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Media Influence on College Students' Perceptions of the Police

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MEDIA INFLUENCE ON COLLEGE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

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DEDICATION

For John-Mark. You are my world. Thanks, Buddy.

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ABSTRACT

The first of Sir Robert Peel's nine principles of law enforcement (1829) tells us that the police exist to prevent crime. However, the next six principles address the police's need to develop a relationship with the public and maintain the publics' approval, favor, respect, and voluntary cooperation. Although these principles were written in 1829, they still apply to police organizations today. This paper addresses the struggles policing organizations in the United States of America had over the years in maintaining these principles of law enforcement, the strategies the police have used to increase public approval, and factors associated with how the public perceives the police. In keeping with the tradition of the literature on citizens' perceptions of the police, this paper analyzes and discusses influences on perceptions of the police that relate to specific support for the police. One gap in the literature is that there are few studies examining perceptions of the police using Easton's (1965) systems theory of support for public institutions and possible ways of cultivating diffuse support, instead of specific support. One possible influence on this type of support is citizens' vicarious interactions with the police, via media consumption. To address this gap in the literature, a survey asking respondents questions regarding their perceptions of the police, consumption of different media outlets, and other factors that have been shown to influence perceptions of the police was administered to undergraduate criminal justice majors at two state universities (N = 782). Ordinary least squares regression (OLS) and ordered logistic regression (OLR) models were used to analyze the influence of media consumption on respondents' perceptions of the police. Results of the OLR models found

that levels of media consumption were significantly related to changes in perceptions of the police in their community, but not when asked questions about the police in general. Results of the OLS models indicated that consumption levels of different types of media outlets (TV entertainment, Internet entertainment or traditional news) did not significantly influence how a respondent perceived the police

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

Citizens intermingle with the police either directly (i.e., face-to-face interactions) or indirectly (i.e., watching another person's face-to-face interaction with a police officer and making judgments about the interaction) on a regular basis (Alpert & Dunham, 2004). However, each citizen perceives these interactions differently. Some citizens perceive the police as trustworthy and have confidence that the police are there to serve and protect them. Other citizens may view police presence with skepticism pertaining to the officers' motives and/or abilities to accomplish their duties in either a legal or a publicly acceptable manner. This feeling of skepticism may lead to some citizens feeling that authorities are either unwilling or unable to serve them. Because of this lack of trust, citizens could stop reporting crimes or asking the police for help because they may not wish to use police services if these services are perceived as useless (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004; Tyler, 2005). This is important because citizens failing to seek assistance from the police prevents the police from successfully doing their jobs: solve crime, prevent crime, maintain order, and serve the community (Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005).

Lack of trust and confidence in the police can also have more dire effects. When citizens feel they cannot trust the police to protect them, they are more likely to approve of using violence to advocate for social control and social change, creating a feeling of "us" versus "them" between citizens and law enforcement (Jackson, Huq, Bradford, & Tyler,

2013). Questionable police-citizen interactions in the past few years have created some of the same reactions that were seen during the race riots of the 1960s and the riots following the beating of Rodney King in 1991. This "us" vs "them" mentality has been heightened by the media and activists advocating for the assumptions that police officers are guilty when accused, that police misconduct is widespread, and that race is the primary factor driving questionable police-citizen interactions (Coicaud, 2002; Weitzer, 2015).

In a climate where citizens and the police are at odds with each other, there could be an increase in disrespect during police-citizen interactions. This is noteworthy because treating people with dignity and respect is especially important when officers confront young minority males. Some research suggests that when citizens show police officers disrespect, they are more likely to be sanctioned by means of citations, arrest, and use of force (Engle, 2003; Klinger, 1996). This could help explain some of the tensions between officers and young minority males. Young African American males are more likely to be stopped by the police, providing more possibilities for their police-citizen interactions to go astray (Skogan, 2005). Minority males have also been shown to respond aggressively toward the police when they believe they have been stopped for no valid reason (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Brunson, 2007). If a citizen acts aggressively towards a police officer, his or her actions may spark corresponding aggressive behavior by the officer (Engel, Sobol, & Worden, 2000; Mastrofski, Reisig, & McCluskey, 2002). This mutual aggression and disrespect are important because young minority males have been shown to respond aggressively when disrespected. After all, many violent acts committed by young minority males have been shown not to be premeditated but instead triggered when they are shown disrespect, or their honor is violated. This has been shown to be particularly true when the

disrespect occurs where others can see and/or hear their respect being violated (Engel, 2003; Mastrofski, Reisig, & McCluskey, 2002; Mastrofski, Snipes, & Supina, 1996; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

This is patently important because of the tensions between citizens and the police that arose in the aftermath of the Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson, Missouri.[1] This incident as well as similar negative police-citizen encounters made national news in 2014-2015, sparking nationwide debate about the legitimacy of police use of force, particularly against minorities (Kindy, 2015).

One crucial step in developing ways to bolster communities' levels of support for policing agencies is to understand more about how citizens develop their attitudes about the police (Alpert & Dunham, 2004; Gau, 2011). Some researchers suggest that citizens develop their attitudes about the police by means of direct interaction between his or herself and a police officer (Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Scaglion & Condon, 1980; Tyler, 2006; Skogan, 2005). However, the fact that not everybody has direct interaction with the police on a regular basis should also be considered. Individuals who have little, if any, direct

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[1] Brown was an unarmed, young, minority male who was shot and killed by a white police officer, Darren Wilson, in Ferguson, Missouri. When Officer Wilson was not indicted by a grand jury, aggressive demonstrations and protest resulted in violent civil unrest, which worsened the tensions between police and citizens in Ferguson (Buchanan et al., 2015; Healy, 2014). A year later, tensions were still so great that violence broke out anew in the wake of the shooting's anniversary demonstrations (McLaughlin, Sidner, & Farimi, 2015).

interaction with law-enforcement officers still have opinions regarding police officers and how police-citizen interactions should be handled. Vicarious interactions could be playing a role in how these people develop their attitudes toward the police. Examples of vicarious influences on citizens' perceptions of the police may include media outlets, family/ friends' previous interactions with police officers, and their community's level of support for local law enforcement (Gau, 2014; Ivkovic, 2008). Considering the fact that in any given year more than 70% of the American public does not have a direct face-to-face interaction with the police, yet most do have opinions about the police, vicarious influences about the police should be studied (Durose, Smith, & Langan, 2007; Eith & Durose, 2011; Langton & Durose, 2016).

1.1 Brief History of Citizens' Perceptions of the Police

American policing organizations have had to work hard to earn the trust and confidence of the American people. This is partially due to a long history of corruption and brutality within policing organizations (Ivkovic, 2008). During the non-regulation period of policing (the nineteenth century), police officers had immense discretion, particularly pertaining to the use of force, when interacting with citizens. This unchecked discretion in the use of force/ power sometimes led to rampant abuse of power by both individual police officers and police agencies as a whole (Alpert & Dunham, 2004; Walker, 2015). During this era of policing, citizens expected their encounters with police officers to encompass disrespect and brutality (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005). Accordingly, citizens' levels of trust and confidence in the police were low. Hence, the police's level of legitimacy perceived by citizens was low enough that some officers experienced unprovoked attacks by citizens for purely the sport of it (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1976). Under pressure

from reformists during the Progressive movement (during the early twentieth century), police departments started to develop policies to self-regulate officers' use of force and to increase professionalism during police-citizen interactions (Walker, 2015). These efforts aimed to improve both crime control and the police's public image (Alpert & Dunham, 2004). Such policy changes were necessary inorder for the police to preserve their status in the legal system (Turk, 1977). However, these changes were not enough.

The 1960s was a time of civil unrest; tensions between the police and minority citizens were vast. The fact that police officers were still underpaid and under-trained did not help minority-police interactions during this already socialy/politically/economically strained time in U.S. history (Uchida, 2004). Consequently, police corruption and/or utilization of excessive force became the focus of public outrage anew (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1976). Extreme instances of less-than-desirable police actions against citizens, especially minority citizens, coupled with already low citizens' levels of trust and confidence in the police led to violent clashes between police officers and citizens (Brown & Benedict, 2002). The race riots and demonstrations that characterized the civil rights era of the 1960s led to a new chapter in the history of policing. This chapter was characterized by policy changes designed to hold the police legally, politically, and socially accountable for their actions (Alpert & Dunham, 2004; Bratton, 1997).

Throughout both the 1960s and 1970s, American citizens' levels of confidence in the police's ability to deter crime was low. For example, a public opinion poll in 1970 found that seven out of ten people with a college education did not feel police forces effectively deterred crime (Hindelang, 1974). This helped persuade the Federal government as well as state, and local governments to intervene on behalf of citizens during questionable police-

citizen interactions by providing outside regulation of policing practices. To help ensure the safety of citizens' constitutional rights the courts started holding both police officers and their agencies legally accountable for excessive and/or unreasonable procedures during police-citizen interactions. Communities also created citizen review boards whose job is to externally investigate allegations about misuses of power or force by the police (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005). This helps to ensure that when a citizen does file a complaint against a police officer or agency, the accusation receives the thorough, unbiased investigation that is needed for the citizen to be successful in court when in a suit against the police.

The 1970s also brought about the professional era of policing, with officers relying on the three Rs of policing: random patrol, rapid response, and reactive investigation (Bratton, 1977). To improve efficiency, police departments relieved officers from walking their beats and placed them into patrol cars so they could respond to calls more quickly. When officers were not responding to calls, they would randomly patrol the area to deter crime (Moskos, 2009). This policy "de-policed" the streets, resulting in more disorder and fear of crime.

The shift toward professionalism and efficiency during police-citizen interactions led to a policing style perceived as impersonal, objective, and detached (Bratton, 1997). Soon incoming calls for police services became overwhelming. The overwhelming increase in calls resulted in less time for investigation, a higher number of unsolved cases, as well as a decline in citizens' levels of confidence in the police's ability to solve crimes (Bratton, 1997). Amongst police officers' time constraints and their focus on an efficient evidence-gathering process, the police also lost valuable opportunities to interact with citizens in a positive manner.

The 1980s brought further strain on policing organizations partly due to an increase in drug consumption, coupled with increased use of semiautomatic weapons (Bratton, 1997). This drew attention to the fact that the current policing methods were merely placing a bandage on crime instead of preventing it. This eventually led to a new style of policing that is characterized by three Ps (prevention, problem-solving, and partnership) known as community policing (Bratton, 1997; Uchida, 2004). These changes led to a new error of policing, which stresses problem-solving (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Community policing efforts included: the reestablishment of foot patrols, the encouragement of positive face-to-face police-citizen interactions initiated by police officers, and neighborhood watch programs (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005). Community policing efforts reestablish crime prevention as the primary goal of policing, which was the original intent of London's Metropolitan Police force in 1829 (Uchida, 2004). It also brought back a focus on Robert Peel's principles of accountability and policing by consent (Jackson et al., 2012).

Policing agencies focusing on crime prevention also brought about changes in policing styles. It encourages policing efforts that focus more on 'ends over means' (as opposed to 'means over ends') policing strategies. These policing strategies place a "premium on empirical examination of police work" (Eck & Gallagher, 2016, p.129; Goldstein, 1979). Some policing strategies that emerged from community policing were: SARA (scanning, analysis, response, and assessment), COMPSTAT (computer statistics), hotspot policing, evidence-based, problem-oriented, and zero-tolerance policing (Eck & Gallagher, 2016; Greene, 2000; Ratcliffe, Groff, Sorg, & Haberman, 2015).

The events following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 (9/11) has led some researchers to question if community policing efforts are enough to protect citizens (Scott,

2010). This bolstered the need for changes in policing during the twenty-first century. One of the major changes seen after 9/11 was an increase in funds for policing agencies, and the resulting increase of police presence (Scott, 2010). For some citizens, an increase in police presence was welcomed, but not for all. Some people viewed the new policing practices as paramilitary units, combining democratic and military policing models, as "political opportunism and tyranny" (Bornstein, 2005, p. 53). After 9/11, civil liberties activists also started raising questions about the increase of profiling of American Muslim communities and the Patriot Act (2001), thus rekindling some of the tensions between the police and minority citizens (Scott, 2010). These tensions, coupled with a number of high-profile questionable officer-involved shootings, have "rattled public confidence in the police and sparked fresh debate on reforms" (Weitzer, 2015, p. 475). With this, it can be argued that community policing should not be overshadowed due to fear of terrorism. It should be utilized to help prevent future terrorist attacks and aid in response when terrorist attacks occur (Friedmann & Cannon, 2007). For example, community policing efforts can be important to fighting terrorism as the "problem-solving models typically used in community policing are well-suited for preventing and responding to possible terrorist activity" (Docobo, 2005, p. 2). Community policing practices may also help build trust between the police and members of the community who may have knowledge of potential terrorist activity (Spalek, 2010).

As evident in this overview, policing in America has evolved over the years. Policing organizations have strived to become better at crime fighting, to have less corruption within their agencies, be more professional, and improve community relations (Scott, 2010). Some of these changes have been aimed at increasing Americans' levels of trust and confidence

in the police. Despite continuing policing efforts, Americans' levels of trust and confidence in the police has remained stagnant since 2009 (Tyler, 2011). If public trust and confidence in the police are remaining constant, there must be other factors influencing citizens' levels of trust and confidence in the police than policing practices. This phenomenon has sparked an increase in research pertaining to influences on citizens' levels of trust and confidence as it relates to the issue of perceived police legitimacy (Tyler, 2011; Weitzer, 2015).

1.2 Citizens' Perceptions of the Police: Trust, Confidence, & Legitimacy

Trust & Confidence

While similar, trust and confidence are not the same. For example, people may trust individual police officers but not have confidence in the institution of policing (Morris, 2011). Luhmann (1988) attempts to explain the difference between trust and confidence. He recognizes that both require an acknowledgment that a person's expectations may not be met, which may be why it is hard to distinguish between the two. However, he concludes that the difference between trust and confidence is dependent on perception and attribution. A person has confidence when he or she expects not to be disappointed. On the other hand, trust involves a previous engagement supposing a situation of risk. In simpler terms, the difference between trust and confidence, per Luhmann (1988), is whether the person tasked with making a decision considers alternatives to their actions or choices before acting. To extend this distinction to law enforcement, people have confidence in the police if they contact the police without hesitation. They trust the police if they decide to contact them only after careful consideration of the consequences of and alternatives to calling the police.

However, the order sequence between trust and confidence is debatable. Perhaps trust comes before confidence (Silver & Picket, 2015). For instance, confidence in the police could be viewed in terms of the public's trust in the police to perform their jobs in a responsible manner that protects citizens' rights. However, it can be argued that confidence in a person's abilities and intentions comes before trust in that person (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). Looking at trust from this perspective, it can be defined as "the extent to which one is willing to ascribe good intentions to and have confidence in the words and actions of other people" (Cook & Wall, 1980, p. 39).

The order sequence debate makes defining both trust and confidence difficult. Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman (2005) defined trust as

> The willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform an action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party. (p.712)

By this definition of trust, people trust the police when they feel the intentions behind police officers' behavior or actions are just, or trust can be seen as a person's interpersonal actions such as choosing to seek assistance from the police (Colquitt, Scott, & LePine, 2007).

The antecedents of trust (ability, benevolence, and integrity) can also be used to define it (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). Based on these antecedents, citizens trust the police when they feel the police are fair, effective, and committed to the community's values and interests (Jackson & Bradford, 2010). Sometimes it is hard for a citizen to know if outcomes of police-citizen interactions are fair or if the police officer is committed to the community's values. Therefore, they rely on the officers' actions to dictate if they can trust the police or not. Looking at trust from this perspective, citizens also trust the police when

they feel that an officer will treat them with dignity and respect if they interact with the officer (Jackson & Sunshine, 2007).

Police officers' levels of representation of a community's values is also important in defining trust and confidence. Citizens may have trust and confidence in the police to the extent that they believe police officers are representatives of community values (Morris, 2011). Police departments can increase public confidence and trust by improving how they interact with citizens as well as how they target community concerns (Jackson & Bradford, 2010). This representation of community values is important because it leads to a society in which citizens are more likely to view the police as legitimate and to defer to police directives (Jackson & Sunshine, 2007). Increased levels of trust and confidence also allow the police to maintain favorable attitudes from the public even when an individual officer's actions are questioned (Silver & Picket, 2015).

Legitimacy

The legitimacy of a society's policing agencies is related to the legitimacy of their government (Gau, 2013). Therefore, it is important to look at legitimacy in general before focusing on police legitimacy. Tyler and Huo (2002) define legitimacy as "the belief that legal authorities are entitled to be obeyed and that the individual ought to defer to their judgments" (p. xiv). Along these lines, legitimacy can also be the recognition of the right of an authority to govern as indicated by subordinates' consent, laws, and norms (Coicaud, 2002). Consent aids in legitimacy because it helps justify power and obedience (Coicaud, 2002). However, while consent is necessary, it is not sufficient. Norms are also needed as guidelines for actions that change over time. With this change in norms comes a change in what is expected by the governed. Consent, laws, and norms combine to help create an

understanding between the police and the public about what they expect from each other (Coicaud, 2002; Meares & Kahan, 1998). Consent, laws, and norms also help decide, "whether a power holder is justified in claiming the right to hold power over other citizens" (i.e., the power holder is legitimate) or not (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012, p. 124).

Power can be viewed as legitimate when it is "acquired and exercised according to justifiable rules, and with evidence of consent" (Beetham, 1991, p. 3). What makes something legitimate is a complex question because the perception of legitimacy changes with time (Lee, Boateng, & Marenin, 2015). A law that has been on the books for decades and is commonly enforced can be deemed illegitimate by society at any time. This results in a public challenge to take away the police's ability to enforce a law that has fallen out of favor over a period of time. Common police practices such as the fleeing felon rule can become unjustifiable (*Tennessee v. Garner*, 1985). The elements of legitimacy are legal validity (by means of laws), morally just (by means of faith in the authorities' power) and consent. These elements of legitimacy can help explain a policy's evolution from legitimate to illegitimate (Beetham, 1991; Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012; Coicaud, 2002). When police power is legislated and exercised in accordance with the law, it is legally valid. However, legal validity is not the same as legitimacy. The level of legislated power changes based on public acceptance of police power and authority and public perception of what is morally just regarding the police-citizen relationship. Society is not uniform as to its moral beliefs. When the circumstances and values of dominants and subordinates change, so does their power relationship. For example, the less morally justifiable police power is perceived to be, the less legitimate the power will be believed to be. Eventually, this perceived lack of legitimacy will result in a change in legal validity. Power is legitimate to the extent that it

aligns at a given time with society's beliefs about what is morally just. With this, "the beliefs people hold are thus explained as the product of the cumulative influences to which they have been exposed" (Beetham, 1991, pp. 8-9).

Police legitimacy is arguably two-pronged: (1) the belief that police officers can be trusted and are concerned about the people they interact with; (2) the belief that citizens should accept the authority of the police and defer to officer directives (Tyler, 2006, 2011). The need for legitimacy is evident with the police because of their ability to use government-sanctioned force (Gau, 2013). For an authority to maintain legitimate power, it must convince the people that its power is just and therefore morally best for society (Weber, 1978). Without this perception of legitimacy, power can be kept, but at a high cost—citizens' trust and confidence in the authority. This lack of public trust and confidence decreases public cooperation with the police. Decreased cooperation occurs because trusting another person involves an initial judgment that "the probability that he will perform an action that is beneficial or at least not detrimental to us is high enough for us to consider engaging in some form of cooperation with him" (Gambetta, 1988, p. 217). Therefore, as trust levels decline, so does cooperation. When a citizen chooses not to cooperate with the police, it becomes harder for the officers to do their jobs and maintain authority (Ferdik, Wolfe, & Blasco, 2014). Low levels of cooperation from citizens may cause a police officer to become frustrated and overstep his or her boundaries. When police officers breach legal limits during police-citizen interactions, citizens may perceive the police as less legitimate. This may make it even more difficult for officers to do their jobs in the future. To break this cycle, police officers must find ways to earn the public's trust and confidence and increase perceptions of legitimacy.

1.3 Research Questions and Plan of the Dissertation

So far, chapter one has discussed the history of policing and definitions of trust and confidence. The review of this literature is vital to setting the stage for this dissertation. It shows that there are many ways of looking at perceptions of the police and that the police have struggled to improve their public perception. (Why public perception is important to policing organizations is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.) The review of the history of policing indicated that many of the major changes to policing were driven by calls for changes, made by public opinion. Therefore, what shapes public opinion is important to study. One tool that can be used to drive public opinion and prompt change is the media (Garrison, 1988; Roberts, 1992). This dissertation aims to provide insight into whether or not media consumption influences the cultivation of attitudes towards the police. Chapter 2 opens with a brief discussion on the conceptual framework associated with citizens' perceptions of the police: broken windows policing, procedural justice, and community-oriented policing. From there the chapter discusses why citizens' perceptions of the police are important to study. Chapter 3 explores established influences on citizens' opinions about the police such as age, race and gender. The chapter then provides a literature review identifying vicarious influences on citizens' perception of the police, (e.g., newspapers, news broadcasts, police dramas, policing reality shows, and social media) and an overview of cultivation theory.

Chapter 4 discusses the data collection procedures and analytic strategy for this research. This study uses a factorial survey design. In addition to vignettes, the survey also collected information pertaining to respondents' demographic characteristics, face-to-face

interactions with police officers within the past six months, and media consumption within the past six months. The primary research questions of interest are:

(1) Does media consumption influence how a person perceives the police?

(2) Is consumption of different media outlets (news vs entertainment) associated with how a person perceives the police?

(3) Is there an association between the amounts of time a person spends consuming different media outlets and how a person perceives the police?

The primary hypotheses are:

(1) An increase in perceived procedural justice is associated with an increase in perceptions of fairness during a police-citizen interaction.

(2) An increase in media consumption is associated with less positive perceptions of the police.

Analyses proceeds in chapter 5. Chapter 6 discusses the findings reported from the analyses and concludes with a discussion of the importance of the current research in the broader context of citizens' perceptions about the police and study limitations

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS OF CITIZENS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

2.1 Conceptual Frameworks Shaping Citizens' Perceptions of the Police

Researchers and law enforcement personnel have both developed several strategies over the years to increase public trust and confidence in the police and thus validate their authority. This chapter will discuss three of these strategies: performance-based (e.g., broken-windows policing), process-based (e.g., procedural justice), and problem-oriented (e.g., community policing) (Gau, 2013)[2]. The performance-based policing approach focuses on an instrumental perspective of legitimacy. This perspective embraces the idea that the police can increase citizens' level of trust and confidence through crime control by means of deterrence and distributive justice (i.e., fair outcomes and distribution of police services and resources) (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Tyler & Blader, 2000). The process-based strategy stems from a normative perspective of policing (i.e., to maintain authority by means of procedural fairness). This perspective emphasizes the idea that citizens want

[2] It should be noted that community policing and problem-oriented policing are conceptually distinct from each other. For more information see Reising, 2010. The use of the term "problem-oriented" is used to describe a tactical dimension of community policing.

justice and that the procedures utilized during the pursuit of justice are as important, if not more so than outcomes. It also recognizes that the police are subject to normative standards (Raz, 2009). Treating people with neutrality, avoiding bias, being honest, and making efforts to be fair, polite, and respectful when interacting with citizens Can aid the police in earning citizens' cooperation. Cooperation achieved through procedural strategies is much more stable and saves in both social and financial capital more than cooperation achieved through instrumental strategies (Hough, Jackson, Bradford, Myhill, & Quinton, 2010; Tyler, 2006).

Perceptions of trust and confidence in the police, as well as perceived police legitimacy, should not be viewed as a single transaction; it must be cultivated over time (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). Police-citizen interactions can be viewed as social encounters that either bolster or negate legitimacy. Each encounter is an opportunity for citizens to learn about the police and draw their own conclusions regarding whether the police are legitimate and should be obeyed (Gau, 2013). Community policing seeks to improve police-community relations by addressing community service needs and by promoting an increase in quality face-to-face police-citizen interactions (Patterson, 1995). The following sections of this chapter will discuss broken windows, procedural justice, and community policing practices in order to explore further the theoretical framework behind how citizens develop their attitudes towards the police.

Broken Windows

The concepts of social control and deterrence assume that people will refrain from crime if the cost associated with a criminal act outweighs the benefits (Akers, 1990). Deterrence is part of the reasoning behind the "get tough on crime" policies for crime

prevention such as “three strikes” and mandatory minimum sentencing. Deterrence also contributes to policies designed to scare people into complying with authorities by means of increasing displays of force during citizen-police interactions and increasing the credibility of threats during citizen-court interactions (Apel & Nagin, 2011). Therefore, deterrence policies seek to minimize the gain from crime by increasing the perceived likelihood of being caught as well as magnifying the punishment when caught. An expansion of deterrence is the broken windows approach to policing.

One way for the police to increase public trust and confidence is to exert power in a highly visible manner. These tactics are intended to make citizens feel safer in their communities and to demonstrate that it is in the citizens’ best interest to comply with authorities (Kelling & Coles, 1996; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Broken windows policing, an aggressive policing style, emphasizes maintaining order and quality of life for a community. It focuses on aspects of social disorder such as gambling, drinking, or urinating in public, street prostitution and panhandling (Mears & Kahan, 1998). These activities are against the law but can easily be neglected by the police because they can be considered “soft” crimes (Skogan, 2008). The logic that motivates these policies is that the police should intervene whenever minor infractions of the law occur because this will prevent more serious infractions from occurring in the future (Messner, Deane, McGeever, & Stucky, 2010; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Police departments in New Jersey, as well as New York City’s police department, have successfully demonstrated such order-maintenance programs.

New Jersey's Safe and Clean Neighborhoods Program, in the 1970s, reinstated foot patrol geared toward order maintenance.[3] Analysis of the program concluded that citizens in foot patrol communities were less fearful of crime and had a more favorable attitude toward the police within five years of the program's implementation. However, during these five years, crime rates did not drop, and, in fact, crime may have increased (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Since the reduction in crime was not what caused citizens to be less fearful of crime and more trusting of the police, something else was influencing the change in citizens' perceptions. The conclusion was that it was the order-maintenance aspects of the program that were reducing the fear of crime levels in the participating neighborhoods (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). These findings have been supported by other research on foot patrol programs (Bowers & Hirsch, 1987; Esbensen, 1987; Friedmann, 1987; Kelling, 1981).

While basic foot patrol programs have not had a strong connection to reducing crime rates, there is evidence that foot patrol combined with "hotspot" policing is linked to significant drops in crime levels (Ratcliffe, Taniguchi, Groff, & Wood, 2011). In 1994, the New York City Police Department started implementing broken windows policing (Fagan & Davis, 2000). Within the first three years, the city's homicide rate dropped by more than 50%, and overall crime was down by 37% (Bratton, 1997). However, the New York City

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[3] It should be noted that not all order maintenance policing policies involve foot patrol and not all foot patrol programs are geared toward order maintenance (Wakefield, 2007).

Police Department paid a steep price for their "success."[4] This price was a decrease in citizens' levels of trust in the police, as was evident by an increase in complaints about police harassment and brutality (Bratton, 1997).

One aspect of broken windows policing that is controversial is increasing the number of pedestrian stops (Fagan & Davis, 2000). This policing practice is sometimes known as "stop-and-frisk" (Rengifo & Slocum, 2016). Stops are successful because they result in searches that detect crime. However, stops and subsequent searchers and arrests, are disproportionally conducted in low-income, minority neighborhoods, resulting in concerns about racial profiling (Fagan, Geller, Davis, & West, 2009). This is important because racial profiling has been shown to be associated with a decrease in perceptions of police legitimacy (Tyler, & Wakslak, 2004).

Another aggressive policing tactic that falls under the broken windows ideology of policing policies is zero-tolerance policing. Zero-tolerance policing can be considered a type of policing that focuses on strict enforcement of the laws to reduce crime and maintain order (Greene, 1999; MacDonald, 2002). Zero-tolerance policing ties in with stop-and-frisk policies and broken windows policing because it allows for police officers to target suspected criminal for "the most minor laws on the books (e.g., drinking a beer or urinating in public), to run warrant checks on them, or just to pull them in for questioning" (Greene, 1999, p. 175).

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[4] According to Gau and Pratt (2008) the drop in crime in New York City could not be confidently distinguished from the crime cycle pattern or other factors related to crime.

While these policies result in many arrests, researchers are not always in agreement about the effectiveness of stops or about broken windows policing in general (Tyler, 2011). Some studies indicate that these policies reduce certain types of crimes such as robbery and homicide (Kubrin, Messner, McGeever, & Stucky, 2010; Skogan, 1990) while others indicate that broken windows policing is not effective in lowering crime rates (Harcourt, 1998; Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006). The cooperative effects or broken windows policing may only be short-term because the creation of public mistrust of criminal justice authorities might bring about less cooperation in the future or at a larger scale due to people choosing not to contact the police (Moskos, 2009; Rengifo & Slocum, 2016). Another issue associated with these crime-fighting strategies is constitutional due process rights, which can make it difficult to implement zero-tolerance and stop-and-frisk policies in a democratic society (Coviello & Persico, 2013; Greene, 1999). Currently, the standard of proof required for a stop to be legally legitimate (reasonable suspicion) allows for this type of policing to not be in violation of constitutional rights (*Terry v Ohio*, 1968). The courts have upheld this ruling despite a "disparate impact, if it does not reflect an intent to discriminate" (Coviello & Persico, 2013, p. 3).

While aggressive policies and practices may be effective at solving crime, they may be perceived as infringing on citizens' rights. This infringement may hamper the public's trust in the police. These policies also lead to increased financial burdens associated with the need for increased personnel and space to apprehend, sentence, and house an increased number of citizens (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Aggressive policing practices may also result in the use of force for petty offenses, which could result in a public relations nightmare for the police (Adams, 1999). Wilson and Kelling (1982) advocated for broken windows

policing as a method of showing citizens that the police care about citizens' concerns and are willing to intervene on behalf of citizens. However, aggressive policing may be counterproductive if citizens perceived it as harsh. Harsh treatment has been linked to producing more distance between the police and the community (Murphy, Tyler, & Curtis, 2009).

Broken windows policing may have other flaws that undermine gaining citizens' trust and confidence. For example, a key assumption underlying the broken windows policing philosophy is that disorder and crime are two different phenomena. However, Gau and Pratt's (2008) study indicated that citizens do not differentiate between crime and disorder. Crime and disorder could also only appear to go together because of a third variable such as poverty (Skogan, 2012). Broken windows policies assume that crime is a symptom of disorder and that citizens view disorder in a fearful way. However, what causes a person to be fearful of crime is a complex issue and does not have a universal answer (Chiricos, Padgett, & Gertz, 2000). Another key assumption of broken windows theory is that citizens fear disorder, causing them to retreat from the streets, opening up the streets for criminal activity (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). However, a person who has lived his or her whole life in a socially disorganized community may be accustomed to what others perceive as disorder and consequently, resistant to change (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004; Whyte, 1943). Organization or lack thereof may be in the eye of the beholder. For example, Raudenbush and Sampson (2004) observed that an increase in African Americans living in a neighborhood was associated with an increase in the perception of the neighborhood's disorder. A community's outwardly perceived social disorganization may, in fact, be organized and controlled at the community level, and attempts to "clean-up" the

community may not be welcome (Whyte, 1943). Deterrence theory also assumes that a person's decision to commit a crime is rational and thus based on weighing costs and benefits (Akers, 1990). However, many instances of criminal activity are driven by emotions instead of being based on costs and benefits (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Since some of the key assumptions behind broken windows policing may not be accurate, alternative policies designed to increase citizens' trust and confidence in the police and to bolster police legitimacy have been recommended. One alternative is process-oriented policing or procedural justice.

Procedural Justice

Process-oriented policies are an alternative to broken windows policing. These policies are based on the idea that the police can improve citizens' levels of trust and confidence by executing the decision-making process in a manner that is perceived to be just by citizens (Nix, Wolfe, Rojek, & Kaminski, 2015). Procedural justice policies require criminal justice authorities to be polite to citizens and emphasize the importance of officers treating citizens fairly, with respect, and without bias (Reisig, 2007). This is important because trust and respect cannot be demanded; they must be earned. If all areas of the criminal justice system are respected and viewed as legitimate, citizens will not only voluntarily comply with the police and court orders, they will also implement self-regulation. Procedural fairness also helps with compliance, trust, and confidence when outcomes are not in a citizen's favor such as with an arrest or a court-ordered sanction. The importance of decision acceptance when outcomes are negative is evident every time a police officer makes an arrest without having to use force. Procedural justice can also

increase compliance with the law when authorities are not present to enforce compliance (Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Nix, Wolf, Rojek, and Kaminski (2015) found that procedural justice was a key source of trust in the police. Studies of neighborhoods with concentrated disadvantages have also found procedural justice to be significant to levels of perceived police legitimacy (Gau, Corsaro, Stewart, & Brunson, 2012). This type of policing style can help bring about a partnership between the police and the community to prevent crime from occurring (Hawdon, 2008; Reisig, 2007).

Procedural justice can influence opinions by means of fair representation, which includes unbiased, objective, ethical, and correctable procedures used by authorities when interacting with citizens (Paternoster, Brame, Bachman, & Sherman, 1997). People want to feel that they were treated fairly as well as treated with dignity and respect. Dignity and respect do not come only in the form of politeness. Citizens must also be allowed to explain the actions that are in question by the officer as well as voice their views about the situation in question. An officer must consider information offered by the citizen in an unbiased way before making his or her decision (Murphy, Hinds, & Fleming, 2008; Tyler, 1999).

According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), people are not naturally going to become subordinates to others. People are taught to control their tendencies by successful child-rearing. Unfortunately, some people do not develop adequate levels of self-control. While criminal acts are not automatically correlated to low self-control, some people with low self-control have difficulty refraining from crime (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Low self-control "can be counteracted by situational conditions or other properties of the individual" (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 2004, p. 308). A citizen's level of self-control is also

influential to citizens' perceptions of police legitimacy and levels of trust and confidence in the police. People having traits related to low self-control are less likely to perceive the police as legitimate, and they are also less likely to report having been treated fairly by the police (Reisig, Wolfe, & Holtfreter, 2011). Nonetheless, procedural justice has been shown to help mitigate the effects of low self-control on perceived legitimacy (Wolfe, 2011).

The way police officers act during all types of encounters can influence citizens' perception of trust and confidence in the police. One of the more common police-citizen interactions is a traffic stop. When looking at traffic stops, the number of people who felt their stop was legitimate has been decreasing, see Table 2.1 for more information. These falling legitimacy rates have occurred in conjunction with efforts to improve trust and confidence levels through initiatives such as broken windows policing and procedural justice policies. This may indicate a need to look at other influences on the public's level of trust and confidence in the police as well as the public's perception of police legitimacy.

Table 2.1 *Police-Citizen Contacts*

Author & Date published	Title of study	Findings
Durose, Smith, & Langan (2007)	Contacts between police and the public, 2005	• 86 % of the people stopped felt that the stop was legitimate. • African Americans were found to be significantly less likely to feel that their stop was legitimate than whites (African Americans 82.2 % and whites 91.6%). • African Americans were less likely to feel the officer acted properly compared to whites (African Americans 76.8% and whites 87.6%).

Table 2.1 *Police-Citizen Contacts Continued*

Eith & Durose (2011)	Contacts between police and the public, 2008	• 84.5% of people stopped felt the stop was legitimate. • African Americans were found to be significantly less likely to feel that their stop was legitimate then whites (African Americans 73.8% and whites 86.3%). • African Americans were less likely to feel the officer acted properly compared to whites (African Americans 84.2 % and whites 90.8%).
Langton & Durose (2013)	Police behavior during traffic and street stops, 2011	• 80% of people stopped felt the stop was legitimate. • African Americans were found to be significantly less likely to feel that their stop was legitimate then whites (African Americans 67.5% and whites 83.6%). • African Americans were less likely to feel the officer acted properly compared to whites (African Americans 86% and whites 89%). • Street stops were found to be perceived as less legitimate than traffic stops. 64.1% of people perceived their street stop to be legitimate and 70.7 % believed the police behaved properly during the stop.

Community Policing

The concept of community policing is not new. Sir. Robert Peel recognized that if police officers became familiar figures within the area they are serving, then the citizens in that community would feel more comfortable in sharing information with the police. Therefore, he assigned his officers to specific areas (i.e., beats) within a community (Patterson, 1995). It can almost be seen as a prerequisite for Peel's idea of 'policing by consent' by recognizing that the police need the public's support and cooperation "if they are to provide efficient and effective services" (Fielding, 2005; Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003, p. 44). In the 1990s this idea was formalized into a widely acknowledged policing strategy that focuses on citizen input, expanding the functions of policing

organizations, and tailoring policing efforts to conform to the needs and expectations of the community (Cordner, 2015). With this, community policing is more of a philosophy rather than a set practice that is geared towards creating programs intended to increase positive face-to-face police-citizen interactions, build partnerships between the police and the community they serve, and focus on solving community problems (Cordner, 2015; Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, & Bennett, 2014). The programs that fall under the umbrella of community policing are abundant in both the sheer number of programs and the diverse types of programs (Goldstein, 1987; Lumb & Wang, 2006). Community policing is similar to broken windows policing because it also places an influence on "quality of life" issues and some community policing programs also utilize foot patrol, but the key difference is how they address quality of life issues (Reisig & Parks, 2004)[5] Community policing recognizes that both formal (i.e., the police) and informal (i.e., citizens and community organizations) social controls need to work together to solve the community's problems.

Examining the effectiveness of community policing has been challenging for researchers for a variety of reasons such as how community policing is defined, how to

[5] Aggressive policing policies such as broken windows, zero-tolerance, and stop-and-frisk are included in the realm of community policing as an era of policing. However, they are missing a core element of community policing—community-police partnership (Sozer & Merlo, 2013). Therefore, this paper does not categorize them as community policing programs.

measure the effects, and the scope of community policing programs as it is a multidimensional concept (Cordner, 2015; Reisig, 2010). Studies that examine the effects of community policing strategies have on the perception of the police have come to mixed conclusions. Most of the research on community-oriented policing focuses "on police and citizen attitudes, fear of crime, or perceptions of violent crime instead of levels of crime and victimization" (Macdonald, 2002, p. 597). For example, Collins, Green, Kane, Stokes, and Piquero's (1999) study of community policing program in Philadelphia, PA found that while police officers who participated in the program did have an improvement in job satisfaction and pro-active policing activities, the community's they served perceptions of the police did not significantly increase, despite a significant decrease in seriousness of community problems. Gill et al. (2014) conducted a meta-analysis of studies (n=25) on the effectiveness of community policing programs and concluded that community policing programs are significantly related to an increase in citizens' satisfaction with the police. They found that community policing programs were also associated with an increase in perception of police legitimacy, but this finding was not statistically significant. Scheider, Rowell, and Bezdikian (2003) found perceptions of community policing activities to be significantly positively related to satisfaction with the police. However, fear of crime levels was either not found to be related to perceptions of community policing or also positively related (i.e., as perceptions of community policing increase, so did levels of fear of crime). MacDonald (2002) found that community policing efforts were not significantly related to a reduction in robbery and homicide rates. The relationship between community policing efforts and crime have also been linked to the size of the community, with smaller agencies having significant drops in crime rates in general, but larger cities only having statistically

significant drops in particular crimes when specific forms of community policing efforts are used (Sozer & Merlo, 2013).

For community policing efforts to be successful the principles behind community policing need to be accepted by the entirety of the policing agency (COPS, 2014). If an agency as a whole is not supportive of their community policing efforts, "officers assigned to perform community policing are likely to be ostracized and isolated in an organization with a heavily traditional orientation to reactive policing" (Goldstein, 1987, p. 11). Police officers may also not be supportive of community policing programs if promotions are based on officer productivity measures such as their number of arrests. If police officers do not buy into community policing efforts, the community will be less willing to view these efforts as legitimate (Bull, 2010). Without this view of legitimacy, the police may not be able to fully integrate into society. This lack of integration may create a feeling of "us versus them" between the police and citizens (Coicaud, 2002). This lack of integration is also important beyond the individual officer level. Policing agencies also need to make sure that all segments of the community's needs are considered when developing community policing initiatives because "existing evaluation research on community policing activities has demonstrated that a disconnect between the police and certain segments of a community can produce adverse effects" (Reisig & Parks, 2004, p. 142).

2.2 Systems Theory

The previous section of the paper focused on the theoretical philosophies of policing policies that should help increase citizens' levels of trust, confidence, and perceived legitimacy. This section will examine a theory that involves factors external to

policing policies that could influence citizens' levels of trust, confidence, and perceived legitimacy.

The way citizens develop their opinions about the police can be explored "within the context of Easton's (1965) theory of support for political institutions" (Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998, p. 684). The rationale behind systems theory is that political institutions, such as policing organizations, are a system of behaviors that can be influenced by its environment (Easton, 1965). Policing organizations can be considered political systems under Easton's definition because they possess the capability of mobilizing "the resources and energies of the members of the system and bring them to bear upon broad or specified objectives…in the name of the society and with the authority obtained through the acceptance of their position in the society" (Easton, 1965, p. 54). Since political systems are influenced by external factors, they need to learn how to adapt to changing social systems. Much of the previous literature in this paper discusses ways that the police have changed with changing social climates and section 2.3 addresses the police's need for acceptance of authority (legitimacy). However, Easton's theory applies to more than just change and the need for legitimacy.

Easton (1965) breaks down support for political entities into diffuse (i.e., general) and specific support as types of structural regulation of support. The previous literature in this chapter has primarily focused on what Easton (1965) entitled specific support. Easton (1965) defines specific support as

> An input into a system that occurs as a return for the specific benefits and advantages that members of a system experience as part of their membership. It

> represents or reflects the satisfaction a member feels when he perceives his demands as having been met. (p.125)

However, diffuse support is extremely important to policing as well. Diffuse support is the support that has been cultivated over an extended period (Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998). Easton (1965) defines this level of support as "a type of support that continues independently of the specific rewards which the member may feel he obtains from belonging to the system" (p. 125). This type of support endures "regardless of the particular trials and tribulations or frustrations of desires that the members might experience at the moment" (Easton, 1965, p.125).

While diffuse support is considered an enduring form of support, no "reservoir of support" is endless and it needs to be replenished over time (Easton, 1965, p. 125). This reservoir of support is vital to all political agencies, but perhaps more so to policing agencies because of both the visibility of the police, but also the extent of possible damages when the police make a mistake or use bad judgment. The recent depictions of questionable police-citizen interactions could be causing the reservoir of diffuse support for the police to be depleted faster than it can be replenished. This lack of countervailing increases in diffuse support could lead to a decrease in the perception of the legitimacy of policing as an institution (Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998). If this is the case, police-citizen clashes could once again rise to the levels seen in the 1960s. Based on Easton's theory the long-term efficacy of policing practices hinges on the ability of the police as an institution to incorporate holistic approaches to increasing trust and confidence in the police instead of focusing on transactional inputs (Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998).

2.3 Why are Trust, Confidence, and Legitimacy Important?

There are other methods of governing people than by means of legitimate power as defined by various authors on legitimacy. Examples include coercion, persuasion of self-interest, and de facto authority, i.e., claim to legitimacy (Coicaud, 2002; Lew & Weigert, 1985). The following paragraphs in this section look at why power holders such as the police want or need legitimate power as opposed to power via coercion or de facto authority as well as what it takes to maintain legitimate authority.

Crime Prevention

One way to prevent crime is to employ more police officers. However, increasing levels of police presence does not necessarily lead to a decrease in crime (Kubrin, Messner, McGeever, & Stucky, 2010). Society constantly needs public cooperation with the law, the courts, and the police, not just when authorities are available to enforce their directives. This can be difficult because as Tyler and Huo (2002) point out

> The arena of acceptable behavior is always a contested one, and people are often defiant and resistant when told by legal authorities to limit or change their behaviors. As a result, public compliance can never be taken for granted and the police and the courts are concerned with understanding how to effectively gain the cooperation of particular members of the public within a wide variety of regulatory situations. (p.1)

Citizens believing that the police and the laws they enforce are legitimate helps promote a feeling of respect for both law and order (Coicaud, 2002). Even laws are not independent forms of legitimacy. They are the legitimization of norms that must be justified (Harcourt, 1998).

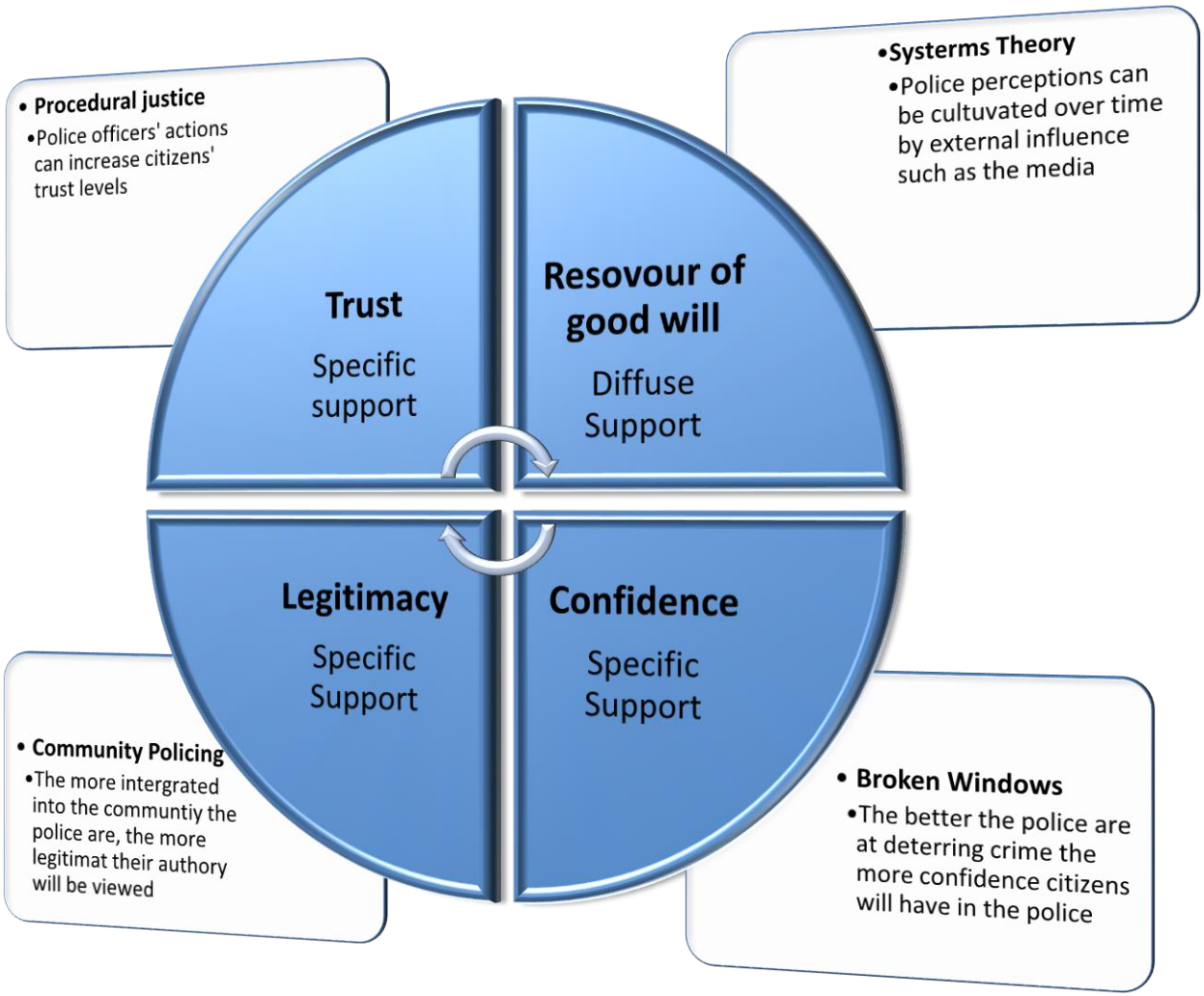

Figure 2.2 *Diffuse and Specific Support*

Laws that are perceived to be legitimate in the eyes of citizens are more likely to enjoy voluntary compliance by citizens than those that do not (Gibson, 1989). If people, even offenders, perceive the police and the laws they enforce as legitimate, then crime will go down due to self-regulation and conformity (Hawdon, 2008; Papachristos, Meares, & Fagan, 2012). When laws are not backed by the perception of legitimacy, they hold de facto authority, resulting in compliance via coercion. However, if the police have the public's trust and confidence, they may not have to resort to physical coercion to arrest people for breaking laws that are viewed as illegitimate. This is because the effectiveness of police authority is derived not just from the state but also from citizens' acceptance that the police's power to exercise control of their behavior is legitimate (Alpert & Dunham, 2004). When officers result to use of force, these actions are scrutinized.

Since a police officer's job is to protect the people, force should only be used when it is necessary to promote community safety. Therefore, a police officer's level of force utilized during police-citizen interactions "should be proportional to the threat and limited to the least amount required to accomplish legitimate police action" (Adams, 1999, p. 1). Therefore, any physical coercion above this amount is considered excessive. However, what constitutes excessive force is still subjective (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005). When a police officer's use of force is perceived as excessive, levels of public trust and confidence in the police, as well as the perceived level of police legitimacy within a community, are damaged. This damage comes at an excessive cost—loss of citizen cooperation (Alpert & Dunham, 2004; Harris, 1968). Use of force during police-citizen interactions indicates that there has been a breakdown in the authority relationship in that consent has been withdrawn (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012).

An increase in obedience to both laws and policy directives are not the only ways perception of legitimacy impacts crime rates. Legitimacy can also reduce crime by helping to catch criminals and therefore reduce their chances of committing future crimes. The next section discusses how legitimacy, trust, and confidence help the police solve crime.

Solving Crime

The police need public support and voluntary cooperation if they want to be successful in both long-term order maintenance and crime-solving because many policing agencies have minimum resources. Therefore, the police need to be able to center their resources on areas and needs other than order maintenance. Perceptions of legitimacy aids policing organizations in being able to focus on areas other than order maintenance because "voluntary deference is more reliable than instrumentally motivated compliance because it does not vary as a function of the circumstances or situation involved" (Tyler, 2004, p. 88). Not only will this free up more resources for the police to be able to put towards crime solving, but it can also result in for citizens cooperation beyond self-regulation. This is important because the police cannot be omnipresent. Thus, they rely on citizens to serve as both their eyes and ears and to report crimes and/or suspicious behavior that would otherwise go undetected.

When citizens wish to avoid police officers, the police's abilities to solve crimes are hindered. Citizens may be less willing to report a crime or serve as a witness to the crime if they do not trust the police to adhere to their job responsibilities and if they do not have confidence that the police can carry out their duties if they choose to come forward (Tyler, 2004). Citizens voluntarily coming forward with information is noteworthy since the police often lack the resources to reward citizens for their help and, therefore, must rely

on citizens' voluntary aid. Without citizens volunteering to serve as witnesses, police are severely limited in being able to do their job successfully.

Witnesses play an indispensable role in helping the police effectively fight crime. There is rarely justice without a witness because the police often will not know about a crime when it goes unreported to officials (Roberts, 2010). The way witnesses are treated is also important if officers want to get all the information the witness is capable of offering, and/or needs the citizen to serve as a witness later. If the witness does not trust or have confidence in the police, there may be no real incentive for their continued cooperation. Serving as a witness can be a scary endeavor because people may not know what to expect, what will be asked of them, or what information is relevant. Potential witnesses may also fear being treated as a suspect by the police. Witnesses want to know that their voices were heard, as well as to be treated with both dignity and respect. Witnesses also want to know that the police officer they are confiding in is sincere and trustworthy. However, police officers may forget to consider the wants/needs of witnesses due to their haste to gather information and quickly apprehend the suspect(s) (Roberts, 2010). Therefore, citizens' preconceptions of trust, confidence, and legitimacy regarding the police may be even more important for witnesses, than other citizens. Looking at police legitimacy in this manner indicates that it is "the belief that the police are entitled to call upon the public to follow the law and help combat crime and that members of the public have an obligation to engage in cooperative behaviors" (Tyler, 2004, pp. 86-87).

Police Procedures

A police force is a highly visible, state-sanctioned entity, and it has the authority to use physical, coercive force against citizens when necessary (Fleming & McLaughlin,

2010). Public opinion and attitudes about the police act as a control by influencing and regulating police practices (Silver & Picket, 2015). This unique authority relationship makes police-citizen encounters a complex series of actions between actors who each have their own socially acceptable role to play. From time to time, these actors deviate from the socially acceptable script. Deviation could quickly cause an encounter to evolve into a situation necessitating officer use of force. When this happens, the actions of the officer involved are placed under scrutiny to determine if his or her actions were excessive. For the police to be able to use coercive force at a level not deemed excessive by the public, this force must be viewed as legitimate in the eyes of the citizens. If it is not, the incident is followed by an abundance of community quandaries and legal actions (Alpert & Dunham, 2004). If the police wish to reduce the number of instances of use of force and to alleviate allegations of excessive force, police organizations need to understand the influences of perceived legitimacy as well as its antecedents—trust and confidence in the police (Alpert & Dunham, 2004; Gau, 2011).

Citizen Deference

Police officers sometimes view the public as hostile toward them, resulting in a polarization between citizens and the police (Albrecht & Green, 1977). In some communities, the police can be considered a source of insecurity instead of security. In these communities, the police may also feel worried about their own safety. The police can better engage with these hard-to-reach communities not only by targeting crime but by also bolstering relations between the community and the police (Bull, 2010).

If citizens are motivated to defer to authorities because it is their civic duty, police officers' jobs could become less demanding. This is because the decision of a citizen to

obey a command does not rest solely on the officer's possession of power and his or her capacity to use it (Weber, 1978). If citizens perceive the police as legitimate, they may feel personally responsible and morally obligated to follow directives and give deference. This moral obligation results in self-regulation and consequently crime control. Legitimacy also helps keep officers and citizens safe during police-citizen encounters because it reduces the likelihood of use of force. This reduces the likelihood of injury to either party (Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Policing organizations and the communities they serve are intertwined. While the police are responsible for protecting the citizens they serve, the police must also rely on citizens' support and cooperation to be able to successfully do their jobs (Adams, 1999). During police-citizen encounters, a citizens' lack of trust and confidence in the motives behind a police officer's actions can cause misunderstandings between the actors involved. A seemingly harmless look or an inadvertent movement could escalate an encounter if either actor perceives potential harm (Goffman, 1959). Increased levels of trust between police officers and citizens can increase the effectiveness of the exchange of information and reduces misunderstandings between citizens and officers (Colquitt, Scott, & LePine, 2007). Emotions also influence a person's expectations and his or her perception of what they consider to be fair and just actions by the police (Piquero, Gomez-Smith, & Langton, 2004). If citizens trust that police officers' actions are morally legitimate, then this trust may overpower the citizens' impulse to act on emotions such as anger and hate (Raz, 1979). Acting on these emotions can be devastating. Take for example the acquittal of the four white officers accused of beating Rodney King. Hours after the verdict, a protest broke into

deadly rioting that lasted six days, killing 51 people and injuring 2,383 others (Bergesen & Herman, 1998).

Voluntary acceptance (by means of consent and cooperation) and deference to the police are different than compliance (due to fear of force or punishment) (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Citizens who perceived the police as a legitimate organization are more likely to cooperate with authorities, even if they do not trust certain individual officers (Piquero, Gomez-Smith, & Langton, 2004). Those who doubt the legitimate authority of the police are less likely to cooperate with a police officer and are less likely to trust individual police officers, no matter how fair and respectful the officer acts during the encounter. During police-citizen encounters, it is important for citizens to view the police as having legitimate authority. Citizens lacking this view of legitimacy may act in a hostile manner toward the police, and the police may act aggressively toward the citizen, resulting in a self-fulfilling prophecy (Tyler & Huo, 2002). This is particularly important because some police officers may behave differently toward certain citizens based on the citizen's socioeconomic status or their preconceived perceptions of a community, creating the hostility the officer should hope to avoid (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005; Skogan, 2005). These actions may result in heightened levels of both police coercion and misconduct in minority and/or high crime communities. For the relationship between police officers and citizens to be successful, both the citizen (subordinate) and the police officer (dominant) must accept the legitimacy behind the rules governing their interactions (Beetham, 1991; Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). Accordingly, police officers must invest in the idea of procedural justice because, if citizens feel the officer's actions are a sham, the actions will not have the intended consequences (Tyler, Rasinski, & Spodick, 1985). For authorities to be able to use coercive force without

negative consequences, this force must be viewed as legitimate in the eyes of the public (Gau, 2014). That is to say that the fact that an officer's actions were legal, it does not necessarily mean his or her actions were legitimate "in the full sense of the word" (Raz, 2009, p. 113).

CHAPTER 3

INFLUENCES ON CITIZENS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

Thus far, this paper has provided a brief history of policing in the United States to help readers understand the challenges that current policing agencies are facing when trying to improve relationships between the police and citizens. From there the paper explored what it means to have trust and confidence in the police, theoretical constructs to building trust and confidence in the police, and why trust and confidence in the police are important. Chapter 3 explores possible influences on citizens' levels of trust and confidence in the police. These influences are important to study because if a researcher wants to find a more successful way for policing organizations to improve citizens' levels of trust and confidence in the police, they must first consider how attitudes towards the police are constructed within a larger context than how police officers interact with citizens or reduce crime levels (Albrecht & Green, 1977).

3.1 Face-to-face Contacts

Public perception of trust and confidence in the police force has been related to the quality of interactions that citizens have with police officers. Service-oriented styles of policing can help improve public perception of the police by helping increase community-police relations (Gau, 2014). Miller, Davis, Henderson, Markovic, and Ortiz (2004) found a relationship between having a negative experience with the police and not trusting the police. Schafer, Huebner, and Bynum (2003) also found support for negative experiences

with the police being associated with a person having more negative attitudes towards the police, regardless of who initiated the contact. On the other hand, positive experiences with the police have been found to result in only a weak increase in levels of trust in the police (Bradford, Huq, Jackson, & Roberts, 2014; Mazerolle et al., 2013). However, Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, and Ring (2005) concluded that negative experiences with the police were only significant if encounters were citizen-initiated instead of officer-initiated. This could be because citizens go into officer-initiated encounters with low expectations. Thus, a citizen's level of trust and confidence in the police will not always drop due to a negative police-citizen encounter. Another important aspect of face-to-face interactions is that "people tend to process, recall, and share negative experiences more than positive experiences, which would suggest vicarious experiences are also more likely to have a detrimental effect on confidence" (Myhill & Quinton, 2010, p. 277).

Victimization

Citizens may initiate contact with the police if they are victimized. While not all victimizations result in a police-citizen contact, it is still important to look at how crime victimization influences citizens' perceptions regarding the police. Studies that look at victimization status as an influence on citizens' levels of trust and confidence in the police have come to mixed conclusions. Smith and Hawkins (1973) found that there was not a significant difference in attitudes towards the police for people who have been victimized when compared to non-victims. However, other studies have indicated that victims have lower levels of trust and confidence in the police than people who have not been victimized (Block, 1971; Priest & Carted, 1999). There have also been findings that victimization increases levels of trust and confidence in the police (Thurman & Reisig, 1996; Skogan,

1989). The mixed results of the studies involving citizens' victimization status and levels of trust and confidence in the police may be due to how the police officers interacted with the victims (Skogan, 1989). For example, Smith and Hawkins (1973) found a significant difference in victims' attitudes toward the police between those who were satisfied with the police's actions following the victimization and those who were not satisfied.

This literature on face-to-face police-citizen interactions indicates that the police-citizen relationship can be improved by not merely educating the public on the positive roles of the police, but by emphasizing the importance of having positive police-citizen interactions (Myhill & Quinton, 2010). These interactions can also have a positive effect if the officers interact with the public in a non-policing role. For example, some communities sponsor police-citizen basketball leagues in an effort to help increase positive police-citizen interactions within the community. This allows for a better police-community relationship to be built (Myhill & Quinton, 2010). Lewis and Weigert (1995) offer some insight as to why education alone may not be enough to improve the police-citizen relationship when they state

> No matter how much additional knowledge of an object we may gain, however, such knowledge alone can never cause us to trust. The manifestation of trust on the cognitive level of experience is reached when social actors no longer need or want any further evidence or rational reasons for their confidence in the objects of trust. (p. 970)

3.2 Cultivation Theory

Another possible influence on how citizens view the police is the mass media. A theory that tries to explain how the mass media influences a person's perception of reality

is cultivation theory (Potter, 2014). Cultivation theory considers how the mass media as a cultural message system, as opposed to individual media outlets or individual media messages, which a person is exposed to as they go about their daily lives, cultivates peoples' "assumptions about life and the world" for the culture in which a person lives (Gerbner, 1977, p. 204). It also attempts to set a conceptual framework for understanding the mass media's roll in the change of cultural norms and social patterns over time (Gerbner, 1977). In theory, the media has the power to do this because of its ability to create a mainstream "common symbolic environment" in which different cultures can come together as one (Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jefferies-Fox, & Signorielli, 1978, p.178). This helps create "an ordered homogenous reality instead of a disorganized random weed patch reality" and allows for there to be an understanding of current culture and situations (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Davies, & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2004, p. 348).

Cultivation theory was originally designed to be a macro-level systems theory intended to look at mass media as a single entity (a cultural message system) and exposure over extended time influences the culture of the current time (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986)[6]. However, today the theory has evolved to include any study seeking to explore the relationship between media exposure and an effects outcome. This has resulted

[6] Cultivation theory did not deny the importance of genre-specific effects, short-term effects or individual effects. There effects were just not the researchers who pioneered cultivation theory's primary focus (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986).

in numerous cultivation studies that focus on genre-specific effects and short-term effects of media exposure instead of the effects of media consumption as a whole (Potter, 2014). It has also evolved to focus more on individual perceptions of social reality (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Davies, & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2004). The next section of this paper looks like what is known about how exposure to different media outlets influences citizens' perception of the police as well as police officers' perceptions of citizens and short-term effects of media coverage of questionable police-citizen interactions.

3.3 Media

Albrecht and Green (1977) state, "A single attitude does not exist in isolation, but is a part of a set of attitudes" (pp. 70-71). If this is true, a person's level of trust and confidence in the police is not isolated to their face-to-face interactions with the police. Therefore, to understand citizens' attitudes toward the police, researchers should consider areas of a person's life that are not directly related to incidents of police interaction or crime levels. An area of daily life that could influence a person's attitudes toward the police is the media (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1989). The media could be an important influence on how a person perceives the police because the media provides entertainment and entertainment has been found to be an effective educational tool on which people base their reality (Gerbner & Gross, 1979). However, the amount of research conducted on the media's possible influence on citizens' perceptions of trust and confidence in the police is minute (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Research has found that the media has a more significant influence on attitudes toward the police for African Americans than whites. However, whites are even more likely to rely on the media for their vicarious experiences than African Americans (Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins,

& Ring, 2005; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). This opens the possibility that different types of media may have a different influence on certain types of people than on others. Therefore, the next section will explore what is known about the influences of both news media and entertainment media on citizens' perceptions of the police.

News Media and Citizens' Perceptions of the Police

News media can shape public opinion regarding the police, and therefore the social construction of reality, by emphasizing different pieces of information pertaining to police-citizen interactions (Graziano, Schuck, & Martin, 2010). With this, news media outlets are definers of social problems. Lawrence (2000) suggests that social problems can widely be explained by the media

> What qualifies as a "problem" for any given society on any given day may have less to do with the objective breadth and depth of problematic conditions in society than with the things people are paying attention to and how they are perceiving them. What becomes understood as a problem—a societal condition that people believe is unacceptable and should be addressed with new invigorated public policy—can depend upon what perspectives on social conditions are highlighted in the news. (p.4)

The news media tends to report questionable behavior by the police (Lawrence, 2002). Because of the news media, most citizens are familiar with at least one incident in which police officers were overzealous in their displays of authority toward a citizen such as the Rodney King, Arthur McDuffie, or Abner Louima incidents (Alpert & Dunham, 2004). For example, public awareness of the Rodney King beating was reported to be around 90% nationally (Tuch & Weitzer, 1997). The depiction of undesirable police-citizen

interactions could influence viewers' trust and confidence in the police (Dixon, 2007). After the beating of Rodney King in 1991, public support for the police dropped to the lowest it had been since 1973. Levels of support for the police by the African American community did not reach pre-incident levels until about two years later (Tuch & Weitzer, 1997). Research on whether or not highly publicized arrests, such as the Rodney King incident, influences public opinion about the police has yielded mixed results. Lasley (1994) found there to be a significant drop in public support for the police following the Rodney King incident. However, Kaminski and Jefferis's (1998) study on Easton's systems theory and the effect of a violent televised arrest did not find a significant relationship between levels of favorable attitudes toward the police in 1995 compared to 1991[7]. The authors concluded that the televised arrest of Pharon Crosby did not have a significant impact on citizen support. This study did find evidence that nonwhites had a more significant change in attitudes than whites, becoming more likely to find police use of force excessive after the depictions (Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998). Chermak, McGarrell, and Gruenewald (2006) found similar results when looking at the King (1991), Louima (1997), Diallo (1999), and Rampart (late 1990s) incidents. They found a drop in positive attitudes toward the police. This influence was found to be modest, and not long lasting.

[7] Kaminski and Jefferis (1998) used information from the Semiannual Greater Cincinnati survey conducted by the University of Cincinnati Behavioral Sciences Laboratory of the Institute for Police Research to test the relationship between Citizens' levels of diffuse support for the police before and after the arrest of Pharon Crosby.

This drop differed significantly between white and non-white citizens with minority attitudes toward the police dropping more than whites' attitudes (Chermak, McGarrell, & Gruenewald, 2006). Tuch and Weitzer (1997) examined both immediate and long-term effects of questionable police-citizen interactions (the Rodney King, Eulia Love incidents, as well as the beating of two immigrants, Alicia Sotero Vasquez and Enrique Funes Flores) on citizens' attitudes towards the police. After each incident, approval ratings for the police dropped immediately following the incidents for White, African American, and Hispanic citizens, but the incidents had a stronger and longer lasting effect for African American and Hispanic citizens (Tuch & Weitzer 1997). Kochel (2015a) looked at public trust in the police after the shooting of Michael Brown and found that citizens' levels of trust and confidence (police effectiveness) in the police as well as perceptions of police legitimacy in St. Louis County, Missouri. Analysis of interviews after the Michael Brown shooting indicated that citizens' levels of trust and confidence, as well as perceived legitimacy, had significantly dropped compared to the previous year. However, one year later interviews with the same 230 respondents indicated that levels of trust, and confidence in the police as well as perceived police legitimacy indicated a return to pre-incident levels (Kochel, 2015b). When just looking at news media in general, not taking into account specific publicized arrest or officer-involved shootings, Callanan and Rosenberger (2011) found television news consumption to be strongly positively related to perceptions of confidence in the police as well as perceptions of police fairness.

News Media and Fear of Crime

Citizens' perceptions of legal authorities' effectiveness and confidence levels may be associated with their levels of fear of crime (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Dowler,

2002; Tyler & Boeackmann, 1997). If citizens' levels of fear of crime could influence their perception of the police, the news media's influence on fear of crime is noteworthy. The research on televised news media's influence on public fear of crime is mixed. Some studies find no significant effect, some find a significant effect, and others conclude there is a significant effect only for certain people such as young white females, viewers living in a high crime area, or individuals who have been recently victimized (Chiricos, Eschholz, & Gertz, 1997; Chiricos, Padgett, & Gertz, 2000; Eschholz, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2003; Sparks & Ogles, 1990). The results of these studies have not been consistent in regard to what types of audience's level of fear of crime are significantly influenced (Liska & Baccaglini, 1990; Smith, 1984; Williams & Dickinson, 1993). However, studies have found a more consistent link between newspapers and fear of crime in that reading about crimes significantly increase fear of crime (Perkins & Taylor, 1996; Smith, 1984).

News Media and Police Officers' Perceptions of Citizens

As Wortley, Hagan, and Macmillan (1997) point out

> The mass media provide a symbolic platform on which crimes and criminals are paraded before the public and collectively condemned. These media portrayals can be understood as simple morality plays that reaffirm ideas about right and wrong and consolidate the collective conscience. Yet they can also be moral spectacles which draw ritualized distinctions between victims and villains and perpetuate cleaves between and within social groups. These spectacles therefore also can corrode the collective conscience. (p. 644)

With this, the media, particularly news-based media is a dominant source of information, providing citizens with mosaic snapshots upon which their perceptions of reality are based

(Boda & Szabo, 2011). This news coverage not only effects citizens' attitudes towards the police; it can also cultivate police officers' opinions about citizens and how to best do their job. Newsworthy police-citizen interactions being continually displayed by news media may generate an impression that police-citizen relationships are strained and that citizens' attitudes about the police are largely negative. Police officers have been found to take to heart news media accounts of police actions, which results in police officers feeling they are distrusted by the public, despite evidence supporting that citizens' attitudes towards the police are mostly positive (Garofalo, 1977; Tooley, Linkenbach, Lande, & Lande, 2015). This can influence how police officers do their jobs (Hue & Broll, 2012). Police officers having a perception of public hostility is one of the reasons why police officers in some departments have come close together (i.e., the police subculture) creating an increase in the gap between police officers and citizens (Albrecht & Green, 1977). However, some research has shown that officers tend to have a positive perception of citizens (Paoline, Myers, & Wrden, 2000; Smith & Hawkins, 1973). While there is a gap in the literature about how news media influences police officers' attitudes towards citizens, more is known about how the news media influences officers' willingness to do their jobs.

There has been some investigation into whether or not the news media's influence has created a "Ferguson Effect." The "Ferguson Effect" is the idea that the negative attention given to police officers in the past few years regarding the death of unarmed African American males such as Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Walter Scott, Anthony Hill, Nathaniel Gaines, and Sean Bell has caused some police officers to be hesitant in doing their jobs out of fear of being marginalized by the news media and the public (Borger, 2006; Lawrence, 2000; Wolfe & Nix, 2015). This de-policing has also been assumed to be

related to an increase in crime due to a drop in proactive policing (MacDonald, 2015; Rosenfeld, 2015). Rosenfeld (2015) looked at crime rates surrounding the death of Michael Brown and did not find evidence to support there being a "Ferguson Effect," partially because the increase in crime, except for property crimes, occurred prior to Brown's death. Pyrooz, Decker, Wolfe, and Shjarback (2016) also found no overarching "Ferguson Effect" except with regards to robbery rates. However, Rosenfeld (2016) did find support for there being a Ferguson effect based on the findings that the cities that accounted for the largest increase in homicide rates also had a large African American population. Wolfe and Nix (2015) also found little support for a "Ferguson Effect" when it comes to officers being willing to engage in police-community partnerships when controlling for self-legitimacy and organizational justice. This is not to say that they found no news media influence. Wolfe and Nix (2015) did find evidence of officers being influenced by negative news media; however, this influence was insignificant when they factored in an officer's level of self-confidence and administrative support. These findings help support Engel and Worden's (2003) findings that officers' perceptions of citizens do not statistically influence the amount of time that officers spend on problem-solving activities and encounters with citizens, controlling for and not controlling for administrative support.

While there has not been overarching support of a "Ferguson Effect", evidence has been found supporting a negative media (social or news) influence on officers' attitudes (Nix & Wolf, 2016). If the police accept citizen hostility as truth (even though the literature suggests citizens' attitudes overall tend to be positive), the opposite of the "Ferguson Effect" could also happen. Instead of de-policing due to fear of media retaliation, the result could be police acting more authoritarian toward citizens or having a heightened sense of

threat during police-citizen interactions (Albrecht & Green, 1977). Unfortunately, these misunderstandings during police-citizen encounters sometimes result in hostilities, which then attracts media publicity and continues the cycle of misunderstanding (Smith & Hawkins, 1973). This bolsters the need for further research in media-police relations regarding how news media influences police officers' perceptions of citizens.

Entertainment Media

Direct face-to-face interactions have been shown to influence how a person views the police (Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Scaglion & Condon, 1980; Skogan, 2005; Tyler, 2006). However, preconceived perceptions regarding the police have been shown to have a greater influence on how a person perceives a face-to-face interaction with a police officer than previous direct interactions with police officers (Brandl, Frank, Worden, & Bynum, 1994). Therefore, influences other than direct contact with police officers that cultivates citizens' global attitudes toward the police are important to study. Entertainment media is another media outlet that could influence a person's global attitudes toward the police. This could be particularly true for citizens who do not consume much news media (Dowler, 2002).

Crime Dramas & Reality Shows

The American people have been captivated by crime dramas since the 1960s. By the late 1970s, there were at least 19 prime-time (7:00 PM to 10:00 PM) crime dramas (on just three networks) available to the American public (Rhineberger-Dunn & Rader, 2008). During the 1980s about one-third of prime-time television slots were held by crime dramas (Estep & MacDonald, 1983). Crime solving television shows, both fictional dramas (i.e., *Law & Order*, *CSI*, *Bones*…) and reality-based television shows that depict true stories in an entertaining manner (i.e., *Cops*, *The First 48*, *America's Most Wanted*…) have been

examined regarding how they influence citizens' perceptions of the police and their fear of crime levels (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011).

Entertainment media has been shown to influence how people perceive face-to-face interactions with police officers. When looking at television consumption in general, people who have had previous encounters with police officers were more likely to harbor negative attitudes toward the police if they watched high levels of television in general (Dowler, 2002, 2003). However, Dowler (2002, 2003) found no entertainment, or news, media influence on people's perceptions regarding police officers' effectiveness. However, crime drama consumption was associated with people's fear of crime levels. When specifically analyzing crime dramas, Dowler (2002) found a negative, but not statistically significant relationship between attitudes towards the police and perceptions of police-citizen interactions. This could be due to the exaggeration of police officers' crime-solving abilities/ clearance rates lead to citizens' having unattainable expectations of police officers' abilities (Dominick, 1973). These depictions could also help explain why policing show consumption has been related to an unwillingness of minors to report crimes that are witnessed (Dominick, 1974). Callanan & Rosenberger (2011) found that crime dramas were significant, and positively related to confidence levels, but only for people who had been previously victimized. When specifically analyzing confidence levels, they found a positive relationship between confidence levels and crime drama consumption for the sample, but the relationship was not statistically significant.

Studies on policing "reality" show consumption indicate that watching policing "reality" shows is associated with an influence on citizens' levels of satisfaction with the police for white people, but not for African Americans (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007;

Eschholz, Blackwell, Gertz, & Chiricos, 2002). These findings could be partly due to the disproportional depiction of white law enforcement officers and African American suspects in policing "reality" shows compared to government statistics (Kooistra, Mahoney, & Westervelt, 1992; Monk-Turner, Martinez, Holbrook, & Harvey, 2007; Oliver, 1994). Despite these differences, the show *COPS* has been shown not to be associated with fear of crime or decreased trust levels (Curry, 2001). It should be noted though that Curry (2001) only analyzed the effect of watching one 20-minute episode of the television show *COPS*. Cultivation theory assumes that elevated levels of media consumption over a prolonged period may influence perceptions (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). Callanan and Rosenberger (2011) found a significant positive relationship between watching reality shows and confidence levels in the police, but not for perceptions of police fairness. They also found policing reality show consumption to be significantly related to confidence levels for non-victims and people who have not been arrested.

Overall, studies on how media consumption influences citizens' perceptions of the police have found relatively low correlations between both news and entertainment media consumption and citizens' attitudes about the police. Research has found the relationships between citizens' attitudes towards the police and media consumption to be smaller when controlling for the situational characteristics such as age, race/ethnicity, gender, education, residency location and having had contact with a police officers (Berman & Stookey, 1980; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Carlson, 1983; Dominick, 1973).

Police in the Movies

Police officers have been depicted in films since the appearance of the bumbling Keystone Kops in 1912. The presence of police officers in films has continued to grow and

change over the years (Black, 1989; Bynum, 2006; Gauntt & Henderson, 2014). *Dirty Harry* (1971), with its vigilante type of police depiction, marks the start of the modern cop film genre (Crawford, 1999; Gauntt & Henderson, 2014). The vigilante depiction of law enforcement officers endured throughout the years. However, in 1976 there was a shift toward police officers being depicted as more lovable characters—creating the comic/ action and buddy cop genres[8].

The greater part of the literature on the depiction of police officers in films appears to be focused on the lack of minorities (Gauntt & Henderson, 2014; Wilson & Henderson, 2014), females (King, 2008; Wilson & Blackburn, 2014), and members of the LGBT community (Wilson & Longmire, 2009) being depicted as police officers. There has also been research conducted on how particular jobs within law enforcement such as the county sheriff (Placid & LaFrance, 2014) and police psychologist (Herndon, 2000) have been depicted. There have also been studies of corrupt cop films (Gustafson, 2007). Despite there being a plethora of cop genre films, surprisingly little is known about how police officers are depicted in these films. The literature on cop genre films appears to be limited to the descriptive analysis stage. This review of the literature was not able to find any research pertaining to the influence of policing films on citizens' perceptions of the police. This leaves a gap in the literature that could be filled.

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[8] In the *Dirty Harry* films, "Dirty" Harry Callahan is depicted as a ruthless, extremely violent, lone wolf cop out for vengeance (Carr, n. d.).

Social Media

One form of media consumption that so far has been missing from this review is social media. In 2015 over two-thirds of Americans reported using some form of social media, with 90% of young adults (ages 18-29) reporting using social media (Perrin, 2015). The number of people who are getting their news from newspapers has been declining over the decades, while the number of people who are on social media sites is increasing (Pew Research Center, 2012, 2016). In 2014, 44% of people reported getting their news from social media and this number increased to 62% in 2016 (American Press Institute, 2014; Gottfried & Shearer, 2016). Social media has revolutionized how people share and obtain information by allowing for fast and ubiquitous dispersion of unfiltered information as was seen in the shooting of Philando Castile in 2016.[9] With this, it is important for research to start investigating how these forms of media are influencing citizens' opinions of the police.

Even though much of a police officer's work is service oriented, police officers are depicted portraying coercive roles more than service roles in both entertainment and news media. Perhaps this is due to the visibility of coercive activities or due to the sensational and entertainment levels associated with these activities compared to service activities (Albrecht & Green, 1977). Nonetheless, scholars have largely neglected the role of both

[9] On July 6, 2016, a Minnesota police officer, Jeronimo Yanez during a traffic stop, shot Philando Castile. Castile's fiancée, Diamond Reynolds live-streamed the aftermath of the shooting to Facebook (Capecchi & Smith, 2016).

news media and entertainment media in influencing citizens' perceived levels of trust and confidence in the police (Gallagher, Maguire, Mastrofski, & Reisig, 2001; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Understanding the media's influence can help the police plan how to handle media interactions, help prevent the spread of rumors and misinformation about questionable police-citizen interactions, as well as help minimize media-induced police-citizen tensions (Baines, 2007). Considering the fact that a number of the studies on media influences (both entertainment and news media) are dated, there has been an increase in the use of social media for news, and there have been changes in how police officers are being depicted (both in amount of coverage and type of coverage) since the shooting of Michael Brown, it may be time reexamine the media's influence on citizens' perceptions of police officers.

3.4 Situational Factors

People perceive the police in diverse ways. To better understand these differences researchers have compared citizens' in various demographic categories perceptions of the police. The following paragraphs discuss the literature on how people in different socio-demographic situations view the police.

Age

Studies that look at how age influences a person's trust and confidence levels in the police have found comparable results. These studies have found that people who are older tend to have more confidence in the police than younger generations (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Brown & Coulter, 1983; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Dowler, 2002; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Webb & Marshall, 1995). One probable reason for this is that citizens who are younger may have more contact with the police as well as higher victimization rates than older citizens (Smith & Hawkins, 1973). Other variables associated with perceptions

of the police such as race, gender, and contact with the police have been found to be influential to juveniles' perceptions of the police as well as older citizens' perceptions of the police (Brick, Taylor, & Esbensen, 2009; Smith & Hawkins, 1973).

Race

During the 1960s tensions between the police and citizens of color were on the rise. This prompted studies of police relations with minority citizens and those studies concluded that minority citizens held less favorable attitudes than whites toward the police (Engel, 2005). Minorities are also less likely to trust the motives of police officers or view their actions as procedurally fair, controlling for neighborhood characteristics (Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). They are also generally less satisfied with police officers' decisions, less trusting of officers' motives, and more likely to report being treated poorly by the police (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Overall, African Americans have been found to have more negative attitudes toward the police than whites (Albrecht & Green, 1977; Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969; Block, 1971; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Hagan & Albonetti, 1982*;* Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Tooley, Linkenbach, Lande, & Lande, 2015; Webb & Marshall, 1995; Weitzer &Tuch, 1999*)*. This trend is not limited to police officers. African Americans have been linked to having a lower level of trust in all branches of government than whites (Messner, Baumer, & Rosenfeld, 2006). Other minorities such as Hispanics have been found to have more favorable attitudes toward the police than African Americans but less favorable than white citizens (Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). However, it should be noted that not all studies have found African Americans to have more negative attitudes towards the police than whites. Brandl, Frank, Worden and Bynum (1994) and Frank, Brandel, Cullen, and Stichman (1996) used

a three-wave panel phone interview survey, intended to collect data for narcotic enforcement in the city of Detroit, that used cluster sampling to ensure representation of African Americans, found that African Americans had more favorable attitudes towards the police than whites[10].

Gender

Regarding how gender influences a person's perception of trust and confidence in the police, the results have not shown the same consistency as the variables age and race. Some studies indicate that males have higher levels of trust and confidence in the police (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). However, others indicate that females have higher rates of trust and confidence in the police (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). Still, other studies indicate gender does not significantly influence a person's level of trust and confidence in the police (Reisig & Parks, 2000, 2002; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998).

Community & Income

Community characteristics and income have been looked at in addition to age, gender, and race. Rural and urban middle-class people have been shown to have more favorable attitudes toward the police, and urban poor people have been found to have the least favorable attitudes toward the police (Albrecht & Green, 1977). Suburban residents

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[10] Brandl et al. (1994) used 398 respondents from the second and third waves and Frank et al. (1996) used 560 respondents from the third wave only.

have been shown to have a better perception of the police than urban residents (Hindelang, 1974). The social cohesion of a community has been linked to public confidence in the police, perhaps because the police can be blamed for breakdowns of community moral norms such as crime (Jackson & Sunshine, 2007). Whether or not economic class has an impact on citizens' perceptions of the police is inconclusive. Some studies indicate that lower economic class is associated with lower satisfaction with the police (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Benson, 1981) while others show no economic influence (Hindelang, 1974; Jesilow, Meyer, & Namazzi, 1995). Middle-class African Americans have been shown to have less trust and confidence in the police than poor African Americans (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999, 2002). Hagan and Albonetti (1982) found a significant relationship between an increase in unemployment and an increase in dissatisfaction with the police.

In summary, research has found evidence to support that certain situational factors influence citizens' attitudes towards the police. Older citizens tend to have a more positive perception of the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Brown & Coulter, 1983; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Dowler, 2002; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Webb & Marshall, 1995*).* Perceptions and attitudes towards the police tend to be higher for whites than other minorities (Albrecht & Green, 1977; Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969; Block, 1971; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Hagan & Albonetti, 1982*;* Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998; Tooley, Linkenbach, Lande, & Lande, 2015; Webb & Marshall, 1995; Weitzer &Tuch, 1999, 2005). However, there has been research conducted that fails to support this trend (Brandl et al., 1994; Frank et al., 1996). The influence of gender on citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards the police is mixed as to whether males have more supportive attitudes toward the police (Brown & Coulter,

1983; Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002) or females (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). There have also been studies that support no significant gender difference between how males and females view the police (Reisig & Parks, 2000, 2002; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998). Other situational factors have also been associated with how a person perceives the police such as community characteristics, (Albrecht & Green, 1977; Hidelang, 1974), income (Benson, 1981; Brown & Coulter, 1983; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999, 2002) and employment levels (Hagan & Albonetti, 1982).

CHAPTER 4

DATA AND METHODS

This dissertation explores the media's role in cultivating citizens' perceptions of the police by using a factorial survey design. The factorial survey design was first utilized by Rossi, Sampson, Bose, and Passel (1974) in their study *Measuring Household Social Standings.* Throughout the rest of the 1970s, Rossi et al. continued refining the factorial survey design and finally, in 1982 they fully introduced the factorial survey technique to the rest of the research community (Wallender, 2009). The main component of the factorial survey design is the use of vignettes (i.e., fictive descriptions or factorial objects) as opposed to traditional survey techniques such as asking open- or closed-ended questions about how respondents feel about the topic in question or asking respondents how much they agree or disagree with a presented statement (Jasso & Milgram, 2008). More about the use of vignettes as opposed to other survey data gathering techniques will follow later in the chapter.

Analyses of the survey data will provide answers to these main research questions and hypotheses:

(1) Does media consumption influence how a person perceives the police?

(2) Is consumption of different media outlets (news vs entertainment) associated with how a person perceives the police?

(3) Is there an association between the amounts of time a person spends consuming different media outlets and how a person perceives the police?

And based on the literature presented in the previous chapters the primary hypotheses are:

(1) An increase in perceived procedural justice is associated with an increase in perceptions of fairness during a police-citizen interaction.

(2) An increase in media consumption is associated with less positive perceptions of the police.

Overall, does media consumption cultivate opinions towards the police and if so, what is the relationship between different types of media outlets and opinions towards the police?

4.1 Sample

A convenience sample of college students majoring in Criminal Justice, drawn from two state universities in the Southeast region of the United States, was utilized for this study. A list of email addresses from all Criminal Justice majors at each college, who did not have their contact information listed as private, was provided to the researcher via the departments' Chairs (University A n = 703; University B n = 652) for a total of 1,355 email address. College students have frequently been recruited as respondents in factorial survey design studies (Reilly et al., 1982; Rossi & Anderson, 1982). The use of college students is appropriate for this study because it focuses on media consumption, particularly different platforms of media consumption and college students are likely heavy users of a variety of media outlets ranging from news broadcasts to smartphone applications. College students may also allow another benefit desirable to factorial surveys, mental stamina. This may be important because the use of a factorial survey design has been related to respondents experiencing mental fatigue due to the sometimes complexity of vignettes (Auspug & Hinz,

2015). This fatigue is one threat to internal validity. To help control for this the number of dimensions in each vignette used in this study was kept to a minimum and the number of vignettes per respondent was also kept to a minimum.

Sample Size

Effective sample sizes for factorial surveys have varied widely and have ranged, for example, from a low of 64 subjects (Lauder, Scott, & Whyte, 2001) to a high of 784 subjects (Holmes, 1997). (See also Cheng, 2016; Herzog, 2004; Herzog & Einat, 2016; Reilly, Carpenter, Dull, & Bartlett, 1982; Rossi & Anderson, 1982.) The response rates obtained these studies ranged between 58% and 98%.

Estimating how many subjects are needed for a reliable statistical analysis depends on several factors, such as the number of vignettes included, the number of factors included, and what subgroup analyses will be conducted. Some general guidelines exist, however. For example, Auspurg & Hinz (2015) recommend using five respondents for every vignette used in the survey, but this guideline is not based on statistical theory. This survey utilizes simple vignettes, resulting in a very small factorial universe compared to other factorial survey universes found in the literature. Based on Auspurg & Hinz's (2015) guideline, this would require the survey to have only 100 respondents since it utilizes a factorial universe of 20 vignettes. However, to analyze choice data/judgment data, sufficient variability in variables is needed. As Hensher et al. (2005) state:

> Since statistical modeling is about explaining variability, one requires variability in order that it can be explained. No variation means no statistical model, while little variation often translates to poor model results. It is for this reason that the somewhat arbitrary number of 50 decision makers per alternative has been

suggested as an experiential lower limit which provides adequate variation in the variables of interest for which robust models may be fitted. (p.194)

For this reason, the sample goal for this study was 800 respondents (16 possible choices X 50 decision makers). This goal was nearly met (n = 782) and is thus deemed adequate.

Weaknesses of Sample

While utilizing a sample of college students comes with some key benefits, such as being a convenience sample of youthful minds who consume considerable amounts of media over a variety of platforms, the sample is not without its weaknesses. One major weakness associated with applying data gathered from a sample of college students is generalizability because it will likely produce a homogeneous sample population with 'unfinished' personalities (Peterson, 2001).[11] However, this is primarily an exploratory study that is not designed to generalize to others beyond the sample. This is similar to most laboratory experiments, as "their main purpose is not to make generalizations about a behavior but to test the mechanisms that underlie the behavior" (Auspug & Hinz, 2015, p.

[11] The 'unfinished' personalities of the college students may be beneficial to study because they are at the age where media consumption may play an even more influential part in their development of attitudes towards the police than, for example, the general population of adults.

62). With that said, experimental designs require random assignment of subjects to treatment and control groups to ensure internal validity. For this study, that requirement is met by randomly assigning the vignettes to each deck (Auspug & Hinz, 2015). While the end goal in survey research may typically be to have a heterogeneous respondent population because it will have greater external validity, choosing a somewhat homogeneous sample population, such as college students majoring in criminal justice, can be a good starting point for testing causal mechanisms that are considered universal (Auspug & Hinz, 2015). While heterogeneous populations are desirable to increase external validity, they are not without their faults. For example, the more heterogenic a sample is, there will be "greater interrespondent variation in the vignette evaluations; in turn, less statistical power is obtained to reveal the pure impact of single vignette dimensions" (Auspug & Hinz, 2015, p. 63). For this study, it is preferable to keep statistical power allowing for greater insight into the impact of the vignettes and respondent characteristics than it is to generalize to a population.

Delivery Method

Studies using the factorial survey design also used a variety of survey delivery methods. Some have used telephone surveys ranging from 5-10 minutes long (Cheng, 2016; Herzog, 2004, 2008; Herzog & Einat, 2016), while others used self-administered mailed questionnaires (Lauder et al., 2001; Reilly et al., 1982; Rossi & Anderson, 1982). When choosing a survey method, some things to consider are response rates, cost, and time. Except for Lauder et al. (2001) and Holmes (1997), whose studies had a response rate of 98%; these surveys achieved response rates between 58% and 70%. This study's response rate (68%) is consistent with these other studies' response rates. Considering the sample

size (n = 784 of 800), Holmes's (1997) response rate was much more impressive than Lauder et al.'s (2001) sample (n = 64 of 65). Holmes (1997) was able to obtain a larger sample size in combination with a high response rate by administering self-administered questionnaires to police officers while they were in class at the Ohio Police Officer Training Academy. One way to maximize participation in this study would have been to administer questionnaires using a similar method. With instructors' permission, the surveys could have been administered in classes during regularly scheduled class sessions. However, administering surveys in this fashion could also make potential respondents feel pressured into taking the survey, and the data collection process would be costly and time-consuming. As mentioned above, time and cost must be taken into consideration when administering a survey, and respondents should also not feel pressured into taking a survey. Therefore, this method was not used. This study utilized the services of *SurveyMonkey.com* to administer the questionnaire via e-mail. The A/B testing function in *SurveyMonkey.com* was used to ensure that all vignettes in the factorial universe are not only rated but also randomly rated by respondents. To make sure the respondent could only take the survey once, each respondent was emailed a unique link to the survey that closed upon its completion.

4.2 Survey Design

Citizens often do not have all the information about a situation or the knowledge about proper police procedure to be able to properly assess the fairness of a citizen-officer interaction. Because of this, citizens are often forced to make judgments based on their perception of fairness during the interaction (Tyler, 2004). One way of analyzing how people perceive certain situations is to utilize a factorial survey design. Factorial surveys

can efficiently and effectively measure social judgments made by the survey respondents (Byers & Zeller, 1998). Factorial surveys get their name because they "combine ideas from balanced multivariate experimental designs with sample survey procedures" (Rossi & Anderson, 1982, p. 15). The factorial survey design uses hypothetical scenarios called vignettes, in which respondents judge systematically manipulated variables within the scenarios (Dulmer, 2007; Wallander, 2009).This allows for the analysis of judgments under conditions that simulate real-life judgments versus the broadly interpretive questions normally found in survey designs (Dulmer, 2007). The type of questions typically found in survey designs are not suited for studying attitudes or judgments because of a lack of uniformity and control over the point of reference respondents are using to answer the questionnaire. The use of vignettes gives concrete details from which the respondents draw their conclusions instead of allowing the respondent to fill in the blanks (Alexander & Beaker, 1978). This, in turn, controls for social biases and allows for an analysis of attitudes, values and social norms without contamination from socialization, or rhetorical/political correctness (Jasso & Milgron, 2008; Oll, Hahn, Reimsbach, & Kotzian, 2016). The judgments of the vignettes are made in the same way for each vignette by assigning a value to an object in rank order (Rossi & Anderson, 1982).

The factorial design can be used for studying a multitude of social phenomena including but not limited to attitudes, judgments, beliefs, and opinions (Auspurg & Hinz, 2015; Dickel & Graeff, 2016; Ganong & Coleman, 2006; Holmes, 1997). The social phenomena this study seeks to analyze is the perception of fairness in different police-citizen interactions. Judgment in this survey will use a 4-point Likert-type scale with one representing very unfair and four representing very fair (Herzog & Einat, 2016).

The judgments made by respondents are derived from preexisting notions (Rossi & Anderson, 1982). Therefore, this study collected information on more than just the variables utilized to make judgments of the vignettes. The survey employed four different sections within the survey designed to gather a wide array of data on possible influences on respondents' perceptions of police-citizen interactions. The research on influences of respondents' attitudes toward the police that was outlined in chapter 3 highlights two areas of information that need to be considered when analyzing judgments about the fairness of police-citizen interactions: media consumption, and demographics. Therefore, this survey gathered respondents' information in these areas in addition to their judgments (Herzog & Einat, 2016). The following sections of this paper will discuss each of these three sections of the survey.

4.3 Perception of Police-citizen Interactions

This study utilized vignettes randomly drawn from a vignette bank, e. g. the full factorial or factorial universe (Auspurg & Hinz, 2015). The factorial object universe is "the set of all unique objectives formed by all possible combinations of one level from each of the dimensions" (Rossi & Anderson, 1982, p. 28). These dimensions are variables that characterize an object that can vary regarding kind or amount (Byers & Zeller, 1998). The variance within the dimensions are known as levels (Herzog, 2004). The variables, or dimensions, used in these vignettes are based on variables commonly measured in the literature on both procedural justice and citizens' levels of trust and confidence in the police, such as an officer's actions during the interaction and the outcome of the interaction. This study used four vignette sets. The first set gives the respondent a description of a

traffic violation stop, encompassing two dimensions, one with two levels and one with three levels, or a 2 x 3 design. The respondents are tasked with determining how legitimate the stop was. The second vignette set asks the respondent how likely they are to call the police given a particular scenario. The scenarios are also varied using a 2 x 3 design. The third and fourth vignette sets utilize a 2 x 2 variation design. The third set asked respondents to make a judgment on how fair an officer's actions are when issuing a parking ticket and the final set inquiries about how likely a person is to serve as a witness to a crime. This creates a factorial universe of 20 [(2 x 3) + (2 x 3) + (2 x 2) + (2 x 2) = 20] (Jasso & Milgrom, 2008).[12] This design allows for 8 dimensions for analysis and is within the number of dimensions recommended by Auspurg and Hinz (2015), K = 7 (± 2). However, this design of analysis is different from most studies, as this study's dimensions are scattered throughout four vignette sets and most other studies have all dimensions within one vignette (Auspurg & Hinz, 2015).

There are a few reasons for this deviation in factorial design. Smaller numbers of levels and dimensions used in vignettes result in a leaner and efficient vignette sample population (Auspurg & Hinz, 2015)[13]. A lower number of dimensions will also help reduce

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[12] The factorial universe is calculated by multiplying each dimensions' number of levels, where K = number of dimensions and Q = number of levels (Rossi & Anderson, 1982).

[13] Using a small number of levels and dimensions allows for a more efficient vignette sample population because it allows for collection of only the data necessary to the research

the number of variables. This is important when using multiple regression analysis because "including more variables may slightly improve the solution, but at the expense of reducing the degrees of freedom and thus diminishing the power of the analysis" (Lauder et al., 2001, p. 603). Having a smaller number of levels and dimensions used per vignette is also good because it keeps the vignettes short. Short vignettes are preferable when utilizing surveys with multiple vignettes because it keeps the respondents from becoming overburdened with the process of judgment making (Hox & Kreft, 1991). Short vignettes also allow for the entire vignette universe to be considered by respondents, eliminating the issue of how well the sampled vignettes represent the factorial universe (Duelmer, 2007).

Different vignettes are also used for reasons other than the efficiency of the survey. As is evident in the literature on public perceptions of the police, defining what it means to have trust and/or confidence in the police as well as what it means to view the police as legitimate is a challenging task and there is no one overarching definition or "correct" way to measure perceptions of the police (Frank, Brandl, Cullen, & Stichman, 1996; Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002). To address this difficulty, trust and confidence in the police and perception of legitimacy are operationalized into four distinct aspects of these concepts: 1. Willingness to report a crime; 2. Willingness to serve as a witness; 3. Level of fairness of an officer's actions; 4. Level of acceptance of a ticket.

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goal in a manner that is considerate to respondents' sort term memory capabilities (Auspurg & Hinz, 2015).

Media Influences on Perception of Police-citizen Interactions

One possible vicarious influence on citizens' perceptions of the police is media consumption. The media has been linked to both shaping public opinion on a variety of issues and defining what people view as a problem (Graziano, Schuck, & Martin, 2010; Lawrence, 2000). A few studies have looked at how the media influences citizens' opinions about the police as well as how police officers perceive the publics' level of support (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998; Kochel, 2015; Lasley, 1994; Tuch & Weitzer, 1997, 2002). Research has also been conducted on how the media influences citizens' level of fear of victimization and police effectiveness (Dowler, 2002, 2003). However, most of this research has been concentrated around incidents of questionable police-citizen interactions or a particular media outlet. Thus, this study added to this literature by asking respondents questions regarding media consumption such as what kind of media outlets they view and how much time they spend consuming different types of media outlets, not focusing on any particular media event or outlet. These questions were asked to gather data about how exposure to vicarious police-citizen interactions influence perceptions of the police. Levels of media consumption and categories of media outlets consumed are the primary independent variables for this study.

Situational Influences on Perception of Police-citizen Interactions

The influence of demographic factors such as age, race, and income have been shown to influence how citizens perceive the police (Engel, 2005; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkings, & Ring, 2005; Scaglion & Condon, 1998). Whites have been found to be more supportive of the police than African Americans or Hispanics (Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Research has also indicated that age and

education tend to be positively related to opinions about the police (Worthley, Hagan, & Macmillan, 1997). Residents in geographical locations that experience high levels of crime and fear of crime have been shown to have lower levels of satisfaction with the police as well (Kelling & Coles, 1996; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998). Due to these findings, this study gathered socio-demographic and situational data about the respondents to test whether or not this study's findings on how these characteristics influence perceptions of the police are consistent with the findings of previous studies.

4.4 Analytic Strategy

Deciding on a method of analysis for a factorial survey was difficult because the primary dependent variable is an ordered categorical variable consisting of more than two categories instead of an interval/ ratio variable (Holmes, 1997). This leaves three main options to consider: 1. Treat the dependent variable as if it was a series of dichotomous variables and use a multinomial logistic regression model; 2. Treat the dependent variable as if it was an ordinal scale and use, e.g., an ordered logit or probit model; 3. Threat the dependent variable as if it were on an interval scale and use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression (Holmes, 1997). While some researchers may treat ordinal levels of judgment as a series of dichotomous variables in a multinomial logistic regression, this does not allow for the ordering of judgments, i.e., additional outcome categories (Long, 1997). The majority of factorial surveys, however, use OLS for a variety of reasons (Aspurg & Hinz, 2015; Holmes, 1997; Wallander, 2009). For example, OLS may be appropriate when there are more than four ordinal levels within the dependent variable because the difference in outcomes between OLS and models specifically designed for ordinal outcomes such as the ordered logit and probit models have been found to be similar (Aspurg & Hinz, 2015;

Holmes, 1997). However, Lu (1999) compared results from each and concluded that the errors were significantly different, even with 10 levels of judgments. Other advantages of OLS are that it is easier to use, simpler to understand, and it has more flexibility than ordered regression models (Long, 1997). Long (1997) concludes that because of the risk of bias "introduced by regression of an ordinal variable…Prudent researchers should use models specifically designed for ordinal variables" (p.115). For this study, this is especially true because there are only four ordinal levels, which may cause the level of bias to be larger. Therefore, this study did not use OLS for analyzing ordinal variables. However, when the dependent variable being analyzed was measured at an interval/ratio level, then OLS was utilized. Making a choice between the two main models for ordinal outcomes (ordered logit and ordered probit) is, for the most part, a matter of convenience (Long, 1997). Since logit models tend to be somewhat simpler than probit models this study used ordered logistic regression (OLR) as the primary method of analysis (Lu, 1999).

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

5.1 Data

During the Fall of 2017, a survey was administered to 1,355 undergraduate college students majoring in Criminal Justice at two state universities located in the southeastern region of the United States (overall response rate = 58%). The survey was administered online via emailed individualized links to the survey, with the aid of *SurveyMonkey.com*. Since email survey data collection rates are traditionally low, an incentive of being eligible to enter into a raffle for one of four $20.00 *Amazon.com* gift cards were offered to potential participants. In addition to the gift card incentive, follow-up reminder emails were sent every fifth day that the survey was open to respondents who had not completed the survey. The survey remained open for one month, resulting in 6 follow-up emails. The professors within each Criminal Justice department were also asked to make an announcement about the survey to their undergraduate Criminal Justice classes and to encourage their students to participate. The survey resulted in 782 respondents returning a questionnaire. Of these 782 respondents, 32 did not complete any information regarding perceptions of the police and were subsequently removed from the sample. This resulted in a final sample size of 750 respondents. See Table 5.1 for a detailed description of the survey sample and Appendix A for a copy of the survey instrument.

Table 5.1 *Frequency Table for Sample Description*

Variable	*n*	*%*
University		
University A	465	62.00
University B	285	38.00
Gender		
Female	308	41.07
Male	440	58.67
Missing	2	0.27
Race		
Hispanic or Latino	71	9.47
Non-Hispanic Black or African American	64	8.53
Non-Hispanic White or Caucasian	575	76.67
Other	40	5.33
Academic Year		
Freshman	131	17.47
Sophomore	163	21.73
Junior	226	30.13
Senior/ Other	230	30.67
Age		
19 or under	245	32.67
20 to 21	335	44.67
22 to 23	98	13.07
24 or older	72	9.60
Political Party		
Democrat	169	22.53
Republican	352	46.93
Independent	148	19.73
Something else	77	10.27
Missing	4	0.53
Community		
City or urban community	120	16.00
Rural community	210	28.00
Suburban community	411	54.80
Missing	9	1.20
Family Income		
less than $49,999	164	21.87
$50,000-$74,999	163	21.73
$75,000-$99,999	127	16.93
$100,000-$124,999	110	14.67
$125,000 or above	171	22.80
Missing	15	2.00

Note. Due to rounding errors, percentages may not equal 100%

One typical issue that survey researchers must address is when respondents fail to complete their questionnaire, which results in missing data. As can be seen in Table 5.1, this survey suffers from this issue. The regressions used in this study had varying missing data, ranging from 1.9% to 8.7%, with a mean of 6.5% missing data. Some scholars hold that the maximum acceptable level of missing data is 5% (Scheffer, 2002), and 6.5% is slightly over this threshold. However, others hold that missing data does not become problematic until over 10% (Bennett, 2001). When trying to determine if missing data is problematic or not, there are three different types of missing data to consider. Missing completely at random (MCAR), Missing at random (MAR) and Not missing at random (NMAR). MAR and NMAR are problematic forms of missing data because the missing data are dependent on some other variable(s) (Scheffer, 2002; Bennett, 2001). However, MCAR missing data are not dependent on other variables and are not typically problematic because the respondents with missing data cannot be statistically distinguished from those without missing data (Little, 1988; Bennett, 2001). There is no way to determine if the potential respondents who did not complete the survey (i.e., the unobserved missing data) are different than those who completed the survey. However, Little's MCAR can be utilized to determine if within the data set, the respondents who had missing data (i.e., those who skipped questions) were statistically different compared to those who did not have missing data. The test resulted in a $p >$ chi-square = 0.2856, indicating that the observed missing data was MCAR (Rhoads, 2012). One of the issues with this test is that it assumes continuous data and may not be appropriate for this data (Little, 1988). Many of the variables used in this data were combined into continuous variables after a categorical principal components analysis was conducted (categorical principal components analyses

will be discussed in more detail in section 5.4). Since these variables do meet the assumption of being continuous, Little's MCAR test was also conducted on theses variables. The results of this test also indicated that the observed missing data was MCAR ($p >$ chi-square = 0.3830). Between the results of Little's MCAR test and overall missing data being less than 10% it was concluded that the amount of missing data in this study did not require analysis utilizing multiple imputations of missing data (Andridge & Little, 2010; Fuller & Kim, 2005).

5.2 Dependent Variables

As was indicated in the previous chapters of this paper, how a person perceives the police is not as simple as whether they like or dislike the police. To try to capture a wide variety of attributes related to how a person perceives the police, e.g., trust and confidence, ten dependent variables were utilized. Eight of the dependent variables are asked in a more traditional survey manner by asking respondents to indicate their level of agreement (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Agree, 4 = Strongly Agree) with statements about the police. This method of gathering data about perceptions regarding the police have been criticized for not gathering reliable information because it "often taps socially desirable responses[14]" (Holmes, 1997, p. 8; Pate & Fridell, 1993). This could apply to perceptions of the police. To address this issue two additional dependent variables were asked in the form of vignettes because vignettes help to control for social bias by allowing for

[14] Some questions such as "Do you support the police" may result in a socially desirable bias "yes" when the respondent does not in fact fully support the police (Dillman, 1998).

respondents to make normative judgments about how they feel and what they think about police officers' actions (Rossi & Anderson, 1982; Wallander, 2009).

To analyze the relationship between the independent variables and levels of perception of the police the eight items measuring perceptions of the police via how much they agreed or disagreed with statements about the police were merged to create an additive scale ranging from 4-20. Higher scores indicate a more favorable perceptions of the police, allowing for analysis of the relationship between the independent variables and overall perceptions of the police to be conducted using linear regressions (Nix & Wolfe, 2016). Prior to combining the scores, principal components analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation was used to determine if the measures of perceptions of the police could be reduce. Since the correlation matrix used in PCA assumes normally distributed continuous variables a polychoric correlations matrix was used because it assumes that the variables are ordered in nature (Gilley & Uhlig, 1993; Kolenikov & Angeles, 2004, StataCorp, 2017). The output of the PCA demonstrated that each of these eight items loaded into only one component ($\lambda = 4.28$, loadings > .624) with an internal consistency of $\propto = .875$ indicating that these items could be combined into one additive scale, Trust and Confidence (Dunteman, 1989; Nix & Wolfe, 2016).

5.3 Independent Variables

The main independent variable for this study was media consumption, which was measured with nine items intended to capture how much time each respondent spends consuming different categories of media outlets. These items were measured on a 5-point Likert type scale (1 = Daily, 2 = A few times per week, 3 = A few times per month, 4 = A few times in the past 6 months, 5 = Never). To analyze the relationship between different

types of media outlets and levels of perceptions of the police the nine items measuring media consumption were collapsed into three variables. Principal components analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation, using a polychoric correlations matrix, was conducted to see if the different forms of media could be combined for analysis. The results of the PCA indicated that the nine types of media could be grouped into three distinct components: TV entertainment (λ = 1.517, Loadings > .59), Internet entertainment (λ = 1.333, Loading > .50), and traditional news media (λ = 1.026, Loadings > .43). When the internal consistency for each of these subsets was checked, one of the alphas was adequate (TV entertainment $\propto = .73$), one was moderate (Internet entertainment $\propto = .63$) and one was low (traditional news media $\propto = .58$). One thing that is important to understand about the size of alpha is that it is influenced by the size of the test and the higher the alpha does not necessarily mean a higher level of internal consistency (i.e., an increase in the number of measures increases the likelihood of observing a higher alpha) (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011; Namdeo & Rout, 2016). There are only three measures in each of these tests for internal consistency. Therefore, it is not surprising that two of the alphas are lower than the .70-.90 that are generally considered adequate. Considering this and that each λ was greater than 1 the media consumption measures were reduced into three additives scales ranging from 1-16, with higher scores indicating lower levels of media consumption. This study also looked at the influence of each media outlet on perceptions of the police. To stay consistent with the previous literature on perceptions of the police, situational variables were also included as independent variables. Please see Appendix B for more information on the variables included in this study.

5.4 Analysis

As was discussed earlier in this paper, Ordinal Logistic Regression (OLR) allows for the relationship between one or more independent variables and a single ordinal dependent variable, with the goal of seeing if one or more of the independent variables significantly predict which ordinal category of the dependent variable a case falls into (Williams, 2016). Ordinary Least Squares regression (OLS) allows for the analysis of the relationship between one or more independent variables and a scale dependent variable (Long, 1997). Therefore, OLR models were estimated to determine if there was a relationship between how people perceive the police and their consumption of media when the dependent variable was ordinal and OLS was used when the dependent variable was measured using scale data. Before the regressions were conducted, the assumption of the absence of multicollinearity between each variable in the models were examined. To detect the presence of multicollinearity among predictors Variance Inflation Factors (VIFs) and Eigenvalues and condition indices using the user-written STATA command "collin" were calculated (Ender, 2010). According to Menard (2009), VIFs greater than 5 are cause for concern, with a maximum acceptance VIF of 10, while Williams (2015) says that VIF values over 10 are cause for concern. The minimum VIF was 1.12 and the maximum VIF was 3.86, with a mean VIF of 2.26, indicating that multicollinearity is not a major concern. The results of this test indicated a condition index number of 27.51. This indicates that there could be an issue with multicollinearity because a condition number higher than 15 could be cause for concern. However, it is under the maximum score of 30 (Williams, 2015). To investigate multicollinearity further, the user-written STATA command "coldiag2" was utilized to investigate the conditioning of the variables in the variable

matrix (Hendrickx, 2004). The resulting variance-decomposition proportions indicated that the majority of the variance-decomposition proportions were lower than .50 (Beasley, 1991). There were only two variables that had condition indexes with two variance-decomposition proportions over .50 (Drama: .69 & .64; Internet: .67 & .59) and no condition indexes with more than two variance-decomposition proportions over .50. Both variable condition index scores with variance-decomposition proportions over .50 were under 15 (Drama CI = 13.85; Internet CI = 14.67). See Appendix D for more information on the results of the VIF, condition indices, and variance-decompositions. The next few sections of this paper go into detail about the regression models (see Appendix C for the regressions output).

An additional assumption needed to be tested for the OLR, the assumption that the distance between categories are the same (Long & Freese, 2001). This is known as the proportional odds or parallel slopes assumption. The Brant test of proportional odds was conducted for each OLR model (Brant, 1990). When looking at the output form the Brant test a significant omnibus test ($p < .05$) indicates that the proportional odds assumption has been violated (Liu, 2009). Four of the OLR models resulted in an omnibus test with $p < 0.05$. For these four models, generalized ordered logistic models, using "gologit2", were also estimated because they are less restrictive than the proportional odds models (Williams, 2006). When the results of the generalized ordered logistic models were compared to the results of the ORL models, the output indicated that the variables within each model that reached the $p < .05$ level of significance were the same between models. The results of the generalized ordered logistic models' Wald test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated that the final models do not violate the parallel

slopes assumption.[15] Therefore, these models were not included in this study and the results of the OLR models are discussed.

The diagnostic tests for this data set indicated that there were no major concerns regarding multicollinearity. However, failure to meet other assumptions can lead to bias estimates of the coefficients and incorrect standard errors (Chen, Ender, Mitchell, & Wells, 2003). One way to help reduce the likelihood of having biased estimates of the coefficients and incorrect standard errors is to use a robust regression method. One robust regression method that considers that the regression error terms are not independent and identically distributed (i.e., heteroskedastic) is the "robust" Stata command (Chen, et al., 2003; Williams, 2015). Since there is a chance that some of the regression assumptions for the models used in the study by be violated, robust standard errors were estimated to help reduce the chances of interpreting incorrect standard errors (Long & Freese, 2001).

Overall Perceptions of the Police

To start off the analysis, situational variables known to be associated with how citizens perceive the police were analyzed using OLS to see how they influenced respondents' overall levels of trust and confidence in the police. When looking at the

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[15] Two models had one categorical variable each with one category that failed to meet the assumption, one model had 2 categorical variables with one category that failed to meet the assumption, and one model had no variables that failed to meet the assumption. Please see the individual models' analysis for Tables C.6, C.8, C.11, and C.15 for more information.

influence of gender, being female was associated with a slightly more positive overall perception of the police, all other variables held constant. However, the effect of gender was only near significant (b = 0.579; p = .051). When looking at race, compared to Non-Hispanic whites, Non-Hispanic blacks had significantly lower perceptions of the police (b = -2.481; p <. 001), Hispanics or Latinos had lower, but non-significant levels of perceptions of the police (b = -0.870; p = .086), and races other than Non-Hispanic black or Hispanic/Latino had significantly lower levels of perceptions of the police (b = -1.371; p =.015), all else constant. Education, age, and income were not found to be significantly associated with levels of perceptions of the police, holding all other independent variables constant. When looking at political affiliation, Republicans had significantly higher levels of perceptions of the police than Democrats (b = -2.339; p < .001), and independents (b = -1.485; p < .001), all else constant. Having a political affiliation other than Democrats or Independent was associated with having lower but non-significant levels of perceptions toward the police than Republicans (b = -0.428; p = .341). When looking at area, living in a rural area compared to an urban area did not have an influence on levels of perceptions of the police (b = 0.023; p = .960); however, people living in suburban areas reported significantly lower perceptions of the police than people living in rural areas (b = -0.671; p =.039), all else constant. The school attended by respondents was also included in this model as a predictor variable. Respondents attending University B had significantly lower levels of perceptions of the police than respondents who attended University A (b = -0.899; p = .003), holding all other independent variables constant. More information on the outcomes of the model can be found in Appendix C, Table C.1.

Appendix C, Table C.2 shows the output for the OLS regression model when each media outlet was included to see how the consumption of different media outlets influenced overall perceptions of the police. The model indicated that there was not a significant influence in overall perceptions of the police for each media outlet, with one exception. When comparted to respondents who reported watching policing dramas "daily," a response of having "never" watched a policing drama in the past 6 months was associated with a significant increase in overall perceptions of the police (b = 1.813; p = 0.004).

In order to investigate further the influence of media consumption on overall perceptions of the police the individual media outlets were removed from the model and each media platform was added to the model. When the three types of media outlets (Traditional news, Internet, and T.V. Entertainment) were added to the OLS model none of the components were significantly related to how respondents perceived the police (Traditional news: b = 0.051, p =.404; Internet: b = 0.003, p =.958; T.V. Entertainment: b = -0.067, p = .193). More information on this model can be found in Appendix C, Table C.3. In this model, media outlet still did not significantly predict respondents' levels of perceptions of the police.

Individual Measures of Perceptions of the Police

The previous literature on levels of trust and confidence in the police indicate that they are not the same. Just because the PCA on the survey measures of trust and confidence in the police indicated that they could be combined into one additive scale, does not mean that they should only be analyzed as a whole. To address this issue OLR models with individual media outlets as predictors were created for each measure in the trust and confidence index. Each model also included situational influences as control variables.

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting how much a person agrees with the statement "the police are helpful" (*Helpful*) can be found in Appendix C, Table C.4. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall nonsignificant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does not violate the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 56.53, p = 0.276). The results of this model indicated that an increase in the consumption of reality T.V. policing shows was associated with a decrease in the odds of observing a rating of "agree" or "strongly agree" with the statement "the police are helpful" compared to respondents who reported watching reality T.V. policing shows daily, holding all other independent variables constant. This decrease was statistically significant for those who reported having never watched a reality T.V. policing show in the past 6 months (OR = 0.391; p = 0.014).

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting how much a person agrees with the statement "I feel safer when I see a police officer" (*Safer*) can be found in Appendix C, Table C.5. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall nonsignificant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does not violate the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 58.40, p = 0.222). The model with media consumption predicting the variable *Safer* did not result in any of the media predictors significantly influencing respondents' level of agreement with this measure of perceptions of the police.

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting how much a person agrees with the statement "I try to avoid police officers" (*Avoid*) can be found in Appendix C, Table C.6. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall significant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does violate

the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 70.25, p = 0.038). The results of the detailed Brant test indicated that three predictors had one level within the variable that violated the parallel slopes assumption. Within the variable *Area* a rating of city or urban community, compared to rural community (x^2 = 5.03; p = 0.025), for the variable Internet consuming internet media a "few times per week" compared to "daily" (x^2 = 6.61; p = 0.10), and within the variable YouTube watching YouTube "a few times per month" compared to watching YouTube "daily" (x^2 = 4.16; p = 0.041) violated the parallel lines assumption. Due to these results of this model a generalized ordered logistic model was conducted. This model indicated that the restraints for parallel lines could not be imposed for one variable for a level within the variable Internet (consuming internet media "a few times per week" compared to "daily" consumption of internet media, p = 0.002). The Wald test of parallel lines assumption for the final model indicated that the overall model does not violated the parallel lines assumption (x^2 (50) = 64.75, p = 0.078). For this model one media variable significantly influenced the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Avoid, YouTube.* A reduction in the amount of YouTube videos consumed was associated with an increase in the odds of observing a higher category of *Avoid.* Consuming YouTube videos "A few times per week" compared to consuming YouTube videos "daily" was associated with a 142% (OR = 2.421; p = 0.003) increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Avoid.* Consuming YouTube videos "a few times per month" compared to consuming YouTube videos "daily" was associated with a 169% (OR = 2.694; p = 0.001) increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Avoid*. Consuming YouTube videos "a few times in the past 6 months" compared to "daily" consuming YouTube videos was associated with a 116% (OR = 2.158; p = 0.010) increase in the odds

of observing a higher level of agreement with *Avoid*. Having "never" consumed YouTube videos in the past 6 months, compared to consuming YouTube videos "daily" was associated with a 109% (OR = 2.087; p = 0.019) increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Avoid*. When looking at the results of this model it is important to remember that the statement represented by *Avoid* is associated with a more negative perceptions of the police. Therefore, the output indicates that consuming higher rates of YouTube videos is associated with a more favorable perception of the police.

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting how much a person agrees with the statement "I would ask a police officer for directions if I was lost" (*Directions*) can be found in Appendix C, Table C.7. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall significant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does not violate the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 67.96, p = 0.056). For this model, two measures of media consumption significantly influenced the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Directions, YouTube and Drama.* A reduction in the amount of YouTube videos consumed was associated with a decrease in odds of observing a higher rating for the depend variable *Directions.* Consuming YouTube videos "A few times per week" compared to consuming YouTube videos "daily" was associated with a nearly significant (OR = 0.559; p = 0.050) reduction in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Directions.* Consuming YouTube videos "a few times per month" compared to consuming YouTube videos "daily" was associated with a 44.5% (OR = 0.555; p = 0.046) decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Directions*. Consuming YouTube videos "a few times in the past 6 months" or "never" having consumed YouTube videos in the past six months compared to "daily"

consuming YouTube videos were both associated with a nonsignificant decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with the statement associated with *Directions* (OR = 0.730; p = 0.323 and OR = 0.614; p = 0.119, respectively). A decrease in the amount of policing drama consumption was associated with an increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Directions*. Consuming policing dramas "a few times per week", "a few times per month", and "a few times in the past 6 months" compared to "daily" consuming policing dramas was associated with a nonsignificant decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Directions* (OR = 1.262, p = 0.357; OR = 1.538, p = 0.106; and OR = -1.907, p = 0.059). Having "never" consumed policing dramas in the past six months, compared to "daily" consuming policing dramas, significantly increased the odds of observing a higher category for *directions* by 169% (OR = 2.694; p = 0.005).

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting how much a person agrees with the statement "the police in my community are interested in solving community problems" (*Community Problems*) can be found in Appendix C, Table C.8. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall significant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does violate the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 72.86, p = 0.024). The results of the detailed Brant test indicated that three predictors had at least one level within the variable that violated the parallel slopes assumption. Within the variable *Area* a rating of suburban community, compared to rural community (x^2 = 6.08; p = 0.014), within the variable *Income* a rating of yearly family income being between "$75,000-$99,999 compared to a family income of "less than $49,999" ($x^2$ = 4.42; p = 0.036) and within the variable *Internet* consuming internet media a "few times per

week" or "a few times per month" compared to "daily" consuming internet media (x^2 = 8.58; p = 0.003 and x^2 = 4.01; p = 045, respectively) violated the parallel slopes assumption. Due to the results of this model a generalized ordered logistic model was used. This model indicated that the restraints for parallel lines could not be imposed a level within two variables. Within the variable *Political Affiliation,* a rating Democrat compared to Republican (p = 0.007) and within the variable *Area* a rating of city or urban community compared to rural community (p = 0.007) the constraints for parallel lines could not be imposed. The Wald test of parallel lines assumption for the final model indicated that the overall model does not violated the parallel lines assumption (x^2 (49) = 60.02, p = 0.134). For this model one media variable significantly influenced the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Community Problems, Reality TV.* A reduction in the amount of policing reality TV shows consumed was associated with a decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Community Problems.* Consuming policing reality TV shows "A few times per week" compared to consuming policing reality TV shows "daily" was associated with a 30% (OR = 0.698; p = 0.230) decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Community Problems.* Consuming policing reality TV shows "a few times per month" compared to consuming policing reality TV shows "daily" was associated with a 52% (OR = 0.483; p = 0.022) decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Community Problems*. Consuming policing reality TV shows "a few times in the past 6 months" compared to "daily" consuming policing reality TV shows was associated with a 56% (OR = .437; p = 0.015) decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Community Problems*. Having "never" consumed policing reality TV shows in the past 6 months, compared to consuming

policing reality TV shows "daily" was associated with a 50% (OR = 0.501; p = 0.052) decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Community Problems*.

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting how much a person agrees with the statement "the police in my community do a good job deterring crime" (*Good Job*) can be found in Appendix C, Table C.9. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall significant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does not violate the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 63.49, p = 0.113). For this model, four measures of media consumption had levels of media consumption that were significantly related to the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Good Job, Internet, TV News, Drama, and Movies.* A reduction in the amount of internet consumed was associated with an increase in odds of observing a higher rating for the depend variable *Good Job.* Consuming Internet media "A few times per week" compared to consuming "daily" consuming internet media was associated with a 54.7% (OR = 1.547; p = 0.045) increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Good Job.* Consuming internet media "a few times per month" compared to "daily" consuming internet media was associated with a 106% (OR = 2.066; p = 0.010) increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Good Job*. "Hardly ever" consuming internet media in the past six months compared to "daily" consuming internet media was associated with 102% increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with the statement associated with *Good Job* (OR = 2.025; p = 0.029). A decrease in the amount of TV News consumption was associated with a decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Good Job*. Consuming TV News media "a few times per week" compared to "daily" consuming TV News media was associated

with a 24.2% (OR = 0.758; p = 0.238) decrease in the odds of observing a more favorable level of agreement with *Good Job*. Consuming TV News Media "a few times per month" was associated with a) decrease in the odds of observing a more favorable level of agreement with *Good Job.* "Hardly ever" consuming TV News media in the past six months compared to daily consuming TV News media was associated with a 46.9% (OR = 0.531; p = 0.032) decrease in the odds of observing a more favorable level of agreement with *Good Job*. A decrease in the amount of policing drama consumption was associated with an increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Good Job*. Consuming policing dramas "a few times per week", "a few times per month", and "a few times in the past 6 months" compared to "daily" consuming policing dramas was associated with a nonsignificant increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Good Job* (OR = 1.601, p = 0.078; OR = 1.393, p = 0.238; and OR = 1.413, p = 0.322). Having "never" consumed policing dramas in the past six months, compared to "daily" consuming policing dramas, significantly increased the odds of observing a higher category for *Good Job* by 181% (OR = 2.813; p = 0.003). When compared to watching policing movies "daily or weekly" watching policing movies "a few times per month" or "a few times in the past 6 months" were associated with a nonsignificant decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Good Job* (OR = 0.659; p = 0.131 and OR = 0.584, p = 0.065, respectively). "Never" having watched a policing movie in the past six months compared to "daily or weekly" watching policing movies was associated with a 64.8% (OR = 0.352; p = 0.003) decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Good Job*.

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting how much a person agrees with the statement "the police in my community respond quickly when called" (*Respond)* can be found in Appendix C, Table C.10. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall significant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does not violate the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 62.98, p = 0.121). For this model, three measures of media consumption had levels of media consumption that were significantly related to the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Respond*, *TV News, Drama, and Movies.* A decrease in the amount of TV News consumption was associated with a decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Respond*. Consuming TV News media "a few times per week" compared to "daily" consuming TV News media was associated with a 13.8% (OR = 0.862; p = 0.535) decrease in the odds of observing a more favorable level of agreement with *Good Job*. Consuming TV News Media "a few times per month" was associated with a 61% (OR = 0.390; p = 0.002) decrease in the odds of observing a more favorable level of agreement with *Respond.* "Hardly ever" consuming TV News media in the past six months compared to daily consuming TV News media was associated with a 53.4% (OR = 0.466; p = 0.025) decrease in the odds of observing a more favorable level of agreement with *Respond*. A decrease in the amount of policing drama consumption was associated with an increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Respond*. Watching policing dramas "a few times per week" compared to "daily" watching policing dramas was associated with a nonsignificant increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement for *Respond* (OR = 1.143, p = 0.641). Watching policing dramas "a few times per month" was associated with a 96.6% (OR = 1.966; p = 0.026) increase in the odds of observing a higher

level of agreement for *Respond.* Watching policing dramas "a few times in the past 6 months" was associated with a 158% (OR = 2.585; p = 0.007) increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement for *Respond.* Having "never" consumed policing dramas in the past six months, compared to "daily" consuming policing dramas, significantly increased the odds of observing a higher category for *Respond* by 215% (OR = 3.150; p = 0.004). Consuming policing movies, "a few times per month" or "a few times in the past 6 months" compared to "daily or weekly" consuming policing movies was associated with a nonsignificant decrease in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement with *Respond* (OR = 0.797, p = 0.451 and OR = 0.720, p = 0.292). Having "never" consumed a policing movie in the past six months, compared to "daily or weekly" consuming policing movies, significantly decreased the odds of observing a higher level of agreement for *Respond* by 60.9% (OR = 0.391; p = 0.012).

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting how much a person agrees with the statement "the police in my community are able to solve crimes in a timely manner" (*Solve Crime*) can be found in Appendix C, Table C.11. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall significant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does violate the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 74.52, p = 0.017). The results of the detailed Brant test indicated that 6 predictors had at least one level within the variable that violated the parallel slopes assumption. Within the variable *Area* a rating of suburban community, compared to rural community (x^2 = 7.82; p = 0.005), within the variable *Income* a rating of yearly family income being between "$50,000-$74,999 compared to a family income of "less than $49,999" ($x^2$ = 6.19; p = 0.013) within the variable *Internet* consuming internet media "a few times per month" compared to

"daily" consuming internet media (x^2 = 5.92; p = 0.015), with in *TV News* consuming TV News "a few times per month" compared to "daily" consumption (x^2 = 4.21; p = 0.040), within the variable *Drama* having "never" watched a policing drama in the past 6 months" compared to daily watching policing dramas (x^2 = 4.86, p = 0.027) and within the variable *Reality TV* consuming policing reality TV shows "a few times per week" compared to "daily" watching policing reality TV shows (x^2 = 4.19; p = 0.041) violated the parallel slopes assumption. Due to the results of this model a generalized ordered logistic model was used. This model indicated that the restraints for parallel lines could not be imposed for a level within one variable. Within the variable *Area* a rating of city or urban community compared to rural community (p = 0.000) the constraints for parallel lines could not be imposed. The Wald test of parallel lines assumption for the final model indicated that the overall model does violated the parallel lines assumption (x^2 (50) = 68.35, p = 0.043). For this model, none of the media predictors indicated a significant influence on the level of agreement for *Solve Crime*.

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting how far a person perceiving a speeding ticket (*Speeding)* can be found in Appendix C, Table C.12. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall significant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does not violate the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 61.87, p = 0.142). For this model, no measures of media consumption had levels of media consumption that were significantly related to the odds of observing a higher level of fairness regarding receiving a speeding ticket.

The OLR model output with media consumptions predicting likely a person was to call the police to report a crime if they have been drinking under the age of 21 (*Drinking)*

can be found in Appendix C, Table C.13. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions indicated an overall significant test statistic, providing evidence that the model as a whole does not violate the parallel slopes assumption (x^2 = 49.53, p = 0.532). For this model, no measures of media consumption had levels of media consumption that were significantly related to the odds of observing a higher likelihood of reporting a crime.

General Attitudes Towards the Police

Prior studies have showed that attitudes toward the police have been dropping (Durose, Smith, & Langan, 2007; Eith & Durose, 2011; Langton & Durose, 2013). However, even with a slight drop in overall perceptions of the police, perceptions of the police are still overall favorable (Alpert & Dunham, 2004). Consistent with this literature, descriptive statistics of the data used in the survey indicate that overall attitudes towards the police are still favorable. 94.4% of respondents "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement "The police are helpful". 84.9% of respondents "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement "I feel safer when I see a police officer." 66.5% of respondents "strongly disagreed" or "disagreed" with the statement "I try to avoid police officers." 85.5% "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement "I would ask a police officer for directions if I was lost." 79.6% "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement "The police in my community are interested in solving community problems." 78.7% of respondents "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement "The police in my community do a good job deterring crime." 80.9% of respondents "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement "The police in my community respond quickly when called." 76.5% of respondents "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement "The police in my community are able to solve crimes in a timely manner. See Table 5.2 for more information.

Table 5.2 *Frequency Table for Perceptions of the Police Index*

Variable	*n*	%
Helpful		
Disagree	42	5.60
Agree	375	50.00
Strongly Agree	333	44.40
Safer		
Disagree	112	14.93
Agree	339	45.20
Strongly Agree	298	39.73
Missing	1	0.13
Avoid		
Strongly Disagree	153	20.40
Disagree	346	46.13
Agree	251	33.47
Directions		
Disagree	108	14.40
Agree	306	40.80
Strongly Agree	335	44.67
Missing	1	0.13
Community Problems		
Disagree	156	20.80
Agree	396	52.80
Strongly Agree	195	26.00
Missing	3	0.40
Good job		
Disagree	115	20.67
Agree	434	57.87
Strongly Agree	156	20.80
Missing	5	0.67
Respond		
Disagree	138	18.40
Agree	440	58.67
Strongly Agree	167	22.27
Missing	5	0.67
Solve Crime		
Disagree	168	22.40
Agree	460	61.33
Strongly Agree	114	15.20
Missing	8	1.07

Note. Due to rounding errors, percentages may not equal 100%.

Traditional Survey Questions vs. Vignettes

One of the things that makes this survey unique in its investigation of media influences on citizens' perceptions of the police is its use of a factorial design. When studying perceptions, traditional survey questions asking to what extent people agree or disagree with statements regarding the police are broadly interpretive (Dulmer, 2007). This allows for social norms to influence how respondents answer the questions (Alexander & Beaker, 1978; Jasso & Milgron, 2008; Oll, Reimsback, & Kotzian, 2016). This creates the possibility that when studies ask traditional survey questions about citizens' perceptions of the police, they are not necessarily measuring how the person truly feels about the police, but rather how they have been socialized to perceive the police. (I.e., the respondents may censor their answers in an effort to conform to societal norms.) One way to control for social bias is to give respondents scenarios (i.e., vignettes) that reduce interpretation of the questions by giving the respondent all the facts from which they are to make their judgement. These judgements are then ranked on a Likert type scale (Rossi & Anderson, 1982). In an effort to exam whether or not there was a social normative influence on the questions used to measure overall perceptions of the police, OLR models were estimated with respondents' overall answers to the traditional survey formatted questions as the predictor (*Trust & Confidence*) of how respondents rated each of the vignettes (*Speeding*, *Drinking*, and *Ticket*).

The results of OLR model with *Trust & Confidence* predicting the outcome of *Speeding* is located in Appendix C, Table C.13. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions resulted in a nonsignificant test result (x^2 = 2.09; p = 0.148), indicating that the model does not violate the parallel lines assumption. The results indicated a one

unit increase in *Trust & Confidence* was associated with a 10.8% (OR = 1.108; p = 0.000) increase in the odds of observing a higher level of fairness of receiving a speeding ticket.

The results of OLR model with *Trust & Confidence* predicting the outcome of *Drinking* is located in Appendix C, Table C.14. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions resulted in a nonsignificant test result (x^2 = 0.01; p = 0.913), indicating that the model does not violate the parallel lines assumption. The results indicated a one unit increase in *Trust & Confidence* was associated with a 9% (OR = 1.090; p = 0.000) increase in the odds in the of the respondent calling the police.

The results of OLR model with *Trust & Confidence* predicting the outcome of *Ticket* is located in Appendix C, Table C.15. The results of the Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions resulted in a significant test result (x^2 = 4.56; p = 0.033), indicating that the model does violate the parallel lines assumption. Due to the results of this test a generalized ordered logistic model was used. This model indicated that the restraints for parallel lines could be imposed (p = 0.069). The results of the Wald test of parallel lines assumption for the final model indicated that the model does not violated the parallel lines assumption (x^2 (1) = 3.31, p = 0.069). The results indicated a one unit increase in *Trust & Confidence* was associated with a 12.4 % (OR = 1.124; p = 0.000) increase in the odds of observing a higher level of fairness regarding an officer's actions when issuing a parking ticket.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Discussion of results

As is evident from the literature review of this paper, much has been written on possible influences on citizens' perceptions of the police. However, little is known about how media consumption influences these perceptions (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). To help fill this gap in the literature, the primary purpose of this study was to investigate the media's influence on perceptions of the police. The study indicated that media consumption does influence perceptions of the police, when asked specifically about the police in their community, but not when asked about police in general. In relation to Easton (1965), mass media may influence specific support, support for the police they are more likely to interact with and who can deliver them rewards and/or deprivations, not diffuse support for policing as an institution. The next paragraph discusses the findings related to the media's influence on respondents' perceptions of the police in their community.

Depictions of the police in news media could influence citizens' perceptions of the police (Dixon, 2007). The bulk of the literature on news media and perceptions of the police focuses on the effects of highly publicized, less than desirable police-citizen interactions as opposed the consumption of everyday news broadcast as a whole (Chermak, McGarrell, & Gruenewald, 2006; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998; Kochel, 2015a, b; Tuch & Weitzer,

1997). This study looked at the effect of TV news consumptions in general, instead of focusing on one or a few events. When looking at overall perceptions of the police, an increase in TV news consumption was associated with more favorable, but not statistically significant, attitudes towards the police. However, respondents who reported consuming TV news media "daily" reported significantly more favorable attitudes towards the police in their community than respondents who reported consuming TV news media less than "daily," with those reporting "hardly ever" consuming TV news media to be the least likely to report a more favorable response to the questions about police in their community. This small, positive, but not always statistically significant relationship was consistent with Callanan and Rosenberger's (2011) findings on TV news consumption and perceptions of the police. This finding suggests that TV news consumption could be influencing citizens' perceptions of the police. This supports the need for policing agencies to encourage TV news coverage of the positive things that the police do for the community and on their successes instead of just being concerned with how TV news reporters are depicting when a less than desirable police-citizen interaction occurs.

The prior literature on the consumption of crime dramas' influence on perceptions of the police is mixed, with Dowler (2002) finding a negative relationship between the amounts of time spent watching crime drams and perceptions of the police and Callanan & Rosenberger (2011) finding a positive relationship. However, neither of these studies found these relationships to be significant. The analysis of this data indicated that a decrease in consumption levels of policing dramas was associated with an increase in the likelihood of observing a more favorable perception of the police. However, this increase was only significant in overall perceptions of the police for those who reported having "never"

watched a policing drama, compared to watching policing dramas "daily" (b= 1.813; p = 004). When asked if the respondent would ask a police officer for directions, having never watched a policing drama, compared to watching policing dramas daily, was associated with a 169% increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement (OR = 2.694, p = .005). When respondents were asked if they felt that the police in their community did a good job deterring crime, respondents who reported having watched any police dramas, from watching "daily" to having watched "a few times in the past 6 months," there was not a significant change in how respondents rated this question. However, having "never" watched a police drama compared to those who reported watching policing dramas "daily" was associated with an increase in the odds of observing a more favorable level of agreement with the statement by 181% (OR = 2.813, p = .003). When asked if the police in their community solve crimes in a timely manner, the amount of time reported watching police dramas did not significantly influence the odds of them reporting a more favorable response than people who reported watching police dramas "daily." When respondents were asked if they felt the police in their community responded quickly when called, any reduction in the amount of time spent watching policing dramas was related to an increase in the likelihood of having a more favorable response, than responds who reported "daily" consumption, with anything less than a rating of "a few times a week," being significantly related to the odds of observing a more favorable response. A rating of "a few times per month" was associated with a 97% (OR = 1.966, p = .026) increase, a rating of "a few times in the past 6 months" was associated with a 158% (OR = 2.585, p = .007) increase and a rating of "never" was associated with a 215% (OR = 3.150, p = .004) increase in the odds of observing a more favorable response. These results indicate that the consumption

of policing dramas may be increasing citizens' expectation levels of the police's ability to respond when called beyond the reality of how fast the police are capable of responding.

From a policy standpoint, this finding may be supporting a need for policing agencies to place an emphasis on keeping citizens informed about things such as police procedure. For example, a police officer should tell a crime victim what the next steps are in the investigation, give the victim a realistic time frame, and continue to communicate with the victim the progress of the investigation because this gives the victim information from which to gage their expectations of the officer's actions. Without this knowledge, they only information the victim may have to gage their expectations of police procedure may be the unrealistic depictions used in policing dramas. This also indicates a need for policing agencies to give citizens an expected time frame for the police to arrive and if the citizen questions why it will take so long, offer an explanation. Again, this will give citizens a realistic expectation from which to draw their conclusions because in policing dramas the police appear to arrive to a crime scene a few minutes and in reality, the police are often not able to reach any given location so quickly. The idea and importance of managing citizens' expectations is not new to this study. For example, Kelling, Pate, Dieckman, and Brown's (1974) famous *Kanas city preventive patrol experiment* indicated that because the police are limited in this such as their resources, and the complexities of the criminal justice system/ due process policing agencies need to address "our expectations as to the police role in society" (p. 48). According to James (2011) citizens' expectations of government services, such as poling services, drive their perception/ satisfaction with those who render that service. Therefore, future research needs to be done on factors that set citizens' expectations of the police, not just how people perceive the police. Some research has been

done on this topic pertaining to the forensic shows serving a jurors' reference point as to what they should expect to see as efficient evidence of guilt (i.e., the "CSI effect") (Shelton, Kim, & Barak, 2006).

A review of the literature on media's influence of perceptions of the police did not result in any studies on how consumption of policing movies, social media, YouTube, or internet media influence how citizens perceive the police. To fill this gap in the literature this study included analysis of levels of consumption for these four types of media outlets. Consumption levels for none of these four types of media outlets were associated with a significant change in overall perceptions of the police.

An increase in the watching of policing movies was associated with an increase in the likelihood of observing a more favorable response to the questions regarding how a respondent viewed the police in their community. However, this influence was only significant for people who reported "never" having watched a policing movie, compared to those who reported watching policing movies "daily" or "weekly" for two of the questions. Respondents who reported having "never" watched a policing movie had a 65% (OR = .352, p = .003) reduction in the odds of responding more favorably than a person who reported that they watched policing movies "daily" or "weekly" when asked if they agreed with the statement, "the police in my community respond quickly when called" and were 61% (OR = .391, p = .012) less likely to respond favorably to the statement "the police in my community do a good job deterring crime."

In all of the models, levels of social media consumed was not associated with a significant change in how respondents rated the question. Some of the main ideas driving cultivation theory is that people are influenced by media because it is a cultural message

system in which different cultures come together to influence cultural norms (Gerbner, 1977). Social media allows for people from all over the word to instantly disperse unfiltered information ubiquitously. Between this and the sheer amount of people consuming social media it would not be a farfetched to predict that social media would have an influence on how people perceive the police. One possible explanation for this lack of influence is that when people are viewing social media, they are not actively seeking the information they are being presented with, the information is haphazard (Zuniga, Weeks, & Ardevol-Abreu, 2017). That is to say that just because people are frequently exposed to information on social media, do not mean that they are actually absorbing and retaining this information.

Viewing YouTube was only associated with a change in how people responded to the questions for one model. When respondents were asked their level of agreement with the statement "I try to avoid police officers," a decrease in consumption of YouTube was associated with an increase in the odds of observing a higher category. Viewing YouTube videos a "few times per week" compared to "daily" was associated with a 142% increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement (OR = 2.421, p = .003), watching YouTube videos a "few times per month" was associated with an increase in the odds of observing a higher level of agreement by 169% (OR = 2.694, p = .001), a "few times in the past 6 months" by 116% (OR = 2.158, p = .010) and "never" having watch a YouTube videos in the past 6 months increased the odds of observing a higher level of agreement by 109% (OR = 2.087, p = 0.019). For this statement, observing a higher rating indicates a less favorable attitude towards the police. This indicates that an increase in watching YouTube videos is associated with a more favorable view of the police. This is interesting because not only was this the only model that viewing YouTube videos was related to how

respondents rated this statement, but it was the only media outlet to be associated with an influence on respondents' levels of agreement with the statement.

Internet consumption, in general, was significant for one of the questions; "the police in my community do a good job deterring crime". For this question a decrease in internet consumption increased the odds of observing a more favorable response. When compared to a person who consumes internet media "daily," consuming internet media "a few times a week" increased the odds of observing a more favorable rating by 54% (OR = 1.547, p = .045), consuming "a few times per month" increase the odds of observing a more favorable rating by 106% (OR = 2.066, p = .010), and "hardly ever" consuming internet media increased the odds of observing a more favorable rating by 102% (OR = 2.025, p = .029).

When looking at situational factors, age was not significantly related to perceptions of the police. This finding is not consistent with the literature, as much of the literature indicates that age is positively related to perceptions of the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Brown & Coulter, 1983; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Dowler, 2002; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Webb & Marshall, 1995*).* This could be due to there not being much variance in age for the sample population. Race was significantly related to perceptions of the police. Compared to Non-Hispanic Whites, Non-Hispanic Blacks had the least favorable perceptions of the police, Hispanics had more favorable perceptions of the police than Non-Hispanic Blacks but less favorable perceptions of the police than Non-Hispanic Whites. Non-Hispanic White hade the most favorable perceptions of the police. These findings are consistent with the literature as African Americans have been found to have less favorable attitudes towards the police than whites (Albrecht & Green, 1977; Bayley &

Mendelsohn, 1969; Block, 1971; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Hagan & Albonetti, 1982; Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Tooley, Linkenbach, Lande, & Lande, 2015; Webb & Marshall, 1995; Weitzer &Tuch, 1999) and Hispanics have been found to have more favorable attitudes towards the police than African Americans, but less favorable than whites (Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). The literature has been mixed as to if males or females have more favorable attitudes towards the police (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002) or females (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). For this study, males had more favorable attitudes towards the police at a "nearly significant" level of statistical significance ($p = .051$) (Howell, 2008, p. 156). Prior research has indicated that community characteristics do influence how people perceive the police (Albrecht & Green, 1977; Hidelang, 1974). This study's findings did indicate that community characteristics may influence perceptions of the police, with people living in suburban communities having statically less favorable perceptions of the police than people living in rural communities, ($p = .039$). It should be noted that there was little difference between in the way respondents felt about the police between people who reported living in rural communities and those living in city or urban communities. This is noteworthy because at first glance a person may think that there would be a difference between urban and rural, but it was consistent with Albrecht & Green (1977) finding that rural and non-poor urban communities have very similar views of the police. The literature on income and perceptions of the police indicate mixed results, with some studies indicating that lower economic class is associated with lower perceptions of the police (Benson, 1981; Brown & Coulter, 1983) and other studies indicating that

income does not statistically influence perceptions of the police (Hidelang, 1974; Jesilow, Meyer, & Namazzi, 1995). This study also found that income did not statistically influence perceptions of the police.

Analysis of the data also indicated that there was a significant difference between perceptions of the police between University A and University B, with University B having significantly less favorable attitudes towards the police than University A ($p = .003$). This could be because of University A being located in a rural area and University B is located in an Urban area, but analyses of the data indicated that there was little difference in perceptions of the police for respondents who reported living in Urban areas and respondents living in Urban areas. Since this difference cannot explain why there was statistically significant difference between the universities future analysis of the data needs to be conducted to determine what the primary reason for this difference was.

6.2 Implications, limitations, and future directions

Much of the literature on perceptions of the police has been focused on the police as an institution. This study's finding that some media outlets do have an influence on how people perceive the police when asked about police in their community but not when asked about police, in general. This could imply that future studies on perceptions of the police may need to consider that people do not view all forms of policing agencies (i.e., state, local, or federal) the same and that what influences a person's perception of one type of police officer, may not influence their perception of another type of police officer.

When the traditional survey questions regarding perceptions of the police were compared to the vignettes, the way respondents rated each vignette was significantly related to how they answered the traditionally formatted questions about their perceptions

of the police. This is important because it can be argued that this method of gathering information may lead to respondents answering with social/ political biases about how respondents feel about the police, not how they actually feel about the police (Jasso & Milgron, 2008; Oll, Hahn, Reimsbach, & Kotzian, 2016). The fact that there was a direct significant positive correlation between the way respondents answered the traditional survey questions and the way the respondent answered the vignettes provides evidence that the traditional survey questions are not being influenced by social norms. The vignettes used in this study are simple, which may be allowing for some normative interpretation. Future studies investigating the difference between how respondents answer traditional survey questions compared to vignettes should consider using more elaborate vignettes that reduce the amount of interpretation the respondent uses in making judgments about the scenarios.

As with all studies, this study has its limitations. One of the first limitations that needs to be discussed is the measure of media consumption. The index measuring media consumption lists diverse types of media outlets, but within each type of media outlet, there are different genre of programs. There is no way of knowing what type of programming a respondent is consuming within each media outlet. Over the years, around 300 policing dramas have aired on American televisions, ranging from "authentic" policing dramas such as the *Law and Order* franchise or *Dragnet* to "gimmicky" policing shows such as *Columbo* or *Starsky & Hutch* (Dowler, 2016). The number of possible websites on the Internet, videos on YouTube, radio station broadcastings, newspapers/ new magazines etc. are too numerous to count. Knowing what kinds of programs are being consumed within each media outlet could be important to know because each one could have a different

impact on respondents' perceptions of the police. Secondly, when considering mass media consumptions and cultivation theory it would also be naïve to assume that respondents are only influenced by the consumption of one or two media outlets. When media consumption was combined in this study to look at the overall consumption levels of the three different media platforms represented in the study and overall perceptions of the police, there was not a significant influence. This could indicate that perhaps different media outlet genre's effects counteract each other. Thirdly, there also may be an interactive relationship between respondents and the media they consume (Dowler, 2002). That is to say that respondents who have more positive preconceptions about the police may choose to consume media programs that depict the police in a more positive manner and those who have more negative preconceptions about the police may gravitate more towards negative depictions of the police.

Most studies on how media influences perceptions of the police focus on one or a few different media outlets. Considering that most people consume multiple media outlets during the course of their lives, this left a gap in the liter true that needs to be filled. This study attempted to fill this gap by including nine different media outlets into the analysis to control for respondents consuming different media outlets. However, more research needs to be done to test if different genera within each outlet influence how people perceive the police.

The sample for this study was college students majoring in criminal justice. Criminal justice majors may already be more favorably biased towards the police than the general population of college students Some members of the sample are law enforcement officers, and many of the students who participated in the survey were currently enrolled

in a peace officer standards and training (POST) program. This may have also biased the results even further, as people who are law enforcement officers or who are currently training to become law enforcement officers are probably more pro-police, than the typical college student. Future studies on college students' perceptions of the police should include a more representative sample of college students.

Overall, this study just starts to fill the gap in the literature regarding Easton's (1965) theory about specific and diffuse support as it applies to the reservoir of support for policing organizations. With mass media outlets serving as a national message board of cultural norms and societal expectations, media outlets have the potential to influence levels of diffuse support. The findings that media consumption was related to respondents' levels of support when asked about police in their community, but not when asked about the police in general, indicates that media influences specific support for the police but not diffuse support. More research needs to be conducted to see if these findings can be replicated. If so, and media is influencing specific support for policing and not diffuse support then other possible sources of diffuse support needs to be explored. This is not to say that influences on specific support is not important to study, but that the gap in the literature regarding diffuse support and what fills the reservoir of support for policing organizations is still one that needs to be filled.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Dear Criminal Justice Student,

My name is Matilda Foster. I am a graduate student in the Criminology and Criminal Justice Department at the University of South Carolina. I am conducting a research study as part of the requirements of my degree in Criminology and Criminal Justice, and I would like to invite you to participate.

I am studying students' perceptions of police-citizen interactions. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to take a brief survey regarding your perceptions of police-citizen interactions. In particular, you will be asked questions about how you perceive hypothetical police-citizen interactions and situational/ demographic information that may influence perceptions of police-citizen interactions. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not wish to. Participation is confidential. Survey information will be kept in a secure location. The results of the study may be published or presented at professional meetings, but your identity will not be revealed. Taking part in the study is your decision. You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You may also quit being in the study at any time or decide not to answer any question you are not comfortable answering.

Upon completion of this survey you will have the opportunity to enter to win one of four $20.00 *Amazon.com* gift cards. We will be happy to answer any questions you have

about the study. You may contact me at Fosterm5@email.sc.edu or my faculty advisor, Dr. Robert Kaminski at kaminskb@mailbox.sc.edu if you have study related questions or problems. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Office of Research Compliance at the University of South Carolina at 803-777-7095.

Thank you for your consideration. If you would like to participate, please proceed in taking the survey by clicking on the next button.

With kind regards,

Matilda Foster

Currell College

1305 Greene Street

Columbia, SC 29208

Fosterm5@email.sc.edu

Welcome to Our Survey

Please tell us a little about yourself.

1. What university do you attend?

   A. University A

   B. University B

2. What is your gender?

   A. Female

   B. Male

3. Which race/ethnicity best describes you? (Please choose only one.)

   A. American Indian or Alaskan Native

   B. Asian / Pacific Islander

   C. Non-Hispanic Black or African American

   D. Hispanic or Latino

   E. Non-Hispanic White / Caucasian

   F. Multiple ethnicity / Other (please specify)

4. What year of college are you in?

   A. Freshman

   B. Sophomore

   C. Junior

   D. Senior

   E. Fifth year / Other

5. What is your age?

A. 18 to 19

B. 20 to 21

C. 22 to 23

D. 24 to 25

E. 26 or older

6. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a

A. Republican

B. Democrat

C. Independent

D. Something else

7. In what type of community did you grow up in?

A. City or urban community

B. Suburban community

C. Rural community

D. Other (please specify)

8. Please estimate your family's average household income up until the time you graduated from high school.

A. $0-$24,999

B. $25,000-$49,999

C. $50,000-$74,999

D. $75,000-$99,999

E. $100,000-$124,999

F. $125,000-$149,999

G. $150,000-$174,999

H. $175,000-$199,999

I. $200,000 and up

Please read each hypothetical situation and answer the question related to the situation.

9. **A 16.65%** A police officer stops you for speeding. You were going 10 miles over the speed limit in a commercial neighborhood.

How legitimate was the stop?

Not legitimate Somewhat legitimate Legitimate Very legitimate

B 16.67% A police officer stops you for speeding. You were going 10 miles over the speed limit in a residential neighborhood.

How legitimate was the stop?

Not legitimate Somewhat legitimate Legitimate Very legitimate

C 16.67% A police officer stops you for speeding. You were going 15 miles over the speed limit in a commercial neighborhood.

How legitimate was the stop?

Not legitimate Somewhat legitimate Legitimate Very legitimate

D 16.67% A police officer stops you for speeding. You were going 15 miles over the speed limit in a residential neighborhood.

How legitimate was the stop?

Not legitimate Somewhat legitimate Legitimate Very legitimate

E 16.67% A police officer stops you for speeding. You were going 20 miles over the speed limit in a commercial neighborhood.

How legitimate was the stop?

Not legitimate Somewhat legitimate Legitimate Very legitimate

F 16.67% A police officer stops you for speeding. You were going 20 miles over the speed limit in a residential neighborhood.

How legitimate was the stop?

Not legitimate Somewhat legitimate Legitimate Very legitimate

10. **A 16.65%** You and a friend are leaving a party. You are under the age of 21 and you consumed 1-3 alcoholic beverages in the past few hours. You see that the gas station across the street is being robbed.

How likely are you to call the police?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very likely

B 16.67% You and a friend are leaving a party. You are under the age of 21 and you consumed 1-3 alcoholic beverages in the past few hours. You see that the gas station across the street is being burglarized.

How likely are you to call the police?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very likely

C 16.67% You and a friend are leaving a party. You are under the age of 21 and you consumed 1-3 alcoholic beverages in the past few hours. You see that the gas station across the street is being vandalized.

How likely are you to call the police?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very likely

D 16.67% You and a friend are leaving a party. You are under the age of 21 and you consumed 4-6 alcoholic beverages in the past few hours. You see that the gas station across the street is being robbed.

How likely are you to call the police?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very likely

E 16.67% You and a friend are leaving a party. You are under the age of 21 and you consumed 4-6 alcoholic beverages in the past few hours. You see that the gas station across the street is being burglarized.

How likely are you to call the police?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very likely

F 16.67% You and a friend are leaving a party. You are under the age of 21 and you consumed 4-6 alcoholic beverages in the past few hours. You see that the gas station across the street is being burglarized.[16]

How likely are you to call the police?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very likely

11. **A 25.0%** You see a police officer writing you a parking ticket. The police officer politely explains why he is writing the ticket. You explain to the officer why you should not get the ticket. The officer ignores your explanation and finishes writing the ticket.

How fair was the officer's actions?

Very unfair Unfair Fair Very fair

B 25.0% You see a police officer writing you a parking ticket. The police officer gruffly explains why he is writing the ticket. You explain to the officer why you should not get the ticket. The officer ignores your explanation and finishes writing the ticket.

How fair was the officer's actions?

Very unfair Unfair Fair Very fair

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[16] The dimensions and levels were duplicated in question 10-F, resulting in questions 10-F not being used for analysis.

C 25.0% You see a police officer writing you a parking ticket. The police officer gruffly explains why he is writing the ticket. You explain to the officer why you should not get the ticket. The officer considers your explanation, but finishes writing the ticket. How fair was the officer's actions?

Very unfair Unfair Fair Very fair

D 25.0% You see a police officer writing you a parking ticket. The police officer politely explains why he is writing the ticket. You explain to the officer why you should not get the ticket. The officer considers your explanation, but finishes writing the ticket. How fair was the officer's actions?

V Very unfair Unfair Fair Very fair

12. **A 25.0%** You witness an assault. You do not know the victim. The victim is hurt badly. You got a good look at the assailant. You know the assailant. How likely are you to serve as a witness?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very Likely

B 25.0% You witness an assault. You know the victim. The victim is hurt badly. You got a good look at the assailant. You know the assailant.

How likely are you to serve as a witness?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very Likely

C 25.0% You witness an assault. You do not know the victim. The victim is hurt badly. You got a good look at the assailant. You do not know the assailant.

How likely are you to serve as a witness?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very Likely

D 25.0% You witness an assault. You do not know the victim. The victim is hurt badly. You got a good look at the assailant. You do not know the assailant.

How likely are you to serve as a witness?

Very unlikely Unlikely Likely Very Likely

Perceptions of the Police

13. Please answer the following questions using the scale 1= Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Agree, and 4= Strongly Agree.

A. The police are helpful.

B. I feel safer when I see a police officer.

C. I try to avoid police officers.

D. I would ask a police officer for directions if I was lost.

E. The police in my community are interested in solving community problems.

F. The police in my community do a good job deterring crime.

G. The police in my community respond quickly when called.

H. The police in my community are able to solve crimes in a timely manner.

Media Consumption

14. Please tell us a little about how much time you have spent consuming each of these several types of media outlets over the past six months using the scale 1= never, 2= daily, 3= a few times per week, 4= a few times per month, or 5= a few times in the last 6 months

A. The Internet

B. Newspapers or news magazines

C. The radio

D. TV news programs

E. TV police dramas (e.g., The Wire, Law & Order, Castle, Major Crimes)

F. TV police reality shows (e.g., COPS, The First48, LAPD: Life on the Beat)

G. Movies about the police

H. Social media (e.g., Facebook, Reddit, Twitter, Instagram

I. YouTube

Please tell us a little about your face-to-face interactions with police officers over the course of your lifetime.

15. Have you ever had one or more face-to-face contacts with the police in your lifetime?

A. Yes

B. No

16. If you answered yes to question 15:

How many face-to-face interactions have you had with police officers in your lifetime?

A. 1-5

B. 6-10

C. 11-15

D. 16-20

E. 21+

17. If you answered yes to question 15:

Overall, how satisfied were you with your face-to-face contacts with the police officer(s)?

Very dissatisfied Dissatisfied Satisfied Very Satisfied

18. If you answered yes to question 14:

A. Were the face-to-face contacts:

B. Mostly officer-initiated

C. Mostly self-initiated

D. Equally officer and self-initiated

19. Have you ever heard about a friend or family member's face-to-face contacts with the police in your lifetime?

A. Yes

B. No

20. If you answered yes to question 19:

How many face-to-face interactions with police officers have you heard about in your lifetime?

A. 1-5

B. 6-10

C. 11-15

D. 16-20

E. 21+

21. If you answered yes to question 19:

Overall, how satisfied were your friends/ family with their face-to-face contacts with the police officer(s)?

Very dissatisfied Dissatisfied Satisfied Very Satisfied

22. If you answered yes to question 18:

Were their face-to-face contacts:

A. Mostly officer-initiated

B. Mostly self-initiated

C. Equally officer and self-initiated

Thank you for completing our survey.

We appreciate the information that you provided. Your responses are important in helping us understand how students perceive police-citizen interactions. Please enter your email address below if you would like to be entered into a drawing for one of four $20.00 Amazon.com gift

APPENDIX B

DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

Table B.1 *Description of variables*

Variable	Label	Values	Freq.
School	What university do you attend?	University A	465
		University B	285
Gender	What is your gender?	Male	440
		Female	308
Race	Which race/ethnicity best describes you?	Other	40
		Non-Hispanic Black or African American	64
		Hispanic or Latino	71
		Non-Hispanic White/ Caucasian	575
Education Level	What year of college are you in?	Freshman	131
		Sophomore	163
		Junior	226
		Senior/ Other	230
Age	What is your age?	19 or under	245
		20 to 21	335
		22 to 23	98
		24 or older	72
Political Affiliation	Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?	Republican	352
		Democrat	169
		Independent	148
		Something else	77
		Missing	4
Area	In what type of community did you grow up in?	City or urban community	120
		Suburban community	411
		Rural community	210
		Missing	9

Table B.1 *Description of variables continued*

Variable	Label	Values	Freq.
Income	Please estimate your family's total household income at the time you graduated	less than $49,999	164
		50,000-$74,999	163
		$75,000-$99,999	127
		$100,000-$124,999	110
		$125,000 or above	171
		Missing	15
Speeding	A police officer stops you for speeding. You were going ___ miles over the speed limit in a ___ neighborhood.	Not Legitimate	166
		Legitimate	241
		Very Legitimate	342
	How legitimate was the stop?	Missing	1
Drinking	You and a friend are leaving a party. You are under the age of 21 and you consumed 4-6 alcoholic beverages in the past few hours. You see that the gas station across the street is being robbed.	Unlikely	197
		Likely	325
		Very Likely	227
		Missing	1
	How likely are you to call the police?		
Ticket	You see a police officer writing you a parking ticket. The police officer rudely explains why he is writing the ticket. You explain to the officer why you should not get the ticket. The officer considers your explanation, but finishes writing the ticket.	Unfair	194
		Fair	496
		Very Fair	59
		Missing	1
	How fair was the officer's actions?		
Helpful	The police are helpful.	Disagree	42
		Agree	375
		Strongly Agree	333
Safer	I feel safer when I see a police officer.	Disagree	112
		Agree	339
		Strongly Agree	298
Avoid	I try to avoid police officers.	Strongly Disagree	153
		Disagree	346
		Agree	251
Directions	I would ask a police officer for directions if I was lost.	Disagree	108
		Agree	306
		Strongly Agree	335
		Missing	1

Table B.1 *Description of variables continued*

Variable	Label	Values	Freq.
Community Problems	The police in my community are interested in solving community problems.	Disagree	156
		Agree	396
		Strongly Agree	195
		Missing	3
Good Job	The police in my community do a good job deterring crime.	Disagree	155
		Agree	434
		Strongly Agree	156
		Missing	5
Respond	The police in my community respond quickly when called.	Disagree	138
		Agree	440
		Strongly Agree	167
		Missing	5
Solve Crime	The police in my community are able to solve crimes in a timely manner.	Disagree	168
		Agree	460
		Strongly Agree	114
		Missing	8
Trust & Confidence	Additive scale of variables: Helpful, Safer, Avoid, Directions, Community Problems, Good Job, Respond, Solve Crime		737
		Missing	13
Internet	Within the last 6 months, how often do you get information about the police from the internet?	Daily	284
		A few times per week	255
		A few times per month	130
		Hardly ever	80
		Missing	1
Paper Media	Within the last 6 months, how often do you get information about the police from newspapers or magazines?	Daily or weekly	172
		A few times per month	173
		A few times in the past 6 months	182
		Never	223
Radio	Within the last 6 months, how often do you get information about the police from the radio?	Daily or weekly	88
		A few times per month	183
		A few times in the past 6 months	191
			138
		Never	147
		Missing	3
TV News	Within the last 6 months, how often do you get information about the police from TV news programs?	Daily	175
		A few times per week	287
		A few times per month	151
		Hardly ever	126
		Missing	11

Table B.1 *Description of variables continued*

Variable	Label	Values	Freq.
Drama	Within the last 6 months, how often do you get information about the police from TV police dramas?	Daily	179
		A few times per week	207
		A few times per month	161
		A few times in the past 6 months	99
		Never	100
		Missing	4
Reality	Within the last 6 months, how often do you get information about the police from TV police reality shows?	Daily	110
		A few times per week	179
		A few times per month	168
		A few times in the past 6 months	147
		Never	146
Movie	Within the last 6 months, how often do you get information about the police from movies about the police?	Daily or weekly	97
		A few times per month	229
		A few times in the past 6 months	300
		Never	119
		Missing	5
Social Media	Within the last 6 months, how often do you get information about the police from social media?	Daily	348
		A few times per week	221
		A few times per month	90
		Hardly ever	90
		Missing	1
YouTube	Within the last 6 months, how often do you get information about the police from YouTube?	Daily	94
		A few times per week	135
		A few times per month	160
		A few times in the past 6 months	153
		Never	205
		Missing	3
Tradition News	Additive scale of variables: Paper Media, Radio, & TV News		737
		Missing	13
Internet	Additive scale of variables: Social Media, YouTube, & Internet		745
		Missing	5
TV Entertainment	Additive scale of variables: Drama, Reality, & Movie		745
		Missing	5

APPENDIX C

REGRESSION MODELS

Table C.1 *Linear Regression model for situational variables predicting overall levels of trust and confidence in the police*

		Robust				
Trust & Confidence	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**t**	**P>|t|**	**[95% Conf. Interval]**	
School						
University B	-0.899	0.297	-3.03	0.003	-1.482	-0.317
Gender						
Female	0.579	0.296	1.95	0.051	-0.003	1.160
Race						
Non-Hispanic White (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	-2.481	0.573	-4.33	0.000	-3.605	-1.356
Hispanic or Latino	-0.870	0.506	-1.72	0.086	-1.863	0.123
Other	-1.371	0.564	-2.43	0.015	-2.478	-0.263
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	-0.829	0.453	-1.83	0.068	-1.717	0.060
Junior	-0.651	0.655	-0.99	0.321	-1.936	0.635
Senior/ Other	-0.885	0.688	-1.29	0.199	-2.236	0.466
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	-0.279	0.535	-0.52	0.602	-1.330	0.772
22 to 23	-0.105	0.739	-0.14	0.887	-1.556	1.346
24 or older	0.512	0.655	0.78	0.435	-0.775	1.799
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	-2.339	0.396	-5.91	0.000	-3.116	-1.562
Independent	-1.485	0.356	-4.17	0.000	-2.185	-0.785
Something else	-0.428	0.450	-0.95	0.341	-1.311	0.455
Income						
less than $49,999	-0.188	0.435	-0.43	0.666	-1.041	0.666
$50,000-$74,999	0.059	0.380	0.15	0.877	-0.687	0.805
$75,000-$99,999	0.001	0.416	0.00	0.998	-0.815	0.817

Table C.1 *Linear Regression model for situational variables predicting overall levels of trust and confidence in the police condinued*

	Coef.	Robust Std Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
$100,000-$124,999	0.275	0.434	0.63	0.526	-0.577	1.127
$125,000 or above (ref)						
_cons	15.283	0.523	29.25	0.000	14.257	16.309

Notes. Number of observations 710, F(20, 689) = 8.74, p > F= 0.000, R-squared = 0.1919, Root MSE = 3.5056

Table C.2 *Linear Regression model for different media platforms influence on overall levels of trust and confidence in the police*

Trust & Confidence	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
School						
University B	-0.932	0.308	-3.02	0.003	-1.537	-0.327
Gender						
Female	0.646	0.305	2.12	0.034	0.048	1.244
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	-2.432	0.580	-4.20	0.000	-3.570	-1.294
Hispanic or Latino	-0.996	0.518	-1.92	0.055	-2.012	0.021
Other	-1.375	0.579	-2.37	0.018	-2.512	-0.237
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	-0.720	0.463	-1.56	0.120	-1.630	0.189
Junior	-0.592	0.676	-0.88	0.382	-1.920	0.736
Senior/ Other	-0.821	0.704	-1.17	0.244	-2.204	0.561
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	-0.344	0.552	-0.62	0.534	-1.428	0.741
22 to 23	-0.142	0.753	-0.19	0.851	-1.620	1.336
24 or older	0.552	0.669	0.82	0.410	-0.762	1.865
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	-2.297	0.409	-5.62	0.000	-3.100	-1.494
Independent	-1.460	0.363	-4.03	0.000	-2.172	-0.748
Something else	-0.382	0.476	-0.80	0.422	-1.318	0.553
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	0.097	0.473	0.20	0.838	-0.832	1.026
Suburban community	-0.629	0.329	-1.91	0.057	-1.275	0.018

Table C.2 *Linear Regression model for different media platforms influence on overall levels of trust and confidence in the police continued*

	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Income						
less than $49,999	-0.240	0.445	-0.54	0.590	-1.113	0.634
$50,000-$74,999	-0.033	0.390	-0.09	0.932	-0.799	0.732
$75,000-$99,999	-0.062	0.418	-0.15	0.883	-0.883	0.760
$100,000-$124,999	0.313	0.457	0.69	0.494	-0.584	1.210
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Media						
Tradition News	0.051	0.061	0.83	0.404	-0.068	0.170
Internet	0.003	0.061	0.05	0.958	-0.116	0.123
TV Entertainment	-0.067	0.052	-1.30	0.193	-0.168	0.034
_cons	15.411	0.824	18.69	0.000	13.792	17.030

Notes. Number of observations = 716, F(51, 633) = 0.71, p > F = 0.5445, R-squared = 0.0031, Root MSE= 3.8764

Table C.3 *Linear Regression model for different media outlets' influence on overall levels of trust and confidence in the police*

Trust & Confidence	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
School						
University B	0.721	0.319	-2.26	0.024	-1.348	-0.095
Gender						
Female	0.280	0.323	0.87	0.387	-0.355	0.915
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	-2.411	0.575	-4.19	0.000	-3.541	-1.281
Hispanic or Latino	-1.187	0.492	-2.41	0.016	-2.152	-0.222
Other	1.217	0.612	-1.99	0.047	-2.418	-0.016
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	-0.429	0.478	-0.90	0.370	-1.368	0.509
Junior	-0.316	0.710	-0.44	0.657	-1.711	1.079
Senior/ Other	-0.446	0.737	-0.61	0.545	-1.894	1.001
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	-0.564	0.576	-0.98	0.328	-1.695	0.567
22 to 23	-0.390	0.769	-0.51	0.612	-1.899	1.119
24 or older	0.377	0.684	0.55	0.582	-0.967	1.721

Table C.3 *Linear Regression model for different media outlets' influence on overall levels of trust and confidence in the police continued*

	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	-2.263	0.404	-5.60	0.000	-3.056	-1.470
Independent	-1.403	0.376	-3.73	0.000	-2.142	-0.664
Something else	-0.483	0.490	-0.99	0.325	-1.445	0.479
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	0.286	0.464	0.62	0.538	-0.625	1.197
Suburban community	-0.701	0.339	-2.07	0.039	-1.367	-0.036
Income						
less than $49,999	-0.194	0.440	-0.44	0.658	-1.058	0.669
$50,000-$74,999	0.054	0.395	0.14	0.892	-0.722	0.829
$75,000-$99,999	0.060	0.423	0.14	0.887	-0.771	0.891
$100,000-$124,999	0.402	0.486	0.83	0.408	-0.552	1.356
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.505	0.359	1.41	0.160	-0.201	1.211
A few times per month	0.811	0.445	1.82	0.069	-0.063	1.684
Hardly ever	0.926	0.518	1.79	0.074	-0.091	1.943
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.072	0.406	0.18	0.859	-0.725	0.869
A few times in the past 6 months	0.100	0.416	0.24	0.81	-0.718	0.918
Never	0.261	0.403	0.65	0.519	-0.532	1.053
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.001	0.506	0.00	0.999	-0.993	0.995
A few times per month	0.072	0.508	0.14	0.887	-0.925	1.069
A few times in the past 6 months	1.070	0.540	1.98	0.048	0.010	2.130
Never	0.376	0.551	0.68	0.495	-0.706	1.458
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.013	0.393	0.03	0.974	-0.758	0.784
A few times per month	-1.036	0.474	-2.18	0.029	-1.967	-0.104
Hardly ever	-0.737	0.495	-1.49	0.137	-1.710	0.236

Table C.3 *Linear Regression model for different media outlets' influence on overall levels of trust and confidence in the police continued*

	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.511	0.458	1.11	0.266	-0.389	1.411
A few times per month	0.760	0.489	1.55	0.120	-0.200	1.720
A few times in the past 6 months	1.068	0.600	1.78	0.075	-0.110	2.247
Never	1.813	0.635	2.85	0.004	0.565	3.061
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	-0.388	0.562	-0.69	0.490	-1.491	0.715
A few times per month	-1.068	0.597	-1.79	0.074	-2.240	0.103
A few times in the past 6 months	-1.070	0.642	-1.67	0.096	-2.329	0.190
Never	-1.194	0.668	-1.79	0.074	-2.505	0.117
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	-0.375	0.446	-0.84	0.400	-1.250	0.500
A few times in the past 6 months	-0.674	0.484	-1.39	0.164	-1.624	0.276
Never	-0.912	0.600	-1.52	0.129	-2.090	0.265
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.085	0.376	0.23	0.821	-0.653	0.823
A few times per month	0.097	0.507	0.19	0.848	-0.898	1.092
Hardly ever	-0.186	0.477	-0.39	0.698	-1.123	0.751
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	-0.316	0.520	-0.61	0.544	-1.337	0.705
A few times per month	-1.189	0.516	-2.31	0.021	-2.202	-0.176
A few times in the past 6 months	-0.542	0.532	-1.02	0.309	-1.587	0.504
Never	-0.851	0.527	-1.62	0.107	-1.886	0.183
_cons	15.872	0.822	19.3	0.000	14.257	17.487

Notes. Number of observations = 685, F(51, 633) = 4.89, p > F = 0.000, R-squared = 0.2431, Root MSE= 3.4817

Table C.4 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Helpful"*

Helpful	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
School						
University B	0.708	0.131	-1.86	0.063	0.492	1.018
Gender						
Female	1.385	0.280	1.61	0.107	0.932	2.058
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.242	0.080	-4.30	0.000	0.127	0.462
Hispanic or Latino	0.385	0.142	-2.58	0.010	0.187	0.794
Other	0.279	0.113	-3.16	0.002	0.126	0.615
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	0.622	0.183	-1.62	0.106	0.350	1.106
Junior	0.335	0.146	-2.51	0.012	0.142	0.788
Senior/ Other	0.289	0.128	-2.81	0.005	0.122	0.687
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	1.884	0.685	1.74	0.081	0.924	3.841
22 to 23	1.970	0.904	1.48	0.140	0.801	4.843
24 or older	1.874	0.776	1.52	0.129	0.832	4.221
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	0.320	0.075	-4.84	0.000	0.201	0.507
Independent	0.461	0.107	-3.34	0.001	0.292	0.726
Something else	1.215	0.350	0.68	0.500	0.691	2.137
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	1.166	0.337	0.53	0.594	0.662	2.054
Suburban community	0.537	0.115	-2.90	0.004	0.353	0.818
Income						
less than $49,999	0.790	0.210	-0.89	0.376	0.469	1.331
$50,000-$74,999	0.957	0.229	-0.18	0.855	0.599	1.529
$75,000-$99,999	0.709	0.176	-1.39	0.165	0.436	1.152
$100,000-$124,999	1.080	0.323	0.26	0.797	0.601	1.940
$125,000 or above (ref)						

Table C.4 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Helpful" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.214	0.263	0.89	0.371	0.794	1.856
A few times per month	1.883	0.508	2.35	0.019	1.110	3.194
Hardly ever	1.122	0.368	0.35	0.725	0.590	2.135
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	1.275	0.328	0.94	0.346	0.770	2.112
A few times in the past 6 months	1.166	0.302	0.59	0.553	0.702	1.936
Never	1.812	0.451	2.39	0.017	1.113	2.950
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.316	0.405	0.89	0.372	0.720	2.405
A few times per month	1.107	0.339	0.33	0.739	0.608	2.018
A few times in the past 6 months	1.235	0.401	0.65	0.516	0.653	2.332
Never	1.190	0.385	0.54	0.590	0.631	2.245
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.226	0.289	0.87	0.386	0.773	1.945
A few times per month	0.807	0.232	-0.75	0.455	0.460	1.416
Hardly ever	0.955	0.288	-0.15	0.878	0.528	1.726
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.417	0.362	1.36	0.172	0.859	2.339
A few times per month	1.492	0.421	1.42	0.157	0.858	2.594
A few times in the past 6 months	1.845	0.630	1.79	0.073	0.945	3.604
Never	1.514	0.548	1.15	0.252	0.745	3.077
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.781	0.243	-0.80	0.426	0.425	1.435
A few times per month	0.794	0.263	-0.69	0.487	0.415	1.521
A few times in the past 6 months	0.620	0.220	-1.35	0.178	0.310	1.242
Never	0.391	0.149	-2.46	0.014	0.185	0.827

Table C.4 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Helpful" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.818	0.237	-0.69	0.489	0.463	1.444
A few times in the past 6 months	0.812	0.249	-0.68	0.497	0.445	1.481
Never	1.008	0.356	0.02	0.982	0.505	2.013
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.178	0.260	0.74	0.458	0.765	1.815
A few times per month	0.891	0.260	-0.40	0.693	0.503	1.580
Hardly ever	1.304	0.397	0.87	0.384	0.718	2.367
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.992	0.350	-0.02	0.981	0.497	1.979
A few times per month	0.673	0.226	-1.18	0.239	0.348	1.300
A few times in the past 6 months	0.729	0.254	-0.91	0.365	0.369	1.443
Never	0.648	0.233	-1.21	0.228	0.320	1.311
/cut1	-4.673	0.544			-5.739	-3.608
/cut2	-0.944	0.504			-1.932	0.044

Notes. Number of observations = 695, Wald x^2 (51) = 167.96, p > x^2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = 514.63528, Pseudo R^2 = 0.1452, Brant x^2 (51) = 56.53, p > x^2 = 0.276

Table C.4 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumption*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**56.53**	**0.276**	**51**
School			
University B	0.15	0.701	1
Gender			
Female	0.34	0.563	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	7.14	0.008	1
Hispanic or Latino	10.29	0.001	1
Other	0.03	0.854	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	2.38	0.123	1
Junior	0.03	0.867	1
Senior/ Other	0.02	0.878	1

Table C.4 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumption continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	0.30	0.583	1
22 to 23	0.24	0.621	1
24 or older	1.98	0.159	1
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	1.64	0.200	1
Independent	1.24	0.265	1
Something else	0.13	0.716	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	0.35	0.556	1
Suburban community	2.19	0.139	1
Income			
less than $49,999	1.83	0.176	1
$50,000-$74,999	1.45	0.228	1
$75,000-$99,999	0.12	0.730	1
$100,000-$124,999	0.02	0.894	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	3.34	0.068	1
A few times per month	8.56	0.003	1
Hardly ever	1.35	0.246	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	3.73	0.053	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.42	0.519	1
Never	0.00	0.988	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.00	0.970	1
A few times per month	0.16	0.692	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.89	0.346	1
Never	0.28	0.595	1

Table C.4 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumption continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.09	0.297	1
A few times per month	1.72	0.189	1
Hardly ever	0.05	0.825	1
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.92	0.166	1
A few times per month	1.35	0.246	1
A few times in the past 6 months	9.27	0.002	1
Never	0.82	0.367	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.24	0.265	1
A few times per month	0.87	0.352	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.60	0.206	1
Never	0.51	0.475	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	2.48	0.115	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.72	0.189	1
Never	4.94	0.026	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	7.48	0.006	1
A few times per month	1.31	0.253	1
Hardly ever	4.06	0.044	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.20	0.654	1
A few times per month	0.34	0.558	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.47	0.494	1
Never	0.48	0.488	1

Table C.5 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Safer"*

Safer	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
School						
University B	0.677	0.123	-2.15	0.031	0.475	0.966
Gender						
Female	0.926	0.178	-0.40	0.691	0.635	1.351
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.269	0.087	-4.07	0.000	0.143	0.506
Hispanic or Latino	0.592	0.177	-1.76	0.079	0.330	1.062
Other	0.542	0.164	-2.02	0.043	0.299	0.982
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	0.707	0.199	-1.23	0.217	0.407	1.226
Junior	0.921	0.359	-0.21	0.834	0.429	1.979
Senior/ Other	0.781	0.312	-0.62	0.537	0.357	1.711
Age						
19 or under (ref						
20 to 21	0.907	0.271	-0.32	0.746	0.505	1.631
22 to 23	1.088	0.428	0.22	0.829	0.504	2.352
24 or older	1.171	0.415	0.45	0.656	0.585	2.345
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	0.275	0.065	-5.45	0.000	0.173	0.438
Independent	0.400	0.089	-4.10	0.000	0.258	0.620
Something else	0.738	0.212	-1.06	0.289	0.421	1.295
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	1.439	0.379	1.38	0.166	0.859	2.411
Suburban community	0.851	0.162	-0.85	0.398	0.585	1.237
Income						
less than $49,999	1.000	0.259	-0.00	0.999	0.602	1.661
$50,000-$74,999	1.012	0.241	0.05	0.960	0.635	1.614
$75,000-$99,999	1.128	0.258	0.52	0.600	0.720	1.767
$100,000-$124,999	1.124	0.327	0.40	0.689	0.635	1.989
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.017	0.218	0.08	0.936	0.669	1.547
A few times per month	0.967	0.250	-0.13	0.896	0.583	1.603
Hardly ever	1.403	0.462	1.03	0.304	0.736	2.674

Table C.5 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Safer" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.962	0.229	-0.16	0.870	0.603	1.535
A few times in the past 6 months	1.281	0.311	1.02	0.307	0.796	2.062
Never	1.299	0.301	1.13	0.259	0.825	2.046
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.955	0.255	-0.17	0.863	0.566	1.611
A few times per month	0.919	0.250	-0.31	0.756	0.539	1.567
A few times in the past 6 months	1.724	0.527	1.78	0.075	0.946	3.140
Never	0.877	0.268	-0.43	0.667	0.482	1.595
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.108	0.241	0.47	0.636	0.724	1.697
A few times per month	0.765	0.215	-0.95	0.342	0.441	1.328
Hardly ever	0.818	0.231	-0.71	0.478	0.471	1.423
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.286	0.330	0.98	0.327	0.778	2.127
A few times per month	1.251	0.334	0.84	0.402	0.741	2.112
A few times in the past 6 months	1.618	0.543	1.43	0.152	0.838	3.124
Never	1.660	0.585	1.44	0.151	0.832	3.313
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.872	0.283	-0.42	0.674	0.462	1.648
A few times per month	0.797	0.260	-0.69	0.488	0.420	1.512
A few times in the past 6 months	0.816	0.290	-0.57	0.567	0.406	1.639
Never	0.530	0.199	-1.69	0.090	0.254	1.105
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.940	0.259	-0.22	0.823	0.548	1.613
A few times in the past 6 months	0.919	0.270	-0.29	0.774	0.517	1.635
Never	0.952	0.350	-0.13	0.894	0.464	1.956

Table C.5 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Safer" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.206	0.258	0.88	0.380	0.793	1.834
A few times per month	1.209	0.363	0.63	0.527	0.672	2.177
Hardly ever	1.056	0.301	0.19	0.849	0.604	1.847
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.879	0.242	-0.47	0.639	0.512	1.509
A few times per month	0.676	0.203	-1.31	0.192	0.375	1.217
A few times in the past 6 months	0.771	0.243	-0.83	0.409	0.417	1.429
Never	0.687	0.208	-1.24	0.214	0.380	1.243
/cut1	-3.155	0.473			-4.082	-2.229
/cut2	-0.619	0.468			-1.535	0.298

Notes. Number of observations = 695, Wald $x^2(51) = 156.63$, p > x^2 2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = -627.70158, Pseudo R^2 = 0.1086, Brant x^2 (51) = 58.40, p > x^2 = 0.222

Table C.5 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**58.40**	**0.222**	**51**
School			
University B	0.05	0.823	1
Gender			
Female	0.42	0.515	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.01	0.903	1
Hispanic or Latino	0.97	0.324	1
Other	4.55	0.033	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	4.57	0.033	1
Junior	0.34	0.559	1
Senior/ Other	0.11	0.740	1
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	0.00	0.949	1
22 to 23	0.19	0.664	1
24 or older	1.27	0.260	1

Table C.5 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	0.30	0.584	1
Independent	1.43	0.231	1
Something else	0.74	0.390	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	1.27	0.260	1
Suburban community	0.07	0.796	1
Income			
less than $49,999	0.58	0.446	1
$50,000-$74,999	0.51	0.476	1
$75,000-$99,999	2.76	0.096	1
$100,000-$124,999	0.70	0.404	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	5.42	0.020	1
A few times per month	7.37	0.007	1
Hardly ever	1.24	0.265	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.32	0.573	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.42	0.517	1
Never	0.00	0.957	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.55	0.456	1
A few times per month	0.00	0.960	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.03	0.864	1
Never	2.64	0.104	1
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	2.28	0.131	1
A few times per month	0.71	0.401	1
Hardly ever	0.12	0.727	1

Table C.5 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.00	0.947	1
A few times per month	0.04	0.840	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.33	0.250	1
Never	0.41	0.524	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.47	0.492	1
A few times per month	0.28	0.599	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.78	0.182	1
Never	1.32	0.251	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.28	0.598	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.06	0.813	1
Never	1.43	0.232	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.66	0.197	1
A few times per month	0.86	0.353	1
Hardly ever	0.24	0.621	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.95	0.331	1
A few times per month	2.39	0.112	1
A few times in the past 6 months	4.70	0.030	1
Never	5.87	0.015	1

Table C.6 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Avoid"*

Avoid	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
School						
University B	1.289	0.227	1.44	0.149	0.913	1.820
Gender						
Female	1.033	0.192	0.17	0.863	0.717	1.487
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	3.610	1.170	3.96	0.000	1.913	6.813
Hispanic or Latino	1.298	0.332	1.02	0.308	0.786	2.143
Other	1.867	0.637	1.83	0.067	0.956	3.646
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	1.051	0.270	0.19	0.848	0.635	1.739
Junior	0.596	0.233	-1.32	0.186	0.277	1.283
Senior/ Other	0.544	0.218	-1.52	0.129	0.248	1.194
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	1.664	0.537	1.58	0.114	0.884	3.131
22 to 23	1.470	0.622	0.91	0.362	0.642	3.367
24 or older	0.658	0.236	-1.16	0.244	0.326	1.331
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	2.579	0.625	3.91	0.000	1.603	4.148
Independent	1.939	0.401	3.21	0.001	1.294	2.907
Something else	1.817	0.551	1.97	0.049	1.003	3.291
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	0.849	0.205	-0.68	0.497	0.529	1.362
Suburban community	1.229	0.248	1.02	0.307	0.828	1.824
Income						
less than $49,999	0.711	0.175	-1.38	0.167	0.438	1.153
$50,000-$74,999	0.832	0.196	-0.78	0.433	0.524	1.318
$75,000-$99,999	0.706	0.166	-1.48	0.138	0.446	1.118
$100,000-$124,999	0.701	0.186	-1.34	0.180	0.417	1.178
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.795	0.169	-1.08	0.281	0.525	1.206
A few times per month	0.833	0.239	-0.63	0.526	0.475	1.463
Hardly ever	1.036	0.354	0.10	0.919	0.530	2.024

Table C.6 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Avoid" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.926	0.215	-0.33	0.740	0.587	1.460
A few times in the past 6 months	0.899	0.213	-0.45	0.654	0.565	1.431
Never	0.798	0.194	-0.93	0.353	0.495	1.285
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.832	0.251	-0.61	0.542	0.460	1.504
A few times per month	0.794	0.246	-0.74	0.458	0.433	1.458
A few times in the past 6 months	0.575	0.191	-1.67	0.095	0.300	1.102
Never	0.634	0.219	-1.32	0.187	0.322	1.248
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.928	0.213	-0.32	0.746	0.592	1.455
A few times per month	1.646	0.467	1.76	0.079	0.944	2.870
Hardly ever	1.482	0.453	1.29	0.198	0.814	2.697
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.179	0.299	0.65	0.517	0.717	1.938
A few times per month	0.888	0.244	-0.43	0.665	0.518	1.521
A few times in the past 6 months	0.983	0.332	-0.05	0.960	0.507	1.906
Never	0.735	0.267	-0.85	0.397	0.361	1.499
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.015	0.325	0.05	0.964	0.542	1.900
A few times per month	1.364	0.443	0.95	0.340	0.721	2.579
A few times in the past 6 months	1.069	0.384	0.19	0.852	0.529	2.160
Never	1.260	0.473	0.62	0.538	0.604	2.630
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.968	0.249	-0.13	0.900	0.585	1.602
A few times in the past 6 months	1.131	0.309	0.45	0.651	0.663	1.931
Never	1.066	0.361	0.19	0.850	0.549	2.069

Table C.6 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Avoid"*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.885	0.192	-0.57	0.572	0.578	1.353
A few times per month	0.743	0.220	-1.00	0.316	0.415	1.328
Hardly ever	0.778	0.248	-0.79	0.432	0.416	1.455
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	2.421	0.724	2.96	0.003	1.347	4.350
A few times per month	2.694	0.823	3.24	0.001	1.480	4.904
A few times in the past 6 months	2.158	0.640	2.59	0.010	1.207	3.859
Never	2.087	0.653	2.35	0.019	1.130	3.854
/cut1	-0.706	0.454			-1.596	0.184
/cut2	1.636	0.456			0.741	2.530

Notes. Number of observations = 695, Wald x^2 (51) = 117.66, p > x^2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = -668.15522, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0824, Brant x^2 (51) = 70.25, p > chi2 = 0.038

Table C.6 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**70.25**	**0.038**	**51**
School			
University B	2.12	0.146	1
Gender			
Female	0.37	0.546	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.19	0.659	1
Hispanic or Latino	0.02	0.880	1
Other	0.51	0.473	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	0.48	0.486	1
Junior	1.29	0.256	1
Senior/ Other	0.36	0.548	1
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	1.85	0.174	1
22 to 23	0.09	0.769	1
24 or older	0.08	0.783	1

Table C.6 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	0.23	0.630	1
Independent	0.27	0.600	1
Something else	1.23	0.268	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	5.03	0.025	1
Suburban community	1.20	0.274	1
Income			
less than $49,999	0.31	0.580	1
$50,000-$74,999	0.00	0.961	1
$75,000-$99,999	0.71	0.398	1
$100,000-$124,999	0.13	0.720	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	6.61	0.010	1
A few times per month	0.05	0.824	1
Hardly ever	0.27	0.604	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.16	0.688	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.03	0.865	1
Never	0.85	0.355	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	2.73	0.098	1
A few times per month	4.01	0.045	1
A few times in the past 6 months	2.10	0.147	1
Never	0.39	0.532	1
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.70	0.193	1
A few times per month	1.21	0.272	1
Hardly ever	2.27	0.132	1

Table C.6 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.00	0.982	1
A few times per month	0.09	0.766	1
A few times in the past 6 months	2.10	0.147	1
Never	0.00	0.948	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.85	0.357	1
A few times per month	0.58	0.447	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.17	0.280	1
Never	0.62	0.431	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.27	0.606	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.82	0.177	1
Never	0.21	0.644	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	3.77	0.052	1
A few times per month	1.22	0.269	1
Hardly ever	0.31	0.581	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.24	0.627	1
A few times per month	4.16	0.041	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.31	0.579	1
Never	2.26	0.133	1

Table C.7 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Directions"*

Directions	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
School						
University B	0.974	0.176	-0.15	0.884	0.683	1.388
Gender						
Female	0.860	0.160	-0.81	0.416	0.597	1.237
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.368	0.115	-3.20	0.001	0.200	0.679
Hispanic or Latino	0.786	0.223	-0.85	0.397	0.451	1.371
Other	0.701	0.243	-1.02	0.307	0.355	1.385
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	1.462	0.400	1.39	0.165	0.855	2.500
Junior	1.785	0.707	1.46	0.144	0.821	3.882
Senior/ Other	1.810	0.731	1.47	0.142	0.820	3.996
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	0.517	0.166	-2.05	0.040	0.275	0.971
22 to 23	0.539	0.223	-1.50	0.135	0.240	1.211
24 or older	1.134	0.453	0.31	0.754	0.518	2.480
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	0.389	0.095	-3.88	0.000	0.242	0.627
Independent	0.744	0.146	-1.50	0.133	0.506	1.094
Something else	0.722	0.224	-1.05	0.294	0.394	1.326
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	0.991	0.262	-0.03	0.972	0.590	1.663
Suburban community	0.892	0.170	-0.60	0.549	0.614	1.295
Income						
less than $49,999	1.157	0.299	0.56	0.574	0.697	1.921
$50,000-$74,999	1.055	0.241	0.24	0.814	0.674	1.652
$75,000-$99,999	0.805	0.197	-0.89	0.375	0.498	1.300
$100,000-$124,999	1.206	0.324	0.70	0.486	0.712	2.040
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.128	0.230	0.59	0.554	0.757	1.682
A few times per month	0.931	0.249	-0.27	0.790	0.552	1.573
Hardly ever	1.649	0.537	1.54	0.125	0.871	3.121

Table C.7 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Directions" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.956	0.214	-0.20	0.840	0.616	1.484
A few times in the past 6 months	1.143	0.254	0.60	0.547	0.739	1.769
Never	0.915	0.214	-0.38	0.704	0.578	1.448
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.887	0.257	-0.41	0.679	0.503	1.564
A few times per month	0.942	0.280	-0.20	0.842	0.527	1.687
A few times in the past 6 months	1.534	0.501	1.31	0.190	0.809	2.910
Never	1.104	0.376	0.29	0.772	0.566	2.152
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.177	0.251	0.76	0.444	0.775	1.787
A few times per month	1.007	0.275	0.03	0.978	0.590	1.721
Hardly ever	0.815	0.248	-0.67	0.502	0.449	1.479
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.262	0.319	0.92	0.357	0.769	2.070
A few times per month	1.583	0.450	1.62	0.106	0.907	2.763
A few times in the past 6 months	1.907	0.651	1.89	0.059	0.977	3.722
Never	2.694	0.949	2.81	0.005	1.350	5.375
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.020	0.318	0.06	0.950	0.553	1.879
A few times per month	0.633	0.210	-1.38	0.169	0.330	1.214
A few times in the past 6 months	0.731	0.262	-0.87	0.382	0.362	1.476
Never	0.581	0.225	-1.40	0.161	0.272	1.241
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.826	0.217	-0.73	0.465	0.494	1.381
A few times in the past 6 months	0.707	0.199	-1.23	0.218	0.407	1.228
Never	0.705	0.244	-1.01	0.312	0.358	1.389

Table C.7 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Directions" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.842	0.177	-0.82	0.414	0.558	1.272
A few times per month	0.872	0.265	-0.45	0.652	0.480	1.583
Hardly ever	0.779	0.220	-0.88	0.377	0.448	1.354
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.559	0.166	-1.96	0.050	0.313	1.000
A few times per month	0.555	0.163	-2.00	0.046	0.312	0.989
A few times in the past 6 months	0.730	0.233	-0.99	0.323	0.391	1.363
Never	0.614	0.192	-1.56	0.119	0.332	1.135
/cut1	-2.911	0.469			-3.831	-1.991
/cut2	-0.694	0.462			-1.599	0.210

Notes. Number of observations = 694, Wald x^2 (51) = 92.15, p > x^2 = 0.0004, Log pseudolikelihood = -649.14254, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0690, Brant x^2 (51) = 67.96, p > x^2 = 0.056

Table C.7 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**67.96**	**0.056**	**51**
School			
University B	0.61	0.434	1
Gender			
Female	1.66	0.198	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.59	0.442	1
Hispanic or Latino	0.00	0.956	1
Other	0.82	0.364	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	0.54	0.463	1
Junior	0.16	0.691	1
Senior/ Other	0.69	0.406	1
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	0.23	0.633	1
22 to 23	1.35	0.245	1
24 or older	0.03	0.857	1

Table C.7 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	3.21	0.073	1
Independent	0.03	0.860	1
Something else	5.56	0.018	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	0.01	0.938	1
Suburban community	1.64	0.200	1
Income			
less than $49,999	1.59	0.208	1
$50,000-$74,999	0.09	0.767	1
$75,000-$99,999	0.00	0.952	1
$100,000-$124,999	0.30	0.582	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.30	0.582	1
A few times per month	0.00	0.975	1
Hardly ever	0.35	0.555	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.00	0.972	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.13	0.723	1
Never	4.54	0.033	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.49	0.222	1
A few times per month	1.52	0.218	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.01	0.908	1
Never	0.01	0.943	1
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.57	0.211	1
A few times per month	0.00	0.965	1
Hardly ever	0.01	0.937	1

Table C.7 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.95	0.162	1
A few times per month	0.39	0.532	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.02	0.897	1
Never	3.96	0.047	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.09	0.761	1
A few times per month	0.39	0.532	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.20	0.654	1
Never	2.37	0.123	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	1.79	0.181	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.70	0.193	1
Never	2.41	0.120	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	2.16	0.142	1
A few times per month	0.16	0.688	1
Hardly ever	1.65	0.199	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.08	0.299	1
A few times per month	0.64	0.425	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.50	0.221	1
Never	2.69	0.101	1

Table C.8 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Community Problems"*

Community Problems	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
School						
University B	0.875	0.162	-0.72	0.471	0.609	1.257
Gender						
Female	1.255	0.238	1.20	0.230	0.866	1.820
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.475	0.174	-2.04	0.042	0.232	0.972
Hispanic or Latino	0.503	0.156	-2.22	0.027	0.274	0.923
Other	0.572	0.169	-1.88	0.059	0.320	1.023
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	0.933	0.250	-0.26	0.797	0.552	1.579
Junior	1.151	0.429	0.38	0.706	0.554	2.391
Senior/ Other	1.015	0.398	0.04	0.970	0.470	2.190
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	0.644	0.196	-1.44	0.149	0.355	1.171
22 to 23	0.583	0.241	-1.30	0.192	0.259	1.311
24 or older	0.929	0.375	-0.18	0.856	0.421	2.050
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	0.366	0.093	-3.96	0.000	0.223	0.602
Independent	0.725	0.154	-1.51	0.130	0.478	1.099
Something else	0.981	0.277	-0.07	0.947	0.564	1.708
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	1.006	0.264	0.02	0.981	0.602	1.682
Suburban community	0.663	0.130	-2.09	0.037	0.452	0.975
Income						
less than $49,999	0.856	0.214	-0.62	0.533	0.525	1.396
$50,000-$74,999	1.399	0.335	1.40	0.161	0.875	2.237
$75,000-$99,999	1.518	0.347	1.82	0.068	0.969	2.376
$100,000-$124,999	1.506	0.442	1.39	0.163	0.847	2.677
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.362	0.295	1.42	0.154	0.890	2.083
A few times per month	1.541	0.397	1.68	0.093	0.930	2.554
Hardly ever	1.643	0.511	1.60	0.110	0.893	3.022

Table C.8 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Community Problems" Continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	1.180	0.284	0.69	0.492	0.737	1.889
A few times in the past 6 months	1.136	0.292	0.50	0.618	0.687	1.879
Never	1.107	0.277	0.41	0.683	0.679	1.808
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.908	0.273	-0.32	0.748	0.503	1.638
A few times per month	1.005	0.305	0.02	0.986	0.555	1.822
A few times in the past 6 months	1.721	0.564	1.65	0.098	0.905	3.272
Never	1.082	0.363	0.23	0.815	0.561	2.088
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.860	0.194	-0.67	0.502	0.553	1.337
A few times per month	0.687	0.195	-1.33	0.185	0.394	1.196
Hardly ever	0.646	0.193	-1.47	0.143	0.360	1.159
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.405	0.349	1.37	0.170	0.864	2.286
A few times per month	1.401	0.370	1.28	0.202	0.835	2.352
A few times in the past 6 months	1.669	0.538	1.59	0.112	0.887	3.139
Never	1.920	0.735	1.71	0.088	0.907	4.065
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.698	0.209	-1.20	0.230	0.387	1.256
A few times per month	0.483	0.153	-2.30	0.022	0.259	0.899
A few times in the past 6 months	0.437	0.148	-2.44	0.015	0.225	0.851
Never	0.499	0.179	-1.94	0.052	0.247	1.007
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.893	0.229	-0.44	0.659	0.540	1.477
A few times in the past 6 months	0.779	0.216	-0.90	0.367	0.453	1.340
Never	0.843	0.300	-0.48	0.632	0.420	1.695

Table C.8 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Community Problems" Continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.976	0.213	-0.11	0.912	0.636	1.497
A few times per month	0.920	0.263	-0.29	0.769	0.525	1.611
Hardly ever	0.904	0.268	-0.34	0.735	0.506	1.617
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.055	0.335	0.17	0.866	0.567	1.965
A few times per month	0.504	0.156	-2.22	0.027	0.275	0.923
A few times in the past 6 months	0.748	0.254	-0.85	0.393	0.385	1.456
Never	0.624	0.215	-1.37	0.171	0.317	1.227
/cut1	-2.745	0.486			-3.697	-1.793
/cut2	0.006	0.468			-0.912	0.923

Notes. Number of observations = 693, Wald x^2 (51) = 138.08, p > x^2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = -639.96713, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0877, Brant x^2 (51) = 72.86, p > x^2 = 0.024

Table C.8 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**72.86**	**0.024**	**51**
School			
University B	3.39	0.065	1
Gender			
Female	0.05	0.823	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	3.06	0.080	1
Hispanic or Latino	0.20	0.657	1
Other	2.80	0.094	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	0.11	0.739	1
Junior	0.26	0.611	1
Senior/ Other	0.55	0.457	1
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	0.00	0.981	1
22 to 23	0.97	0.325	1
24 or older	2.16	0.142	1

Table C.8 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	3.02	0.082	1
Independent	0.13	0.718	1
Something else	0.37	0.542	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	0.05	0.828	1
Suburban community	6.08	0.014	1
Income			
less than $49,999	0.00	0.964	1
$50,000-$74,999	1.00	0.317	1
$75,000-$99,999	4.42	0.036	1
$100,000-$124,999	0.08	0.779	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	8.58	0.003	1
A few times per month	4.01	0.045	1
Hardly ever	3.56	0.059	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.22	0.640	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.67	0.414	1
Never	0.03	0.863	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.19	0.275	1
A few times per month	0.10	0.746	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.88	0.170	1
Never	0.05	0.828	1
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.02	0.886	1
A few times per month	0.14	0.704	1
Hardly ever	0.93	0.335	1

Table C.8 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.44	0.506	1
A few times per month	0.52	0.471	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.15	0.283	1
Never	0.69	0.407	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.17	0.683	1
A few times per month	0.45	0.500	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.00	0.962	1
Never	0.44	0.508	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.38	0.537	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.35	0.554	1
Never	0.00	0.978	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.32	0.573	1
A few times per month	0.11	0.738	1
Hardly ever	0.98	0.323	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.58	0.448	1
A few times per month	0.05	0.831	1
A few times in the past 6 months	3.07	0.080	1
Never	4.43	0.035	1

Table C.9 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Good Job"*

Good Job	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
School						
University B	0.556	0.105	-3.11	0.002	0.384	0.804
Gender						
Female	1.610	0.320	2.39	0.017	1.090	2.378
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.556	0.199	-1.64	0.101	0.276	1.122
Hispanic or Latino	0.688	0.197	-1.31	0.191	0.392	1.205
Other	0.645	0.228	-1.24	0.215	0.323	1.289
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	0.799	0.221	-0.81	0.417	0.465	1.373
Junior	0.610	0.249	-1.21	0.225	0.274	1.357
Senior/ Other	0.526	0.221	-1.53	0.126	0.231	1.199
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	0.943	0.316	-0.17	0.861	0.489	1.820
22 to 23	1.423	0.619	0.81	0.418	0.607	3.337
24 or older	1.362	0.571	0.74	0.461	0.599	3.097
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	0.470	0.117	-3.04	0.002	0.289	0.765
Independent	0.556	0.125	-2.60	0.009	0.357	0.865
Something else	0.853	0.256	-0.53	0.596	0.474	1.536
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	1.146	0.307	0.51	0.610	0.678	1.938
Suburban community	0.845	0.169	-0.84	0.400	0.571	1.251
Income						
less than $49,999	0.751	0.194	-1.11	0.268	0.452	1.247
$50,000-$74,999	0.860	0.214	-0.61	0.545	0.528	1.401
$75,000-$99,999	0.828	0.220	-0.71	0.476	0.492	1.392
$100,000-$124,999	1.047	0.301	0.16	0.873	0.596	1.838
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.547	0.337	2.00	0.045	1.009	2.371
A few times per month	2.066	0.580	2.59	0.010	1.192	3.583
Hardly ever	2.025	0.653	2.19	0.029	1.077	3.810

Table C.9 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Good Job" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	1.047	0.262	0.18	0.854	0.641	1.710
A few times in the past 6 months	0.843	0.207	-0.70	0.485	0.521	1.363
Never	0.942	0.233	-0.24	0.809	0.580	1.530
Radio						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per week	0.915	0.286	-0.28	0.776	0.496	1.689
A few times per month	1.174	0.368	0.51	0.608	0.635	2.172
A few times in the past 6 months	1.304	0.438	0.79	0.430	0.675	2.520
Never	1.116	0.391	0.31	0.753	0.562	2.218
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.758	0.178	-1.18	0.238	0.479	1.201
A few times per month	0.424	0.117	-3.11	0.002	0.246	0.729
Hardly ever	0.531	0.156	-2.15	0.032	0.298	0.946
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.601	0.428	1.76	0.078	0.948	2.703
A few times per month	1.393	0.391	1.18	0.238	0.803	2.416
A few times in the past 6 months	1.413	0.493	0.99	0.322	0.713	2.800
Never	2.813	0.993	2.93	0.003	1.408	5.618
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.690	0.236	-1.08	0.278	0.352	1.350
A few times per month	0.516	0.187	-1.82	0.069	0.253	1.052
A few times in the past 6 months	0.576	0.221	-1.44	0.151	0.271	1.223
Never	0.585	0.233	-1.35	0.178	0.269	1.276
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.659	0.182	-1.51	0.131	0.384	1.131
A few times in the past 6 months	0.584	0.170	-1.85	0.065	0.330	1.033
Never	0.352	0.125	-2.95	0.003	0.176	0.705

Table C.9 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Good Job" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.989	0.217	-0.05	0.961	0.644	1.520
A few times per month	1.225	0.364	0.68	0.496	0.683	2.194
Hardly ever	0.687	0.214	-1.21	0.228	0.374	1.264
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.488	0.493	1.20	0.230	0.778	2.847
A few times per month	0.957	0.312	-0.13	0.893	0.506	1.812
A few times in the past 6 months	1.462	0.510	1.09	0.275	0.739	2.895
Never	1.306	0.447	0.78	0.434	0.668	2.554
/cut1	-2.933	0.516			-3.945	-1.922
/cut2	0.250	0.500			-0.730	1.230

Notes. Number of observations = 691, Wald x^2 (51) = 144.17, p > x^2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = -595.67865, Pseudo R^2 = 0.1040, Brant x^2 (51) = 63.49, p >x^2= 0.113

Table C. (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**63.49**	**0.113**	**51**
School			
University B	0.01	0.912	1
Gender			
Female	0.63	0.428	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.22	0.643	1
Hispanic or Latino	1.34	0.246	1
Other	1.21	0.271	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	0.86	0.353	1
Junior	0.65	0.420	1
Senior/ Other	1.57	0.210	1
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	0.60	0.440	1
22 to 23	5.05	0.025	1
24 or older	1.75	0.186	1

Table C.9 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	0.51	0.477	1
Independent	0.02	0.886	1
Something else	0.51	0.473	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	0.12	0.732	1
Suburban community	2.65	0.104	1
Income			
less than $49,999	0.11	0.745	1
$50,000-$74,999	2.41	0.121	1
$75,000-$99,999	0.00	0.989	1
$100,000-$124,999	2.04	0.153	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.57	0.450	1
A few times per month	0.09	0.758	1
Hardly ever	4.14	0.042	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	3.44	0.064	1
A few times in the past 6 months	3.04	0.081	1
Never	5.47	0.019	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.00	0.948	1
A few times per month	0.00	0.981	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.72	0.397	1
Never	0.00	0.967	1
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.09	0.762	1
A few times per month	0.03	0.859	1
Hardly ever	1.22	0.270	1

Table C.9 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.02	0.884	1
A few times per month	1.31	0.253	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.62	0.433	1
Never	0.01	0.936	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	9.23	0.002	1
A few times per month	3.16	0.075	1
A few times in the past 6 months	3.07	0.080	1
Never	2.96	0.086	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.05	0.822	1
A few times in the past 6 months	2.33	0.127	1
Never	2.30	0.130	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.73	0.188	1
A few times per month	0.50	0.480	1
Hardly ever	1.21	0.271	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.61	0.436	1
A few times per month	2.33	0.127	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.36	0.547	1
Never	0.00	0.955	1

Table C.10 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Respond"*

Respond	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
School						
University B	0.664	0.121	-2.25	0.024	0.465	0.949
Gender						
Female	0.995	0.206	-0.02	0.982	0.664	1.492
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.708	0.243	-1.01	0.314	0.361	1.387
Hispanic or Latino	0.613	0.187	-1.61	0.108	0.338	1.114
Other	1.183	0.498	0.40	0.690	0.518	2.699
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	0.623	0.180	-1.64	0.101	0.354	1.097
Junior	0.509	0.206	-1.67	0.095	0.230	1.124
Senior/ Other	0.493	0.211	-1.65	0.099	0.213	1.142
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	0.914	0.305	-0.27	0.788	0.475	1.759
22 to 23	0.845	0.346	-0.41	0.680	0.378	1.885
24 or older	1.056	0.466	0.12	0.902	0.445	2.506
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	0.490	0.120	-2.90	0.004	0.302	0.793
Independent	0.510	0.113	-3.03	0.002	0.330	0.789
Something else	0.809	0.245	-0.70	0.483	0.446	1.464
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	1.033	0.289	0.12	0.906	0.598	1.786
Suburban community	0.816	0.163	-1.02	0.308	0.552	1.206
Income						
less than $49,999	0.744	0.195	-1.13	0.260	0.445	1.245
$50,000-$74,999	1.053	0.241	0.22	0.823	0.672	1.649
$75,000-$99,999	1.011	0.259	0.04	0.965	0.612	1.670
$100,000-$124,999						
$125,000 or above (ref)	1.053	0.298	0.18	0.855	0.605	1.832
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.075	0.232	0.34	0.736	0.704	1.643
A few times per month	1.298	0.335	1.01	0.312	0.782	2.154
Hardly ever	1.170	0.378	0.49	0.627	0.621	2.205

Table C.10 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Respond" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.873	0.208	-0.57	0.569	0.547	1.394
A few times in the past 6 months	1.000	0.255	0.00	1.000	0.607	1.649
Never	1.156	0.280	0.60	0.548	0.720	1.858
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.203	0.394	0.56	0.573	0.633	2.286
A few times per month	1.235	0.418	0.62	0.533	0.636	2.397
A few times in the past 6 months	2.084	0.754	2.03	0.043	1.025	4.236
Never	1.584	0.601	1.21	0.226	0.752	3.334
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.862	0.206	-0.62	0.535	0.539	1.378
A few times per month	0.390	0.120	-3.06	0.002	0.214	0.713
Hardly ever	0.466	0.159	-2.24	0.025	0.239	0.908
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.143	0.328	0.47	0.641	0.652	2.005
A few times per month	1.966	0.595	2.23	0.026	1.086	3.559
A few times in the past 6 months	2.585	0.917	2.68	0.007	1.290	5.180
Never	3.150	1.267	2.85	0.004	1.432	6.929
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.992	0.380	-0.02	0.983	0.468	2.102
A few times per month	0.631	0.249	-1.16	0.244	0.291	1.369
A few times in the past 6 months	0.672	0.267	-1.00	0.317	0.309	1.463
Never	0.786	0.324	-0.58	0.559	0.350	1.763
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.797	0.240	-0.75	0.451	0.442	1.437
A few times in the past 6 months	0.720	0.224	-1.05	0.292	0.391	1.326
Never	0.391	0.147	-2.50	0.012	0.188	0.816

Table C.10 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Respond" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.938	0.220	-0.27	0.784	0.593	1.484
A few times per month	1.027	0.318	0.09	0.932	0.560	1.883
Hardly ever	0.703	0.226	-1.10	0.272	0.374	1.320
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.220	0.410	0.59	0.553	0.632	2.357
A few times per month	0.788	0.272	-0.69	0.490	0.401	1.550
A few times in the past 6 months	1.125	0.390	0.34	0.734	0.570	2.222
Never	1.083	0.383	0.23	0.821	0.542	2.165
/cut1	-3.074	0.529			-4.111	-2.036
/cut2	0.081	0.511			-0.920	1.082

Notes. Number of observations = 692, Wald x^2 (51) = 108.13, p > x^2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = -602.93425, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0830, Brant x^2 (51) = 62.98, p > x^2= 0.121

Table C.10 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**62.98**	**0.121**	**51**
School			
University B	0.02	0.877	1
Gender			
Female	3.26	0.071	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.35	0.551	1
Hispanic or Latino	1.07	0.301	1
Other	0.52	0.473	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	0.25	0.616	1
Junior	1.45	0.229	1
Senior/ Other	0.20	0.659	1
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	1.94	0.164	1
22 to 23	0.22	0.638	1
24 or older	0.56	0.456	1

Table C.10 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	0.02	0.900	1
Independent	0.14	0.713	1
Something else	0.00	0.981	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	1.57	0.210	1
Suburban community	0.04	0.847	1
Income			
less than $49,999	4.91	0.027	1
$50,000-$74,999	1.47	0.225	1
$75,000-$99,999	0.02	0.880	1
$100,000-$124,999	0.07	0.796	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.00	0.984	1
A few times per month	0.51	0.475	1
Hardly ever	0.95	0.331	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.39	0.533	1
A few times in the past 6 months	3.38	0.66	1
Never	0.25	0.622	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	5.12	0.024	1
A few times per month	5.95	0.015	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.02	0.312	1
Never	2.42	0.119	1
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.33	0.564	1
A few times per month	.048	0.486	1
Hardly ever	0.27	0.602	1

Table C.10. *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.02	0.900	1
A few times per month	0.01	0.937	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.00	0.979	1
Never	0.24	0.627	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.97	0.324	1
A few times per month	1.73	0.189	1
A few times in the past 6 months	2.27	0.132	1
Never	2.42	0.120	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.26	0.608	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.57	0.451	1
Never	3.60	0.058	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.65	0.421	1
A few times per month	0.22	0.642	1
Hardly ever	0.08	0.781	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.86	0.173	1
A few times per month	0.40	0.528	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.17	0.280	1
Never	0.83	0.361	1

Table C.11 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Solve Crime"*

Solve Crime	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
School						
University B	0.719	0.138	-1.72	0.086	0.494	1.047
Gender						
Female	1.197	0.246	0.88	0.381	0.801	1.790
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.397	0.147	-2.49	0.013	0.192	0.821
Hispanic or Latino	0.677	0.217	-1.22	0.222	0.361	1.267
Other	0.717	0.274	-0.87	0.385	0.339	1.518
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	0.689	0.206	-1.24	0.214	0.383	1.240
Junior	0.563	0.246	-1.32	0.188	0.240	1.324
Senior/ Other	0.456	0.208	-1.72	0.085	0.187	1.113
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	0.897	0.329	-0.30	0.767	0.437	1.840
22 to 23	1.226	0.577	0.43	0.665	0.487	3.082
24 or older	1.452	0.660	0.82	0.411	0.596	3.537
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	0.508	0.129	-2.68	0.007	0.310	0.834
Independent	0.551	0.126	-2.61	0.009	0.352	0.863
Something else	1.015	0.336	0.05	0.964	0.531	1.941
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	0.816	0.248	-0.67	0.504	0.451	1.479
Suburban community	0.575	0.124	-2.57	0.010	0.377	0.877
Income						
less than $49,999	0.890	0.240	-0.43	0.664	0.525	1.508
$50,000-$74,999	0.779	0.194	-1.00	0.316	0.477	1.270
$75,000-$99,999	0.717	0.196	-1.22	0.223	0.420	1.224
$100,000-$124,999	1.053	0.296	0.18	0.854	0.607	1.826
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.248	0.268	1.03	0.302	0.820	1.901
A few times per month	1.919	0.524	2.39	0.017	1.124	3.277
Hardly ever	1.892	0.611	1.97	0.049	1.004	3.563

Table C.11 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Solve Crime" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.962	0.235	-0.16	0.873	0.595	1.553
A few times in the past 6 months	0.830	0.222	-0.70	0.486	0.491	1.402
Never	1.065	0.253	0.27	0.789	0.669	1.696
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.929	0.288	-0.24	0.812	0.506	1.706
A few times per month	0.746	0.245	-0.89	0.372	0.392	1.419
A few times in the past 6 months	1.459	0.519	1.06	0.288	0.727	2.928
Never	1.160	0.409	0.42	0.674	0.581	2.317
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.032	0.246	0.13	0.896	0.646	1.647
A few times per month	0.604	0.177	-1.72	0.086	0.340	1.075
Hardly ever	0.809	0.254	-0.68	0.499	0.437	1.496
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.984	0.256	-0.06	0.950	0.590	1.639
A few times per month	0.888	0.240	-0.44	0.660	0.522	1.509
A few times in the past 6 months	1.432	0.530	0.97	0.332	0.693	2.960
Never	1.802	0.696	1.52	0.127	0.845	3.843
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.034	0.353	0.10	0.922	0.530	2.018
A few times per month	0.738	0.260	-0.86	0.389	0.369	1.474
A few times in the past 6 months	0.536	0.209	-1.60	0.110	0.250	1.152
Never	0.905	0.353	-0.26	0.798	0.422	1.943
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.894	0.248	-0.40	0.687	0.520	1.540
A few times in the past 6 months	0.762	0.230	-0.90	0.368	0.421	1.378
Never	0.527	0.192	-1.76	0.079	0.258	1.077

Table C.11 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Solve Crime" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.067	0.247	0.28	0.779	0.678	1.679
A few times per month	1.071	0.337	0.22	0.828	0.578	1.986
Hardly ever	0.694	0.223	-1.14	0.256	0.370	1.303
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.086	0.354	0.25	0.801	0.573	2.058
A few times per month	0.657	0.216	-1.28	0.200	0.345	1.250
A few times in the past 6 months	0.883	0.300	-0.37	0.715	0.454	1.718
Never	0.616	0.209	-1.43	0.154	0.316	1.199
/cut1	-3.377	0.570			-4.494	-2.260
/cut2	0.073	0.547			-0.998	1.145

Notes. Number of observations = 689, Wald x^2 (51) = 126.12, p > x^2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = -566.21796, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0982, Brant x^2 (51) = 74.52, p >x^2= 0.017

Table C.1 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**74.52**	**0.017**	**51**
School			
University B	0.43	0.511	1
Gender			
Female	0.84	0.360	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.78	0.377	1
Hispanic or Latino	0.00	0.986	1
Other	0.04	0.847	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	3.73	0.053	1
Junior	0.43	0.514	1
Senior/ Other	2.19	0.139	1
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	0.27	0.602	1
22 to 23	1.97	0.161	1
24 or older	3.54	0.060	1

Table C.11 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	0.08	0.784	1
Independent	0.28	0.595	1
Something else	0.70	0.402	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	0.45	0.504	1
Suburban community	7.82	0.005	1
Income			
less than $49,999	0.00	0.993	1
$50,000-$74,999	6.19	0.013	1
$75,000-$99,999	0.49	0.484	1
$100,000-$124,999	3.27	0.071	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.80	0.180	1
A few times per month	0.47	0.495	1
Hardly ever	5.92	0.015	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.09	0.759	1
A few times in the past 6 months	4.68	0.030	1
Never	0.49	0.483	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.49	0.482	1
A few times per month	0.00	0.973	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.00	1.000	1
Never	0.00	0.957	1
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.37	0.242	1
A few times per month	4.21	0.040	1
Hardly ever	1.35	0.246	1

Table C.11 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.75	0.186	1
A few times per month	1.68	0.159	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.31	0.252	1
Never	4.86	0.027	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	4.19	0.041	1
A few times per month	5.39	0.020	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.84	0.360	1
Never	5.53	0.019	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.16	0.690	1
A few times in the past 6 months	2.32	0.128	1
Never	2.28	0.131	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.05	0.829	1
A few times per month	0.02	0.877	1
Hardly ever	2.70	0.101	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.55	0.213	1
A few times per month	0.00	0.966	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.25	0.264	1
Never	0.00	0.977	1

Table C.12 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Speeding"*

Speeding	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
School						
University B	0.955	0.164	-0.27	0.791	0.682	1.338
Gender						
Female	1.286	0.230	1.41	0.160	0.906	1.825
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)						
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.670	0.181	-1.48	0.139	0.394	1.139
Hispanic or Latino	1.051	0.292	0.18	0.858	0.610	1.810
Other	0.835	0.264	-0.57	0.569	0.450	1.552
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	0.767	0.200	-1.02	0.309	0.460	1.279
Junior	0.565	0.206	-1.56	0.118	0.276	1.156
Senior/ Other	0.673	0.246	-1.08	0.279	0.329	1.378
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	1.291	0.378	0.87	0.383	0.727	2.293
22 to 23	1.342	0.500	0.79	0.430	0.647	2.786
24 or older	2.186	0.799	2.14	0.032	1.068	4.476
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	0.692	0.155	-1.65	0.100	0.447	1.072
Independent	0.849	0.167	-0.83	0.406	0.578	1.248
Something else	0.761	0.218	-0.95	0.341	0.433	1.335
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	0.858	0.213	-0.62	0.535	0.528	1.394
Suburban community	0.936	0.175	-0.36	0.722	0.649	1.350
Income						
less than $49,999	0.802	0.201	-0.88	0.379	0.490	1.312
$50,000-$74,999	0.771	0.178	-1.13	0.259	0.491	1.211
$75,000-$99,999	0.878	0.220	-0.52	0.604	0.537	1.436
$100,000-$124,999	0.672	0.167	-1.60	0.110	0.413	1.094
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.844	0.171	-0.84	0.403	0.567	1.257
A few times per month	0.663	0.175	-1.56	0.118	0.395	1.111
Hardly ever	0.699	0.204	-1.23	0.219	0.395	1.237

Table C.12 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Speeding" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.923	0.212	-0.35	0.727	0.588	1.449
A few times in the past 6 months	0.805	0.181	-0.96	0.337	0.518	1.253
Never	1.006	0.227	0.02	0.980	0.646	1.564
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.356	0.340	1.22	0.224	0.830	2.216
A few times per month	1.217	0.317	0.75	0.451	0.730	2.030
A few times in the past 6 months	1.948	0.570	2.28	0.023	1.098	3.457
Never	1.348	0.405	0.99	0.320	0.748	2.429
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.021	0.202	0.11	0.916	0.693	1.506
A few times per month	1.224	0.321	0.77	0.441	0.732	2.048
Hardly ever	0.846	0.238	-0.60	0.551	0.488	1.467
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.091	0.256	0.37	0.710	0.689	1.728
A few times per month	1.053	0.282	0.19	0.848	0.623	1.781
A few times in the past 6 months	1.483	0.466	1.25	0.210	0.801	2.744
Never	1.809	0.591	1.81	0.070	0.953	3.432
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.799	0.222	-0.81	0.419	0.463	1.377
A few times per month	1.082	0.327	0.26	0.794	0.598	1.956
A few times in the past 6 months	0.560	0.166	-1.95	0.051	0.313	1.002
Never	0.709	0.237	-1.03	0.303	0.369	1.364
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	1.328	0.342	1.10	0.270	0.802	2.199
A few times in the past 6 months	1.303	0.338	1.02	0.308	0.784	2.166
Never	1.201	0.399	0.55	0.580	0.627	2.302

Table C.12 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Speeding" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.841	0.168	-0.86	0.387	0.569	1.244
A few times per month	0.795	0.218	-0.84	0.402	0.464	1.360
Hardly ever	1.039	0.292	0.14	0.891	0.599	1.803
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.666	0.192	-1.41	0.158	0.379	1.171
A few times per month	0.777	0.235	-0.83	0.405	0.429	1.407
A few times in the past 6 months	0.758	0.244	-0.86	0.390	0.403	1.426
Never	1.036	0.337	0.11	0.914	0.548	1.959
/cut1	-1.775	0.436			-2.631	-0.920
/cut2	-0.266	0.435			-1.119	0.587

Notes. Number of observations = 694, Wald x^2 (51) = 54.71, p > x^2 = 0.3356, Log pseudolikelihood = -704.49459, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0394, Brant x^2 (51) = 61.87, p > x^2 = 0.142

Table C.12 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**61.87**	**0.142**	**51**
School			
University B	0.03	0.866	1
Gender			
Female	0.12	0.733	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	3.17	0.075	1
Hispanic or Latino	1.21	0.272	1
Other	1.62	0.204	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	1.69	0.194	1
Junior	1.38	0.240	1
Senior/ Other	0.57	0.451	1
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	2.24	0.135	1
22 to 23	1.27	0.259	1
24 or older	1.20	0.273	1

Table C.12 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	1.81	0.179	1
Independent	2.58	0.108	1
Something else	0.39	0.534	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	0.00	0.998	1
Suburban community	0.11	0.741	1
Income			
less than $49,999	0.31	0.580	1
$50,000-$74,999	0.96	0.326	1
$75,000-$99,999	1.37	0.243	1
$100,000-$124,999	0.31	0.579	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.44	0.231	1
A few times per month	2.82	0.093	1
Hardly ever	0.56	0.456	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	2.17	0.141	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.31	0.578	1
Never	0.21	0.646	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.88	0.347	1
A few times per month	2.33	0.127	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.06	0.812	1
Never	1.00	0.317	1
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.06	0.804	1
A few times per month	0.00	0.987	1
Hardly ever	0.32	0.570	1

Table C.12 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.21	0.650	1
A few times per month	0.19	0.661	1
A few times in the past 6 months	2.33	0.127	1
Never	0.07	0.786	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.86	0.335	1
A few times per month	0.91	0.340	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.00	0.991	1
Never	0.44	0.508	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.67	0.413	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.02	0.900	1
Never	0.00	0.994	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	2.69	0.101	1
A few times per month	4.77	0.029	1
Hardly ever	0.00	0.950	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	1.04	0.308	1
A few times per month	0.02	0.882	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.14	0.707	1
Never	0.47	0.495	1

Table C.13 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Drinking"*

Drinking	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
School						
University B	1.005	0.182	0.03	0.977	0.705	1.434
Gender						
Female	1.051	0.186	0.28	0.778	0.743	1.486
Race						
Non-Hispanic white (ref)	0.497	0.173	-2.01	0.044	0.252	0.982
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.713	0.230	-1.05	0.295	0.379	1.342
Hispanic or Latino	1.042	0.286	0.15	0.880	0.609	1.785
Other						
Education Level						
Freshman (ref)						
Sophomore	1.342	0.354	1.11	0.265	0.800	2.251
Junior	1.429	0.533	0.96	0.338	0.689	2.967
Senior/ Other	1.217	0.465	0.51	0.608	0.575	2.575
Age						
19 or under (ref)						
20 to 21	0.760	0.245	-0.85	0.395	0.404	1.430
22 to 23	1.135	0.438	0.33	0.743	0.532	2.418
24 or older	1.209	0.470	0.49	0.626	0.564	2.590
Political Affiliation						
Republican (ref)						
Democrat	1.039	0.237	0.17	0.866	0.664	1.626
Independent	1.101	0.226	0.47	0.640	0.736	1.646
Something else	1.194	0.321	0.66	0.509	0.706	2.021
Area						
Rural community (ref)						
City or urban community	1.126	0.282	0.48	0.634	0.690	1.840
Suburban community	0.915	0.162	-0.50	0.616	0.647	1.295
Income						
less than $49,999	0.660	0.165	-1.67	0.096	0.404	1.076
$50,000-$74,999	0.748	0.177	-1.23	0.220	0.471	1.190
$75,000-$99,999	0.721	0.168	-1.40	0.161	0.457	1.139
$100,000-$124,999	0.654	0.171	-1.63	0.103	0.392	1.090
$125,000 or above (ref)						
Internet						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.183	0.235	0.84	0.398	0.801	1.746
A few times per month	0.961	0.251	-0.15	0.878	0.576	1.602
Hardly ever	0.930	0.291	-0.23	0.816	0.503	1.719

Table C.13 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Drinking" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Paper Media						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	1.219	0.284	0.85	0.394	0.773	1.924
A few times in the past 6 months	1.309	0.302	1.17	0.243	0.833	2.057
Never	1.534	0.369	1.78	0.075	0.958	2.456
Radio						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.166	0.306	0.59	0.558	0.697	1.949
A few times per month	0.981	0.261	-0.07	0.943	0.583	1.653
A few times in the past 6 months	1.333	0.395	0.97	0.331	0.746	2.381
Never	1.179	0.351	0.55	0.580	0.658	2.115
TV News						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.989	0.202	-0.05	0.957	0.662	1.477
A few times per month	0.955	0.253	-0.18	0.861	0.567	1.606
Hardly ever	0.910	0.274	-0.31	0.754	0.504	1.642
Drama						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.850	0.225	-0.61	0.539	0.506	1.428
A few times per month	1.090	0.309	0.30	0.761	0.625	1.902
A few times in the past 6 months	0.854	0.275	-0.49	0.624	0.455	1.605
Never	1.313	0.490	0.73	0.466	0.632	2.729
Reality TV						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.178	0.346	0.56	0.578	0.662	2.095
A few times per month	0.868	0.277	-0.44	0.658	0.464	1.624
A few times in the past 6 months	1.165	0.390	0.46	0.647	0.605	2.245
Never	1.252	0.448	0.63	0.531	0.621	2.524
Movies						
Daily or weekly (ref)						
A few times per month	0.710	0.188	-1.29	0.196	0.423	1.193
A few times in the past 6 months	0.720	0.203	-1.17	0.244	0.414	1.251
Never	0.744	0.246	-0.89	0.371	0.390	1.421

Table C.13 *Ordered Logistic Regression with dependent variable "Drinking" continued*

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Social Media						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	0.998	0.200	-0.01	0.994	0.674	1.479
A few times per month	1.076	0.298	0.26	0.792	0.625	1.850
Hardly ever	1.011	0.283	0.04	0.968	0.585	1.749
YouTube						
Daily (ref)						
A few times per week	1.261	0.330	0.89	0.376	0.755	2.107
A few times per month	0.935	0.266	-0.24	0.813	0.535	1.634
A few times in the past 6 months	1.155	0.335	0.50	0.620	0.654	2.040
Never	0.957	0.291	-0.14	0.886	0.528	1.736
/cut1	-1.017	0.459			-1.916	-0.118
/cut2	0.907	0.460			0.006	1.808

Notes. Number of observations = 694, Wald x^2 (51) = 36.25, p > x^2 = 0.9411, Log pseudolikelihood = -729.43662, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0238, Brant x^2 (51) = 49.53, p > x^2 = 0.532

Table C.13 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**49.53**	**0.532**	**51**
School			
University B	0.07	0.794	1
Gender			
Female	7.28	0.007	1
Race			
Non-Hispanic white (ref)			
Non-Hispanic Black/ A. A.	0.11	0.735	1
Hispanic or Latino	0.02	0.880	1
Other	0.10	0.754	1
Education Level			
Freshman (ref)			
Sophomore	0.48	0.489	1
Junior	0.03	0.865	1
Senior/ Other	0.05	0.816	1
Age			
19 or under (ref)			
20 to 21	0.99	0.320	1
22 to 23	0.57	0.448	1
24 or older	0.64	0.423	1

Table C.13 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Political Affiliation			
Republican (ref)			
Democrat	0.95	0.330	1
Independent	0.00	0.944	1
Something else	0.05	0.825	1
Area			
Rural community (ref)			1
City or urban community	3.67	0.057	1
Suburban community	3.18	0.075	1
Income			
less than $49,999	0.40	0.526	1
$50,000-$74,999	0.31	0.577	1
$75,000-$99,999	4.33	0.037	1
$100,000-$124,999	3.17	0.075	1
$125,000 or above (ref)			
Internet			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.09	0.770	1
A few times per month	2.01	0.156	1
Hardly ever	0.11	0.743	1
Paper Media			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.83	0.362	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.04	0.835	1
Never	0.02	0.882	1
Radio			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.33	0.568	1
A few times per month	0.01	0.940	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.55	0.457	1
Never	0.22	0.641	1
TV News			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	2.81	0.094	1
A few times per month	0.40	0.527	1
Hardly ever	0.56	0.453	1

Table C.13 *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions continued*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
Drama			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.82	0.366	1
A few times per month	3.13	0.077	1
A few times in the past 6 months	5.85	0.016	1
Never	0.08	0.776	1
Reality TV			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.06	0.808	1
A few times per month	0.90	0.343	1
A few times in the past 6 months	2.10	0.147	1
Never	0.07	0.787	1
Movies			
Daily or weekly (ref)			
A few times per month	0.19	0.660	1
A few times in the past 6 months	0.00	0.978	1
Never	0.00	0.971	1
Social Media			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.01	0.906	1
A few times per month	0.04	0.845	1
Hardly ever	0.54	0.464	1
YouTube			
Daily (ref)			
A few times per week	0.02	0.897	1
A few times per month	2.23	0.136	1
A few times in the past 6 months	1.31	0.252	1
Never	2.49	0.115	1

Table C.14 *Ordered Logistic Regression with "Trust & Confidence" predicting rating of the vignette "Speeding"*

Speeding	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Trust & Confidence	1.108	.0198	5.73	0.000	1.070	1.147
/Cut1	0.012	2.33			-0.444	0.468
/Cut2	1.492	0.240			1.022	1.963

Notes. Number of observations = 736, Wald x^2 (1) = 32.80, p > x^2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = -761.71299, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0206, Brant x^2 (1) = 2.09, p > x^2 = 0.148

Table C.14 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**2.09**	**0.148**	**1**
Trust & Confidence	2.09	0.148	1

Table C.15 *Ordered Logistic Regression with "Trust & Confidence" predicting rating of the vignette "Drinking"*

Drinking	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Trust & Confidence	1.090	0.021	4.43	0.000	1.048	1.130
/Cut1	0.030	0.253			-0.466	0.526
/Cut2	1.942	0.267			1.419	2.465

Notes. Number of observations = 736, Wald x^2 (1) = 19.63, p > x^2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = -780.28544, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0137, Brant x^2 (1) = 0.01, p > x^2 = 0.913

Table C.15 (Continued) *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**0.01**	**0.913**	**1**
Trust & Confidence	0.01	0.913	1

Table C.16: *Ordered Logistic Regression with "Trust & Confidence" predicting rating of the vignette "Ticket"*

Ticket	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Trust & Confidence	1.124	0.024	5.36	0.000	1.077	1.173
/Cut1	0.385	0.274			-0.152	0.923
/Cut2	4.058	0.321			3.430	4.687

Notes. Number of observations = 736, Wald x^2 (1) = 28.68, p > x^2 = 0.0000, Log pseudolikelihood = -585.99539, Pseudo R^2 = 0.0268, Brant x^2 (1) = 4.56, p > x^2 = 0.033

Table C.16.1: *Brant test of parallel slopes assumptions*

	x^2	P > x^2	df
All	**4.56**	**0.033**	**1**
Trust & Confidence	4.56	0.033	1

APPENDIX D

MULTICOLLINEARITY TEST

Table D.1 *Variance Inflation Factor Table*

Variable	VIF	SQRT VIF	Tolerance	R-Squared
Radio1	1.83	1.35	0.5453	0.4547
Radio2	2.19	1.48	0.4563	0.5437
Radio3	2.04	1.43	0.4892	0.5108
Radio4	1.72	1.31	0.5806	0.4194
Paper Media1	1.64	1.28	0.6087	0.3913
Paper Media2	1.64	1.25	0.6105	0.3895
Paper Media3	1.54	1.24	0.6491	0.3509
Internet1	4.14	2.03	0.2415	0.7585
Internet2	3.61	1.90	0.2768	0.7232
Internet3	2.58	1.61	0.3869	0.6131
YouTube2	1.34	1.16	0.7459	0.2541
YouTube3	1.34	1.16	0.7462	0.2538
YouTube4	1.39	1.18	0.7182	0.2818
Social Media1	3.77	1.94	0.2651	0.7349
Social Media2	2.93	1.71	0.3410	0.6590
Social Media3	1.97	1.41	0.5063	0.4937
Movie1	2.11	1.45	0.4744	0.5256
Movie2	2.70	1.64	0.3698	0.6302
Movie3	2.61	1.62	0.3827	0.6173
Reality1	2.69	1.64	0.3723	0.6277
Reality2	2.51	1.58	0.3989	0.6011
Reality3	2.26	1.50	0.4428	0.5572
Reality4	2.09	1.44	0.4796	0.5204
Drama1	3.86	1.96	0.2593	0.7407
Drama2	3.26	1.81	0.3065	0.6935
Drama3	2.76	1.66	0.3627	0.6373
Drama4	2.15	1.47	0.4644	0.5356

Table D.1 *Variance Inflation Factor Table Continued*

Variable	VIF	SQRT VIF	Tolerance	R-Squared
TV News1	2.76	1.66	0.3620	0.6380
TV News2	2.78	1.67	0.3594	0.6406
TV News3	2.16	1.47	0.4640	0.5360
Gender1	1.27	1.13	0.7870	0.2130
School	1.17	1.08	0.8535	0.1465
Income1	1.85	1.36	0.5404	0.4596
Income2	1.67	1.29	0.5973	0.4027
Income3	1.57	1.25	0.6387	0.3613
Income4	1.54	1.24	0.6513	0.3487
Area1	1.50	1.23	0.6648	0.3352
Area2	1.56	1.25	0.6428	0.3572
Political Afiliation1	3.58	1.89	0.2793	0.7207
Political Afiliation2	3.04	1.74	0.3288	0.6712
Political Afiliation3	2.73	1.65	0.3663	0.6337
Age1	3.12	1.77	0.3207	0.6793
Age2	3.34	1.83	0.2998	0.7002
Age3	2.20	1.48	0.4547	0.5453
Race1	1.12	1.06	0.8895	0.1105
Race2	1.32	1.15	0.7584	0.2416
Race3	1.20	1.09	0.8364	0.1636
Mean VIF	2.26			

Table D.2 *Table of Eignvalues and Condition Index Values*

	Eignvalues	Condition Index
1	13.3310	1.0000
2	2.6223	2.2547
3	1.7447	2.7642
4	1.5892	2.8963
5	1.4603	3.0186
6	1.3586	3.1324
7	1.2957	3.2076
8	1.2514	3.2639

Table D.2 *Table of Eignvalues and Condition Index Values Continued*

	Eignvalues	Condition Index
9	1.1894	3.3479
10	1.1456	3.4113
11	1.1327	3.4307
12	1.0997	3.4817
13	1.0712	3.5277
14	1.0241	3.6079
15	1.0120	3.6295
16	0.9872	3.6747
17	0.9464	3.7531
18	0.9286	3.7890
19	0.8798	3.8927
20	0.8699	3.9146
21	0.8641	3.9278
22	0.8360	3.9933
23	0.7652	4.1736
24	0.7481	4.2215
25	0.7125	4.3254
26	0.7016	4.3591
27	0.6600	4.4944
28	0.6332	4.5883
29	0.5996	4.7151
30	0.5441	4.9499
31	0.5399	4.9692
32	0.4741	5.3025
33	0.4099	5.7032
34	0.3608	6.0786
35	0.3448	6.2177
36	0.2937	6.7366

Table D.2 *Table of Eignvalues and Condition Index Values Continued*

	Eignvalues	Condition Index
37	0.2882	6.8015
38	0.2381	7.4829
39	0.1914	8.3456
40	0.1594	9.1440
41	0.1420	9.6886
42	0.1177	10.6405
43	0.1036	11.3440
44	0.0999	11.5502
45	0.0804	12.8744
46	0.0695	13.8533
47	0.0619	14.6721
48	0.0176	27.5146
	Condition Number	27.5146

Table D.3 *Condition Indexes and Variance-Decomposition Proportions*

	Con Index	_Cons	Radio 1	Radio 2	Radio 3	Radio 4	Paper Media 1	Paper Media 2	Paper Media 3	Internet 1	Internet 2	Internet 3	YouTube 2	YouTube 3
1	1.00	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
2	2.25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
3	2.76	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
4	2.90	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
5	3.02	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
6	3.13	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
7	3.21	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
8	3.26	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9	3.35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10	3.41	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11	3.43	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12	3.48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
13	3.53	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
14	3.61	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
15	3.63	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
16	3.67	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
17	3.75	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
18	3.79	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
19	3.89	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
20	3.91	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
21	3.93	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
22	3.99	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
23	4.17	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Table D.3 *Condition Indexes and Variance-Decomposition Proportions Continued*

	Con Index	_Cons	Radio 1	Radio 2	Radio 3	Radio 4	Paper Media 1	Paper Media 2	Paper Media 3	Internet 1	Internet 2	Internet 3	YouTube 2	YouTube 3
24	4.22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
25	4.33	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
26	4.36	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
27	4.49	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
28	4.59	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
29	4.72	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
30	4.95	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
31	4.97	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
32	5.30	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
33	5.70	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
34	6.08	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.32	0.32
35	6.22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
36	6.74	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
37	6.80	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
38	7.48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
39	8.35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
40	9.14	.	0.35	0.47	0.46	0.44	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
41	9.69	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		
42	10.64	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
43	11.34	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
44	11.55	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
45	12.87	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
46	13.85	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Table D.3 *Condition Indexes and Variance-Decomposition Proportions Continued*

	Con Index	_Cons	Radio 1	Radio 2	Radio 3	Radio 4	Paper Media 1	Paper Media 2	Paper Media 3	Internet 1	Internet 2	Internet 3	YouTube 2	YouTube 3
47	14.67	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.67	0.59	0.42	.	.
48	27.51	0.99	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

		YouTube 4	Social Media 1	Social Media 2	Social Media 3	Movie 1	Movie 2	Movie 3	Reality 1	Reality 2	Reality 3	Reality 4	Drama 1	Drama 2
1	1.00	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
2	2.25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
3	2.76	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
4	2.90	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
5	3.02	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
6	3.13	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
7	3.21	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
8	3.26	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9	3.35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10	3.41	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11	3.43	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12	3.48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
13	3.53	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
14	3.61	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
15	3.63	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
16	3.67	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
17	3.75	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
18	3.79	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
19	3.89	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
20	3.91	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Table D.3 *Condition Indexes and Variance-Decomposition Proportions Continued*

		YouTube 4	Social Media 1	Social Media 2	Social Media 3	Movie 1	Movie 2	Movie 3	Reality 1	Reality 2	Reality 3	Reality 4	Drama 1	Drama 2
21	3.93	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
22	3.99	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
23	4.17	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
24	4.22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
25	4.33	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
26	4.36	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
27	4.49	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
28	4.59	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
29	4.72	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
30	4.95	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
31	4.97	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
32	5.30	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
33	5.70	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
34	6.08	0.36	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
35	6.22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
36	6.74	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
37	6.80	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
38	7.48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
39	8.35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
40	9.14	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
41	9.69						.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
42	10.64	.	.	.	.	.	0.41	0.36	.	.	.	.	.	.
43	11.34	.	0.34	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
44	11.55	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Table D.3 *Condition Indexes and Variance-Decomposition Proportions Continued*

		YouTube 4	Social Media 1	Social Media 2	Social Media 3	Movie 1	Movie 2	Movie 3	Reality 1	Reality 2	Reality 3	Reality 4	Drama 1	Drama 2
45	12.87	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
46	13.85	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.69	0.64
47	14.67	.	0.45	0.38	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
48	27.51	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

		Drama 3	Drama 4	TV News 1	TV News 2	TV News 3	Income 1	Income 2	Income 3	Income 4	Gender	School	Political Affiliation 1	Political Affiliation 2
1	1.00	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
2	2.25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
3	2.76	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
4	2.90	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
5	3.02	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
6	3.13	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
7	3.21	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
8	3.26	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9	3.35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10	3.41	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11	3.43	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12	3.48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
13	3.53	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
14	3.61	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
15	3.63	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
16	3.67	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
17	3.75	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
18	3.79	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Table D.3 *Condition Indexes and Variance-Decomposition Proportions Continued*

		Drama 3	Drama 4	TV News 1	TV News 2	TV News 3	Income 1	Income 2	Income 3	Income 4	Gender	School	Political Affiliation 1	Political Affiliation 2
19	3.89	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
20	3.91	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
21	3.93	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
22	3.99	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
23	4.17	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
24	4.22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
25	4.33	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
26	4.36	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
27	4.49	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
28	4.59	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
29	4.72	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
30	4.95	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
31	4.97	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
32	5.30	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
33	5.70	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
34	6.08	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.4	.	.
35	6.22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
36	6.74	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
37	6.80	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.36	.	.	.
38	7.48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.39	.	.
39	8.35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
40	9.14	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
41	9.69	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Table D.3 *Condition Indexes and Variance-Decomposition Proportions Continued*

		Drama 3	Drama 4	TV News 1	TV News 2	TV News 3	Income 1	Income 2	Income 3	Income 4	Gender	School	Political Affiliation 1	Political Affiliation 2
42	10.64	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
43	11.34	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
44	11.55	.	.	.	0.35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
45	12.87	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.47	0.44
46	13.85	0.54	0.41	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
47	14.67	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
48	27.51	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

		Political Affiliation 3	Age 1	Age 2	Age 3	Race 1	Race 2	Race 3
1	1.00	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
2	2.25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
3	2.76	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
4	2.90	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
5	3.02	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
6	3.13	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
7	3.21	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
8	3.26	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9	3.35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10	3.41	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11	3.43	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12	3.48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
13	3.53	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
14	3.61	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Table D.3 *Condition Indexes and Variance-Decomposition Proportions Continued*

		Political Affiliation 3	Age 1	Age 2	Age 3	Race 1	Race 2	Race 3
15	3.63	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
16	3.67	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
17	3.75	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
18	3.79	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
19	3.89	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
20	3.91	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
21	3.93	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
22	3.99	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
23	4.17	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
24	4.22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
25	4.33	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
26	4.36	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
27	4.49	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
28	4.59	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
29	4.72	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
30	4.95	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
31	4.97	.	.	.	.	.	0.4	.
32	5.30	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
33	5.70	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
34	6.08	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
35	6.22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
36	6.74	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
37	6.80	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
38	7.48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Table D.3 *Condition Indexes and Variance-Decomposition Proportions Continued*

		Political Affiliation 3	Age 1	Age 2	Age 3	Race 1	Race 2	Race 3
39	8.35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
40	9.14	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
41	9.69	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
42	10.64	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
43	11.34	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
44	11.55	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
45	12.87	0.36	0.38	0.34	.	.	.	.
46	13.85	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
47	14.67	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
48	27.51	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

(. =Variance-Decomposition Proportion less than .30)

APPENDIX E

CATEGORICAL PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS ANALYSIS

Table E.1 *Polychoric Correlation Matrix for Trust and Confidence Scale*

	Helpful	Safer	Avoid	Directions	Community Problems	Good Job	Respond	Solve Crime
Helpful	1							
Safer	.773	1						
Avoid	-.534	-.623	1					
Direction	.513	.541	-.536	1				
Community Problems	.660	.613	-.462	.639	1			
Good Job	.617	.612	-.457	.549	.748	1		
Respond	.500	.453	-.390	.451	.603	.687	1	
Solve Crime	.571	.541	-.457	.494	.700	.791	.762	1

Table E.2 *Principal factors analysis with orthogonal varimax*

Factor	Variance	Difference	Proportion
Factor 1	4.739	.	0.942

Table E.3 *Rotated Factor Loadings and Unique Variances*

Variable	Factor 1	Uniqueness
Helpful	0.787	0.381
Safer	0.784	0.385
Avoid	-.0633	0.600
Direction	0.684	0.532
Community Problems	0.835	0.303
Good Job	0.850	0.278
Respond	0.731	0.466
Solve Crime	0.827	0.313

Table E.4 *Polychoric Correlation Matrix for Media Outlets*

	Internet	Paper Media	Radio	TV News	Drama	Reality	Movie	Social Media	YouTube
Internet	1								
Paper Media	.208	1							
Radio	.382	.300	1						
TV News	.317	.350	.440	1					
Drama	.124	.192	.228	.370	1				
Reality	.186	.205	.225	.347	.625	1			
Movie	.120	.136	.190	.211	.467	.490	1		
Social Media	.610	.167	.349	.369	.276	.318	.258	1	
YouTube	.352	.221	.233	.200	.050	.261	.275	.379	1

Table E.5 *Principal factors analysis with orthogonal varimax*

Factor	Variance	Difference	Proportion
Factor 1	1.517	0.185	0.466
Factor 2	1.333	0.273	0.876
Factor 3	1.060	**.**	0.326

Table E.6 *Rotated Factor Loadings and Unique Variances*

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Uniqueness
Internet	0.020	**0.650**	0.306	0.483
Paper Media	0.126	0.139	**0.432**	0.778
Radio	0.125	0.307	**0.507**	0.634
TV News	0.260	0.220	**0.567**	0.562
Drama	**0.705**	0.022	0.272	0.429
Reality	**0.708**	0.177	0.203	0.426
Movie	**0.600**	0.190	0.071	0.609
Social Media	0.215	**0.655**	0.258	0.458
YouTube	0.156	**0.501**	0.119	0.711