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## How crime dramas influence perception of crime

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**How crime dramas influence perception of crime**

A Thesis

Presented to the Department of History

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences

and

The Honors Program

of

Butler University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for Graduation Honors

Abby Hogan

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## How crime dramas influence perception of crime

Abby Hogan

Butler University

### **Abstract**

Television crime dramas are becoming more and more popular, introducing new shows and spin-offs every year. With their growing popularity, it is important to study the possible impacts that they could have on society, and people's views of crime and criminality. This study looks at how much college students watch and enjoy these shows, and whether they affect their perception on the criminal justice system and procedures shown in the crime dramas.

Questionnaires given to Butler University students inquire about their crime drama watching habits as well of their opinions and views on different aspects of the justice system, including police effectiveness and criminals themselves. I hypothesized that the amount and type of crime dramas that Butler students watch will make them less concerned about crime and criminals, and more confident in the criminal justice system to catch offenders. Findings showed that those who enjoy crime dramas do have more confidence in the U.S. criminal justice system.

## **Introduction**

In today's society, one's perception of crime can have a large influence on whether they feel safe and how they view the criminal justice system. One important factor that has the ability to change perception is how crime and criminals are shown on television. This study looks at college students' perceptions of crime, while also looking at whether their views are affected by the type of television they watch. The research question posed is how does watching violent crime dramas affect Butler University students' perceptions of criminals and the criminal justice system within the past decade.

Some of the most popular shows on television are the news, which broadcasts real-life crimes and non-fictional stories, and fictional crime dramas. Television has the power to influence how people think, and with the volume of people that are watching these shows, it is important to know how they affect viewers' views. If a crime drama's detective is struggling on whether or not to take a bribe, it would be beneficial to know if people watching that show begin to wonder if detectives in real life do this. In regards to science, it could prove beneficial to research more into how perception sometimes occurs subconsciously, without a viewer even knowing that a 45-minute escape from reality is actually affecting how they see a crucial part of our society. In order for society to function efficiently, there needs to be trust and factual understanding between people and their criminal justice system. Crime dramas that can show an inaccurate display of the justice system operating jeopardizes how people perceive the way that the system solves crimes and treats criminals.

There are many different perceptions, feelings, and emotions that can come from watching crime shows, whether they are fictional or not. Many people tune into media to find out how systems in our society are functioning, and one of the ones that they look at is the criminal

justice system. Everyone wants to feel safe, but how the media presents explanations of that system can bring about new perceptions of crime and criminals. Some of these perceptions could be fear, confusion, anger, or even comfort if a certain program always shows cases being solved and the “bad guy” getting caught. Research on crime perception (Rhineberger-Dunn, Briggs, and Rader 2015) tested four different crime dramas against each other to see how people react the police efficacy in the different forms of fictional police investigations. The four crime dramas chosen to complete this study were Law&Order: SVU, CSI, Without a Trace, and Criminal Minds. These shows specifically were chosen because each one has a different specialty, which are special victims, forensic science, missing persons, and behavioral analysis respectively. When the clearance rates of the law officials in the crime dramas were compared to those in real life (Rhineberger-Dunn et al. 2015), results showed that police in fictional crime drama almost always clear cases faster and more often than police in the real work. This includes having a higher clearance rate across homicides, sex offenses, and assaults than those reported by the UCR. Results for this study may lead people to believe that in real life, crimes can be easily solved, and that police work is always as effective as in the shows. This led the current study to look at whether college students perceive the criminal justice system to be efficient and effective.

The idea of people believing what they watch on television about the criminal processes, especially when it is advertised as fiction, can become worrisome when it comes down to real life courtrooms and convictions. Hayes and Levett (2013) wrote an article about how the crime drama *CSI* created real biases in jurors during cases that involved forensic science. The article used the snowball sampling technique to gather participants to take an online survey, where they inquired about the participants’ crime show watching habits and whether they know about the CSI Effect in general. Not very many of the participants recalled what the CSI Effect was and

didn't know if they thought it to be accurate when it was explained, but Hayes and Levett concluded (2013) that those who watch crime shows are more likely to think crime shows are both accurate and educational, specifically when looking at forensic and crime dramas. This is very similar to what Rhineberger-Dunn, Briggs, and Rader found when studying people's perceptions. When crime dramas present themselves in a way that looks like reality, people believe that it is true. And since it would not be a very popular television show if the bad guys always avoided police detection or the forensic scientists could never get a conviction, those who watch these shows seem to have faith in the criminal justice system's ability to close a case in real life.

It is important to stress that there are many diverse types of television platforms that show crime. How a news network presents a criminal case is likely to be different from how a crime drama presents the same type of case. An article examining the relationship between different types of programs affect fear of crime and their perceptions of crime rate and how viewer's perception of the criminal justice system as a whole is affected (Kort-Butler and Hartshorn 2011) attempts to assess fear. The first dependent variable is support for the criminal justice system, while the second dependent variable is support for the death penalty. They also looked at the number of days participants watched TV crime drama verses watching crime non-fiction. This case can be compared to Hayes and Levett's about the CSI Effect since juror decisions and the death penalty are two real life consequences that have the ability to ruin lives. One of the results that Kort-Butler and Hartshorn (2011) found was that people became more fearful of being criminally victimized the often they watched nonfictional crime programming. Additionally, when the relationship between crime dramas and the death penalty was studied (Kort-Butler and Hartshorn), the people who watched more crime dramas were more likely to

support the death penalty compared to those who didn't watch crime dramas as often. Just like how jurors are more likely to accept forensic science in the courtroom due to their perceptions, the same crime dramas can have a correlation with being okay with sentencing someone to death. Britto and Noga-Styron (2014) also looked at how media consumption affects viewers' perception on capital punishment. The two dependent variables are whether the participant favor the death penalty for convicted murderers and if they would still support the death penalty if they knew the person convicted of murder would never get out of prison (the LWOP model). The independent variable is media consumption, which could either be television consumption or tabloid news consumption. When studying this relationship (Britto and Noga-Styron, 2014), findings showed that media is often able to predict how much one supports capital punishment. For this current study, and based off of results about nonfiction crime programming and crime dramas, crime dramas seem to have the strongest reactions and perceptions to study.

A more specific aspect of the current study that needs to be addressed is the type of people most likely to be affected by crime show perceptions. Because of the population that Britto and Noga-Styron used to collect their participants from did not have larger enough samples of black, Hispanics, or Asians, they only divided race into two categories: white and non-white. A study by Eschholz, Chiricos, and Gertz (2003) examined how important audience traits, one of which is race, are in predicting fear of crime. They used 26 popular evening programs that would most likely contain crime that cover all of the different bases of media, including local and national news, tabloids, reality, and drama television. Some of the hypotheses that they developed in regards to the independent variables that are estimating fear of crime are that women are going to be more fearful of crime than men, and that black people are going to be more fearful than white people. Eschholz, Chiricos, and Gertz (2003) found that

regardless of how likely one is to have direct exposure of crime, the perceived racial composition of a neighborhood is important in structuring a relationship between television and fear. What this means is that the gender and racial makeup of a neighborhood or audience is important to know the social context for the construction of fear of crime. Traditionally, a neighborhood with older, white residents is less likely to be exposed to crime compared to a low-income neighborhood with more young minorities. This study expresses that as people in mostly black neighborhoods watch more crime shows (Chiricos et al. 2003), the conception of social threat is further mobilized in relation to the how people view the neighborhood and who lives there. To summarize, race matters when talking about the fear of crime and perceived racial composition of a neighborhood.

Race also matters on college campuses. On a college campus, several of the African American students interviewed by Solorzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2002) expressed that they often experienced other white students degrading and diminishing them through small, nonverbal actions that seemed almost aggressive. Butler is a mostly white campus, so during the current study it will be imperative to assess how comfortable non-white students feel about police and justice system. Along with microaggressions, there is fear of not being heard or believed. A study performed by Matthew Desmond, Andrew V. Papachristos, and David S. Kirk (2016) analyzed the rate that black citizens report crimes after high-profile situations of police violence. While the results showed that both white and black citizen opinions of the police drop after occurrences of police violence (Desmond et al. 2016), the only people that changed their behavior in regards to reporting crime lived in black neighborhoods. These situations most likely affect the perceptions of black students regardless of whether they watch crime dramas or not.

The way in which females are presented in crime dramas also has been researched and studied in the past. Deborah Jermyn (2017) discusses two hit crime dramas that feature strong, female detectives, *Prime Suspect USA* and *The Fall*. She talks about how it is not enough that there is a female detective on the show, but that they need some sort of innovation to set them apart. For *The Fall*, it is all the blouse shirts that the character Stella Gibson wears. The show and character won praise, but instead of being celebrated for her portrayal of exceptional police work (Jermyn, 2017), Gibson is associated with her workplace wardrobe. There are plenty of stereotypes that are reinforced in crime dramas, most of them negative. Parrott and Titcomb Parrott (2015) wrote a study that focused on gender stereotypes in these shows, and they found that women more often than not play the victim stereotype. When studying the relationship between gender and being a victim of a crime on television (Parrott & Parrott, 2015), white women are more likely than men to be showed as victims. The current study will analyze how females feel about detectives and the justice system against men's views.

Another important demographic besides race and gender is age, and there needs to be an understanding of what the best age category is to analyze for the current study. A study by Astrid Derikx, Dave Gelders, and Jan Van den Bulck (2013) examines whether or not television exposure has an impact of adolescent perceptions of the performance and fairness of the police. They took a random sample of secondary school students in Belgium and gave them a paper-and-pencil survey to fill out. After studying the students' responses (Derikx et al., 2013), the main finding was that these young kids' perceptions of how well police perform was not impacted by any crime dramas. The only outlet that really had any impact was the news, not fictional or reality police shows. This gives the idea that maybe adolescents are too young or do not care enough to have their perceptions changed. Most of the harsh realities of the world hit

people when they become more of an adult, like when one goes to college. The current study will focus only on undergraduate students.

The current study adds to this literature by examining the specific population that is Butler University students, which has specific gender and race demographics. Students are mostly white and female, and the unique neighborhood of a college campus. This will allow an opportunity to further compare gender differences in the perception of criminals and the criminal justice system. Many of the previously discussed articles compared nonfiction crime shows and fictional crime dramas, while this study will focus in on just crime dramas to collect more concentrated data on how the portrayed fiction affects real life perception. Another aspect that this new study expands upon that was not heavily mentioned in other studies is perceptions of criminals themselves, compared to the perceptions of the police officers shown in the crime dramas. This study uses a convenience sample technique to spread an online surveys that will pose questions about the types and frequency of crime dramas that college students watch, as well as asking about how they perceive criminals and how the current criminal justice system. The hypothesis of this study is that Butler students who watch more crime dramas will not be as fearful of criminals and will express confidence in criminal investigation and justice system. I believe that watching a lot of different types of crime dramas will produce unrealistic opinions and perceptions of the criminal justice system because they shows they are watching are fictional but they watch them enough that they begin to believe they are based on real life. Networks write these shows in a way that will get the most ratings, not necessarily in the way that is most accurate. While this may be what is found who the white students at Butler, there might be completely different findings for non-white students because of their different relationships with the police and justice system.

## **Methods**

### **Research Design**

This study is a quantitative research study, with data being collected through a survey. A copy of the survey questions given to each respondent is included in Index 1.1 of this paper. Since surveys are convenient to spread throughout a college campus, a significant number of students were able to complete the survey, therefore providing decent representativeness and hopefully good statistical significance. Another positive aspect of surveys is that multiple variables can be effectively analyzed while still receiving precise results. There are multiple demographic questions in the survey for this study, so it was possible to analyze both gender and race in the context of the other questions. The survey is an online questionnaire, which contains multiple-choice questions as well as some likert scale questions. This form of survey makes it convenient for participants to answer on their own time and increase the sense of anonymity.

### **Participants**

The population for this study is the undergraduate students of Butler University, from first year students to seniors. The sampling method used is convenience sampling. Since the survey is online, it was emailed out to various Butler students, and once they've completed the survey, they were asked to email the survey to more of their friends. This snowball sampling played a role in finding participants to complete the survey, because on a college campus, there is a greater chance to receive a large sample when asking people to continue sharing the survey. Snowball sampling was used to get access to harder to reach groups on campus, such as athletes, dancers, and musicians, increasing the diversity of people involved in the study. It is important to keep in mind the possible issues with the external validity of this study. There is a limitation in generalization because the sample taken from the population is not random and does not include

specific mechanisms ensure that every demographic at Butler University is included. The results from this study are not able to speak to the even larger population of colleges and universities across the nation. Systematic bias can also come from convenience sampling since the results from the sample might differ with results from the entire population, therefore producing skewed results.

The sample collected consisted of 146 respondents, all of which were Butler University undergraduate students. 93% of the sample identified as Caucasian, along with 1.37% African American respondents, 1.37% Hispanic respondents, 3.42% Asian respondents, and one respondent reported to be of another ethnicity or race. This was not surprising considering that Butler is made up of primarily white students. When looking at gender, 82.19% of respondents identified as female, 17.12% of respondents identified as male, and one transgender individual responded to the survey. While Butler does have a higher percentage of female students, this ratio from the survey does not accurately reflect the university. The possible reasons for and consequences of this will be discussed more in a later section of this paper. There was a more evenly spread representation of students in different years of college. 26.03% of respondents were first year students, 15.75% were sophomore, 25.34% were juniors, and 32.88% were seniors.

## **Measures**

The independent variable in this study is the amount and type of crime dramas that the participant watches. This was measured based off of their answers to the specific questions about their crime drama watching habits in the survey. There are different categories of how much one watches crime dramas, from never to everyday. Genres of the crime drama that the participants are watching were also taken into account, due to the fact that a funny crime drama is very

different from a serious detective drama, even though they are both fictional. The dependent variable, meaning what we are actually trying to find from this study, is how the student perceives criminals and the criminal justice system. This was also measured from the answers participants provide from the survey. The issue of validity is that the questionnaire needs that actually measure what is it supposed to measure, which is student's perceptions of criminals and the criminal justice system. Internal validity was essential in making sure that the questions on the questionnaire actually explain the outcome that this study is researching. Calculating cronbach's alpha, which measures internal consistency between questions in the survey that allude to the same variable, insured reliability.

## **Results**

In regards to the independent variable, the majority of students reported watching crime dramas, with 39.31% watching them one or twice a month, 23.45% watched them about once a week, and 24.14% watching multiple times a week. 12.41% of participants ever watched crime dramas and only 1 participant reported watching them everyday. When examining the genre of crime drama that participants watched, there was an evenly spread preference between comedic fiction, detective fiction, and courtroom dramas. 79.14% of participants had watched between one and four crime shows.

In regards to the dependent variable, the average response to the questions of how confident one is in the U.S. criminal justice system on a scale of one to ten was 5.00 with a standard deviation of 1.64. When looking at the responses for how many cases get cleared out of all the cases the police receive on a scale of one, which is none at all, to ten, which was all of them, the mean response was 5.18 with at standard deviation of 1.44. On the topic of how quickly criminal

cases are solved on a scale of one, which was years, to ten, which was within days, the mean response was 3.87 with a standard deviation of 1.69.

When analyzing data, there was a lack of significant results from performing bivariate correlations. This could be due to a smaller sample size, and most of the questions in the survey did not have much variability. Still, some relevant and statistically significant correlations were found.

### Correlations

		How much do you enjoy crime dramas? - Please rate on a scale:	How confident are you in the U.S. criminal justice system? - Please rate on a scale:
How much do you enjoy crime dramas? - Please rate on a scale:	Pearson Correlation	1	.178
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.045
	N	128	128
How confident are you in the U.S. criminal justice system? - Please rate on a scale:	Pearson Correlation	.178	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.045	
	N	128	128

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Results Table 1.1

### Correlations

		People caught brought to justice	People who commit crimes are criminals	How many different crime dramas have you/do you watch?
People caught brought to justice	Pearson Correlation	1	.203*	-.181*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.022	.042
	N	127	126	127
People who commit crimes are criminals	Pearson Correlation	.203*	1	-.235**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.022		.008
	N	126	126	126
How many different crime dramas have you/do you watch?	Pearson Correlation	-.181*	-.235**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.042	.008	
	N	127	126	141

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Results Table 1.2

### Reliability Analysis for Fear Index

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.779	2

Results Table 1.3

### Correlations

		male	female	Fear of crime and criminals
male	Pearson Correlation	1	-.977*	-.366*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000
	N	146	146	126
female	Pearson Correlation	-.977*	1	.363*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000
	N	146	146	126
Fear of crime and criminals	Pearson Correlation	.366*	.363*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	126	126	128

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Results Table 1.4

As one can see from Results Table 1.1, there is a significant positive correlation between how much respondents enjoy crime dramas, as they rated on a likert scale, and how confident they are in the U.S. criminal justice system at the 0.05 level. This means that people who said they enjoyed crime dramas were also more confidence in the U.S. criminal justice system.

Results Table 1.2 shows two significant negative correlations between how many different crime dramas the respondent has watched and is currently watching and both the belief that most people who commit crimes are caught and brought to justice as well as the belief that all people that commit crimes are criminals. The first correlation means that the more crime dramas one

watches, the less likely they are to believe that most people who commit crimes are caught and brought to justice. The second correlation regarding this independent variable means that the more crime dramas one watches, they less likely that are to believe that all people who commit crimes are criminals.

A fear index was made, as shown through Results Table 1.3 to be reliable, by combining two questions about fear of crime and criminals from the survey. The questions were “How afraid are you of having a crime done against you”, and “How afraid are you of criminals?” There was found to be a significant negative correlation at the 0.01 level between fear and men and a significant positive correlation at the 0.01 level between fear and women, as shown in Results Table 1.4. Men do not express as much fear of crime or criminals, while females do express a large amount of fear.

The hypothesis of this study was that respondents who watch more crime dramas will not be as fearful of criminals and will express confidence in criminal investigation and justice system, which was supported by some the bivariate correlations as shown above. Those who enjoy crime dramas more expressed more confidence in the justice system. But, it was also found that those who watch more crime dramas are less likely to believe that most people who commit crimes are caught and brought to justice. This finding does not support the hypothesis.

### **Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to examine the affects that watching crime dramas could have on Butler students' perceptions about crime, the criminal justice system, and criminals. The hypothesis that those who watch more crime dramas will be more confident in the criminal justice system was supported, however, the assumption that those same people who were confident in the criminal justice system will also be less concerned about crime and criminals

had vague results. Those that reported enjoying crime dramas also expressed more confidence in the U.S. criminal justice system. This could be explained through assuming that enjoying crime dramas also means the respondent watches them often. Crime dramas often have unrealistic portrayals of how the criminal justice system works and how criminal cases are handled, showing the process as more consistently successful and efficient, as discussed in the background information portion of this paper. With this unrealistic, positively spun display of how the criminal justice system operates, it would make sense that those who enjoy these crime dramas also would believe in the story they tell about how cases are handled and how crimes are solved.

Another significant result that was found was that those who watched more crime dramas were less likely to believe that most people who commit crimes are caught and brought to justice. Additionally, respondents who watched more crime dramas were also less likely to believe that all people who commit crimes are criminals. The first part of this result does not support the hypothesis, as it would be expected that those who watch more crime dramas would think that people who commit crimes are often brought to justice due to the shows' incorrect portrayal of crime clearance rates. They would not be entertaining crime shows if the villains and offenders would often escape arrest and not be held accountable for their actions. Regarding the other result, crime dramas can often portray the criminals as human or share a backstory that could make the audience feel some sympathy for them, leading them to believe that not all people who commit crimes should be given the socially permanent label of criminal. Also, in many crime dramas, especially those that include less traditional storylines, show the law enforcement officials who are charged with the responsibility of catching the bad guy breaking

the law and taking illegal shortcuts to get the job done. The shows do not portray them as criminals, so this could impact the viewer's perception of who is a criminal.

Gender proved to be important when discussing perception of crime when it comes to fear. Men reported not being as afraid of crime or criminals, whereas women did report being afraid. Crime dramas, especially those dealing with sexual assault crimes, often show more female victims, depicting them as vulnerable and helpless. Rarely ever are men shown as the victim in crime dramas when the crime deals with domestic or sexual violence. This is a narrative not just show on television, but told to our society in multiple ways through multiple outlets. Men are the strong defenders and women need to be protected.

Contrary to expectation, the genre of crime drama was not found to be significantly related to perception of crime and the criminal justice system. Three different genres were analyzed for whether they impacted perception, which were comedic fiction, detective fiction, and courtroom drama. It was predicted the more serious dramas would have a stronger impact on perception, but no differences between the three were found in regards to impacting attitudes.

There are some possible limitations in this study. Due to the convenience sampling method, the sample may not have been representative. Butler's campus does not have much diversity regarding race and ethnicity, so it wasn't possible to examine differences in crime perception among different races and ethnicities. If more men could have gotten access to the survey, there may have been more significant results regarding gender and crime perception. Also, there is an external validity concern, since the survey was only sent to Butler University students. This population was chosen for convenience of access and the college-age individuals was the target for this study, but the data cannot be generalized to other universities well or to society as a whole.

A limitation of the findings was there was no clear direction of effect. This was a cross-sectional study, so it was difficult to tell if crime dramas influence one's perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system or vice versa. It is also possible that the attitudes and perceptions towards the criminal justice system would influence the type show they watch.

If this study were to be repeated, the dependent variable would be focused to look at the perception of just crime, criminals, or the criminal justice system. While originally not thought to be a concern, having three different areas of study within one variable was too complex and made the data analysis process much more difficult. An interesting direction that this study to explore is data collection were to be continued would be to give the same survey to older generations and compare the results to college-aged individuals. Younger generations have more access to crime dramas through access to more technology and streaming services such as Netflix and Hulu. It could be fascinating to examine whether that has an impact of the amount and type of crime dramas watched and perception of crime.

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## Index

### Index 1.1

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

Thesis Project: How Crime Dramas Influence Perception of Crime

Investigator: Abby Hogan

I hereby consent to participation as a subject in the above named research project, conducted under the direction of the above named person at Butler University. My consent is given of my own free choice without undue inducement and after the following things have been explained to me. I have been informed that all information that I provide while answering this survey will be kept totally confidential. The purpose of this study is to explore how crime dramas affect and influence how we view crime, criminals, and the criminal justice system. I understand that this survey will take approximately five to ten minutes.

1. How do you identify regarding race?
  - a. Caucasian/White
  - b. African American/Black
  - c. Hispanic
  - d. Asian
  - e. Other
2. How do you identify regarding gender?
  - a. Female
  - b. Male
  - c. Transgender
  - d. Other
3. What year are you in college?
  - a. First Year
  - b. Sophomore
  - c. Junior
  - d. Senior
4. How often do you watch crime dramas?
  - a. Never
  - b. Rarely (One or twice a month)
  - c. About once a week
  - d. Multiple times a week
  - e. Everyday
5. What type of crime drama do you enjoy?
  - a. Comedic fiction
  - b. Detective fiction
  - c. Courtroom drama
  - d. Other (please list genre) \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. None

6. How many different crime dramas have you/do you watch?
  - a. None
  - b. 1-2
  - c. 3-4
  - d. 5 or more
7. Do you believe that we have effective police departments in Indiana?
  - a. Strong yes
  - b. Weak yes
  - c. Depends on the situation
  - d. Weak no
  - e. Strong no
8. Do you believe that we have efficient police departments in Indiana?
  - a. Strong yes
  - b. Weak yes
  - c. Depends on the situation
  - d. Weak no
  - e. Strong no
9. Do you believe that we have an effective police department at Butler University?
  - a. Strong yes
  - b. Weak yes
  - c. Depends on the situation
  - d. Weak no
  - e. Strong no
10. Do you believe that we have an efficient police department at Butler University?
  - a. Strong yes
  - b. Weak yes
  - c. Depends on the situation
  - d. Weak no
  - e. Strong no
11. Do you believe that our criminal justice system is fair and unbiased?
  - a. Strong yes
  - b. Weak yes
  - c. Depends on the situation
  - d. Weak no
  - e. Strong no
12. Do you believe that most people who commit crimes are caught and brought to justice?
  - a. Strong yes
  - b. Weak yes
  - c. Depends on the situation they are in
  - d. Weak no
  - e. Strong no
13. Do believe that all people who commit crimes are criminals?
  - a. Strong yes
  - b. Weak yes
  - c. Depends on the situation they are in

- d. Weak no
- e. Strong no

14. How afraid are you of having a crime done against you, on a scale of one (not scared at all) to ten (very scared)?

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      10

15. How afraid are you of criminals, on a scale of one (not scared at all) to ten (very scared)?

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      10

16. How confident are you in America's criminal justice system, on a scale of one (not confident at all) to ten (very confident)?

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      10

17. How much do you enjoy crime dramas, on a scale of one (hate them) to 10 (love them)?

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      10

18. Out of all the criminal cases the police receive, how many of them do you believe get solved, on a scale of one (none of them) to ten (all of them)?

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      10

19. How quickly do you believe most criminal cases get solved, on a scale of one (very slowly, years) to 10 (very quickly, within days)?

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      10