenced from *Journal* police reporters:

Gloria: "Sometimes officers are really rude to me. They make me wait or make snotty remarks."

Researcher: "How do you get along with police when you're trying to cover a story?

Barb: "They're assholes."

Researcher: "Why are they assholes?"

Barb: "Because they're cops."

Lou: "They can be dickheads."

Barb: "I met with (PIO) Stan Crambell. He spent an hour trying to intimidate me.

Lou: "Remember, cop mentality is: any criticism, no matter how tempered and how fair is unacceptable. That's cop mentality one."

Lou: "I respect _____'s (LPD Police Chief) position and I hated his guts." (1994)

As mentioned, evidence of conflict emanating from the Public Information

Officers was only somewhat less venomous:

Crambell: "The news media were allowed in the courtroom. The witness did not want her name or picture used. The (*LSJ*) reporter was not willing to abide. So, I said, okay then. No media in the courtroom."

Sperry: "The *Lansing State Journal* is next to useless. The general opinion of the officers is that if you read it in the *Journal*, it must be wrong.

Crambell: "There was never a retraction. Her story made us look like we weren't doing anything."

Sperry: "Print media is biased. If a story is wrong, you're not likely to see a retraction."

Crambell: "We had a series of homicides over a year. The investigator called a news conference. The Lieutenant tried to lay the ground rules for the press conference. _____ didn't like the rules and balked. Okay, the Lieutenant said, news conference over."

Sperry: "Detectives rarely talk with the media. Maybe due to bad experiences in the past, or simply because they have no time to get involved." (1994)

Conflict was evident from the comments both groups made to the researcher. And, grudges held as a result of conflict seemed deep-seated and long-standing. For instance, the series of homicides referred to by Crambell had taken place several years prior to the onset of the case study time frame yet he described them as though they had occurred the day before. In similar fashion, comments made by Lou Mitchell were reflective of old events held forever fresh in her short-term memory. However, in spite of the conflict, positive commentary was also evidenced.

Attempting to determine if the grudge factor prevailed for all reporters, Barb was asked if the police had ever held grudges against her as a reporter. Her reply: "No grudges. I started getting a lot of positive comments (from police) after Lou left" (1994). Even Lou was given to moments of impartiality: "I think he's a good chief. I know most of his men respect him. I wouldn't fault his work" (1994).

Likewise, PIOs Crambell and Sperry contributed supportive views of their compatriots at the *Journal*. Crambell commented on a past, part-time reporter: "Police were receptive to her and her boss at the *Journal*. She had a good relationship with the police." Sam on Barb and Angie: "Barb is good about going through facts, through stories, with me and others at the department. The relationship, with the *LSJ*, because of Barb and Angie, has blossomed" (1994). Sperry provided insight about the actual extent of current conflict, as opposed to the accepted paradigm: "A lot of the new people (media and police) don't view the relationship as adversarial as it once was" (1994). Sperry's comments hinted, to some extent, at the "old guard" versus the "new guard" of police and reporters in Lansing.

Old Guard Versus New Guard: At the onset of the case study time frame and according to Wilson (1989), females comprised 44% of all newspaper reporters in the United States. The increasing proportion of female reporters was reflected at the *Lansing State Journal*, where female reporters were nearly as evident as male reporters, overall, and comprised 100% of the police beat reporters. Historically, the picture had been different, with newspaper and police agencies dominated by white male "old boys." In times past, this dominance fueled camaraderie between the two organizations. In Lansing, the old guard ended about 1984 as best described by Lou Mitchell:

> You have to understand what police enjoyed in the time before me. When I started, I was told that women couldn't do cops (police reporting). People who were cops reporters at the *Journal* were over-weight, balding men much like a lot of the cops themselves, who went over and made coffee for the cops every morning and hung with them. One of the police reporters drove a car that looked just like a cop car. He so closely identified with the police. And he was a *man*. And, they understood each other. And, it was the same for all the guy cop reporters. So the police enjoyed, up until the mid-80s, a situation where the reporters looked just like them, thought just like them, and could be controlled just like them. (1994)

> PIO Crambell confirmed Lou's rendition: "Before Lou, there were excellent relationships with the reporters working the news beat. They had free access to roam investigations. We could trust them and trust their reporting.

> Lou went on to describe what the new guard looked like:

> I was the first female reporter at the new, revised, *State Journal*. And, Barb too. We were women...which was a huge leap. We weren't their pals. Neither Barb or I would pal around. We were not "get along guys." We would joke with them but we were not their friends. We didn't believe everything they said. We asked to see things in writing. We sometimes wrote stories with both sides represented. It was a tremendous shock to the (their) system. It

was a vast, vast change in the history of what the Lansing police came to expect of the media and came to enjoy. (1994)

Lt. Crambell placed the blame for change on an investigative story Lou wrote. "We lost respect and trust (for the reporters) when Lou wrote that article. Then there was no more free access for reporters. They have to file a FOI (Freedom of Information) to see (certain police) reports" (1994). Recalling Table 19, content analysis data indicated that filing a Freedom of Information Affidavit was referenced in three LPD articles over the five-year time frame.

Another aspect of conflict emerged out of the field research and dealt with the terms that reporters used to identify police officers. The researcher noticed that negative statements about police tended to be accompanied by the descriptive "cops" where as in day-to-day conversations, reporters were more likely to use the term "police." In an attempt to examine this pseudo-phenomenon, the researcher included a variable in the content analysis to measure which identifiers were used in the population of LPD articles. Data from that analysis are presented in Table 20.

Table 20
Identifiers Used to Describe Officers in LPD Articles

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Police	414	82.8	82.8
Cops	1	.2	83.
Both Terms Used	17	3.4	86.4
CPO	67	13.4	99.8
Indirect Reference	1	.2	100.0
Total	500	100.0	100.0

N=500

As indicated by the data, the identifier "police" was overwhelmingly used in articles referencing LPD – nearly 83%. The more derogatory or less professional term of "cops" was solely used in only one article. Further, when the term cop was used it was likely to be used *with* the term police (3.4%) rather than by itself. Officers were referred to as Community Police Officers in 13.4 % of the articles. These findings indicated the term, cop, had no symbolic meaning – at least in *Journal* articles.

One last aspect of the police-media working relationship, a factor that reflected conflict, was the relationship between the Executive Editor Zane Brinkley and Police Chief Jeffrey Barnes[74]. Simply stated and in the words of PIO Crambell: "Brinkley and the Chief were not on good terms" (1994). Lou Mitchell described the conflict between the organizational heads as emanating from a dispute over information:

> ...In an effort to reconcile because we just kept having problems...They (the police) wouldn't give us records, very simple things that they should have. It was one ridiculous situation after another. It wasn't helping them at all. They didn't get the coverage that they really could have gotten. I was going crazy trying to get stores, so we finally had them in for a big pow-wow. It was in Zane's office. He and Barnes just clicked like two magnets exploding. He and Barnes, both gloating, swaying...just like in a male locker room. It was like two little banty roosters. I remember there was one point when Zane looked at Barnes. Barnes was ticking off all the terrible things we'd done in reporting crime, which he took real offense to. Then Zane would come back and say, "Here's all the good stories we've done." And Barnes would say, "Yeah, but you ran this story." Finally, Zane said, "Well look, for all the positive stories we run it's just one bad story and that's it?" And Barnes, said, "Yeah." (1994)

Conflict was evident during the time frame of the case study, at least as reflected in the field data. Data from the content analysis indicated otherwise. What

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[74] Chief Barnes has since retired from the Lansing Police Department.

these findings might suggest is developed further in the remaining research findings and discussed in Chapter Six.

Lansing State Journal Involvement

This second area of inquiry asked to what extent the *LSJ* was actively or passively involved with the Lansing Police Department's community policing initiative. Data from the five year content analysis – articles mentioning community policing, articles reflecting community policing, whether articles reflected civic journalism, and whether articles reflected reactive or proactive policing, – are introduced first, followed by insight gained from field interviews with police and reporters.

Mentioned and Reflected Elements in LSJ Articles. Identifying the number of Lansing Police Department newspaper articles that mentioned community policing seemed the logical first step for examining this research question. Table 21 provides this information.

Table 21
LSJ Articles Mentioning Community Policing

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes, mentioned	85	17.0	17.0
Did not mention	415	83.0	100.0
Total	500	100.0	100.0

N=500

Data from the population of LPD articles indicated that community policing was only mentioned in 17% of the newspaper articles referencing the agency from

1989 to 1993. More telling, are the cross-tabulations by year for articles mentioning community policing, reflecting community policing, and reflecting civic journalism, which are displayed in Table 22.

Table 22
Crosstabulations for Articles Mentioning Community Policing, Reflecting Community Policing, and Reflecting Civic Journalism

		Lansing Police Department Articles		
	n	Yes	No	% Yes
Mentioned Community Policing [a]				
1989	95	2	93	2.1
1990	78	13	96	16.7
1991	109	13	96	11.9
1992	98	18	70	20.5
1993	130	39	91	30.0
Reflected Community Policing [b]				
1989	95	10	85	10.5
1990	78	11	67	14.1
1991	109	12	97	11.0
1992	98	21	67	23.9
1993	130	47	83	36.2
Reflected Civic Journalism*				
1989	95	6	89	6.3
1990	78	0	78	0.0
1991	109	3	106	2.8
1992	98	7	81	8.0
1993	130	10	120	7.7

N=500
[a] $x^2 = 33.25$ (4), $p = .000$
[b] $x^2 = 34.29$ (4), $p = .000$
*Not significant

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Crosstabulations for LPD articles by year indicated an increasing trend in mentioning community policing, growing from 2.1% in 1989 to 30.0% by 1993 (x^2 = 33.25 with 4 df, $p < .000$). Examining articles that reflected but did not specifically mention community policing indicated the same increasing trend, changing from 10.5% in 1989 to 36.2 % by 1993 (x^2 =34.29 with 4 df, $p<.000$). While both trends were significant, T3 (1991) was evidenced as somewhat of a rogue year in both analyses. Further examination from a qualitative perspective was in order to explain the slight "glitch" represented by 1991.

A review of newspaper articles, *per se*, and an analysis of article topics by year confirmed that particular topical coverage held explanatory power for the minor shift in the above crosstabulations. Recalling that 1990 (T2) was a gubernatorial election year, it followed that newsworthy election coverage would flow over into 1991, detracting from the newshole available for local reporting. Further, it was at the start of 1991 that Chief Reistrander retired, requiring the appointment of Acting Chief Jerry Miles and the eventual naming of new Police Chief Jeffrey Barnes. Police budget cuts also became a newsworthy issue in 1991. Finally, the Rodney King incident in Los Angeles resulted in newspaper articles that reflected on police procedures in LPD. Table 23 in Appendix F displays topics by year for the LPD population of articles and confirms "Police Budget-Procedures" and "Mayoral and Gubernatorial" issues were indeed newsworthy topics in 1991, more so than in other years.

Crosstabulations related to articles reflecting civic journalism were performed to identify if that press movement had any impact over the course of the case study time frame. As evidenced in Table 22, findings were not significant. The influence of civic journalism was also addressed in the field research; findings are presented in a later section.

Analyzing article content in terms of reflecting proactive (community policing) law enforcement versus reactive (traditional) law enforcement also provided insight into the *Lansing State Journal's* involvement in LPD's community policing initiative. If involved, one would expect to see an increasing amount of articles reflecting proactive policing.

Table 24
Reactive and Proactive Policing Reflected in LPD Articles
by Year: 1989 to 1993

	Lansing Police Department Articles Reactive/Proactive Percentages [a]									
	1989		1990		1991		1992		1993	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Reactive Policing	57	60.0	47	60.3	55	50.5	47	53.4	55	42.3
Proactive Policing	8	8.4	12	15.4	12	11.0	18	20.5	40	30.8
Neither Reflected	26	27.4	14	17.9	38	34.8	17	19.3	28	21.5
Both Reflected	4	4.2	5	6.4	4	3.7	6	6.8	7	5.4

N=500
a x^2 =33.97(12), p = .001

As data indicate in Table 24, the percentage of articles reflecting reactive policing decreased over the study time frame (60% in 1989, down to 42.3% in 1993)

and the percentage of articles reflecting proactive policing increased over the course of the case study (8.4% in 1989 to 30.8% in 1993). These findings were significant (x^2 =33.97 with 12 df, p = .001).

While data from content analysis indicated the *Lansing State Journal* was involved in LPD's community policing initiative, determining the character of that involvement – whether it was actively or passively realized was deduced from field data. Commentary from police officers is given first, followed by reporters' comments – both served to enhance understanding.

LSJ Involvement According to Police. According to then Community Police Sgt. Gross, the position of Public Information Officer was "created in the mid-90s to promote community policing philosophy " and "to get stories out, to promote day-to-day problems solving that was going on. We created the PIO to feed media more stories. We created a monster. They call 24 hours a day" (1998).

> Officers were engaged in many positive youth programs and activities but they (the *LSJ*) didn't do much. They didn't do stories frequently enough – those stories were not sensational enough for them (reporters). They covered crime. We dedicated a park to an officer and received very little coverage, it was hard to stomach. Yet, there was a homicide and it was on the front page. (1998)

When asked if anyone at Lansing Police Department had actively solicited coverage from the *Lansing State Journal*, CPOs Christian and Gross both replied this had not been the case. "The department did not actively solicit media involvement regarding community policing, we need to do a better job of that, " Gross told the researcher. "The media supposedly had a role to educate the public about community

policing – we didn't even educate the media" (1998). CPO Christian, on several occasions reaffirmed Gross's perspective.

To Christian's knowledge, "No one at the LPD many any formal attempts to involve the media nor was he (especially as the department's first CPO) asked to do this" (1998). He mentioned having no contact with the media (any media) prior to 1989 and that he "never saw the press the first year (1989), although he remarked that "later her would call them and he never had a problem getting them out there" (1998). Christian, who became a mini-celebrity due to coverage of his community policing efforts, described the *LSJ's* coverage of community policing. His comments suggested that coverage emerged in a secondary fashion, driven by the coverage of other area media:

The first coverage Christian referenced was an article related to a neighborhood clean-up project in 1990. There were two articles, one on May 6th and one on May 27th. The first (on page 1B) was positive coverage, mentioned police and citizens working together, and cited community policing. The second, written by former police reporter Ron Alward, was also positive but did not reference community policing and referred to CPO Christian as "a Lansing Police Department officer." Christian did not solicit this coverage – "I never contacted the *Lansing State Journal* about anything. I don't know how they got it (word of the cleanup project). The TV station did a story on the clean up and then the paper did one" (1998). Then came a multi-page feature article in the "Today" section of the paper. The "big article" as Christian called it, came later that year and was titled "Officer Christian's

Neighborhood." The researcher asked Christian how this article came about. Again, he referenced prior television coverage as the impetus.

> It was the result of an "unsung hero" news item on Channel 10. A photographer spent three or four days with me in the neighborhood and was really excited about the (opportunity for) pictures and the quality of the pictures. The reporter, this wasn't a police beat reporter, it was a reporter out of the "Today Section." She went into the neighborhood on her own (on another day) and spoke with the neighbors. (1998)

During the second year of community policing (1991) Christian remarked that reporters were "basically reporting what had happened the first year" (1998). More comfortable with reporters, he would call the ones he knew and they would be happy to come out (to his neighborhood). During the third year Christian felt the media were really building him up and he didn't feel good about it.

> All the media wanted was a story of the beat cop. Media always portrayed me as still doing what I was doing in 1990, which wasn't what I was doing by then. They were "looking" for things, I don't necessarily think it (coverage) was an objective portrayal of what I was really doing in the neighborhood. The reporters were never interested in the definition of community policing. A lot of times they got stuff wrong; made it grander than it was. (1998)

Both officers were asked to compare *Journal* reporters with other media reporters. Neither officer had poor working relationships with the press reporters and both were familiar with the names of the primary police beat reporters, even though these reporters had not covered community policing. Their remarks about television reporters were less complimentary.

CPO Sgt. Gross recalled a female television reporter who "would chew our ass because we wouldn't let her know about a raid" (1998). CPO Christian that "TV was just looking for "cutsie" things to fill (air time), no one really cared...no one was

looking for any depth or detail" (1998). Overall, Christian remarked, he was "more happy with print coverage than with television...it was more in depth, not staged. Once television asked me to go up and hug a neighbor" (1998). In spite of these comments, Christian referenced that Channels 10 and 6 "gave us lots of positive coverage" (1998).

Remarking about the impact of outside media coverage (see Appendix B), Christian said it "fueled local media interest" and was accountable, many times, to the efforts of Robert Trojanowicz who promoted Lansing Police Department and its Community Police Officers nationwide.

The impact of Trojanowicz was a key factor in the amount and type of outside coverage the department received. A review of Trojanowicz's media records indicated he provided interviews, tapings, and articles for a variety of media entities. His records showed the amount of community policing-related media contacts increased over the time frame of the study.[75] In 1980 he had ten contacts, 14 in 1990, 17 in 1991, and 28 contacts through August of 1992. The geographical breadth of these contacts spanned the United States and included newspapers, television, news magazines, and radio shows. It was his habit to highlight Lansing Police Department and its community policing efforts during these contacts and several times his efforts resulted in national coverage for the department. As one example, the California documentary, "*Reverse Angle: Fear in America*" was tracked back, by this researcher, to

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[75] Records were only updated through August 17, 1992.

an initial phone call made to Trojanowicz who referred the producers to Dan Christian.

Other documents were also reviewed. Lansing Police Department community policing-related documents, including yearly community policing reports, were void of any references to the media. However, grant proposals which involved the department – those written by the National Center for Community Policing, the Lansing Housing Commission, and the Neighborhood Network Center – were always supplemented with an appendix full of media coverage – especially the *LSJ's* "Officer Christian's Neighborhood" piece – about the department's community policing efforts. This suggests that press coverage had a market value.

LSJ Involvement According to Reporters. Reflecting statements made by police, reporters also described a lack of contact between police and press regarding coverage of community policing. Tom Mackenzie, City Hall Editor during the case study time frame, said, "The police never approached us, they never called and asked us to do a story. They would call after the fact to compliment us and 'say good story.' There was no coordination with the police related to covering community policing, in general" (1998). Neither Lou Mitchell or Barb Miller recalled any direct contact from the police department. Nor, could either reporter provide the researcher with a definition of community policing, which verifies that reporters either were left on their own in terms of understanding the new philosophy of policing being practiced or had no news production need to know this information. How did coverage of

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community policing come about? Field data indicated it emerged in a second-hand fashion, it was filtered through other news.

Aside from the major community policing articles mentioned earlier, much positive coverage for LPD's efforts came via the 1993, year-long series of articles written by Tom Mackezie. The series was titled "Neighborhoods in the 90s" with the additional shortened moniker, "90s Neighborhoods." The researcher asked Mackenzie if police had anything to do with this series:

> I had an interest in the stories and spearheaded the idea, it was more or less my beat. The story focus was initiated on our own. We were trying to do more neighborhood stories. The newspaper had too much meeting coverage and not enough "people stuff." The perspective of the newspaper was that they did too much of covering government meetings and not enough "people." We wanted to get out in the neighborhood, there was lots of stuff going on with the Neighborhood Council, for instance. The Neighborhood Council seemed to work with the Community Police Officers and the council solicited coverage. These weekly neighborhood features continued for a few years.

A part-time police reporter, Jackie French, provided additional information about how community policing came to enjoy positive coverage. Noticing several editorial pieces that were supportive of the department's efforts and curious about the author, French was asked if Zane Brinkley had written the editorials. French remarked that Brinkley rarely wrote the editorials and that the ones in question were written by a female editor who was one of the few reporters at the *Journal* who truly cared about quality of life in the Lansing. "She was very civic-minded and genuinely cared about good things happening in the city" (1998).

Having examined how actively community policing coverage was solicited by the Lansing Police Department from several perspectives, attention is next focused on the aspect of function.

Media Function

This research question asked what function/s the *Lansing State Journal* served in its involvement with Lansing Police Department's community policing initiative. Functions identified in police and press literature reviews were used as guidelines for the content analysis of LPD articles. Functions were also allowed to emerge from the data. Table 25 presents the functions evidenced in LPD articles.

Table 25
Observed Functions in LPD Articles

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
News	172	69.2	69.2
Opinion	28	11.2	80.4
News & Crime Prevention	13	5.2	85.6
News & Assistance	12	4.8	90.4
Publicizing Meetings	11	4.4	94.8
Supporting Community Policing	7	2.8	97.6
Describing Community Policing	6	2.4	100.0
Total	500	100.0	100.0

N=500

Clearly, "news" was the predominant function being served by articles referencing the Lansing Police Department (69.2%). Opinion about the Lansing Police Department comprised the second largest function (11.2%). Unexpected, was the nearly 5% of articles that requested assistance from the public. Such requests were made in articles related to violent personal crime. What remains unknown is

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whether the police openly asked reporters to make such appeals or if reporters included the phone number of the department based on their on evaluation of the crime situation.

Providing the community with information about community policing was a function observed in only 2.4% of the articles. Supporting the community policing initiative was concretely identified in only 2.8% of the articles and publicizing meetings related to community policing was observed in 4.4% of the articles.

Community police officers identified other latent functions served by media coverage. Community Police Sgt. Gross remarked that the Neighborhood in the 90s series "energized neighborhood volunteers" (1998). Christian had similar comments:

> Media played a big role in making things happen (referring to the *LSJ*). Articles in the *Journal* built positive morale in CPOs and in the neighborhoods, it was a reward for their creativity. Coverage brought out a lot in the officers and was a reward for their good jobs. (1998)

Newspaper coverage as a reward mechanism for community volunteers and neighborhoods, in general, was often observed during field research. Community residents would often bring out albums of articles clipped from the *LSJ* and display them proudly for the researcher.

Functional Perspective

Building on the findings for the previous research question, this area of inquiry asked if functions specified in the backgrounding literature review matched with functions observed in the *Lansing State Journal* articles. Succinctly put, the findings strongly indicated that LPD articles served a news function. Thus, the predominant

function historically evolved in press literature matched the findings from the content analysis. Referring again to Table 25, readers will note that other standard journalistic functions were not evidenced or were only partially observed in the analysis – functions of entertainment and educating the public (discussed below). LPD articles were not identified as serving an entertainment function in this study. The watchdog function was evidenced in most, if not all, of the opinion editorials and the terms "watchdog" and "opinion" could easily have been used interchangeably.

Functions proffered by community policing proponents, such as educating the public about community policing (noted as "describing community policing" in the table) publicizing meetings, and supporting community policing were collectively observed in 9.4% of the LPD articles. Therefore, the function of education as noted in the press and community policing literature was observed to a slight extent and supported field data that indicated the police department failed to first educate the media.

The latent functions identified by community policing officers were not mentioned in specific fashion within the community policing literature, although one could categorize rewarding and energizing (empowering) officers and neighborhood volunteers as being a part of the support function mentioned in the literature. However, these would more properly be considered "effects" resulting from the coverage and not function, per se. Measuring effect was not the task of this study.

Similarly, the sociological aspects of news – such as social reality of crime and social control are also effects resulting from media. While there was evidence of the

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Journal's reinforcing role in fostering crime misconceptions, thereby fostering false social realities of crime, this was realized via the topics in LPD articles, not the observed functions of the articles. This topic area is discussed in Chapter Six.

Reporting Changes During the Study Time Frame

This inquiry examined any changes in *Lansing State Journal* coverage that took place after community policing was implemented in Lansing. Presented in this section are content analyses data related to favorability of article content, article size and photo size. Closing the section are findings from the field research which examined the impact of civic journalism and Gannett ownership on reporting during the case study time frame.

Attention is first focused on Table 26 which displays data pertaining to the favorability of article content. Data indicate a significant positive trend in reporting referencing the Lansing Police Department ($x^2 = 26.74$ with 12 df, $p<.008$). It is also interesting to note that for every year in the case study the majority of police articles were neutral in content. From 1989 to 1990 the percentage of neutral-evaluated articles decreased while the positive-evaluated articles increased. Also contributing to the overall shift in positive reporting was the decreasing trend in negative-evaluated articles , although there was some fluctuation.

Table 26
Favorability of Article Content by Year: 1989 to 1993

	Lansing Police Department Articles Favorability Percentages [a]									
	1989		1990		1991		1992		1993	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Positive	15	15.8	18	23.1	27	24.8	24	27.3	49	37.7
Negative	5	5.3	2	2.6	7	6.4	1	1.1	3	2.3
Neutral	71	74.7	56	71.8	66	60.6	60	68.2	76	58.5
Mixed	4	4.2	2	2.6	9	8.3	3	3.4	2	1.5

N=500
a $x2 = 26.74\ (12), p<.008$

Data representing the use of photos in LPD articles are presented in Table 27. Findings for the increased use of photos over the study time frame are significant ($x^2 = 16.7, 2$ df, $p<.002$).

Table 27
Use of Photos In LPD Articles by Year: 1989 to 1993

	Percentage of Lansing Police Department Articles With Photos[a]									
	1989		1990		1991		1992		1993	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Photos Used	56	58.9	24	30.8	44	40.4	33	37.5	61	46.9
No Photos	39	41.1	54	69.2	65	59.6	55	62.5	69	53.1

N=500
a $x^2 = 16.70\ (4), p<.002$

In addition to changes in the use of photos over time, mean comparisons allow for contrasting the size of photos over the study time frame. Size of photos, in column inches were a standard measure of an article's newsworthy value in the

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newspaper industry. Table 28 displays mean comparisons for photo size. Analysis of variance between groups resulted in F=1.461 with 4 df, which was not significant. In summary, while the use of photos significantly increased from 1989 to 1993, any variance in the size of those photos was not significant.

Table 28
Mean Comparisons for Photo Size: 1989 to 1993

Photo Size by Year*	n	M	Sd
1989	55	15.5	12.6
1990	26	11.0	14.0
1991	45	12.3	12.4
1992	31	15.5	13.5
1993	60	10.8	12.1

n=217
*Not significant

Like the size of photos, the size of newspaper articles is another indicator used by the newspaper industry to measure newsworthiness and is also calculated in terms of column inches. Therefore, means for the size of LPD articles were compared across the case study years. Table 29 displays mean comparisons for article size. Analysis of variance between groups resulted in F=1.445 with 4 df, which was not significant. Any variance in the size of those photos during the study time frame was not the result of community policing.

Table 29

Mean Comparisons for LPD Article Size: 1989 to 1993

LPD Article Size by Year*	n	M	Sd
1989	95	25.6	25.4
1990	78	17.5	18.5
1991	109	21.4	21.2
1992	88	21.4	16.6
1993	130	22.8	27.4

n=500
*Not significant

Recapping the findings from the times series content analysis – before and after community policing's inception – data indicated that reporting became significantly more positive or favorable over time. The use of photos also significantly increased over time. Additional analysis indicated that the size of photos used did not change significantly over the study time frame, nor did the size of articles referencing Lansing Police Department. Two last factors remain to be examined that might have impacted reporting – civic journalism and the influence of Gannett Co. Inc. Findings from the field data shed light on these topics.

Impact of Civic Journalism on Reporting Changes: According to the literature review, the civic journalism movement began in 1990. However, only one reporter at the *Journal* was familiar enough with the concept to discuss it with the researcher. That was Tom Mackenzie, the City Hall Editor who wrote the Neighborhoods in the 90s series. He related that at the *Journal* "they didn't call it that (civic journalism), they called it "solutions-based journalism" (1998). There was some evidence that

Executive Editor Zane Brinkley may have attended a state-wide meeting on civic journalism but that could not be confirmed. If civic journalism existed at the *Lansing State Journal* its influence was subtle and was not being openly promoted. Some subtle impetus for reporting in a civic journalism fashion may have been realized via the influence of the *Journal's* parent company, the Gannett Co. Inc.

Influence of Gannett on Reporting Changes. One civic journalism (and community policing) term was mentioned by Barb Miller when she discussed Gannett. The term was "proactive." Surprised to hear her use this word, the researcher asked for clarification:

> At the *Journal* we try to quote "real people," Joe Blow. It gives people a stake in their newspaper. They care about us, and we may increase their interests in issues. We talk with neighborhood people in crime stories. Real people are a "push"[76] for us. We're also very community-oriented. We do stories on the community. Another push is the "pull out boxes," the "bullets," the "how you can help boxes" with phone number lists. The things you read at a glance make it easier for readers to react to a story. The aspect of being proactive is monitored by Gannett. So is mainstreaming. Gannett watches and reads and tells a particular paper if they're not doing enough, not quoting minorities enough. (1994)

Mackenzie was somewhat more subdued when describing big brother Gannett. He said real people were used (quoted) "although, there was no overt mandate. There was just a sense we hadn't hit the real people stuff" (1998). It was curious to hear Mackenzie and Miller using an identical term (real people) to describe Gannett's influence during interviews spaced four years apart. Whether this was coincidence or an aspect of Gannett's work process mantra is unknown. Makinen

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stated that the "sense" emerged out of the newsroom – was generated in the newsroom, rather than being generated by the parent company.

In terms of doing civic journalism-related reporting, Mackezie mentioned Gannett was looking for papers that "were not just the voice of gloom and doom and that went beyond covering just meetings" (1998). He referenced the Neighborhoods in the 90s series as an example and added that "community policing, which was just taking off at the time, helped feed the series" (1998).

One final research question remains to be examined, that of the media's impact on police, on offices at the Lansing Police Department.

Media Impact on Police

In the literature review, Chief Dolan of Lumberton, North Carolina cautioned that media coverage could create or add to divisiveness within a police agency. Field data revealed such was the case at Lansing Police Department. Commentary from Lt. Crambell, primary PIO during the study time frame and from Lt. Sperry who assumed the role at the end of the study (but who added insight) is contrasted with field data from interviews with community officers.

PIOs Crambell and Sperry represented the non-community police officer perspective based on their statements made to the researcher. Neither, of their own accord, brought up the topic of community policing and when the topic was presented by the researcher, comment from both supported what they termed

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[76] A push can be described as a tactic or strategy used to achieve or meet Gannett's philosophy.

"traditional" officers (road patrol). Of the two officers, Crambell reflected an understanding of community policing philosophy and discussed how neighborhood articles written by *Journal* reporters enhanced community pride. Sperry answered questions posed and expanded, now and then in support of "road" officers. The researcher asked her if community policing had created a divisiveness between district (road) officers and community police officers:

> It's a problem, but it's the department's fault. It's not all the media's fault (for focusing on community police officers). Community police officers get the spotlight which makes individual officers resentful. We had an officer stop an armed robber but they wouldn't put it in the paper. But, they will cover an officer planting flowers. It would be nice to see coverage of our road officers, so they don't feel neglected. This brings about some division because (prior to community policing) they were used to getting coverage. Now the CPOs take a lot of heat over the issue. (1994)

Four years later, CPO Dan Christian confirmed Sperry's remarks by also stating that patrol officers had not received enough coverage and described the constraining impact of the situation: "This sometimes prevented me from contacting the media, I didn't want to have to take more heat. By 1992 I dreaded media coverage because I knew I would have to 'take the shit' from patrol officers" (1998). Christian described the crux of the media generated problem as being couched within how officers identified "real police work." "Media hurt the department internally," he said, "patrol officers commented that they did the real police work and the CPOs would throw some parties and get all the media coverage" (1998).

Community Policing Sergeant Randy Gross openly identified that road officers were jealous of the coverage received by community officers and added "if the media

did a story about community policing it created a bigger wedge between CPOs and road patrol, it facilitated divisiveness and jealousies among officers" (198).

Sperry was asked about the impact of the *Prime Time Live* segment that was filmed in 1993. Since this piece of televised coverage had brought a ton of national (and positive) attention to the department the researcher wondered how officers in the department viewed the segment. Did officers view national coverage differently than local press coverage? According to Sperry:

> They were pleased the department got the publicity. But again, they feel, why don't they feature the road cop? If you could ask them individually, they would honestly tell you they were pleased about it. If you asked them in front of other officers or at roll call, they won't say this. they won't say it in a group (situation), which perpetuates anti-community policing sentiment among officers. (1994)

Summary

Within Chapter Five, data from the five year, time-series content analysis were presented to address the research questions posed in this case study. Those data were supplemented and contrasted with findings from the various field research methodologies employed in the case study. The news production process at the *Lansing State Journal* was discussed focusing on who reports what news, where news information comes from, and how reporters garner information via various verbal techniques and interpersonal skills.

The news production process was then examined from the perspective of the Lansing Police Department, focusing on the agency's media policy and Public Information Officer process. Views about the media from the primary PIOs were

highlighted, as were reporters' views about the police. Commentary from community police officers was presented to enhance understanding about the extent of their solicitation efforts to gain media coverage for the department's community policing efforts.

Latent outcomes of media involvement with Lansing Police Department's community policing efforts were also focused upon in Chapter 5. These included media-generated divisiveness between CPOs and road patrol officers, the impact of national media coverage as a factor fueling divisiveness, and the aspect of media coverage serving as a reward and motivation for community residents in community policing beat areas.

Many interesting dynamics came into context through the course of the case study and its analysis of the news production process and working relationships between police and reporters in Lansing. In Chapter Six, several of the more intriguing elements of the findings are discussed, recommendations are presented, and areas for future research are identified.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion of Case Study Findings

Introduction

Within Chapter Six, the researcher highlights particular aspects of the case

study that proved telling and intriguing, beginning with comparisons from this case

study to Ericson, Baranek, and Chan's Toronto work that is considered paradigm

research on police/newspaper relationships and news production. The aspect of

function deserves further attention and is contrasted with the functions emerging

from the literature review. Who reports on police and about community policing,

along with the favorability of reporting across the time frame are also highlighted.

Contrasting Ericson, Baranak, and Chan's Model to the Lansing Fieldwork

Recalling from Chapter Three, Ericson et al. found the news making process

to result in a product shaped by organizational resources and routines. These

resources and routines controlled information – information police have that is

needed by reporters to produce news. Ericson et al. found that police in Toronto had

become more involved with media by loosening some aspects of their back region

enclosure over knowledge (information) while effecting front region enclosure

(control) though this proactive feeding of reporters (1989, p. 93). This was only

fractionally, if at all, true in the Lansing case study. The majority of police information remained closed to reporters (secrecy, according to Ericson et al.'s model). Unless a reporter was developing a crime-related story or receiving information from anonymous sources (this happened occasionally but not regularly) the gatekeeping process of trying to elicit front and back region knowledge or information began with the routine of making daily agency calls.

At the *Lansing State Journal* one reporter had remarked that she dreaded making these calls because it made her feel like a pest. The current police reporter and new kid on the block, Angie Bing, experienced many closed doors in making these inquiries due to her inexperience and lack of informal negotiating skills. Barb Miller, the current court reporter (former police reporter) possessed a neutral attitude about the task and would be successful at times, unsuccessful at other times. In Lansing, police constituted a major gate in the flow of crime news. The only knowledge freely given reporters was information on the tape.

The PIO would update the tape each morning but reporters would have to call for more details (what Ericson et al. termed "secrecy"). Much conflict emerged in the case study related to the tape. It was evident in the comments of police and reporters that the amount or quality of information on the tape was inadequate and resulted in the need for further calls to police. Such calls were also necessary if reporters were to include a direct quote from an officer or police official. Clearly, it appeared the tape process served as a control mechanism used by police.

The aspect of the tape's media control value was also reflected in commentary from former Community Policing Sergeant Gross, who identified that the position of PIO (and the position's inherent tape process) had been created to "feed" media more stories that resulted, in Gross's words "in creating a monster, they (reporters) call 24 hours a day" (1998). It seems rather short-sighted that the amount of media calls came as a surprise to the department and its PIOs. More striking, the calls annoyed PIOs as noted in commentary from Crambell and Sperry who cited organizational constraints that hindered the flow of news from police to the press. Crambell reflected on operational aspects of the tape process such as not having information back from investigators and the seemingly overwhelming number of media calls received. Sperry explained hindrances in terms of budget and personnel constraints the department was experiencing during the case study.

Another aspect of Ericson et al.'s model, their discussion of inner and outer circle reporters, was reflective of a larger piece of journalistic history also witnessed in Lansing. Running parallel to changes in police evolution, the issue of inner and outer circle reporters was akin to this case study's issue of old guard reporters versus new guard reporters. Also evidenced in Canada, was the "incorporation of news media facilities into the architecture of new police buildings" and the organizational aspect of "media becoming a part of everyday police practice via inclusion in agencies' charts and procedures" (1989, p. 93). Contrary findings were found in Lansing, where media enjoyed minimal or no place in the organizational flow chart – even in terms of

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community policing philosophy that required active partnership with media – save for the policy on how to update the tape.

Overall, the process of news production observed by Ericson et al. was in keeping with the "basic" production process at the *Lansing State Journal*. The Toronto case study was strong for its depth of analysis at the micro-level, its symbolic approach, and its functionalist perspective. Absent in the Toronto micro-level analysis, however, was the macro-level impact of the larger, media organization and the historical analysis that added depth, richness, and insight to the Lansing case study.

In contrast, the Lansing case study presented a wider swipe of the paint brush and encompassed the effects of broader organizational factors, such as the Gannett policies that impacted the production of news at the *Lansing State Journal*. Such analysis is critically important in current times when the historical trend continues to develop along the lines of reduced numbers of daily newspapers owned by a reduced number of large, conglomerate, news organizations. In Lansing the overriding culture of the parent corporation had an impact on how news was produced and on how reporters went about the business of creating news. In turn, such "parental influence" may shape public perception.

If Ericson et al.'s argument rings true and newspapers impact social control, social change, and social construction of reality, then parent news organizations by default have similar impacts but impact is shaped by the confines of their particular corporate mantra. Social construction of reality was strongly evidenced in the

Lansing study in terms of topics evidenced for police-related articles and is one of the findings highlighted in the next section focusing on the process of reporting.

<center>Reporters and Reporting</center>

Working Relationships

Several findings associated with the process of reporting were particularly compelling. Leading the pack, was contrary evidence related to conflict between police and reporters. Content analysis of LPD articles indicated an unruffled working relationship; field data did not.

Where field data resulted in much commentary from both sides regarding "chinks" in the micro-level working relationships, findings that emerged from the content analysis indicated a much different process. With the exception of several Freedom of Information affidavits, the day-to-day operational process of producing news appeared to run smoothly. In the Lansing case study, individual relationships between reporters and police were superseded and overcome by the daily news production process.

Partial explanation for why this happened was evidenced in the content analysis data. Police, while a major source of information for reporters, were not the only source. In Lansing, reporters turned to the prosecutor for initial and supplemental information for their police-related articles. Indirect police quotes could also be gleaned from conversations with the prosecutor. In a practical sense, newspaper readers do not distinguish between direct and indirect quotes; it's all news to them.

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Enhancing the contrariness of content and field data, was the amount of direct quotes (from police) appearing in newspaper articles. Recall that inclusion of quotes from "real people" (police included) was a Gannett "push." At the same time that reporters complained about access to police information they evidently had no problem accessing police for securing direct quotes. This contradiction cannot be easily explained away with case study findings. One accounting might be that follow-up calls to police, after listening to the tape, resulted in those direct quotes.

Another explanation, albeit speculative, is that the overall issue involved in the conflicting findings is not the aspect of *getting* information from police but, rather, the *quality* of information expected by reporters or the *amount* of information reporters expect and receive from police. Further clarification requires additional research.

Who Reported on What

A second major finding from the Lansing case study was that reporters other than police beat reporters report on the police. And, these other reporters account for a lot of police articles. This finding has two components. First, police beat reporters tend to write the daily police and crime-related articles that are part of any daily newspaper's news production process. Second and of great importance to police agencies practicing or planning to practice community policing: police beat reporters in Lansing did not write articles about community policing. Rather, these articles – especially two major (feature) community police articles were written by reporters like Tom Mackenzie, the City Hall Editor or Chas Grant, a "Today" section feature writer, who penned the "Officer Christian's Neighborhood" story.

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What does this finding mean in terms of the micro-level conflict witnessed between police beat reporters and police? According to field data, non-police beat reporters were aware – via the news organization's informal work culture – of how police controlled information (reference earlier remarks made by Mackenzie) but this conflict did not directly, if at all, infringe on their reporting. These other reporters had informal, background knowledge of the relationships between police reporters and police but reporting related to community policing was organizationally defined as outside the realm of daily police beat news and therefore outside the realm of conflict. These findings preface how community policing coverage was realized in Lansing,

Community Policing Coverage

Simply stated, community policing was not actively solicited by the Lansing Police Department. Nor did the two major features ("Officer Christian's Neighborhood" and the "Neighborhoods in the 90s" series) emerge from any specific *Lansing State Journal* intent to cover community policing. Instead, Grant's feature (according to CPO Christian) resulted from initial televised coverage. Mackenzie's year-long series was meant to focus on neighborhoods in Lansing – as a means to move away from "just reporting on meetings." Thus, community policing coverage was inherent and couched within this neighborhood coverage. Content analysis also indicated community policing coverage was filtered through mayoral reporting and feature articles written (via the collaborative efforts of several reporters, sometimes including Barb Mitchell) about crime topics like gangs and drugs.

Field data also indicated that local press coverage was fueled by national media attention shining on Lansing Police Department. This effect was unmeasurable in the case study. Also evident but unmeasurable, was the impact of Robert Trojanowicz, who promoted the department across the state and nation.

One aspect of reporting that proved measurable was the topics, other than community policing, that prompted general police and LPD-related articles.

Maintaining the Social Reality of Crime

Social reality of crime is alive and well in Lansing, Michigan. Reflecting a litany of literature, the primary topic of police-articles (all articles) and LPD-related articles was violent personal crime. As noted by Surette, such reporting is the direct outcome of what media (all media) deem newsworthy. In Lansing, violent crime was deemed newsworthy (not to suggest this was unexpected) during the time frame of the case study. Follow-up research would be in order to determine if coverage of violent crime prompted the need or fueled desire in citizens, in any way, for community policing. With violent crime coverage a staple for the *Lansing State Journal*, the context of police articles – the favorability – is of heightened significance.

Favorability of Police Articles

A key, significant finding of this case study was that content of LPD articles became more favorable over the study time frame – more favorable after community policing's inception. Even more intriguing was that reporting became more favorable

in spite of an increase in violent crime coverage from 1989 to 1993[77]. Referencing Table 23 in Appendix F, violent crime comprised 35.8% of LPD article topics in 1989 and rose to 43.8% in 1993. The trend of violent crime as a topic fluctuated over the five years but rose overall. In contrast, the favorability of reporting over the time frame rose steadily (reference Table 25 on page 238). Further and adding to the impact of the findings, reporting became more favorable in spite of the conflict evident in the working relationships between police and reporters in Lansing.

Findings from this Lansing case are not directly comparable with the newspaper content analyses performed in the Flint Foot Patrol Project as those analyses focused on the portrayal of police in articles mentioning community policing (as being more or less favorable than portrayals of police in articles not mentioning community policing) rather than the positive, negative, neutral, or mixed context of the police articles, per se.

Findings related to increased positive reporting should be of great interest to other police agencies. Comparative research in other sites would be in order as would additional research in Lansing to determine if intervening variables might also be significant in accounting for the increased positive reporting.

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[77] This positive trend also occurred independently of shifts in UCR statistics for the city during the study time frame.

Function of the Media in Community Policing

A primary task posed in this case study was to determine if function, per se, could be identified in LPD articles. Based on the historical literature, press functions have evolved over time. Some functions, like providing news (termed by some as information) and entertainment have prevailed throughout journalism history. Other functions, like promoting political parties and social movements, surfaced and receded over the decades. The predominant function found in the content analysis of LPD articles was news. To the *Lansing State Journal* reporters and organization, police and police issues were news. Moreover, it is again worthwhile to note that producing news superseded all obstacles: access to information, individual working relationships with news sources (police), or computer crashes in the newsroom.

Contrasting Identified Functions with the Literature

The 1973 government reports, *Community Crime Prevention* and *A National Strategy to Reduce Crime* noted that citizens need to be informed about police and actions of officials and that before community involvement could be realized, members of the community needed information about government programs. These comments reflect the accepted journalistic functions of news and education. In the Lansing case study news function was evident but education function was absent (referring to community policing). Former Community Police Sergeant Gross admitted the department had "failed to educate the media" about community policing and was aware of the domino effect this failure had in terms of educating the public. He strongly encouraged other departments not to make this mistake.

Emerging directly from community policing literature were several media functions (1) writing feature articles, (2) educating the public about community policing, (3) publicizing public meetings and forums (4) marketing community policing, (5) providing sustained support for community policing, (6) increasing public support, and (7) building public confidence – community empowerment. Some of these functions match journalism standards, like writing feature articles, educating the public, and publicizing meetings. The remainder are not historically evolved press functions, although they are reflective of civic journalism.

As already discussed, *State Journal* reporters produced feature articles on community policing, albeit without any influence from the police department. The absence of education function (educating the public) was examined above. Publicizing meetings, while a standard journalism function, was not evident in the case study content analysis. Field findings from document review indicated why. Most meetings related to LPD's community policing efforts were publicized locally – in the neighborhoods – via flyers, posters, and word of mouth. Meeting announcements for community policing being practiced in the public housing areas were publicized in the Lansing Public Housing Commission's monthly newsletter. Few attempts, if any, were made to utilize the *Lansing State Journal* for this function. Within the feature articles (and also smaller articles) neighborhood meetings were sometimes publicized.

Marketing, providing sustained support, building public support, and community empowering were not measured within this case study and are not in line

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with accepted journalism functions. They are *outcomes* or *effects* of reporting; not press functions, per se. The same is true for agenda setting, influencing policy makers, and securing research funds. These are outcomes (some would even offer they are roles) not functions and the two need to be separated. Using examples of press coverage for securing research funding and funding to support community police officer salaries was an outcome evidenced in this case study.

Recommendations From the Case Study

Police-related research that informs practice is worthwhile to law enforcement. Emerging from this case study were a variety of recommendations that are presented in random fashion:

Training

Police agencies should provide media training for all officers and enhanced training for Public Information Officers. Training should focus beyond "how to deal with the media" and should inform police understanding of media function and news production processes that vary dependent upon the medium. Media confusion must be defined and identified. This confusion hurts working relationships because police allow the actions of one reporter or medium to color their views of all reporters and media.

Information

Police agencies should strive to provide as much information as possible to the media. A major finding in this study was that reporters circumvent police when police control or close off information channels. Media relations might be improved if reporters were not relegated to seeking out alternative information sources.

Departments should review their polices related to how information is disseminated to media. Are these practices efficient for police and media or are inherent elements present that constrain access and that enhance negative police-media relations?

Communication and Working Relationships

Take your agency's "media temperature." What is the quality of the police department's working relationships with its local media? Ultimately, it is the responsibility of organizational heads (chiefs and executive editors) to set the tone for good police-media relations. If these administrators exhibit animosity toward one another, it can influence the working relationships between those officers and reporters serving at the line level.

Police administrators should be proactive about their department's media relations. Assess and solve media-related problems before they come to a head – that manifested as conflict in the Lansing case study. Recognize, too, that open lines of communication with media are valuable, yet tenuous, and that some degree of communication restraint is inherent within the historically evolved function of particular media. Thus, while the nature of newsgathering is for reporters to be in

some conflict with police, such restraint does not have to add to the adversarial yet complimentary nature of the police-media relationship.

Like any other type of working relationship, relationships with media need to be cultivated and nourished. Police can be proactive about their media relations or reactive – responding after the fact, usually to a critical report, which leads to conflict.

Media and Community Policing

The predominant recommendation emerging from this case study was to educate the media about community policing. Inform them so they can inform the public via their time-honored and accepted functions.

Media-generated divisiveness must be monitored and dealt with quickly. If possible, work with local media to balance coverage of community officers with coverage of road patrol. Success with that request is interdependent with the quality of the work relationships already in place.

Similarly, be aware that media coverage serves as a reward mechanism that can elicit jealousies among some officers and that serves to empower others. Likewise, media coverage is a prestige and reward factor for neighborhood citizens and maintains momentum for civic activism. As Community Police Officer Christian remarked, "Neighborhood stories are best, they generate energy among officers and neighbors" (1998).

Suggested Future Research

Results of this case study are replete with areas calling for additional study. Most important, there is a need for more case studies. This would add to our understanding of how the media have been involved in various community policing initiatives and would allow for cross-study comparisons.

As a cautionary note, case studies should be dichotomized in terms of pre-and post-Clinton Crime Control Act funding to police agencies. Community policing has evolved since national funding became available to the "second wave" of law enforcement agencies jumping on the community policing bandwagon. Media functions and roles may or may not have changed. More important, the gamut of police practices falling under the rubric of community policing is currently startling. It would prove interesting to isolate the media function of education – educating the public about what the pure model of community policing entails. Or, from a distinctly sociological perspective, what role have the media played in shaping the public's current perception of how policing is practiced?

Research is also needed to solicit concrete data regarding media-generated divisiveness within police agencies. Additional findings would further (beyond findings in this study) inform police officials about how to fend off and prevent such internal damage.

Related to the above topic, research regarding the reward and empowering mechanisms of media coverage for police officers, neighborhood volunteers, and community residents is needed. What, exactly, does media attention mean to each

group of individuals? Issues of prestige gained and pseudo-celebrity status garnered deserve attention. Research would help define the empowerment process that takes place in community policing neighborhoods.

A national study related to media training and media practices in police departments is strongly suggested by the Lansing case study. Was lack of training and deficiency of understanding related to media practices a fluke, only to be found in Lansing, or are these phenomena widespread?

Minor research questions also emerged from this case study. The role of prosecutors in the crime and police news production process is interesting and worthy of a closer examination.

Summary Comment

Not about community policing per se, this research examined the aspect of media function within the broader contextual analysis of the news production process within the *Lansing State Journal* newsroom and the Lansing Police Department. Though many objects came into context during this case study, when reflecting on the primary aspect of this work, that of media function, to state it simply – its about news.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Joanne Ziembo-Vogl was graduate and research assistant to Dr. Robert C. Trojanowicz prior to his untimely death in 1994. With Trojanowicz as its Director, she also served as a research and technical consultant for the National Center for Community Policing. In his stead, Ziembo-Vogl taught the Community Policing undergraduate course at Michigan State University.

As her mentor, Trojanowicz immersed the author in several key community policing initiatives occurring during the early and mid - 1990s, including the implementation of community policing in public housing settings, department-wide implementation in mid-size police agencies, and especially the Neighborhood Network Center concept – an outgrowth of community policing philosophy that involved inter-agency partnerships between a variety of private and public service providers operating out of a common facility in the neighborhood.

Under Trojanowicz's guidance, the aim and intent of Ziembo-Vogl's community policing research were broad with shared visions of continued study related to the Neighborhood Network Center concept and research related to unexplored aspects of community policing, such as its role in community empowerment and the function of the media in community policing initiatives. To that end, this dissertation is a slice of a broader research agenda – performed, in part,

for her long-standing respect for Robert C. Trojanowicz and his vision to improve law enforcement service delivery.

Ziembo-Vogl continues to assist community police officers and their police departments, to teach the next generation of criminal justice students, and to train America's new wave of police officers – thereby furthering Trojanowicz's vision.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

List of Lansing Area Media

<center>Magazines[78]</center>

Fuel Oil News	411 W. Lake Lansing	East Lansing
Greater Lansing Business Monthly	300 S. Washington	Lansing
Lansing Magazine[79]	5020 Northwood	East Lansing
Lansing Metropolitan Magazine[80]	1521 S. Pennsylvania	Lansing
Michigan Oil & Gas News	1610 Michigan National Tower	Lansing
Running Research News	3200 Leawood	Lansing
Travelhost of Lansing, Saginaw & Bay City	2131 Holiday Lane	Lansing

<center>News Services</center>

Associated Press	101 & 200 N. Capitol	Lansing
Booth Newspapers – State Capitol Bureau	217 N. Sycamore	Lansing
Capitol News Bureau	611 S. Walnut	Lansing
Capitol News Service	School of Journalism - MSU	East Lansing
Gongwer News Service Inc. – Legislative & Governmental Daily Newsletter	630 Michigan National Tower	Lansing
Michigan Information & Research Service Inc.—Daily Legislative Reports	421 West Ionia	Lansing

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[78] Address information for all media in Appendix A are time frame sensitive. For instance, many of the radio stations have currently relocated and operate out of a central location.
[79] Per Steve Lange, Managing Editor of *Lansing City Limits* magazine, *Lansing Magazine* was a separate entity during this study's time frame. In September, 1995, *Lansing Magazine* merged with *City Limits* (a newer magazine which had only been publishing since September, 1994) to form *Lansing City Limits* (personal communication, May 18, 1998).
[80] *Lansing Metropolitan Magazine* is published every three to four months, per Steve Lange, Managing Editor of *Lansing City Limits* (personal communication, May 18, 1998).

Radio Stations

Michigan Farm Radio Network[81]	7402 Westshire Dr.	Lansing
W F M K - FM	146 E. Grand River	Williamston
W I B M - FM	6250 S. Cedar	Holt
W I L S - FM (Country)	600 W. Cavanaugh	Lansing
W I T L - FM	3200 Pine Tree	Lansing
W J I M - FM	300 N. Clippert	Lansing
W J X Q - FM	2495 N Cedar	Holt
W K A R - AM, FM (Mid-Michigan Public Radio)	Michigan State University	East Lansing
W L A N - Cable	300 W. Grand River	Lansing
W L C M - AM	1613 W. Lawrence Hwy	Charlotte
W M M Q - FM	2517 E. Mt. Hope	Lansing
W Q H H - FM	101 Northcrest	Lansing
W U N N - FM (Christian Programming)	1571 Tomlinson	Mason
W V F N - AM	2517 E. Mt. Hope	Lansing
W V I C - FM	2517 E. Mt. Hope	Lansing
W W D X - FM	220 MAC	East Lansing

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[81] The Michigan Farm Radio Network is not a radio station, per se. Rather, it broadcasts over 32 affiliate radio stations.

Specialized, County, Local, and Other Non-Daily Newspapers

Advisor	1521 S. Pennsylvania	Lansing
Capital Times[82]	1217 Turner St.	Lansing
Catholic Times	1045 Darling	Flint[83]
Clinton County News	215 N. Clinton	St. Johns
Delta Waverly News Herald	219 S. Bridge	Grand Ledge
Dewitt-Bath Review	215 N. Clinton	St. Johns
Enterprise Newspaper	409 S. Putman	Williamston
Grand Ledge Independent	219 S. Bridge	Williamston
Ingham County News	624 S. Cedar	Lansing
Metroplex News	106 W. Allegan	Lansing
Michigan Food News[84]	221 N. Walnut	Lansing
Michigan Lawyers Weekly	333 S. Washington	Lansing
Shiawassee County Journal	101 N. Main	Perry
State News	Michigan State University	East Lansing
Towne Courier Newspaper	4737 Marsh Rd.	Okemos
Lansing Housing Commission Journal[85]	Lansing Housing Commission	Lansing

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[82] *Capital Times* is a monthly, specialty newspaper published since 1987. Its January 15, 1998 issue was the last hard copy. In February of 1998 it became a web-based, electronic publication.
[83] Serving the Lansing Diocese, published in Flint.
[84] Serving Michigan's retail grocers.
[85] A monthly, specialized publication

Television Stations[86]

W D I V - TV Channel 4	318 West Ottawa	Lansing
W E L M -TV Cable 11	1070 E. Trowbridge	East Lansing
W I L X - TV Channel 10, NBC	500 American	Lansing
W K A R - TV Channel 23, PBS	Michigan State University	East Lansing
W L A J - TV Channel 53, ABC	5815 S. Pennsylvania	Lansing
W L N S - TV Channel 6, CBS	2820 E. Saginaw	Lansing
W S Y M - TV Channel 47, FOX	600 W. St. Joseph	Lansing

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[86] Includes only television stations based in (broadcasting from) the Lansing area.

APPENDIX B

Chronological Listing of Non-Lansing Media Articles and Broadcasts
Focusing Upon Lansing Police Department's
Community Policing Initiative, 1989-1993

Medium	Date	Headline/Article Title and Topic
Associated Press	4/9/90	'Community Policing' Focus of Conference
The Boston Globe	12/3/90	Community Approach Shows Results in Michigan City
The Bradenton Herald	12/3/90	Cities Returning to Community-Based Cops
Time Magazine	4/1/91	Back to the Beat
Christian Science Monitor	6/8/92	Police and Community as Partners – Part One of the series: 'SPECIAL REPORT: COMMITMENT TO COMMUNITY
Street Watch, Lansing WKAR - TV, PBS	9/92	Community Policing in Lansing
Corporation for Public Broadcasting/Two Cities Film Consortium	11/92	Reverse Angle: Fear In America
Gannett News Service — *Detroit News*	9/25/93	Community Policing Growing Alternative to Rising Crime
Prime Time Live WLAJ - ABC	11/11/93	Crime and Safety in American: How Communities are Fighting Back
Detroit Free Press	12/3/93	Community Cleans Up; Criminals Leave
Detroit Free Press	12/3/93	New Tactics Help a City Win Neighborhoods Back
CBS Evening News: Eye On America	12/28/93	Policing: Getting Back to the Basics; Leaving the Fleets for the Streets

APPENDIX C

List of *LSJ* Articles Related to its History

Reporter	Date	Headline/Article Title[87]
None listed	April, 28, 1952	Birthday! The *State Journal* Starting Today on 98th Year
None listed	April 28, 1953	*State Journal*, 98 Today, Reminisces Over Vol. I, No. 1
None listed	May 11, 1954	Bids Sought For Razing Old Building
None listed	August 20, 1961	Fallout Shelter
Burt Darling	September 24, 1962	Historic---But Nameless
Ben Burns	April 23, 1975	City's Early Newspapers Raucous, Biased
None listed	April 23, 1975	Spirit of '76
Mark Nixon	April 28, 1980	The *State Journal* 'youthful' at 125
None listed name,	August 25, 1980	Your *State Journal* has new face
None listed	March 8, 1982	Did you know?
Sue Nichols	May 27, 1984	*State Journal* family tree reaches back 129 years
Kathy Barks Hoffman	January 29, 1985	Outdated ordinances hunted

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[87] Capitalization in titles reproduced exactly as published.

APPENDIX D

Codebook and Interview Protocol of Questions

VARIABLE: AGENCY
Label: Police Agency

Value Labels:

1=   Lansing Police Department
2=   MSU Department of Police & Public Safety
3=   East Lansing Police Department
4=   Ingham County Sheriff's Department
5=   Eaton County Sheriff's Department
6=   Meridian Township Police Department
7=   Michigan State Police
8=   Other Police Agency
9=   Multi agencies mentioned - Metro Squad, Reach-Regional Enforcement Against Crack Houses, or more than one police agency mentioned in article
10=   Clinton County Sheriff's Department
11=   No agency mentioned or 'law enforcement' used

VARIABLE   CASE
Label: Case Number

Value Labels: Case number as assigned by SPSS; Date of article

VARIABLE   CIVJRN
Label: Civic Journalism

Value Labels:

1=   Suggests Civic Journalism
2=   No suggestion of Civic journalism

VARIABLE   CP
Label: Mentions Community Policing

Value Labels:

1=   Yes
2=   No

VARIABLE   EVAL
Label: Evaluation of Article Content

Value Labels:

1=   Positive
2=   Negative
3=   Neutral
4=   Mixed - Mixed content or difficult to evaluate for quality

VARIABLE   FUNCT
Label: Observed Function of Article

Value Labels:

1=   Defining community policing - community policing
              information provided
2=   News
3=   Maintenance & support of community policing
5=   Publicizing Meetings & Events
6=   Assistance Requested
7=   News & Assistance Requested
8=   Crime Prevention
9=   News & Crime Prevention, including information
11=   Opinion

VARIABLE   INFOSRCE
Label: Information Source

Value Labels:

1=   Police
2=   Prosecutor
3=   Police & Prosecutor
4=   Citizens: residents, bystanders, victims, witnesses
5=   Police, Prosecutor & Citizen
6=   Police & Citizen
7=   Police & Police Reports
8=   Police, Prosecutor, & Police reports
10=   Not Mentioned
11=   Not applicable
12=   Police & Government Officials

13=   Government Officials
14=   Trial or Court Process   [Information derived from court proceedings]
16=   Statistics
17=   Citizens & Government Officials
18=   Police Reports Derived through Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)
20=   Police, Citizens, Government Officials

VARIABLE   LOCAT
Label: Article Location

Value Labels:

1=   Front Page - 1A
2=   Opinion/Editorial Page
3=   Local/State Page 1B
4=   Feature/Special Report
5=   Section B, pages 2B, 3B…pages other than 1B
6=   Letters to Editor
7=   'People, Etc.' column [located in Today Section D]
8=   Section A other than front page
9=   Section C
10=   Section D other than 'People, Etc' column.

VARIABLE   PHOSZ
Label: Photo Size

Value Labels: Measurement in column inches

VARIABLE   PHOVIS
Label: Photo or other Visual Used

Value:

1=   Yes
2=   No

VARIABLE   POLCOP
Label: Police or Cops - Identifier used in article

Value Labels:

1=   Police, Officer, Deputy, Sheriff or other professional term
2=   Cops
3=   Both
4=   Community Police Officer, Neighborhood Officer, Beat Cop, Foot Patrol
      Officer
5=   Indirect reference to police

VARIABLE   POLQOTS
Label: Police Direct Quotes Used in Article

Value Labels:

1=   Yes - Direct Quote From Police
2=   No Quote

VARIABLE   REAPRO
Label: Reactive or Proactive Policing Reflected in Article

Value Labels:

1=   Reactive
2=   Proactive
3=   None
4=   Mix of reactive and proactive policing

VARIABLE   REFCP
Label: Reflects Community Policing

Value Labels:

1=   Yes
2=   No

VARIABLE   REPTR
Label: Reporter Byline

Value Labels:

1=   Barb Miller, police beat reporter with Mitchell and later a court beat reporter
2=   Jackie French, police beat reporter
3=   Lou Mitchell, police beat reporter with Miner
4=   Jack Schecker, Columnist
5=   Ron Alward, police beat reporter prior to Mitchell and Miller
6=   Other reporter
7=   None listed or *Lansing State Journal* noted
8=   Rory Willem, staff writer
9=   Corie Geskie, staff writer
10=   Gloria Davis, staff writer
11=   Editor or editor assumed
12=   More than one reporter
13=   Chas Grant, staff writer

VARIABLE   SIZE
Label: Size of article in column inches

Value Labels: Stated in column inches

VARIABLE   TOPIC
Label: Article's Main Topic

Value Labels:

1=   Violent Personal Crime
2=   Police Canines & Horses
3=   Automobile Accidents, Speeding, & Related Content
4=   Property Crime
5=   Community Policing Related
6=   Officer Death
7=   Police Budget, Training, Procedures, 911
8=   Police Corruption & Misconduct
9=   Public Disorder Crime - Prostitution, Homeless, Drinking, Drunk & Disorderly
10-   Drugs and Drug-Related Crime
11-   Mixed Topics
12-   Post Arrest Process

13-   Other: Mayoral Issues, Service to Community, Awards, Thanks, Abortion
       Demonstrations, Rescues, Fire, Parking
15=   General Crime & Crime Prevention
16=   Jails & Prisons

VARIABLE   YEAR
Label: Year of Article

Value Labels:

1=   1989
2=   1990
3=   1991
4=   1992
5=   1993

Interview Protocol of Questions[88]

Note: All questions should be considered open-ended and are designed to solicit broad information and to promote detailed conversation. Follow-up questioning (related to each of the listed questions) will also be used.

1. Please describe the working relationship between reporters and editors and the *Lansing State Journal* and the officers and administrators at the Lansing Police Department:

   a). Prior to community policing's inception (1980)

   b). During the first year of community policing in Lansing (1990)

   c). During the subsequent years following community policing's inception (1992, 1992, 1993)

2. Referring to the *Journal*, in what way, if any, was media support actively solicited for Lansing's community policing initiative.

   a). Was media support solicited form other media? If so which media?

3. Did you perceive any changes in media coverage from the *Journal* after the inception of community policing? Please explain any changes perceived.

4. Please discuss how well you knew particular reporters and whether you perceived differences in the reporting styles of various reporters after community policing's inception. Please explain these differences.

5. To your knowledge, did anyone at the Lansing Police Department make any formal or informal attempts to educate media representatives re: what community policing philosophy was or involved?

   a). How was this done? With which medium?

   b). How were these attempts received/perceived by media representatives?

   c). How would you describe the impact/outcome of these attempts?

6. What type of coverage did community policing receive during the years from 1989 to 1993. (Refer to specific articles if necessary.)

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[88] Interviews of *Lansing State Journal* personnel will follow this same general protocol with appropriate wording and perspective changes.

7.   What would you identify as the organizational constraints (at *LSJ* and LPD) which impacted the degree of positive or negative interaction between these two agencies?

8.   What was the single, most important factor impacting the type and amount of media coverage during the years from 1989 to 1993?

9.   What was the impact on the other officers (non-community policing officers) related to the amount of coverage being received by officers identified as community police officers?

10. What was the impact of outside, national media attention received by Lansing Police Department during 1993?

11. What advice would you give other police departments seeking to solicit media support for community policing initiatives in their towns and cities?

APPENDIX E

Sample Consent Form and
UCRIHS Approval

Sample Consent Form

January 25, 1998

Officer ————————
Lansing Police Department
120 W. Michigan
Lansing, MI 48933

Dear Officer ————:

I am writing to solicit your cooperation in a phone or personal interview related to my dissertation topic: *The Function of the Media in Community Policing*. Specifically, I am hoping you will agree to provide me with information related to the interaction of the Lansing Police Department and the *Lansing State Journal* during the years 1989-1993 (the time frame of my research).

Should you agree to be interviewed, I assure you confidentiality regarding the use of any information you might provide. As confidentiality may or may not be of concern to you, I would ask you to signify your preference by signing the appropriate consent statement below. Your participation is voluntary and you are under no obligation to participate. You may also choose not to answer particular questions and you may discontinue the interview at any time. I estimate the interview will take 30 to 45 minutes.

Please return this letter, indicating your consent to be interviewed and desired confidentiality or non-confidentiality. An addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed as is a copy of this correspondence for your files.

I look forward to hearing from you. Please feel free to contact me at the above phone number or address should you have any questions or concerns.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Joanne Ziembo-Vogl

I AGREE / DISAGREE (circle preference) to an interview with Joanne Ziembo-Vogl.

_____I wish to be assured confidentiality regarding any remarks or information provided during this interview. I understand that any information I provide will be treated with strict confidence and be reported in such a fashion that I cannot be identified.

_____I am not concerned about confidentiality and grant permission to Joanne Ziembo-Vogl to identify me by name in her research findings. I also understand that I am free to change my mind and request confidentiality at any time before, during, or after the interview.

Signature:_____Date:_____

MICHIGAN STATE
U N I V E R S I T Y

February 16, 1998

TO: Bruce Benson
        MSU Police
        87 Red Cedar Rd.

RE: IRB#:   98-055
        TITLE: THE FUNCTION OF THE MEDIA IN COMMUNITY POLICING
        REVISION REQUESTED: N/A
        CATEGORY: 1-C,E
        APPROVAL DATE: 02/13/98

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects'(UCRIHS)
review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the
rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately
protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate.
Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project and any revisions listed
above.
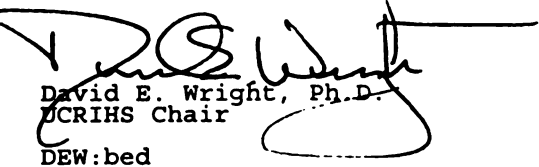
RENEWAL: UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with
                 the approval date shown above. Investigators planning to
                 continue a project beyond one year must use the green renewal
                 form (enclosed with the original approval letter or when a
                 project is renewed) to seek updated certification. There is a
                 maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators
                 wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it
                 again for complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human
                 subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at
                 the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To
                 revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year,
                 send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised
                 approval and referencing the project's IRB # and title. Include
                 in your request a description of the change and any revised
                 instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

PROBLEMS/
CHANGES: Should either of the following arise during the course of the
                 work, investigators must notify UCRIHS promptly: (1) problems
                 (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human
                 subjects or (2) changes in the research environment or new
                 information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than
                 existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to contact us
at (517)355-2180 or FAX (517)432-1171.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D.
UCRIHS Chair

DEW:bed

cc: Joanne Ziembo-Vogl

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APPENDIX F

Supplemental Tables

Table 6
1989 Article Location Frequencies and Percentages

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Local/State - 1B	129	53.1	53.1
Front Page	35	14.4	67.5
Section B	41	16.9	84.4
Op/Ed Page	23	9.5	93.9
Section A	10	4.1	98.0
Special Report	0	0	98.0
People, Etc.	1	.4	98.4
Section D	1	.4	98.8
Section C	2	.8	99.6
Letters to Editor	1	.4	100.0
Total	243	100.0	100.0

n=243

Table 7
1990 Article Location Frequencies and Percentages

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Local/State - 1B	74	39.8	39.8
Front Page	24	12.9	52.7
Section B	65	34.9	87.6
Op/Ed Page	12	6.5	94.1
Section A	5	2.7	96.8
Special Report	4	2.2	99.0
People, Etc.	2	1.0	100.0
Section D	0	0	100.0
Section C	0	0	100.0
Letters to Editor	0	0	100.0
Total	186	100.0	100.0

n=186

Table 8

1991 Article Location Frequencies and Percentages

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Local/State - 1B	123	52.1	52.1
Front Page	42	17.8	69.9
Section B	43	18.2	88.1
Op/Ed Page	22	9.4	97.5
Section A	2	.8	98.3
Special Report	4	1.7	100.0
People, Etc.	0	0	100.0
Section D	0	0	100.0
Section C	0	0	100.0
Letters to Editor	0	0	100.0
Total	236	100.0	100.0

n=236

Table 9

1992 Article Location Frequencies and Percentages

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Local/State - 1B	97	48.7	48.7
Front Page	66	33.2	81.9
Section B	16	8.0	89.9
Op/Ed Page	10	5.0	94.9
Section A	5	2.6	97.5
Special Report	2	1.0	98.5
People, Etc.	2	1.0	99.5
Section D	1	.5	100.0
Section C	0	0	100.0
Letters to Editor	0	0	100.0
Total	199	100.0	100.0

n=199

Table 10
1993 Article Location Frequencies and Percentages

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Local/State - 1B	104	41.8	41.8
Front Page	77	30.9	72.7
Section B	17	6.8	79.5
Op/Ed Page	29	11.6	91.1
Section A	12	4.8	95.9
Special Report	5	2.0	97.9
People, Etc.	4	1.6	99.5
Section D	1	.5	100.0
Section C	0	0	100.0
Letters to Editor	0	0	100.0
Total	249	100.0	100.0

n=249

Table 23
Crosstabulations for LPD Article Topics by Year: 1989 to 1993

	Lansing Police Department Articles Topic Percentages				
	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Violent Personal Crime	35.8	46.2	42.2	34.1	43.8
Police Budget-Procedures	7.4	3.8	11.9	4.5	8.5
Public Disorder	0.0	5.1	1.8	5.7	4.6
Drugs	14.7	5.1	6.4	4.5	1.5
Officer Death	4.2	1.3	0.9	0.0	0.0
Canine	3.2	3.8	0.0	3.4	0.0
Auto Accidents	6.3	3.8	3.7	6.8	2.3
Police Misconduct	2.1	0.0	2.8	1.1	4.6
Property Crime	5.3	0.0	2.8	6.8	0.0
Mixed Topics	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.8
Post Arrest Process	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Community Policing Related	0.0	12.8	5.5	13.6	18.5
Other	11.7	9.1	9.1	3.6	5.4
Crime & Crime Prevention	7.4	2.6	4.6	3.4	5.4
Mayoral & Gubernatorial	0.0	6.4	8.3	8.0	4.6

N=500

APPENDIX G

Lansing Police Department's Tape Information Policy

TAPE INFORMATION[89]

Name   (Your Name)
Date   (Today's Date)
Time   (Current Time)

What happened?
What time did it occur?   Spell difficult names and streets
Where did it happen?

VICTIM INFORMATION   ACCUSED INFORMATION
                                               Race
General Information   Age
    Age   Height
    Sex   Weight
    Local Resident? (optional)   Build
    Injuries   Vehicle
                                               Direction of Flight
Property Taken
    General (not specific)
                                           Current Status
Police Actions   Arrests Made
    Dogs   Remains Under Investigation
    Road Blocks
    Helicopter
    Anything Else

DAILY ROUTINE

1.   Read Daily Log for items of interest such as (also the one in the typewriter on
      3rd. floor)
      A.   Armed Robberies
      B.   Serious Assaults
      C.   C.S.C.
      D.   Bank Robberies
      E.   Fatal Accidents
      F.   Larcenies from Persons
      G.   Other Unusual Crimes or Incidents
2.   Check Arrest Log for
      A.   Major Arrests (Except Metro related incidents they do their own)

---

[89] This policy form has been reproduced (word-for word) from the original police document
in order to comply with dissertation formatting requirements.

3. Check Uniform Captain's Highlight Bucket for
   A. Items of interest
4. Run a "Prisoner to Court List" on Court Officer's terminal on three
   A. To see if anyone of interest to the media is going to Court
      To run this, first hit
         1. More Keys
         2. Print Menu
         3. Take to Court
         4. (x) and Enter
5. Get reports you need to review from 1st. floor. Make copies. If you use it or not place all copies of reports and any other documents that you might get questions on later, in the bucket in Lt. Miller's Office.

APPENDIX H

Lansing Police Department Organization Charts
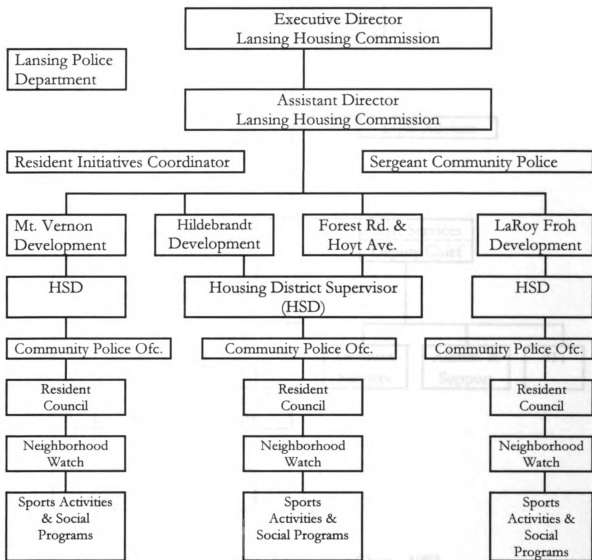
Figure 1: Lansing Housing Commission, Community Officer Patrolling Efforts Organizational Chart

```
                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │     Chief       │
                          ├ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┤
                          │ Assistant Chief │
                          └─────────────────┘
```

Chief
Assistant Chief

Internal Affairs

Legal Advisor

Public Affairs

Field Services

Staff Services
Deputy Chief

Uniform
Division

Investigations
Division

Special
Operations

Technical
Services

Admin. &
Support

911

Exec.
Bureau

Community
Bureau

Patrol
Bureau

12 CPOs & 1 CP Sgt.
14 Neighborhoods/Beats

Figure 2: Lansing Police Department Organization Chart - 1992

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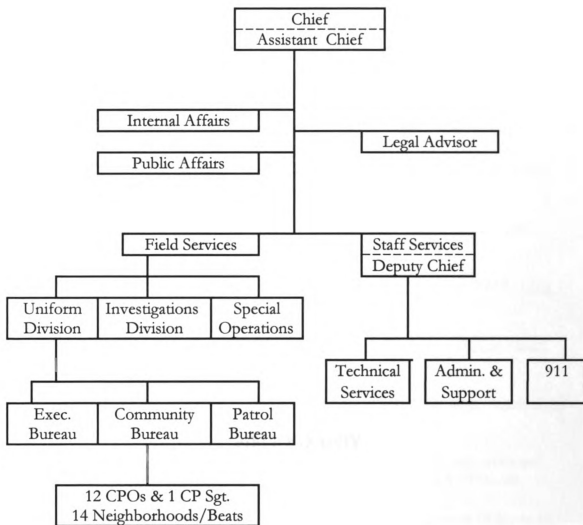
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