RAY SURETTE

MEDIA, CRIME, AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Images, Realities, and Policies

Fifth Edition

Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice

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FIFTH EDITION

RAY SURETTE
University of Central Florida

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***Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice: Images, Realities, and Policies*, Fifth Edition**

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To my wife Susan and my children Jennifer, Paul, and Tim

About the Author

Ray Surette has a doctorate in criminology from Florida State University and is a Professor of Criminal Justice at the University of Central Florida. His crime and media research interests revolve around the media's effects on perceptions of crime and justice, criminogenic media, and criminal justice policies. He has published numerous articles and books on media, crime, and criminal justice topics and is internationally recognized as a scholar in the area. He has published research on the development of public information officers in criminal justice agencies, crime and justice infotainment programming, copycat crime, the effects of news coverage of celebrity trials on similarly charged non-publicized trials and on police recruits, the effects of news coverage of corrections on municipal jail population trends, media oriented terrorism, and the use of computer-aided camera surveillance systems in law enforcement. He is currently working on a book on copycat crime as well as studying the use of camera surveillance systems by law enforcement in neighborhoods and other public areas and the relationship between media and criminal justice policy support.

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Foreword

Everyone who studies crime and justice shares a sense of frustration about the way media depictions dominate the common viewpoint on crime and criminal justice, often in ways that distort reality. The television show *CSI,* for example, is great entertainment but hardly fits the way 99 percent of crimes are solved. So-called real police stories follow some officers as they go about their duties, but even though the film is real, the portrait of police work that results is distorted by the focus on chase scenes and angry encounters. *Judge Judy* bears little resemblance to actual judges in demeanor or behavior. Law and order SVU always presents cases with some sort of twist, but such cases are the exception rather than the rule. The nightly news covers crime with an eye to generating high ratings, not great insight. American culture has an affinity for crime as a source of stimulation and even entertainment, but the result is that what we think we know about crime and justice from the way our media portray it often corresponds poorly to the everyday reality of crime and justice.

For those who are professionals in the business of criminal justice—those who wish to reform or improve justice practices and crime prevention effectiveness— the media portrayals are often an impediment. It is not so much that the media get it wrong as that they focus on aspects of crime and justice that are, in the scheme of things, not so important. Of course we all want to apprehend serial killers and stop predatory sex offenders, but they are uncommon in the life of the justice system. The more pressing themes of improving the effectiveness of treatment programs, youth prevention systems, crime control strategies, and so forth can get lost in the way the media focus on images of crime that are much more engrossing to the everyday citizen.

It is, therefore, with extraordinary pleasure that I welcome the fifth edition of Ray Surette's *Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice* to the Wadsworth Contemporary Issues in Crime and Justice Series. Created to provide detailed and effective exposure of important or emerging issues and problems that ordinarily receive insufficient attention in traditional textbooks, the series also provokes thought and changes perceptions by challenging us to become more sophisticated consumers of crime-and-justice knowledge. Its titles seek to expose myths about crime and justice, deepen understandings of the nature of crime and the processes of justice, and inspire new perspectives on these topics.

If you seek a book that will make you an informed student of crime-and-justice policy and practice, you could not do better than the one you are now holding. Professor Surette is an astute student of popular culture, the social power of symbols, and the effect of media on public imagination. In this book, he provides a detailed examination of the ways that media coverage affects our popular understanding of justice. The results are sometimes subtle and sometimes blatant. For example, the way the nightly news covers crime creates a subtle bias on the part of the public that our cities are dangerous and that the justice system is incapable of protecting innocents. By contrast, the way punishment is covered creates a much less subtle bias that our system of justice is lenient. Both of these biases are partly right, but mostly wrong. And the reality—much more complex than the public perception—is often not widely understood.

Surette writes about every aspect of crime and justice. The book opens with a thorough and authoritative description of the way our "realities" about crime and justice are constructed from social sources of knowledge. It is this fact that makes the media portrayal of crime and justice so important, because media are among the most powerful sources of social information. The book then considers in turn the three main agencies of criminal justice: the police, the courts, and corrections, with a chapter devoted to each topic. The final chapters consider the broader problem of crime prevention and criminal justice policy in the context of a media-dominated social construction of crime.

In the end, this is a book that helps us to rethink crime by offering a critical perspective on how we go about understanding it. Crime is not popular culture, and criminal justice is not entertainment. On the contrary, crime is a crucial social problem rooted in related social problems such as inequality and poverty. Criminal justice is a key function of the state that is less powerful with regard to our safety than we might like but more important to our everyday rights than we would ordinarily think.

This is an important book, a book that carves out new areas for thinking and challenges the popular mind-set about crime and justice. I commend it to you.

Todd R. Clear
Series Editor

Preface

The fifth edition of *Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice* is designed for undergraduate criminal justice students. It is my belief that to understand contemporary crime and justice, students have to understand the role the media play in the life of criminal justice issues and policies. Living in a culture where crime and justice media content is pervasive, students are attracted to a course that helps them understand the media content they are immersed in. Having lived the subject, they bring enthusiasm and interest to its study. This revised fifth edition taps into that enthusiasm and employs an expanded number of recent examples to connect the book's coverage to the students' lives. In doing so, this book helps students to become critical media consumers and insightful observers of the ongoing relationship between media, crime, and justice. After finishing this book, students who previously had not considered the linkages between media, crime, and justice will be unable to sit through a crime show, podcast, or posted video without a thoughtful reaction and recognition of the underlying processes that generate the crime and justice media they receive and the criminal justice policies they experience.

The knowledge covered in this text is drawn from criminal justice, criminology, sociology, political science, law, public administration, journalism, medicine, psychology, and communication research. Sources include traditional academic and professional journals as well as numerous popular culture media including magazines, newspapers, music, video games, films, and Internet sites wherever there is a special focus on social media, crime, and justice. As an undergraduate introductory text, the fifth edition serves as an entrée to the research questions and social concerns without the weight of extensive graduate level coverage of statistics and research designs. The book discusses the vast and disparate research but does not go into methodological, measurement, or statistical issues in great depth. Instead, the discussions provide basic understandings of the theoretical ideas and concepts that frame the research, the major findings that have been generally accepted by researchers in the field, the issues that are still under debate, and the questions that remain unaddressed.

Massively covered criminal trials, advances in media technology, new types of media content, and new ways of delivering the content are especially important in the construction of crime-and-justice reality and continually increase the impact of media on crime and justice. Historically, most people interacted with the media as passive consumers. They were conditioned to receive knowledge from the media without considering where this information comes from, what effect it had on their attitudes and perceptions, or how it affected society. Today people are encouraged to be active participants in the creation of crime-and-justice media content but they remain unaware of the relationship of their content to social attitudes, behaviors, and policies. This book therefore encourages readers to ask questions about the media, such as why certain images of crime are linked together, why some crimes will be sensationalized and others given scant attention, and why some explanations of crime and some criminal justice policies are forwarded over others.

The fifth edition is offered as a main text in a media, crime, and justice course and as a supplementary work in courses where the instructor wishes to feature connections between media, crime, and justice. It is a particularly useful supplementary text for "introduction to criminal justice," "introduction to law enforcement," "criminal justice policy," "victimization," and "crime prevention" courses. The text can be enjoyed by students with and without substantial backgrounds in communications, journalism, criminal justice, law, and the additional disciplines that make up this inherently interdisciplinary subject.

ORGANIZATION

Newly organized into eleven chapters, the book follows the content and influence of the media from the committing of crime through the sequential components of the criminal justice system as typically covered in undergraduate criminal justice courses. Within this organization, the connection between media and criminal justice policy and the impact of new media are running themes. The book makes the point that pervasive media images of predatory criminals work as steering currents on our criminal justice policy. Each chapter includes discussions of how media renditions affect a particular area of criminal justice policy. Recognition of this policy linkage is vital because the media determine in important ways what behaviors we criminalize, how we approach crime control, how we handle criminal cases, how we sentence convicted offenders, and what correctional conditions and programs we create. In addition, the media's portraits of crime and justice sway the public's beliefs and expectations, as well as the demands placed upon the system. The World Wide Web and social media have changed the media–public policy dynamic. Contemporary media consumers are co-creators of much content and active participants in the development of criminal justice policy. In a new way the media and their consumer partners construct our crime-and-justice reality and subsequent derived criminal justice policy.

Below is a summary of each chapter:

- **Chapter 1, Crime, Justice, and Media** The first chapter provides an introduction to the media, crime, and justice relationship and provides historical and conceptual overviews. The argument for the importance of studying the relationship between media crime and justice is made. Differing types of media, including new media, and the different types of media content are introduced, defined, and exemplified. The idea of crime and justice as a mediated experience is introduced and discussed.
- **Chapter 2, New Media and Social Constructionism** To help students understand how the media relate to crime and justice, the book applies the theoretical perspective of social constructionism. Chapter 2 is devoted to introducing and explaining the basic processes and concepts of social constructionism with accompanying demonstrations of how social constructionism works in the crime and justice new media realm. Employing socially constructed concepts such as claims makers, frames, narratives, and symbolic crimes, and the examples of "road rage," "killer drunks," and the "Rodney King arrest," Chapter 2 demonstrates the social construction of contemporary crime and justice.
- **Chapter 3, Images of Crime and Criminality** This chapter covers the "criminological theory" that one finds in media content. It discusses how crime, criminals, and victims are portrayed in the media. The result is an emphasis on violent crime and predator criminals and a de-emphasis on crime victims and white-collar crime. The associated criminological theories of crime and explanations of criminality that are forwarded by the images are discussed.
- **Chapter 4, Criminogenic Media** New to the fifth edition, Chapter 4 is dedicated to how the media portraits described in the prior chapter can be criminogenic and related to real-world criminal behavior. The ongoing debates regarding the effects of video games on player aggression and the impact of the Internet and social media on criminality are reviewed. Copycat crime and media-orientated terrorism are discussed in detail.
- **Chapter 5, Crime Fighters** This chapter focuses on the media portrait of crime fighting. Describing the professional sworn law enforcement officers and the civilian crime fighters found in the media, the chapter contrasts the images of crime fighters in their media-constructed worlds to the real world of law enforcement. Material on the unique nature of the portrait of policing found in the infotainment media and a "CSI" effect is also included.
- **Chapter 6, The Courts** This chapter covers the judicial system as portrayed in the media, focusing on the media co-optation of the courts as infotainment vehicles within massively covered "media trials." In addition to discussions of long-standing issues like pre-trial publicity, courtroom control of news media, and reporter access to proceedings and offenders, discussions on new media and the public image of courtrooms and male and female attorneys are included.

- **Chapter 7, Corrections** Chapter 7 covers the media portrait of correctional institutions, correctional officers, and prisoners. A discussion that reviews the limited sources of knowledge the public has regarding corrections and the implications of this limitation on the social construction of corrections and correctional policy is provided. The stereotypes of prisoners, correctional officers, and correctional institutions found in the media are discussed. In addition, material on the interactions between terrorism, corrections, and the media is included.
- **Chapter 8, Crime Control** In this chapter, how criminal justice practitioners increasingly use media venues and new media technology to reduce crime, gather information, patrol communities, deter offenders, and process cases is discussed. The recent explosive expansion of camera-based public surveillance systems (CCTV surveillance systems is discussed in depth) is discussed in depth. Sections on Madison Avenue-style anticrime advertisements and the judicial use of cameras and video images in court proceedings are also included.
- **Chapter 9, The Media and Criminal Justice Policy** Chapter 9 provides an overview of the media content of crime and justice and details the connections the content has to criminal justice policy. The chapter explores the two main tenets of crime-and-justice media that have direct implications for criminal justice policy: the backwards law and the operation of immanent justice in crime-and-justice media content. Discussions of the research on media effects on the public's beliefs and attitudes about crime and justice, the rank of crime and justice on the public agenda, and direct and indirect media effects on the social construction of criminal justice policy are included.
- **Chapter 10, New Media, Crime, and Justice** Also new to this edition, Chapter 10 provides a dedicated review of the interactions between contemporary new media and crime and justice. Discussions of cybercrime and the evolution of "performance" and copycat crime driven by social media and the World Wide Web, the utilization of new and social media by law enforcement agencies to investigate crimes, the concern over new media's effects on the courts by altering the behavior of jurors and attorneys and biasing trials and case processing, and the emerging but still limited impact on corrections are all provided.
- **Chapter 11, Media, Crime, and Justice in the Twenty-First Century** The final chapter distills the main points of the book and offers projections about the future of the media, crime, and justice relationship as the impact of new communication media makes itself fully felt. Designed and offered not as serious prophecies but as platforms to launch discussion, forecasts are developed of what readers might find over the next decades using two opposing worst-case scenarios. In scenario 1, "Participatory Spectacles," freewheeling, interactive, infotainment driven media dominates in a society where the audience is actively engaged in how a parade of socially constructed criminal justice spectacles play out. In scenario 2, "Self-Surveillance," rigid restrictions on media coverage of formal crime-and-justice

content co-exists with extensive media-based anticrime and public-supported self-surveillance. In this scenario, agencies, businesses, and other social organizations track much of what people do and the general public voluntarily contributes large amounts of personal surveillance information. The lessons of each scenario and the new media age of "criminal justice pixel policy" are discussed.

The primary difference between the fourth and fifth editions of *Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice* is that in the fifth edition recent examples are plentiful and material covering new and social media and crime issues is emphasized. Reflecting the revised focus, a new chapter devoted entirely to crime, justice, and new media is included. In addition, entire sections of chapters are devoted to new topics, including the production of crime news; the dynamics of performance crime; the effect of video games; celebrity crime news; terrorism and the media; the impact of social media, self-surveillance, and memorial criminal justice policies; and mediated criminal justice. Every chapter has been updated and has new photos and examples and an end of chapter set of class discussions are provided.

- New material in Chapter 1 includes new discussions of the creation of crime news and new media and the contemporary crime-and-justice-mediated experience in the new media age. Also new are updated supplemental boxes on memorial criminal justice policy, types of media content, the history of media, crime, and justice, and the Jodi Arias murder trial. Updated images related to video game play, reality TV, and comic book images are provided and updated tables and figures on crime news gatekeeping can be found.
- New to Chapter 2 are boxes on common crime claims, the Sandy Hook Elementary school shooting as a symbolic crime, and the historical development of new media. Revised and new passages on the concepts of social constructionism are expanded to incorporate ideas related to new and social media. New visuals and updated box discussions have been added throughout.
- Chapter 3 has revised discussions of how crime victims and white-collar crime are portrayed in the media, with new material on Bernie Madoff and the Boston Marathon bombers added. Accompanying photos have also been updated.
- As a new addition, Chapter 4 has new discussions of criminogenic media; discussions of copycat crime have been substantially expanded with new examples and figures. Boxes on the video game *Grand Theft Auto*, a copycat crime spree linked to the commercial movie *Project X*, and individual- and aggregate-level copycat crime models can be found. A new figure highlighting the characteristics of media-oriented terrorism as well as updated photo examples are included.
- New to Chapter 5 are a revised box and expanded in-text discussion on the CSI effect. In addition, revised material on the differences between media-portrayed police and real-world police officers and a new box on crime fighting and terrorism in contemporary media appear.

- Additions to Chapter 6 include new material on media trials. One is a revised box on the seminal media trial of O. J. Simpson and its recent offspring, the Casey Anthony media trial. Boxes on the Amanda Knox murder trial in Italy and the legacy of CourtTV network are updated as well. New and updated images for all boxes are added. A revised updated table of media trial examples now includes the surviving Boston Marathon bomber, Dzhokhar Tsarnaev. A new box on WikiLeaks, Bradley Manning, and Edward Snowden can also be found. Updated images have been added throughout.
- Chapter 7 has a revised box on the growth of incarceration rates in the United States and media developments and new boxes on Lindsay Lohan's encounters with corrections and the recent emergence of the phenomenon of Facebook fugitives. Images of Guantanamo Bay prison and recent correctional entertainment media provide contemporary examples. Revised and new passages on infotainment and corrections; prison films and correctional news; and the media portraits of female inmates, correctional institutions, and officers are included.
- New material in Chapter 8 includes a new, expanded discussion of surveillance of public spaces. A box on new media, privacy, and content and an additional box on profiling and camera surveillance have been added. New visual examples are included throughout and all figures have been updated.
- New to Chapter 9 is a box on celebrity crime and media attention. Revised boxes discuss memorial criminal justice policy and "three strikes and you're out" legislation; a revised figure details the media role in the social construction of criminal justice policy. An extensively revised discussion of the tenets of crime and justice found in the media and their connection to criminal justice policies is included.
- Chapter 10 is a completely new chapter for the fifth edition. Accompanying the text, a set of new boxes and photos are included. Specifically, supplemental boxes providing overviews of cybercrime and the dark web are offered. Two additional boxes cover how new media provide means to commit new types of crimes (based on a discussion of the New York cannibal police officer) and the growth of performance crime (highlighting Smack Cams). Additional boxes on how social media have been used to further victimize crime victims using a Steubenville, Ohio rape case and have helped law enforcement solve crimes utilizing iPhones, Facebook, and YouTube are found. Lastly, a box describing how judges have been encouraged to adjust their juror instructions to reflect the dangers social media hold for trial fairness is included.
- Chapter 11 has a new consideration of competing models of the media's relationship to criminal justice and a new discussion of the evolving mediated crime-and-justice reality that reflects new and social media. New speculative discussions of possible crime-and-justice futures are couched in two new scenarios of "participatory spectacles" and "self-surveillance," with new

visuals reflecting the current social media era. There is a new box covering the Boston Marathon bombing that demonstrates how crimes, investigations, and judicial proceedings events will be multi-mediated audience participation events in the future.

LEARNING TOOLS

Each chapter is supplemented with a number of learning tools. Chapters begin with a listing of chapter objectives that target the themes running through each chapter. Each chapter ends with a set of learning tools:

- A bulleted chapter summary which restates and re-emphasizes the main points of each chapter.
- A set of class discussions related to each chapter's content for students to apply the lessons of each chapter.
- A list of suggested additional readings that explore the main themes of the chapter in additional depth and can be used as entrées into the literature for paper assignments.

Additional imbedded chapter learning features are:

- Boxes containing supplemental media-based examples to demonstrate concepts and points from each chapter and to highlight connections between what students are reading in the text and what they are seeing, hearing, and reading in their daily lives.
- Photos to link chapter concepts and themes to visual imagery.
- Bold-faced in-text key terms which link to an end-of-book glossary.

Lastly, the fifth edition includes:

- An extensively updated bibliography and end-of-book footnotes.
- A separate Instructor's Manual with chapter overviews, question pools with objective, short-answer and essay items, and lists of Internet sites and popular music for each chapter.

ANCILLARIES

Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Bank. The manual includes learning objectives, key terms, a detailed chapter outline, media activities, and a test bank. Each chapter's test bank contains questions in multiple-choice and true–false formats, with a full answer key. The test bank is coded to the learning objectives that appear in the main text, and includes the page numbers in the main text where the answers can be found.

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Also deserving thanks are the reviewers who offered suggestions in response to the fourth edition. I extend my sincere appreciation, for the fifth edition is much improved and strengthened due to their suggestions.

Finally, my family deserves special thanks. My wife Susan and my three children Jennifer, Paul, and Tim provide continual love and understanding. My new granddaughter, Nora, simply makes me smile.

Ray Surette
Orlando, Florida

CHAPTER 1

Crime, Justice, and Media

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 1, you will

- Understand the importance of the relationship between media, crime, and criminal justice
- Appreciate how criminal justice policy is impacted by the media
- Know the history of crime-and-justice media
- Understand the basic differences between the types of media
- Understand how different media content is related to media crime-and-justice portraits

THE MEDIATED WORLD OF CRIME AND JUSTICE

Why should one study crime, justice, and the media in the age of mobile digital communications? There is one good reason and many secondary ones. Before we explore those reasons, try a quick experiment. Log on to a streaming video site and look at the available programming. Note the number of programs and films that deal with committing, solving, or fighting crime. Check out an Internet news site and note the number of crime-and-justice stories. Do the same with the day's news. If you subscribe to any online or print magazines, check their contents for articles that are crime or justice related. If you are reading a novel, is a crime or a criminal an important element of the story? Count how many of your e-mails, mobile communications, or postings refer to crime or criminal trials. If you have a Facebook account, how much of the content you shared with others was crime related? What did you discuss in your social media conversations? In addition, write down the names of five people that you have heard or read a lot about over the past two years. How many of the five were connected to a criminal investigation or trial in some way? Finally, what did people you directly talked face-to-face with yesterday and today talk about? How often were crimes and criminal justice issues discussed?

I'm betting that much of your electronic media, your news, your reading, your social media content, and your direct personal conversations involve crime-and-justice issues. In fiction and fact, crimes, criminals, investigations, and trials course through our media lives.[1] Crime, justice, and the media have to be studied together because they are inseparable, wedded to each other in a forced marriage where they cohabitate in a fascinating, if raucous, relationship.

How did the marriage come about? Crime and justice has always provided a substantial portion of the media's raw material.[2] Criminal trials and infamous crimes, along with their associated victims, investigators, judges, attorneys, and citizens, provide popular crime-and-justice stories, which are packaged and mass-marketed. The images, ideas, and narratives that dominate the media influence how people think about crime and justice. The behaviors we think should be criminalized; who we feel should be punished; what the punishments should be; and how we think the police, judges, attorneys, correctional officers, criminals, and victims should act are all influenced by the media portraits of crime and justice.[3] Compounding these influences, the technological ability of media to gather, recycle, and disseminate information has never been faster or more pervasive. More crime-and-justice media content is available to more people via more avenues and in more formats today than ever before. A flood of new media technologies—originating with personal digital assistant devices (PDAs), and progressing to cable television and satellite networks, to videocassette recorder (VCR), to the Internet, to electronic games, to virtual reality and mobile communications devices and social media platforms—has created a hyperactive media environment. This new, high-speed media world dominated by entertainment value and visual images has a powerful impact on crime and justice.[4]

However, the fact that an interesting contentious relationship exists between media and criminal justice is not the most important reason to study crime and the media. The most important effect of this marriage is on criminal justice policy (discussed in Chapter 9). The media have had significant effects on criminal justice policy in America for a long time. For example, the early-nineteenth-century book *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had an effect on slave laws, the depression era film *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* affected U.S. correctional practices, and 1980s movies and books like the *Silence of the Lambs* influenced policies aimed at a perceived serial killer threat. That influence has risen to new heights. Today we live in a criminal justice policy era where media-rendered portraits frequently drive crime-and-justice practices at blinding speed.[5] The media and criminal justice policy link is easily seen in **memorial criminal justice policies,** which are named for individuals, usually victims (see Box 1.1). We have Megan's Law and Amber Alerts due to massive publicity of heinous crimes and their innocent victims.[6] The "Three Strikes and You're Out" legislation that followed the co-optation of the kidnapping and murder of twelve-year-old Polly Klaas in California in the late 1990s is a classic example of this media-driven policy process.[7] Even when not named after an individual, much of our criminal justice policy exists because of the impact of high-profile crimes being co-opted as symbols for policy campaigns.[8]

Box 1.1 Memorial Criminal Justice Policy

Nine-year-old Amber Hagerman was abducted while riding a bike near her home in Arlington, Texas. Her body was found four days later in a ditch with her throat slashed. The Amber Hagerman Child Protection Act was signed into law in 1999, creating America's Missing Broadcast Emergency Response (AMBER) Alert system to solicit citizen tips and interrupt in-progress child kidnappings (Miller, Griffin, Clinkinbeard & Thomas 2009). Other memorial crime control–targeted legislation includes "Megan's Law," requiring community notification of sex offenders residing locally; "Jessica's Law," requiring long prison terms and lifetime monitoring for sexual crimes against children; "Carlie's Law" for quicker revocation of federal probationers; and the "Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act," which authorized the creation of a nationwide sex offender database (Griffin & Miller 2008 pp. 161–162). The effectiveness of these efforts remains to be established (Griffin 2010). The most recent effort to memorialize child victims of violent crime involves the gun control legislation being pursued in relation to the 2013 Sandy Hook Elementary school shootings in Newtown, Connecticut, in which 20 children and 6 adults were murdered.

ZUMA Press, Inc. / Alamy

Today, the fact that local criminal justice issues tend to spawn broad-based policy responses is due to the character of the media–criminal justice marriage. Contemporary media often cover local crime through a national lens; a neighborhood crime is portrayed as an example of a society-wide failure and a national crisis. In addition to raising some newsworthy local crimes to national prominence, local crime is portrayed in the media as being beyond the ability and resources of local criminal justice agents, as an out-of-control plague that cannot be handled locally. The solutions to crime painted as sensible are given a punitive

federal orientation. "What must the nation do about crime?" is the question of the day, rather than "What does my community need to do about crime and other connected neighborhood social problems?" Hence, the most important reason for examining the media–criminal justice marriage is that it ultimately determines how we react to crime and how we spend our tax dollars as a nation. Criminal justice policy has become a national political issue; crime another media commodity. Both are determined by what is visual, newsworthy, entertaining, and salable.[9]

Although most important in terms of actual social impact, the media–criminal justice policy connection is not seen by the public as the most significant media effect on crime and justice. The public worries most about a set of more visible concerns. These concerns—media-orientated terrorist events, copycat crime, coverage of media trials, and media-linked social violence—provide secondary reasons for studying the media, crime, and justice. The criminal justice policies we support and pursue due to the media ultimately affect these worrisome but secondary issues as well. These are all significant issues, which will be discussed in depth, but it is important to remember that the media's most significant impact is on how we spend our taxes, what and who we criminalize, and how we deal with offenders.

THE BLURRING OF FACT, FICTION, AND THE MEDIA

What is the state of the media–criminal justice marriage today? First, everyone appears to be wedded to media in some fashion. Whether through the Internet, television, movies, music, video games, or multi-purpose new media devices that provide access to all of the other media forms, exposure to media content is ubiquitous. Today, virtually everyone is an audience member of some form of media. In a basic way, media provide the broadly shared, common knowledge in our society that exists independent of occupation, education, and social status. The knowledge acquired via mass media is generally perceived as less important and more transient, but also as more entertaining and enjoyable. When compared to religious information or institutional histories, which can extend for centuries, media-generated knowledge has a shorter life span, usually not exceeding a generation. Indeed, generations are often defined and—particularly true for popular music—can be distinguished by the media that is current during their youth.

With technological progress broadening media's reach, concerns have grown. In addition to worries about direct criminogenic media effects on copycat crime and media-oriented terrorism, there is concern that the reality the media create unduly influences the public's view of reality.[10] The reason for concern is that the snapshots of reality the media present provide the public a dramatic, but reshaped, marketed, and narrow slice of the world.[11] Although most of media crime-and-justice content is recognized by the public as unrealistic and heavily edited, continued exposure to the content influences one's view of reality, and this influence increases in areas where alternate sources of information are less available. Such is the case for crime and justice; like candy to

cavities, a diet heavy on media will eventually corrode your perception of reality. Within this media-generated perception of crime-and-justice reality, a core set of images, headed by the image of a predatory violent stranger, is exploited by both the media and criminal justice policy makers.[12]

An important development is the looping of media content. **Looping** results when events and information are repeatedly cycled and recycled through the media into the culture to reemerge in new contexts.[13] For example, a police car chase video cycles from courtroom evidence to local news footage, to infotainment program content, to a clip inserted in a comedy movie, to sundry Internet Web sites and social media sharing platforms. This continuous looping and reformatting of content results in the blurring of fact and fiction.[14] People come to believe that fictional events are real, that real events didn't happen, and that hybrid—part real, part fiction—events are common. Such effects are pervasive in the crime-and-justice arena.[15] Many believe, for example, that Hannibal Lecter is a real serial killer and Jack the Ripper is fictional. Real events such as the World Trade Center terrorist attacks become hopelessly confounded in a blur of factual and fictional claims. In an odd way, people no longer trust the news (which is supposed to be true) but seem to be more willing to believe entertainment and infotainment media (which do not even purport to be accurate). Thus, many did not believe the news reports regarding the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, instead they believed unsubstantiated claims that the attacks were a CIA/Hollywood special effects stunt.[16]

In the end, the direction of influence between crime and justice on one side and media on the other is a two-way street—the mass media influence crime and justice, and crime-and-justice events become grist for the media.[17] In addition to the myriad entertainment products that deal in crime and justice, the media and media technology are simultaneously perceived as both a major cause of crime and violence and a powerful potential solution to crime. While blaming the media for many social ills, we also look to them to help reduce violence and drug use, deter crime and terrorism, and bolster the image of the criminal justice system. In law enforcement, we look to the media to aid in criminal investigations, manhunts, and street and vehicle patrols. In the courts, we look for assistance in processing criminal cases, reducing case backlogs, conducting trials, presenting testimony and evidence, and deciding guilt, all while portraying the courts and trials in infotainment style productions. In corrections, we look to media images for our perception of correctional institutions, programs and personnel, and to enhance security and surveillance. The media–criminal justice marriage is a love-hate relationship. The media are blamed for many of the behaviors the criminal justice system has to contend with, even as the media are simultaneously looked to for solutions to the problems found in the criminal justice system and society. As far as criminal justice policy is concerned, the media–criminal justice relationship is the most important one that exists. To understand both the historical development and the future of crime and justice in America, one must take into account the influences of the media and understand how crime-and-justice events become popular media products. Gaining that understanding is the basic goal of this book.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF CRIME-AND-JUSTICE MEDIA

A necessary step in exploring the relationship between the media and crime and justice is to first look at the structure of the media in America. Until recently, the media could be thought of as roughly cleaved along two dimensions: types of media and types of content. Three types of media based on content format differences have been historically found: print, sound, and visual, collectively called "legacy media.". A fourth type of media, ambiguously called "new media," has hastened the blurring of the types of content by providing simultaneous access within one device to all types of content. As shown in Table 1.1, each media type has enjoyed dominance during a historic period. Of course, all types are still found today, and new media often combine print, sound, and visuals in new ways. Table 1.1 also reflects the historic trend in the evolution of media to include more information, which is more easily accessed in a more realistic setting, so that today a mediated experience is in many ways similar to actual experience.[18] Each media type's relationship to crime and justice can be understood through a brief history.

Print Media

Print was the first medium to generate a mass market; in the United States, it is usually dated as proliferating in the 1830s with the emergence of the "penny press" daily newspapers. One of the first such newspapers, the *New York Sun*, began to include a daily police-court news column in 1833 and experienced a notable circulation boost.[19] Other penny dailies followed suit, and human-interest crime stories quickly became a staple of these inexpensive, popular newspapers. These early papers portrayed crime as the result of class inequities and often discussed justice as a process manipulated by the rich and prominent. They frequently contained due process arguments and advocated due process reforms, while presenting individual crimes as examples of larger social and political failings.[20] Helped by the success of the penny press, a market for weekly crime magazines followed.[21] By the twentieth century, magazines focusing on crime, sex scandals, corruption, sports, glamour, and show business all flourished.[22] Providing an early model for contemporary news and modern television programs, mass marketing, and the consumption of crime infotainment was born.

Detective and Crime Thrillers. The two most popular print-based crime genres to emerge in nineteenth-century print media were detective and crime thriller magazines and "dime" novels. Significant social concerns with the popular media also originated with these products. Both were escapist literature, and by the latter half of the nineteenth century, they described crime as originating in individual personality or moral weakness rather than being due to broader social forces. By downplaying wider social and structural explanations of crime found in the earlier penny press newspapers, these novels helped reinforce the existing social order— the status quo. In addition, the "heroic" detectives in these works closely resembled the criminals they apprehended—calculating and often odd loners.[23] The portraits of crime and justice produced during this time are

TABLE 1.1 Crime-and-Justice Media History

Sound Media Dominate		
Antiquity	Theater, folktales, and myths	Limited access and distribution to local audiences so that content effects are not extensive and media experience is clearly different from real life. Urban legends are a contemporary example.
1200–1500s	Ballads	Popular songs present the criminal as celebrity and aid in the development of a pop culture focus on criminality. Hip-hop music provides contemporary examples.
Print Media Dominate		
1400–1700s	Pamphlets and broadsheets	The historical roots of today's crime-and-justice infotainment programming. Crime news reach is wider, though still limited to comparatively small audiences. Gallows sermons were a popular criminal justice example.
1830s	Penny press	Crime news begins to reach large markets and become a central feature of news. First mass-marketed media.
1880s	Dime novels	Detective and crime novels marketed to divergent audiences. The profit in entertainment crime media is recognized and exploited.
1890s	Yellow journalism	News media makes significant shift to become mass infotainment media. Dramatization of crimes and criminals in infotainment formats is encouraged.
Visual Media Dominate		
1910s	Commercial film introduced	Beginning of media audience homogenization via shared content that is consumed regardless of gender, race, religion, or social status. The beginning of everyone having access to similar information about the world.
1920s	Commercial radio networks	Modern programming and economic structure of for-profit media established as an unchallenged assumption. First in-home electronic delivery of media content, which eases access for children and allows media for the first time to circumvent traditional socialization efforts of parents, schools, and religion. Children can now learn about the world directly from the media without having to leave their living room or learn to read.

(*continued*)

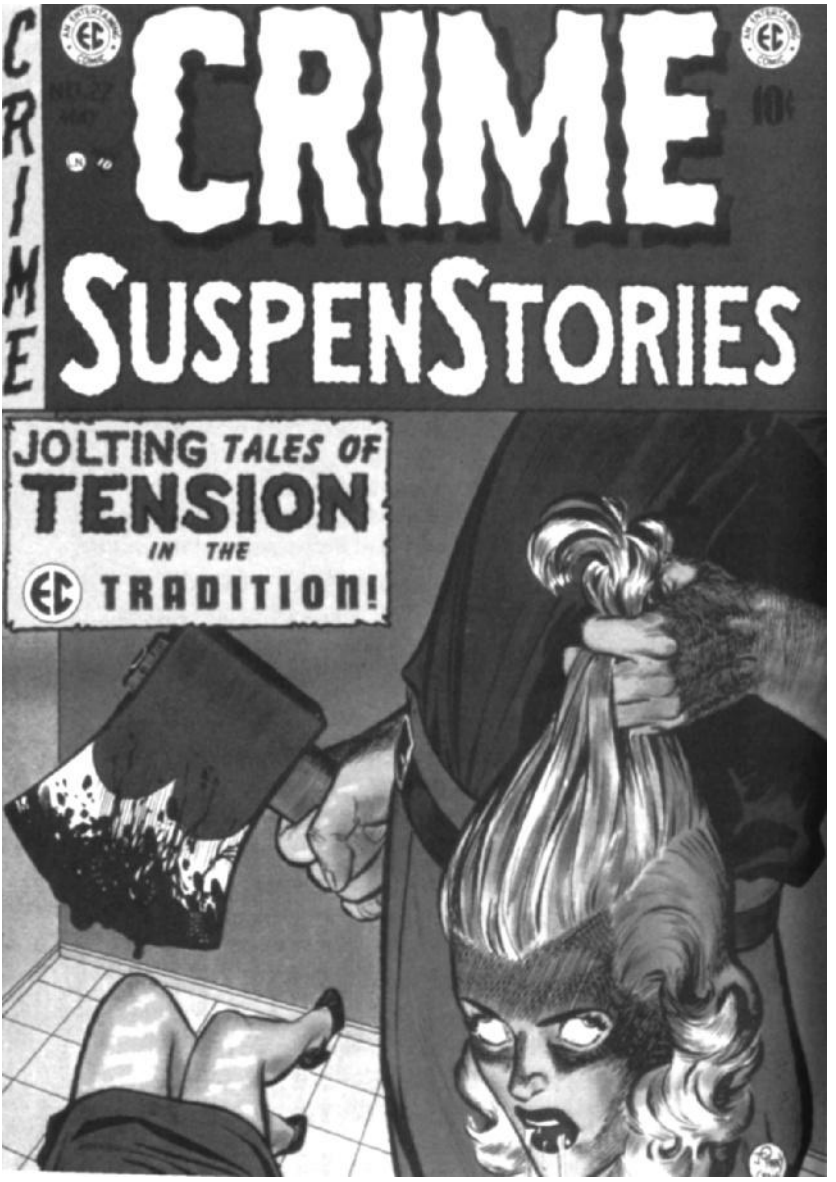
TABLE 1.1 Crime-and-Justice Media History (Continued)

1930s	Film dominates	U.S. commercial film industry is the dominant media and its crime-and-justice content comes under criticism. Social concerns arise about the glorification of crime and criminals and copycat effects of movies. First serious research of media effects and censorship efforts by government.
1930–1940s	Comic books peak	Comic books fill a reality-defining niche for crime and justice and are read by both adults and children. Violent and graphic content generates public crusades against comics as corruptors of youth and establishes the structure of the argument that subsequent attacks on other media such as pop music and video games will take.
1950s	Television	In-home, electronic live visual media quickly dominate and force other media forms to change. Everyone can now easily see and access the same information about the world. Crime programming becomes a major portion of total content.
1970s	Cable television	Content choices expand enormously. Movement from broadcasting aimed at large audiences to narrowcasting aimed at small audiences. Graphic content becomes easily available for home consumption.
New Media Arrive		
1970s–1980s	Arcade video games and first computer games	Video games introduce interactivity to media experience.
1980s	Videocassette recorders	Decision of where to consume content begins to move from producers to consumers with unrestricted home access to films.
1980s	Gaming Computers	First interactive media where consumer has a role in content development. Consumers begin process of becoming collaborative content authors, such as deciding which crime-and-justice role to assume—criminal or crime fighter—and determining final story outcome.
1990s	Mobile computer games and Internet	Electronic access to information goes global and the development of a digital reality begins to take form.
2000–present	New Media dominates, virtual reality, smart phones, and multi-function media devices	Media and computer-augmented experiences begin to supplant real world experiences for consumers. Much of the world is experienced solely through media devices and content. Fast-paced media-driven crime-and-justice policy era emerges.

surprisingly similar to those found today; both present images that reinforce the status quo; promote the impression that competent, often heroic individuals are pursuing and capturing criminals, and encourage the belief that criminals can be readily recognized and crime ultimately curtailed through aggressive law enforcement efforts. These print media icons would later be repeatedly replicated in radio, film, and television programming.

Comic Books. Marketed to both children and adults, one of the more socially influential print media to develop in the twentieth century was the comic book. From their beginning, comic books featured crime-fighting policemen, private detectives, and costumed superheroes. Combining pop art with printed texts, comic books have constructed some of the more sophisticated images and analyses of crime and justice found in the media.[24] Evolving out of the newspaper-based comic strips of the 1890s and marketed within the twentieth-century pulp magazine market, comic books first appeared in the 1930s. In addition to fictional comic stories, reality-crime comics appeared in 1942, featuring stories about actual criminals and their crimes (the page from the "Laughing Sadist" in Chapter 3 is an example). These criminal point-of-view comics became the most popular comic book genre between 1947 and 1954.[25] Similar to contemporary popular music and video games, comic books regularly underwent periods of public concern and attack, the strongest coming in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The outcry and criticisms resulted in a self-adopted industry code that banned torture, sadism, and detailed descriptions of crimes. Overshadowed in the 1950s by film and television, comic books still enjoyed great popularity, particularly with young males, into the 1980s because they filled a media void. Comics could present criminals, heroes, and crime-fighting action beyond the technical and censored limits of radio, film and television.[26] Today comic books have declined in popularity as electronic video games have gained in popularity but remain important generators of crime-and-justice icons.[27] Comic books persist as part of the **multimedia Web,** and their crime-and-justice portrayals still prosper via licensing deals that span films, video games, toys, food, cartoons, and television shows.

Contemporary print media flourishes within new media venues. Text in the form of chat rooms, blogs, tweets, and postings have been compressed in length but multiplied in form. Much communication today is via the "printed" word but does not involve an actual printed page. Regarding crime and justice, the primary difference between contemporary print media and contemporary digital media is not found in their portraits of crime or justice but in the access to their content. From the late-nineteenth-century media dominated by print to the contemporary media dominated by electronically delivered visual images, the constructed messages of crime and justice have remained relatively constant. To access print media, the consumer needs to be literate, gain access to the materials, and make a clear decision to use or not use them. Exposure to their content has therefore always been less "mass" and more selective. Exposure to the modern, electronically dominated mass media images and messages, on the other hand, is difficult to avoid. The first medium to have an omnipresent capability was audio, and it was distributed via radio broadcast networks.



As this 1954 comic book cover illustrates, a morbid interest in heinous crime and violent victimization of females can be found in many time periods and types of media.

Sound Media

First delivered and mass-marketed via radio networks, pure audio media have evolved from vinyl records to 8-track tapes, to compact discs, to MP3 files and other digital forms. Sound media are obviously neither print nor visual, but they

bridge the two by delivering information in a linear fashion akin to print while evoking mental images and emotions analogous to visuals. In the 1920s, radio networks dominated as the home entertainment and news medium.[28] Despite coexisting with film, radio portrayals of criminality were different. The primary difference being, of course, that violence could only be heard, not seen. Their impact should not be underestimated, however, as hearing the sounds of a crime can be an emotionally gripping event. For many, "hearing is believing."

Radio. Together with films, radio also established the business framework that television would subsequently exploit. Exemplified by coverage of the *Hindenburg* disaster in 1937, the 1925 Scopes "monkey" evolution trial, and the Lindbergh baby kidnapping trial in 1935, radio established itself as the first live, on-the-scene news reporting medium. The television news format of 30- to 60-second news spots presented within established categories (the world, the nation, sports, weather, economics, crime, and so forth) originated with radio programming. Within these news categories, the industry use of "news themes" was created, in which coverage of a particular type of crime would prevail for a time period. Radio news would give a type of crime saturation coverage for a short time and then turn to something new. Together with the producers of the film industry's newsreels, which brought weekly visual coverage of news to the public, radio producers created the reporting style that television would embellish: short-term, visceral, emotional news coverage of discrete "crime events."

On the entertainment side, radio drama, particularly at its height during the 1930s and 1940s, included a substantial and popular—though never a dominant—proportion of crime-fighting, detective, and suspense programming.[29] During this time, a number of classic programs such as *The Shadow*, *Sherlock Holmes*, and *True Detective* could be heard. Other "Radio Noir" programs, as they came to be termed, gave the culture a set of popular fictional citizen crime fighters and private detectives such as Nick Carter and Philip Marlowe, wise-cracking tough guys who disdained the police (discussed in Chapter 5). Radio crime programming also included hardened federal agents and reality crime programs. One popular early show, *Gang Busters*, which began in 1935, was the forerunner of current crime stoppers and *Most Wanted*–style programming (covered in Chapter 8). The best known of the early radio crime shows was *Dragnet*, which made a successful transition to television in the 1950s and established the format for the 1950s television police procedural based on police investigations.

The suspense programming found in radio also foretold the more graphic visual effects found in today's media. Unrestrained by concerns about offensive pictures, radio was able to conjure up gruesome mental images via sound effects that could not be shown in films of the time. These grisly sound effects preceded today's graphic visual special effects—sizzling bacon for an electric chair execution, hard candies crushed between teeth for bones being snapped, chopped cabbages for heads being severed, and wet noodles squished with a bathroom plunger for the eating of human flesh. Collectively, radio crime-and-justice programming provided the models for modern day crime-and-justice reality programming, the contemporary stereotypes of criminals and criminal justice, the

heavy emphasis on law enforcement activities over other segments of the criminal justice system, and the exploitation of sensational, heinous crimes. All aspects of contemporary crime-and-justice media that are berated today are traceable to early radio. Not surprisingly, television programmers borrowed heavily from this tested and popular set of narratives in developing their visual crime programming in the 1950s.

Visual Media

Film. In the early twentieth century, film was the tool that first provided the media with the ability to blanket all of society. The movie industry nationalized media content by making its content available to every social, economic, and intellectual stratum. Initially silent and inexpensive, the crime-and-justice stories in movies could still be followed without understanding English as radio programming required. The images were universally available and widely consumed, and film rapidly came to reflect and shape American culture.[30] By 1917, the U.S. motion picture industry was established as the premier commercial entertainment form in the world. By the 1930s, two of every three Americans attended a movie weekly.[31] With their immense popularity, movies were the first modern mass media, and their emergence heralded the creation of a twentieth-century mass culture that crossed geographic, economic, and ethnic lines. As both a social event and a source of social information, movies were the first medium able to bypass the traditional socializing agents of church, school, family, and community and directly reach individuals with information and images.

Though not every movie, television show, or radio program produced during a particular time frame portrayed the same crime-and-justice theme, dominant themes have been identified with certain periods.[32] Beginning with films and carried on in radio dramas, the first media criminals were descendants of Western outlaws, but unlike the "bandit heroes" and other gang members of Western dime novels, early film criminals were usually portrayed as urban citizens. Most of these early-twentieth-century portraits depicted ruthless crooks engaged in corrupt business practices in the pursuit of wealth, a motif that has remained popular to this day. Also common in film plots between 1910 and 1920 were nostalgic portrayals of a simple youthful criminality, reflecting street gang experiences among working-class immigrants. Such films reflected the social impact of large immigrations into the United States during the early part of the twentieth century. From the 1920s to the 1950s, the media criminal slowly evolved from an early-twentieth-century immigrant into a sullen returning World War I veteran, again transformed in the 1930s into a high-rolling bootlegger and Depression-era gunman, and finally into a modern corporate or syndicate executive-gangster. In the 1940s, depictions of violence, terrorism, and murder also became more graphic as gangsters, policemen, and detectives (many now with weapon fetishes) became more violent and less distinguishable from one another.[33] Following World War II, the new visual medium of television burst onto the scene and combined characteristics of both film and radio to quickly become the dominant media.

Television. Introduced in the United States between 1948 and 1951, television soon replaced radio as the primary home entertainment medium, forcing the movie industry to restructure and driving radio dramas into history.[34] Television was not just radio and newspapers with pictures, it was an entirely new medium that fundamentally influenced the shape and content of all media and in doing so helped create a new and different society.[35] Television's growth and public acceptance was phenomenal, and the existing business models for commercial radio facilitated television's emergence. Because the nature and needs of the market dominated programming decisions from the beginning, television programming aimed at attracting and holding large audiences. Borrowing its basic themes and programming ideas from film, radio, and stage, and reformatting them in broadly palatable, noncontroversial products, television quickly came to be described as a vast wasteland of recycled, mediocre content. Ignoring the critics, Americans embraced television. In 1977, the number of television sets to Americans reached a 1-to-1 ratio and has never declined.[36] Although other screens besides those in television sets now compete for viewer attention, television viewing remains an important activity for many Americans.[37]

When creating content about crime and justice, television executives found a gold mine in crime programming. Although television was modeled after radio, crime was never a dominant part of radio programming, but crime and justice was a substantial portion of programming and the amount devoted to these topics was a social concern from television's inception.[38] Crime shows became a staple of prime time television entertainment in the late 1950s. Prompted by the success of adult Westerns and later by a program called *The Untouchables*, crime shows accounted for around one-third of all prime time shows from 1959 to 1961.[39] This trend leveled off during the 1960s but began to increase again during the early 1970s until it reached a peak in 1975, when almost 40 percent of the three then dominant networks' prime time schedules contained shows focusing on crime and law enforcement.[40]

While the major television networks periodically de-emphasize crime programming, the total amount of crime-and-justice programming available via television is greater than ever, with crime stories found within all types of programming. Special programming such as movies shown on television, miniseries, program promotions, syndicated programs, and local, satellite, and cable network programming all distribute significant proportions of crime-related content.[41] Collectively, these varied sources of new and recycled programming make crime and violence a significant, continuous element of television content.

New Media

In addition to the traditional print, sound, and visual media, we have today new digital interactive media exemplified by the Internet, electronic games, and smart phones. This set of media delivery platforms and digital content has acquired the umbrella label of "**new media**." (The role of new media in social construction is discussed in detail in Chapter 2 and their effect on crime and justice in Chapter 10.) There are competing definitions of what comprises "new media"

and the boundary between old "**legacy media**" and "new media" is blurry. At their core, "new media" are made up of devices and capabilities encompassing digital and Internet technology that are characterized by interactive social media and multimedia content. New media employ digital information that is quickly and easily shared among large audiences and can take the form of print, sound, moving or still images and all of their combinations. Content in new media is highly fluid and allows for faster and broader communication between linked consumers and encourages the merging and looping of content across media forms.[42] The globalization of information has resulted, and the social construction of crime has followed suit.[43] The experience when immersed in new media is significantly different from the older legacy media experience. Most important, new media's unique characteristics of narrowcasting, on-demand access to content, and interactivity shift the audience experience from passive consumers to active participants. A user of legacy media was termed an audience member, a viewer, a listener, or a reader. New media users are often players or surfers and role-playing and content authorship is a common natural part of new media activities.[44] The social significance of these characteristics is that new media moves their audience from passive media customers to active co-producers of media content.[45] Combined with computers to generate virtual realities, new media experiences are the closest to actual experienced reality available.

Leila Cutler/Alamy

A recent addition to crime and media concerns is the interactive nature of realistic virtual reality video games. In some games, players participate in violent acts and are rewarded for them within the game.

TYPES OF CONTENT

In addition to the different types of media, four basic types of content appear throughout the media. Figure 1.1 portrays the basic media content areas: advertising, news, entertainment, and infotainment. Traditionally, news, entertainment, and advertising were sufficient to define the media content landscape, but today infotainment is a significant addition. As shown, today advertising content overlays and infiltrates all other content, and infotainment has emerged to create a niche between news and entertainment. With content looping, the movement of information and images into and between the four media content areas today can be rapid and multidirectional. Encouraged by the development of new media, the boundaries between media content areas are porous and increasingly blurred. The result means that one can be hard pressed to decide which of the four content categories some recent media products fit into.

Advertising

Advertising is media at work. It is the lifeblood of the mass media. Advertising can be conceived as all of the media content purposely geared to persuade monetary decisions. Traditionally distinct from other content, the boundary between advertising and the rest of mass media has significantly dissolved. One now commonly sees product placements in films, news stories produced by corporate public relations offices, infomercials disguised as talk and news shows, and product endorsements embedded in Facebook pages. The sole media realm found to be comparatively low on crime and violence; advertising has become a pervasive, multi-venue, continuous media campaign interwoven into and throughout other media content.

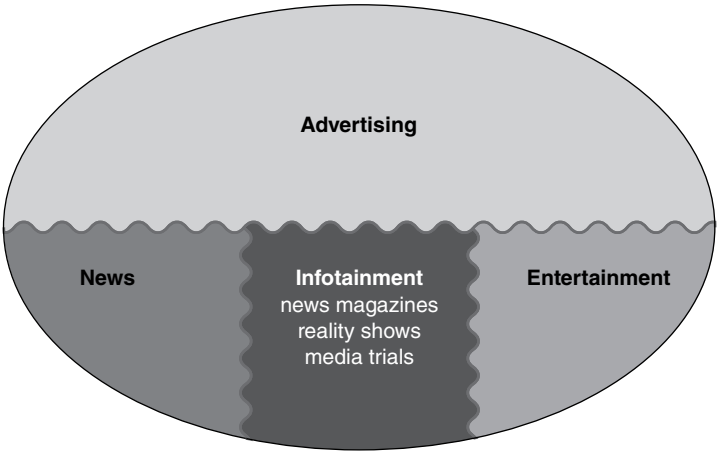


FIGURE 1.1 Types of Media Content.

Entertainment

Entertainment is escapism. It involves all of the media content that is not forwarded as reflecting any specific reality or real event. Entertainment content is popular because it provides a pleasurable escape from reality. Its narratives engage and transport. Entertainment provides views of realities that cannot be otherwise seen and describes experiences that will not be personally experienced via mediated events that did not happen. In the entertainment world of crime and justice, you will see impossible crimes, fights, and adventures by people with abilities that no humans possess, surviving experiences that are not survivable. The entertainment products of the media are best thought of as play, and crime-and-justice stories have been estimated to account for about one-fourth of all entertainment output.[46]

News

News is typically marketed as true, current, and objective information about significant world events. As such, it plays a strong role in one's perception of reality and deserves an extended discussion. Contemporary news is essentially voyeurism. In crime-and-justice news, you are usually informed about real events and real people, but these events are often rare and distant. They display the lives of people caught up in extreme circumstances, involving bizarre crimes, spectacular trials, and extraordinary situations. News provides filtered, molded snippets of the abnormal criminal events of the world. Crime-and-justice news today is an escape from the normal via a social construction of the unusual. The amount of contemporary news has markedly expanded due to the increased number of media outlets. For its part, crime news usually is "social control" news, and is often reported with accompanying information about law enforcement efforts and new social control policies such as curfews or crackdowns.[47] A crime news story normally unfolds in three segments.[48] It begins with an announcement that a crime has occurred. The viewer is then visually or verbally transported to the scene of the crime. Finally, the focus shifts to the search, identification, or apprehension of the offender and related efforts of law enforcement officials.[49]

Crime news has always been popular. It was said that after 1575, "it hardly seems possible that a really first-rate murder, especially if it was complicated by an illicit love affair or a hanging went unreported."[50] Historically, treason, murder, and witchcraft were the most popular story lines. This early crime coverage was laden with details of criminal acts intertwined with moral exhortations to the readers about the dangers of sin within reports that are surprisingly similar to the infotainment content of much of today's crime news.[51] Through the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century, crime-related street literature (broadsides, pamphlets, sermons and speeches) were the main vehicles for news of crime and justice and established the idea that crime news was for profit and entertainment.[52] In the mid 1830s, crime reporting became a prominent—though not highly regarded—specialty in the previously mentioned penny press.[53] The emergence of specialized reporters marks the beginning of aggressive marketing of crime news to the public. The evolution since has been for news to be produced more

and more as a salable commodity.[54] By the late 1800s, newspapers came to be produced by modern corporations with large advertising revenues, staffs, and circulations. Crime coverage increased further with the introduction of a new type of mass entertainment newspaper reporting, collectively known as **yellow journalism.**[55] This new journalism emphasized the details of individual crimes; with this shift, police officers replaced court personnel and witnesses as the primary news source for crime information.[56] This trend has persisted to this day.

An examination of the process by which news is created helps to understand the content of crime news. Two models for the process of news creation—the market model and the manipulative model—compete.[57] The key for both models is **newsworthiness—**the criteria by which news producers choose which of all known events are selected to be news. In the **market model,** newsworthiness is determined largely by public interest, and journalists simply and objectively report and reproduce the world in the news. Under this model, reporters are regarded as reactive news collection agents who meet public interest needs. In the **manipulative model,** news is selected not according to public interest but according to the interests of the news agencies' owners. Under this model, the media purposefully distort reality and proactively use the news as a means of shaping public opinion in support of large social institutions and the status quo.[58]

Both models are inadequate because they ignore the organizational realities of news production, which by its nature makes rendering an objective, unbiased, mirror image of reality impossible.[59] Crime news displays characteristics that can be interpreted as indicative of both the manipulative and market models but that can best be understood within an **organizational model** of news production.[60] Factors related to the organizational needs of news agencies steer the process.[61] Because of the organizational nature of its birth, crime news is inherently subjective, though not necessarily ideologically biased.[62] What the public receives as news is capsulized, stylized, and commodified information.[63]

The bulk of news, then, is less discovered than formed by journalists working under organizational pressures. One organizational pressure on news agencies is that as organizations they need to routinize their work to plan and schedule the use of resources. But news organizations are in the unique organizational position of dealing with a commodity, news, that by definition is supposed to be unique and unpredictable. Their core organizational task, then, is to routinize the processing of non-routine events. To do so, news media personnel must become active co-creators of the news. They cannot be totally reactive, nor can they be totally proactive. In practice, they are somewhere in between—reactive to truly unexpected events, proactive and part of the creation process for the rest of the news.

The construction of crime news can be best understood as the coupling of two information-processing systems—one being news agencies, the other being the government.[64] The reporter *beat system*—under which reporters cover specific subject areas (for example, state politics or downtown crime)—restricts a journalist's sources and perspectives so that, in general, news journalists report on those at or near the top of the social hierarchy and those who threaten them—particularly those at the bottom—to an audience mostly located in the middle.[65] In addition, as profits have fallen, contemporary traditional journalism

has become more characterized by the processing of news releases and press conferences than as a news gathering endeavor.[66] This means that in news of crime and justice we normally hear criminal justice system and government officials talking about individual criminals and street crimes or receive non-journalistic accounts directly distributed through new media avenues.[67] Contemporary traditional news agencies often find themselves using unedited images and accounts produced at a crime scene by new media-equipped bystanders. Today one is as likely to see images from a smart phone on the news as see footage produced by a news agency crime reporter.

Regarding which crimes get selected to be crime news, when possible, news agencies prefer unexpected or unusual events, but they present them in terms of previously established stories and explanations.[68] The better an event fits established themes, the more likely it is to be selected. Other, more specific criteria for crime news selection include the seriousness of the event, whimsical circumstances, sentimental or dramatic elements, and the involvement of high-status persons, and, of course, engaging images.[69] In the case of crime news, seriousness is the primary factor. In that crimes occur in the opposite proportion to their seriousness and that the news criterion for seriousness is harm to individuals rather than overall social harm, the media report those crimes that are least common and thus construct a crime reality at odds with the social reality of crime.[70] The result is that to the extent that reporters are encouraged to report the unique crime, it is more difficult for the public to estimate the typical crime.[71]

Within the news production process, historically there were checkpoints through which crime news was processed and passed along, with those processed to the final gate becoming crime news. First coined in 1950, the term for a person controlling the processing checkpoints is **gatekeeper.**[72] As shown in Figure 1.2,

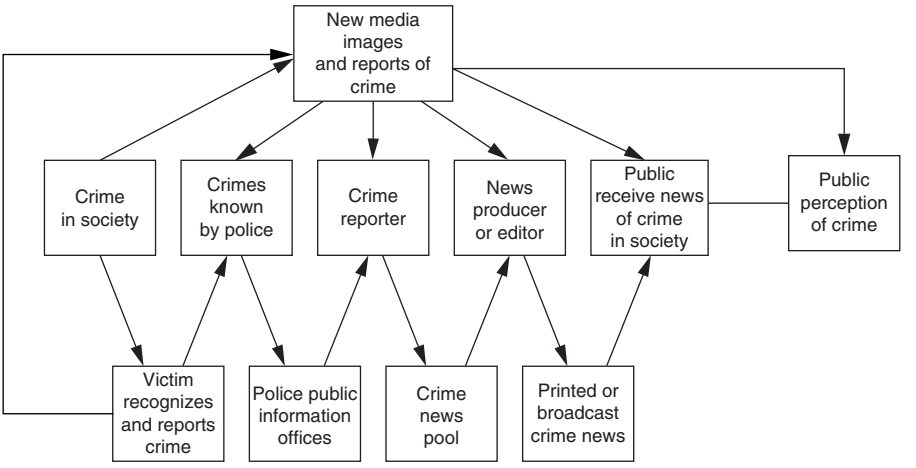


FIGURE 1.2

The Internet and Social Media Have Altered the Crime News Gatekeeping Process by Allowing News of Crime to Bypass Victims, Police, and News Agencies and Flow Directly to the Public.

the gatekeepers in the bottom two rows represent how crime news historically was created. A key gatekeeper in the crime news process was the crime reporter. To provide a steady stream of crime stories, a crime reporter developed reliable police sources and maintained their trust.[73] Although sometimes critical of law enforcement, successful crime reporters developed a working relationship with the police that benefited both.[74] Over time, the two sides developed similar work experiences and outlooks. As traditional news production has lost resources and the specialized crime reporter has become an endangered species, another key gatekeeper has evolved on the law enforcement side—the public information or media relations officer (PIO). Prior to the development of PIOs, interaction with the media was an ad hoc, idiosyncratic process. As the marketing of crime news has heightened, the competition among sources of crime-and-justice information for news media attention has sharpened. While law enforcement agencies still hold the central position in the construction and defining of the crime problem, other public agencies and private lobby and pressure groups have joined the competition. In addition, as reflected in the top row in Figure 1.2, new media content such as cell phone videos have allowed private individuals to influence the crime news gatekeeping process. The gatekeeping process has become more multi-directional, fluid, and rapid with new media, which allows the skirting of the entire traditional news industry so that raw footage of crime scenes sometimes is distributed to the public before it appears in formal news reports.[75]

New media notwithstanding, crime news, particularly statistics, statements about trends, and explanations and policy recommendations, still comes largely from information supplied by the police. Because it can be prepackaged and gathered at little cost[76], crime news helps news organizations in their scheduling and resource allocation and so remains popular with news agencies.[77] And because it is popular with the public, it continues to make up a large part of the total news. Despite its dilution through social media, the gatekeeping process will continue to filter out the vast majority of crime from becoming crime news and make any correspondence between crime news and actual crime unlikely.[78] News, entertainment, and advertising are still what most people think of when they consider the broad categories of mass media content, but a fourth content type, infotainment, which crosses all of the traditional media boundary lines, has emerged as a significant area for contemporary crime and justice.

Infotainment

An important change in contemporary crime-and-justice media is the explosion of infotainment products. **Infotainment** can be defined as the marketing of edited, highly formatted information about the world in entertainment media vehicles. The reality in infotainment is more about the reality we wish for than the reality that exists. The feel with infotainment media is that you are learning the real facts about the world; the reality is that you are getting a highly stylized rendition of a narrow, edited slice of the world. In that infotainment combines aspects of news, entertainment, and advertising under a single umbrella, its emergence makes it less sensible to discuss the three traditional media components

separately. News, entertainment, and advertising are no longer unique media spheres due to infotainment's influences.[79]

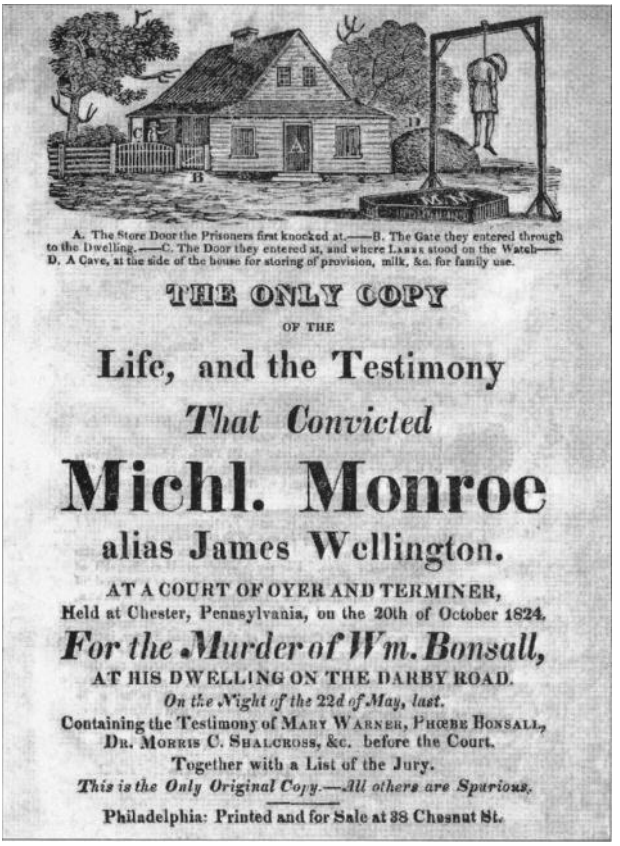
Crime perfectly fits infotainment demands for content about real events that can be delivered in an entertaining fashion, and infotainment content based on crime and justice has existed for centuries. Crime pamphlets and gallows sermons are two early examples, and infotainment has always played a minor role in the media's crime-and-justice content. Why did the amount of infotainment content take off in the late twentieth century? The basic answer is that as the media, led first by television, became more visual, intrusive, and technologically capable, the viewing audience simultaneously became more voyeuristic and entertainment-conscious.[80] The ability of satellites to instantaneously beam information around the world allowed the public to watch riots, wars, and other events as they happen, heightening the dramatic entertainment value of what previously would have been reported as after-the-fact news stories, or not reported at all. For example, with the use of news helicopters, it became common to follow high-speed car chases and broadcast them live on social media. Irrespective of its social importance, a visual event that might not have been mentioned in the news a decade ago can be a contemporary lead news story as a result of simply being highly photogenic and entertaining. Along the same lines, ubiquitous surveillance cameras provide footage for media that rely on dramatizing "real" crimes. By providing a large inexpensive pool of visual events to market, such technological improvements have allowed for much of the infotainment programming that exists today. While improved technology increased the potential amount of infotainment content, its popularity is due to another factor.

The popularity of infotainment programming is tied to what caused news and entertainment to blur. With expanded hours, more networks, and new media competing for audience attention, more content was needed.[81] The addition of entertainment elements to news content was embraced as a solution.[82] Beginning in the late 1980s, modern crime-related infotainment programs began to appear on television, and the line between crime-and-justice news and entertainment dissolved.[83] Today a clear demarcation between news and entertainment no longer exists, and media consumers are hard pressed to differentiate crime-and-justice news from crime-and-justice entertainment. The news is still looked to for a reliable record of what's real, but today's stew of infotainment and unedited content makes establishing what is accurate a haphazard process.

Led by television, print and radio followed suit, and today substantial amounts of infotainment content can be found across a broad spectrum of media. Some of the more long-lived infotainment programs are crime-and-justice infotainment vehicles. Such programs have never been hugely popular in terms of ratings (*Cops* enjoying the highest numbers), but they continue to attract substantial audiences and are extremely profitable. As a result, the crime-and-justice media landscape is populated with varied infotainment products and venues. Within this media crime-and-justice infotainment world, the crime control model dominates.[84] Employing real crimes, re-enactments, and documentary-like formatting, the realism in which infotainment cloaks itself encourages the acceptance of their portrayals as accurate pictures of the world

by audiences.[85] However, contrary to their image of reality, their content is clearly structured along entertainment lines while focusing upon the oldest entertainment crime story structure known: "*A crime followed by a chase ending with a capture.*" Like most media content, crime-and-justice infotainment emphasizes the committing of crime, the investigation and identification of criminals, and the pursuit and arrest of offenders.[86] Three types of crime-and-justice infotainment entities are common: news magazines and Web sites, reality-based crime shows, and media trials. Collectively, they dominate the contemporary mass media crime-and-justice infotainment market.

Newsmagazines and Web Sites. News magazines and Internet Web sites and blogs dedicated to crime extend the application of the entertainment values found in lesser degrees in much of the daily news content. Because of their time and format constraints, daily newscasts and new media-delivered summary



A. The Store Door the Prisoners first knocked at.—B. The Gate they entered through to the Dwelling.—C. The Door they entered at, and where Lamb stood on the Watch—D. A Cave, at the side of the house for storing of provision, milk, &c. for family use.

THE ONLY COPY

OF THE

Life, and the Testimony

That Convicted

Michl. Monroe

alias James Wellington.

AT A COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER,

Held at Chester, Pennsylvania, on the 20th of October 1824.

For the Murder of Wm. Bonsall,

AT HIS DWELLING ON THE DARBY ROAD.

On the Night of the 22d of May, last.

Containing the Testimony of Mary Warner, Phœbe Bonsall, Dr. Morris C. Shalcross, &c. before the Court.

Together with a List of the Jury.

This is the Only Original Copy.—All others are Spurious.

Philadelphia: Printed and for Sale at 38 Chesnut St.

Historical & Special Collections, Harvard Law School Library

Similar to much of what is found in contemporary media, the focus in this nineteenth-century crime news pamphlet is on a violent, predatory crime and criminal. The symbolic hanging and the drawing of the crime scene with the promise of one-of-a-kind details were harbingers of today's crime-and-justice infotainment media.

accounts do not spend much time on any single story. They therefore cannot fully develop an infotainment context. However, newsmagazines and Internet sites can devote more content to the most interesting (that is, the most sensational, violent, dramatic, visual, or scandalous) crime stories. They provide audiences access to large amounts of information, especially images, and opportunities to share opinions about crimes. Within these avenues, a crime can be fully constructed as an entertainment vehicle along stereotypic story lines, complete with plots, characters, victims, villains, and dramatic endings.[87] At one end of the genre are the electronic versions of the supermarket tabloid newspapers—the trash-TV talk shows emphasizing confrontation and sexual deviance, the tabloid news shows emphasizing bizarre, violent crimes, and the Web sites and online blogs advocating bizarre content and crime theories. At the higher end are the weekly newsmagazine shows such as *60 Minutes* and Web sites associated with mainstream news agencies.

Other than matters of taste, what makes programs at both ends of the spectrum worrisome is that by presenting expanded, apparently in-depth stories, they convey the impression that crime is being discussed from multiple sides and that a full contextual review is being provided. However, as in regular news, in newsmagazine programming high-profile, sensationalist crimes and criminals are emphasized, with a focus on individual, random, stranger-on-stranger acts of violence. They continue the broader popular media's painting of crimes and criminals within simplistic portraits. As found in these other media outlets, newsmagazines and Internet crime news sites reflect the process of **commodification,** the packaging and marketing of crime information for popular consumption and commercial profit.[88] The impact that the economic goals of commodification have on media crime-and-justice content cannot be overemphasized. When a significant source of public knowledge about crime and criminality is steered by what is popular and profitable, the public's ability to evaluate criminal justice policies unavoidably suffers.

Reality-Based Crime Shows. As news drifted more toward entertainment, entertainment programmers looked to traditional news formats to design talk shows and documentaries that would be accepted as credible and realistic by their audiences. In doing so, they have produced some of the more commercially successful television programming thus far in the twenty-first century. Virtually all aspects of life have been presented as a reality program at one time or another and a connection between the production of reality shows in general and an increase in local crime has been speculated.[89] Reality-based crime shows that entertain by sensationalizing real stories about crime and justice are of particular interest. These shows typically employ dramatizations of actual crimes interspersed with police narratives and interviews or actual video footage that features police officers investigating crimes, questioning suspects, and making arrests.[90] The audience is allowed to look over the shoulder of real cops, prison guards, probations officers, and sometimes offenders.

Concerns with these programs arise directly from their claim to be presenting reality—that they are objective purveyors of true stories about crime and

justice. Despite their use of the trappings of traditional news and journalism, crime reality shows are thinly disguised entertainment, and the reality that they construct is not accurate. They mix reconstructions, actors, and interviews and employ camera angles, music, lighting, and sets to enhance their dramatic and entertainment elements. Viewers are encouraged to accept the content as straightforward through the use of self-labeled "correspondents" and "reporters." Law and order, social control, and the point of view of law enforcement officials dominate within stereotyped portraits of crimes, criminals, and victims.[91] The crime-and-justice world found in reality-based crime shows appears as a violent, crime-prone underclass held in check by the police.

Media Trials. Society has long been intrigued by the inner workings of the judicial system. Prior to cameras being allowed into America's courtrooms in the late 1970s, the most realistic-looking views of judicial proceedings came from courtroom television dramas and classic films like *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Today the drama is often "real," or at least not based on fictional cases (see Box 1.2). Cameras have moved into courtrooms to cover deliberations, to record the emotional responses of participants, and to conduct interviews with participants. Some made-for-TV courtroom shows are more akin to game shows than to judicial proceedings. The media hijacking and dramatization of actual criminal cases has invigorated the **media trial—**the co-optation of a regional or national crime or justice event by the media, which is developed and marketed along entertainment-style storylines as a source of drama, entertainment, and profit.[92]

Media trials are distinguished from typical news coverage by the massive and intensive coverage that begins either with the discovery of the crime or the arrest of the accused. In a media trial, the media cover all aspects of a case, often highlighting extralegal aspects. Judges, lawyers, police, witnesses, jurors, and defendants are interviewed, photographed, and frequently raised to celebrity status. Personalities, personal relationships, physical appearances, and idiosyncrasies are commented on without regard for legal relevance. Coverage is live whenever possible, pictures are preferred over text, and text is characterized by conjecture and sensationalism. Discussed in full in Chapter 6, a media trial is, in effect, a dramatic miniseries developed around a real criminal case. The history of these media trials reveals that they occur with regularity. In the twentieth century, more than two dozen trials were declared the "trial of the century" in the press.[93] Early media trials began to appear in the late nineteenth century with the 1893 Lizzie Borden murder trial for the killing of her parents with an ax one of the best known due to a resulting popular schoolyard poem and song.[94] Over the course of the twentieth century, interest in these trials by the media, the public, and the marketplace grew steadily. Following their period of intense public and media scrutiny, the trials pass into popular folklore and relative obscurity. Recognition of names such as Fatty Arbuckle, Sacco and Vanzetti, Bruno Hauptmann, the Rosenbergs, Patty Hearst, Scott Peterson, and Drew Peterson, have faded after once commanding public interest and media attention.

In their coverage and marketing, these trials become palettes for the social construction of the entire criminal justice system.[95] They provide simplistic

Box 1.2 Jodi Arias

The salacious trial of Jodi Arias in 2013 was another heavily covered trial in a long parade of media trials that stretches back centuries. Jodi Arias was tried for the murder of her boyfriend, who was found in his shower with nearly 30 knife wounds, a bullet wound to his head, and a slit throat. After initially denying involvement, she eventually admitted to the killing, claiming self-defense, but was found guilty of first-degree murder. In the tradition of the social construction of these media trials, coverage included details and photos of the nature of the couple's sexual relationship, YouTube videos, an appearance by Arias on the television show *48 Hours* (in which Arias claimed that the murder was committed during a home invasion), and daily commentary and coverage by various infotainment media personalities such as Nancy Grace.

POOL/Reuters /Landov

explanations of crime within the authoritative and dramatic vehicle of a "real" trial. In practice, crime in these productions is nearly universally attributed to individual characteristics and failings rather than to social conditions. Media trials represent the final step in a long process of merging news and entertainment—a process that now often results in extensive multimedia and commercial exploitation. That the source of media trials is the judicial system eases the merger, for media trials allow the media industry to attract and entertain a large general audience while maintaining its public image as an objective and neutral reporter of news. The end result is that in media trials, the merging of information and entertainment is fully achieved.

CRIME AND JUSTICE AS A MEDIATED EXPERIENCE

Each step in the evolution of types of media and their content brings the **mediated experience**—the experience that an individual has when he or she experiences an event via the media a bit closer to what it is like to actually personally experience an event.[96] More than ever before, an individual today can experience crime and criminal justice through the media and come away with the sensation of actual experience. Media presentations are evolving toward a media reality that is ever closer to an actual real-world experience and, thus, is more popular and more profitable. Radio provided sound, live coverage, and home delivery. Films provided continuous action and eventually sound and were therefore closer to actual experience than either print or radio. Television provided a combination of image, sound, live coverage, and home delivery—a mediated experience that was both similar to actual experience and easy to access. Recent new media technological developments have evolved to create delivery vehicles that increase access and choice in media consumption and further move media-created realities closer to experienced reality. Lastly, the introduction of electronic interactive games and computer-generated images have moved the mediated experience via virtual and augmented reality to be physically competitive to a real-world experience while simultaneously shifting the audience from passive observers of events to digital participants.

This evolution of the media has had a significant impact on the criminal justice system; today mediated crime-and-justice experience and knowledge dominates real-world crime-and-justice experience and knowledge. Despite media impressions to the contrary, most Americans have limited direct experience with crime and the criminal justice system. Receiving a traffic ticket remains the most common form of contact between citizens and law enforcement. Of those victimized by crime, having something stolen is far more common than violent victimization. Violent victimization also tends to be concentrated in lower-class social groups. Thus, for most Americans, the mediated experience is the main source of their crime-and-justice experience and knowledge. In addition, for most of us, experiencing crime and justice via the media is preferable to experiencing crime-and-justice events directly. Few seek out the experience of being a crime victim, but many enjoy seeing crimes committed in the media. The mediated experience —where one is warm, dry, safe, and able to see and hear from multiple points of view with the capacity to pause and replay the experience—is also preferable to actual experience for many other criminal justice events such as working a street patrol, attending a criminal trial, or serving a prison sentence.

The cumulative result of this ongoing media evolution is that today we live in a multimedia environment where content, particularly images, appears ubiquitously throughout the media landscape in a vast unavoidable morass of mediated information, events, personalities, and products.[97] Caught up in the mutations, the nature of contemporary crime and justice has evolved. In some instances the mediated event blots out the actual event, so that what people believe happened (based on widespread media renditions) supplants what actually happened. The facts of an event become irrelevant in the face of the mediated rendition of the event. This

trend toward media portrayal over reality is particularly powerful in crime and justice, where news, entertainment, and advertising combine with infotainment content and new media to construct our mediated crime-and-justice reality. From this mediated reality we create our crime-and-justice policies.

Today, we live in a new media culture with media driven crime-and-justice policies. What we believe about crime and justice and what we think ought to be done about crime and justice is based on a view of reality that has been parsed, filtered, recast, and refiltered through the electronic, visually dominated, multimedia Web. Some crimes will have their images and reports shared in real time in social media and will appear as crime news. Their images and re-enactments will appear in entertainment films and television programming and audience-produced content such as YouTube videos. They will have their 911 dispatch tapes used as background in pop songs and will have the experiences of their victims, offenders, investigators, and attorneys chronicled in books and dissected in blogs, chat rooms, and talk shows. In such ways, mediated crime-and-justice experiences become more socially significant and influential then actual experiences.

In sum, five realities of twenty-first-century media are important for crime and justice.

1. Contemporary mass media is an electronic, digital, visual-dominated media. Print and sound are secondary in social impact. Content is fluid and moves quickly from medium to medium. Images have more value than other media content, and multimedia renditions of events are the norm. The evolution of the media has been toward making mediated experience indistinguishable from actual experience. Within this evolution, new media is altering the manner in which crime-and-justice information is collected, disseminated, and interpreted.
2. The current marketing structure of the media is geared toward narrowcasting, or targeting smaller, more homogenous audiences; however, content is constantly reformatted, reused, and looped to ultimately reach multiple and varied audiences. New media have decentralized the creation and distribution of content. Audiences have moved from passive consumers to active participants.
3. The media are a collection of for-profit businesses. Each media business must make money to survive, and the primary purpose of media is not to entertain or inform an audience but to deliver a consumer to an advertiser. From a media business perspective, advertising is the most important content. From the consumer and social impact side, the most important content is infotainment. New media has begun to drastically change the profitability of legacy media, especially print-based ones.
4. Media businesses exist within a highly competitive environment. Most new media ventures fail, and the expected life spans of media outlets, content, and products are brief. Content must be marketable and must quickly attract an audience and make a profit. Crime content remains a high-profit area.

5. The U.S. media resides in a non-paternalistic relationship with the government. The government is not prone to directly involve itself in determining content (though government officials do enjoy holding periodic hearings about content). The government role in the mass media is largely as a hands-off regulator, issuing licenses and controlling access to broadcast frequencies. Profitable content that may have negative social effects remains popular and common.

What these media realities collectively mean is that the U.S. media is driven by market considerations. The media environment is best understood as a multimedia commodity Web competing in a freewheeling marketplace. Within this market, content appears and reappears in varied and dispersed contexts, and images have the greatest value. Crime and criminal justice content has become a particularly valuable media commodity. The real world of criminal justice has reacted to this media commodification process, and the two sides have entered a twenty-first-century ballet in which each leads the other, spinning off criminal justice policies and programs. In this dance, two views of the media's impact on justice coexist. In one popular perspective, the media are criticized as criminogenic and as undermining the values of law and order. In the second perspective, popular among academics, the media are criticized as purveyors of fear, moral panics, factual distortions, and supporters of the status quo.[98] Being many things with diverse content, but not monolithic as sometimes described, contemporary media in reality do both.

In that the criminal justice system is a process that runs from criminality through law enforcement, courts, and corrections to criminal justice policies, the balance of this book explores this media–criminal justice relationship within a systems perspective. Media constructions of crime, law enforcement, the judicial system, and corrections as currently portrayed in the mass media are presented first, followed by chapters dedicated to media's relationship to crime control and policy formation. Lastly, the impact of new media on crime and justice is discussed.

SUMMARY

- Much of our knowledge about crime and justice come from the media, and media and crime and justice are intertwined.
- The knowledge we gain about crime and justice from the media influence our criminal justice policies.
- New media has accelerated the flow of crime-and-justice knowledge and content.
- Crime-and-justice content has been historically popular in all types of media.
- Print media was the first media to generate a mass market. Print also allowed stricter control of access to information.

- Sound media established the business model of today's media and was the first broad-based home media. Radio also popularized crime infotainment programs and live coverage of criminal justice events.
- Visual media were the first media to blanket society and with the introduction of television brought crime images directly into the home.
- New media has changed the nature of the media–consumer relationship via narrowcasting, on-demand access, and interactivity. New media audiences expect to be entertained and to participate in the creation and distribution of the content they experience.
- Crime news remains a profitable commodity, which due to the nature of its creation unavoidably provides an inaccurate picture of crime. Gatekeepers filter the crimes of the day and pass along the most unique newsworthy ones.
- Infotainment is the most important recent media development, with newsmagazines and Web sites, reality-based crime shows, and media trials dominating contemporary crime-and-justice content.
- Crime and justice are mediated experiences for most Americans.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS

1. Discuss the changes that you have observed since your childhood in the way crime and justice is portrayed in the media. Which changes do you think are positive and which ones do you think are negative? Discuss whether the media today more often promote crime control or due process goals.
2. Discuss recent criminal-justice-related events that have been looped in the media. Talk over how many were originally real versus fictional events and how the original events have been altered and used in new media contexts.
3. Compile a list of criminal justice memorial policies and discuss the characteristics of the persons and events they memorialize and the policies they established. Discuss what the characteristics of the crimes and victims say about criminality and crime in America and what the resulting policies suggest as a general philosophy of criminal justice.
4. Discuss why many common social experiences, such as attending concerts, football games, or meeting new people, are today preferred to be experienced via new interactive media. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages mediated experiences have over real-world experiences.

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