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You Saw What on TV?

A critical analysis of the *America's Most Wanted* website

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to look at the data presented to the public on the television show *America's Most Wanted* to see if it is representative of criminal activity as officially recorded by official statistics. This research will look at the relationship between offenses and demographics of offenders listed as 'captured' on the *America's Most Wanted* website. Researchers will use publicly available databases, doing a comparative analysis of a representative sample of 610 captured fugitives. The variables used in the analysis will consist of the presented offender's gender, race, offence and where the offender was captured. Sensationalism will drive the captures, and thus, violent crime is overrepresented in the sample. Also, minorities are underrepresented in the case files, but are shown as more violent and less nonviolent than non-minorities. Capture data when compared to UCR data of criminal arrests reveals that *America's Most Wanted* does not accurately portray crime in America.

Origins of America's Most Wanted

AMW first aired on February 7th, 1988 (*AMW* FAQ). Since that time, *AMW* has aired at 9 PM (EST) on the Fox network. Initially the series was only half-an-hour long, but switched to an hour long format during the 1990s (Bond-Maupin, 1998). The idea for *AMW* came from John Walsh, the show's host. Walsh wanted to create a law enforcement resource in memory of his son Adam, who was abducted and murdered in 1981 when he was six-years-old (*AMW* FAQ). The authors believe that the purpose of *AMW* is to assist law enforcement in finding suspects and fugitives. *AMW* accomplishes this by airing vignettes which recreate crimes based upon interviews with law enforcement officials, victims and families of the offenders and victims (Bond-Maupin, 1998). With the above purpose in mind, *AMW* has assisted in the capture of 920 fugitives as of March 9th, 2007.

Literature Review

Programs such as *America's Most Wanted*, *COPS*, and *Real stories of the Highway Patrol* are generally referred to by researchers as reality crime television. This term is generally utilized to indicate that the television program uses real footage of crimes and interviews with law enforcers, victims and criminals. This is in direct contrast to programs such as *CSI*, *NYPD Blue*, or *Law and Order*, which may use infamous crimes for plots, but represent them through the lens of fiction. There can be a loss of realism and even reality when real crimes 'ripped from the headlines' are shown through this lens.

While many researchers have focused upon how television can impact its viewers, reality crime television researchers are a special breed that focuses not only on the effect but the presentation. Research into reality crime television has demonstrated that although interviews and real footage is used, reality is still skewed in these programs

Lisa Bond-Maupin, director of Women's Studies at New Mexico State University, has crafted several papers that focus on how gender is represented on the program *America's Most Wanted*. Studying two seasons of the program, Bond-Maupin wrote her first paper "That wasn't even me they showed: Women as criminals on *America's Most Wanted*." The research obviously focused on those women who were featured on the program as suspects, criminals or fugitives. Bond-Maupin was interested in how the factors of sexuality, male control and traditional gender roles figured into the accounts of these female fugitives. The research found that women were older and more ethnically diverse than their male counterparts, and were more apt to use sex and sexuality to control their male accomplices. Additionally, the research found that the women were motivated by greed rather than anger, and had eschewed motherhood and other traditional gender roles to become criminals. Finally, Bond-Maupin found at least one instance when a female offender was referred to as a 'black widow,'

Bond-Maupin worked on the *America's Most Wanted* program's portrayal of gender again while working with Gray Cavender and Lisa Jurik. In their paper "The construction of gender on reality crime tv," The trio focused again on gender, but this time looked into the role of female victimology on *America's Most Wanted*. With a sample of 24 episodes from 1988-1989 and 1995-1996, the research came to many interesting albeit sexist conclusions. Most female victims were young and white, and embodied traditional female roles or marriage and motherhood. The victims were often attacked by strange (not known personally to them) and brutal men. Perhaps most indicative of perceived sexism in the program was the finding that women were shown to be helpless against crime; and could only be protected by male authority figures using technology.

While Cavender, Bond-Maupin and Jurik chose to focus on the impact of reality crime television of gender studies, other researchers have worked with the representation of race in these programs. In 2002, Sarah Eschholz, Brenda Blackwell, Marc Gertz and Ted Chirico wrote their paper 'Race and attitudes toward the police: Assessing the effect of watching reality crime programs.' The researchers contacted adults in a southeastern metropolitan area using surveys. During this contact questions were asked about positive and negative attitudes toward the police; and viewership of programs such as *COPS* and *America's Most Wanted*. After surveying 1,492 adults, the research concluded that watching reality crime television may increase positive attitudes toward the police. However, this increase was limited to males, white and those who did not have a college education. It is possible that this association may stem from undereducated viewers utilizing reality crime programs not as entertainment, but as their sourcebook for how the world actually is.

In 2002, Sarah Eschholz again looked into the issue how race and crime are portrayed on reality crime programs. In her study 'Racial composition of television offenders and viewers' fear of crime,' Eschholz studying how fear of crime could be changed by the number of black versus white offenders in reality crime programs. This is to say that Eschholz

was most concerned with how one hour of television programming might induce different levels of fear based on the racial composition of the offenders showcased therein. To determine these levels of fear, Eschholz surveyed 1,492 adults in a southern state over an eight week period in the fall of 1995. During those eight weeks, Eschholz also conducted a content analysis of 26 crime television programs. These programs included *COPS*, *America's Most Wanted*, *NYPD Blue*, *Law and Order*, as well as several news programs such as *60 Minutes* and *20/20*. The conclusions of this research found that increased amounts of crime programming viewership increase fears of crime only in ethnically diverse groups. For whites, fear of crime seemed to be affected most by an increase in the racial diversity of the programs that they watched. Therefore, it would be possible for minority viewer to watch more crime programming than a non-minority and have still have a lower fear of crime.

Aside from racial and gender relationships, an association between beliefs about juvenile crime and reality crime viewership was studied in 2004. Craig Freeman, Robert Goidel and Steven Procopio studied this link in their paper 'Television viewing, race, and attitudes toward juvenile justice and juvenile justice reform.' The study used a three week long telephone survey in 2003 to poll 418 adult Louisiana residents. The poll focused on facts about the juvenile justice system (including crime rates), beliefs about treatment versus punishment for juveniles, as well as opinions about race. The researchers found only a marginal increase in a desire for juvenile incarceration in those viewers who watched programs like *COPS*. However, an increase in fear of crime, perceptions of crime and a desire for more harsh punishments by those who watched television news was found during the course of the research.

While television has been shown as a medium that can induce aggressive behavior, reality crime television as a subcategory seems to be able to change viewers' perceptions of crime. In this way, viewers who use reality crime television as their sole source for information about crime may have a higher perception of how much crime may be committed. Additionally, viewers of these programs may have more enhanced and often irrational fears of minorities and the world which lies just outside their doorstep.

As we have seen, the literature suggests that the media is a powerful force which potentially can affect individuals and does not necessarily reflect reality. Researchers who show a correlation between fear of crime and television exposure demonstrate a concept referred to as the "Mean World Syndrome." Coined by George Gerbner, Mean World Syndrome is a phenomenon where an individual associates the "reality" shown on television with their own life, and begin to have an exaggerated – if not unnecessary - fear of crime. As Gerbner himself explains, "violence-laden television cultivates an exaggerated sense of insecurity and mistrust, and anxiety about the mean world seen on television. Furthermore, the sense of vulnerability and dependence imposes its heaviest burdens on *women and minorities*" [emphasis added] (CITE).

Research Explanation

When considering research in the field of Criminal Justice, television is not often considered. It is easy to overlook the media as it pertains to our field. In that vein, we ask the question, why study television? Firstly, we can see that television has an impact not only on society as a whole, but on the subsets of deviance and criminality within it. For example, the popular 1980s television show *Miami Vice* portrays several bank robbers holding their handguns at a 90 degree angle instead of the traditional vertical position (*Miami Vice*, 1984). One of the authors of this study, a former police officer, found an increase in similar behavior in robbers in the Pennsylvania area.

Additionally, we can look at the film industry as either encouraging or being labeled as encouraging criminal or deviant behavior. In 1993, for example, a film title *The Program* was released. The film portrayed teenagers playing 'chicken' with cars by lying down on roadways (IMDB, N.D.). When the movie was imitated by juveniles, several parent advocacy groups responded by blaming the film.

Examples similar to *The Program* can be found in other media formats as well. In 2005, an eighteen-year-old man named Devin Moore was arrested. Moore had no criminal record and was said to be cooperative. According to his own testimony, Moore lunged for the arresting officer's sidearm and killed him, along with a police dispatcher and a second police officer. According to reports, what made Moore's case unique was that he reportedly played the video game *Grand Theft Auto: Vice City*. The game has been described as a 'murder simulator' by attorney's involved in a lawsuit against Rockstar games, the creator of the *Grand Theft Auto* series of games (Bradley, 2005).

Other crimes similar to the Devin Moore case about throughout the late Twentieth-Century. Perhaps one of the most infamous uses as the media as a defense for violence comes from the case of John Hinkley Jr. The attempted assassination of President Ronald Regan by Hinkley Jr. in 1981 shocked the nation. Perhaps more shocking was the defense brought forth by Hinkley Jr.'s legal team. Hinkley Jr. was not only criminally insane, but had been driven to his

crime by repeated viewings of the film *Taxi Driver* and his love for the film's star Jodi Foster. Hinkley Jr.'s acquittal in 1982 via insanity plea set the stage for the media as accomplice.

A more contemporary and well know example of media blamed for violence come from the school shootings of the late 1990s. A favorite staple for Network News, for example, was the 1996 school shooting in Columbine, Michigan. In this event, two high-school students entered Columbine High School and opened fire on their classmates. Several students and staff members died. As tragic as these events are, the media overrepresentation and hype of this single moment in school violence led to panic, pandemonium and perhaps even copycat shootings. What makes Columbine a classic example is the explanation of media as a primary cause of the killings. Anything from the shock rocker Marylyn Manson to the video game *Doom* and even films such as the *Basketball Diaries* were cited as possible causes. The answer to our original query as to why media should be studied is simple – if the media is not a source of violence, than it is at the very least a *scapegoat* for it.

Narrowing our focus, we can now ask the question *why study America's Most Wanted?* In looking at all forms of media (e.g., books, television, movies, video games, etc.) we can find that television is arguably a very popular format. Television, through its popularity, can influence large groups of people, and television can create a shared reality for those groups. For example, if there were a murder in Cleveland, Ohio on March 23, 2007, television news stations in Indiana, San Francisco and Alaska could report on that murder. Those stations could *localize* the crime – that is, make it seem that the murder in Cleveland was just as likely to happen in Indiana, San Francisco or Alaska as it is in Cleveland.

With this consideration in mind, we can see that *AMW* is a very popular television show. It is tied with *48 Hours* as the eighth longest running primetime network television show ever (*AMW* FAQ). Additionally, *AMW* can contribute to the "Mean World Syndrome, generally defined as an increased and exaggerated fear of crime" (Goidel, 2006). Further, *AMW* viewing can result in an "...increased fear for personal safety through its perceived realism and by triggering affective responses to crime stories" (Goidel, 2006). Here, our answer about studying *AMW* is clear; if viewing television can causally result in committing criminal acts or an increased fear of crime, then *AMW* is an excellent specimen to study because of its sole focus on crime and criminality.

Research Goals

Prior research has been primarily concerned with how suspects are portrayed on *AMW* (Bond-Maupin, 1998), or how *AMW* affects perceptions of crime (Goidel, 2006). This research, however, looks at the demographics of fugitives on *AMW*:

- What are the ratios in gender?
- What are the ratios in race?
- Which states or countries are featured the most?
- Which crimes are shown most often?

This research is also concerned with patterns in violent crime and demographics:

- Are there patterns between race and violent crimes?
- Are there patterns between gender and violent crimes?

Lastly, the researchers were interested in how crime rates for *AMW* compared to actual arrest rates for the year 2005.

Research Questions

Again, our goals in studying *AMW* are primarily to understand what the population of persons listed on the television show look like. We code for gender, resolution (captured or found deceased), violent or non-violent offense and race/ethnicity dichotomously. While violent, resolution and gender coding are easily explained, our choice of dichotomous coding for race warrants more in-depth reasoning.

AMW does not give a finite or concrete categorization as to race or ethnicity. The only clues to race given were a picture and a surname. Therefore, it was necessary use frame analysis as explained by Goffman to examine how *AMW* presents race and ethnicity. This presentation was then compared to how society would interpret *AMW*'s presentation. These two implications led to a coding of either minority or non-minority for race and ethnicity.

Locations are also very important to the *AMW* format. Where suspects commit their crimes, where they are reported to have been and where they are captured are all factors reported on *AMW*. The website itself, however, posits only the location of capture. Therefore, an analysis of country, state and city was performed.

Coinciding with the capture location is the *event time*. This measurement is of the day, month and year of each capture. Of particular interest to the researchers is when captures occurred most. For this analysis, the day and month variables were transformed into weeks. This allowed for an examination of when the program was most successful based upon monthly data. This data collapse also made the examination briefer and easier to digest.

The final frequency analysis performed in this study concerns the crimes that persons were wanted for. Crime and criminality are the central themes of America's Most Wanted, and this study broke the crime types down into two separate views. The first view is that of the casual observer. A layperson approaching the *AMW* website would have a very different view of the material than a researcher. For this view the researchers coded each crime uniquely. For instance, "assault in the first degree" and "assault" are the same basic crime (i.e., assault) and only differ in their intensity. However, the layperson may not understand this similarity. Therefore, this first view coded each similar crime uniquely. The only time a crime was coded exactly the same as another crime was when it exactly matched that crime (i.e., two instances of "assault in the first degree" would be coded the same). The second view taken with regard to crimes on *AMW* was that of the researcher. Crimes that were similar at their base were all collapsed into a single category. For instance, "homicide," "DUI manslaughter," "murder in the first degree," and "1st degree murder" may all have unique names, but they can be coded the same under this collapse – "homicide." This type of coding allowed for a more generic and simpler look into the crimes listed on *AMW*.

Aside from the above frequencies, this research was also interested in any patterns that occurred between variables. The researchers were specifically interested in three such patterns – minority status and violence, resolution and violence and femininity and violence.

The first question asks whether *AMW* portrays persons of minority status as being violent more often than persons of non-minority status. This question was answered by comparing the minority/non-minority variable to the violent/nonviolent variable via cross-tabulation analysis and Pearson's *r*.

The second question considered whether or not persons who were wanted for violent offences were found deceased at a greater rate than persons who committed nonviolent offences. This analysis also used cross-tabulation and Pearson's *r* methodology.

The final pattern question is based off of methodologically strong research performed by Lisa Bond-Maupin of Arizona State University. Bond-Maupin performed content analysis research on the actual *AMW* program. Her findings were that women, when portrayed as "villains," tended to be shown as sexually manipulative and more violent than their male counterparts. In that vein, this research looked for patterns in violence and gender as a means to lend credence to or dismiss Bond-Maupin's findings. Again, this pattern search was performed using cross-tabulation and Pearson's *r*.

Sample Characteristics

The sample of this study consisted of 610 persons listed as captured on America's Most Wanted. This sample was the entirety of cases on the *AMW* website and roughly two-thirds of the cases on the *AMW* television show at the start of this research (January 2007). Because it represents only two-thirds of all *AMW* cases, the sample itself is not representative of *AMW*. It is, however, representative of the *AMW* website in 2007. Additionally, the sample itself does represent two-thirds of the captures on the *AMW* program itself. Because of this factor, the other third will likely look very much like these results. To assist with organizing the cases, all captures were organized by date. The sample itself represented twelve separate years, sixteen countries, forty-five states in the United States (not including Washington D.C) and two-hundred and fifteen unique crimes. The methodology utilized in this research was a content analysis.

Findings

Please see Table 1 and 2

The results of the content analysis offered great insight into how *AMW* functions as a program. The presentation of males to females was nine-to-one, wherein ninety percent of the captures on *AMW* were males. Race had a much closer divide. Non-minorities made up the majority of the sample, with minorities trailing by eight percent. Over ninety-five percent of all case resolutions resulted in "captured" rather than "deceased." While non-minorities may not represent

the majority of the sample, how they are represented by *AMW* is also important to consider. This consideration will be looked at momentarily.

Chronologically, 2005 was the best year for *AMW* captures, making up over thirty-five percent of all of the captures. October and November nearly tied for best month, while the seventh day and the first week of each month represented that more captures occur late in the year and early in the month.

When considering the issue of violent versus nonviolent offences, violent crimes made up the majority of the sample at seventy-one percent. This is in line with prior research on the subject of televised media: "Murders, for example, make up over one quarter of all [crime reported on television news], despite the fact that the incidence of murder is quite low" (Goidel, 2006).

The findings for location indicate that over ten percent of the captures listed on *AMW* were "unknown." This coding simply means that a location was not given in the analyzed data, and could have meant that the website coordinator did not have the information or simply did not place it on the website. The United States was the top country, with Mexico in second with seven percent. The top states in the US were Florida, California and Texas. This result could be explained because high populations of these states when compared to the rest of the Union.

The results of this analysis as limited by crimes were commiserating with those in other television programs. The researchers referred to looking at the crimes as a layperson (i.e., not collapsing similar crimes into one category), as the *listed crimes*. Here, the results show that murder tops the list at twenty-one percent. When comparing the crimes as collapsed into one category when similar (i.e., *raw crimes*), all murder type crimes – homicide - still topped the list, but now at thirty-four percent. Again, these findings are not unique when compared to past research.

The data analysis for correlations found little evidence of patterns between any of the variables looked at. The analysis found a weak correlation between minority status and violence at 0.087. Minorities committed fourteen percent more violent offences than non-minorities on *AMW*. However, the analysis also revealed that minorities on *America's Most Wanted* committed fifty-seven percent less nonviolent offences than non-minorities. This points to the general idea that not only are minorities on *America's Most Wanted* shown to be more violent, but are also less *nonviolent* than non-minorities.

There was no correlation to be found for death as a resolution and violence at 0.005, however, this result may have occurred because of a very small percent of deceased persons. When considering the frequency distribution, the results seem to confirm that violent crimes lead to a result of deceased more often. Of the twenty-one cases of deceased resolution, eighty-five percent occurred in combination with a violent crime. Therefore, if there were a larger number of deceased resolutions in the sample, the results of the Pearson's *r* may be higher.

It was posited above that there may be a pattern between gender and violence. As with the race and violence comparison, there was no correlation between gender and violence at 0.001. This could also be due to a very small number of females in the sample. When considering the cross-tabulation analysis, the results point to the same conclusion as the Pearson's *r* – there is little correlation between gender and violence.

The final aspect of these results is a comparison of *AMW* crimes to crimes which resulted in arrests (please see Table 2). For this analysis the *AMW* captures for 2005 were compared to the arrests listed by the UCR. 2005 was chosen for this comparison because it was the latest UCR data available at time of writing and, as mentioned above, was the year with the highest number of captures for *AMW*. When breaking down the results of the estimated arrests in 2005 from the UCR, it can be seen that murder constitutes only 0.09% of all the crimes in 2005 for which there was an arrest. On *AMW*, however, murder makes up 28.2% of all the captures in 2005. The *AMW* murder content for 2005 is 313 times the actual murder arrest rate in all of the United States for that same year.

A second comparison that can be made is to the amount of violent crimes for which there were arrests in the US or captures on *AMW*. According to the UCR, violent crimes are murder, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault. With this consideration in mind, this second analysis will look only at those crimes on *AMW*. The FBI reports that in 2005 violent crimes constituted 4.26% of all arrests in the US. On *AMW*, however, the percent of violent crimes is 40.49%. This is over ten times the number of violent crime arrests that actually took place in the US during that same year.

Implications

This analysis points to the concept that the *America's Most Wanted* website and part of the *America's Most Wanted* television show may sensationalize crime and violence. This in and of itself is not a new concept, as explained by Eschholz and Blackwell in 2002. Their research found that while murder makes up only a very small percentage of all crimes, it makes up over one-quarter of all crimes stories reported on televised news. The overall implications of *AMW*

can be broken down into two possibilities. The first is that *America's Most Wanted* is simply part of a larger media construct that celebrates violence and crime because this is what sells to viewers, or chooses to feature murderers and rapists because of the inherent nature of their crimes. Featuring lesser criminals would, perhaps in *AMW* logic, defeat the purpose of the television show and do a lesser degree of good. The second possibility is that *AMW* is part of a large propaganda effort to keep Americans in fear of crime and criminals.

While the first is certainly the more likely measure, it is important to understand what *AMW* may lead to. Even if the first implication is correct, researchers have long understood that crime related media can lead to a fear of crime or violence. This fear may breed a greater want for harsher punishments when they are perhaps not needed. It may also lead to a change in lifestyle or higher levels of anxiety. This can be demonstrated by the ABC series *20/20*. Early in 2007, John Stossel explored what people in the US fear. He found that adolescents, especially very young children, have a high fear of being kidnapped by a stranger (Stossel, 2007). When looking at official data from the National Incidence Studies for Missing, Abducted, Runaway and Thrown away Children, (NISMAART), however, the rate of actual stranger kidnapping in 2002 was 115 children (NISMAART, 2007). While this is an unacceptable number and each loss is a tragic one, it is questionable whether the number itself warrants the level of fear that children and their families have of kidnapping. What is important to understand about this fear is that it may well come from a media culture that glorifies and celebrates young, white, female kidnap victims.

If the American government took these possible implications serious enough, there would likely be two remedies that could force *AMW* into a format change. The first would be to force *AMW* to change the crimes it focuses on. The program would need to focus upon lesser, but more common crimes such as simple assaults or petty larceny. This would result in a more accurate depiction of the most common crimes in the United States. The second possibility would be to force *AMW* to inform the viewer about the inaccurate representation of crime on the program. These types of disclaimers are already in place in other television shows. The Fox show *COPS*, for instance, explains to the viewer that the persons arrested are 'innocent until proven guilty in a court of law.' The CBS show *Without a Trace* tells the viewer that cases shown do not represent an actual missing person. These examples are likely only in place because of liability reasons, but they represent a possible path for assuaging common, yet unlikely, fears of crime.

Conclusion

America's Most Wanted is one of the longest running crime reality television shows on American television. The show presents the viewer with actual fugitives and/or detailed and graphic recreations of their crimes. The format of the television show may have an impact on how people view the world around them, and how they think about or fear crime and violence. The research in this paper has demonstrated that the *AMW* website, and possibly the show itself, present a high number of violent crimes (specifically murder), and show minorities as being more violent and less nonviolent than non-minorities. The television show may increase individual perceptions of violence and criminality. It may also alter views on justice or increase more conservative and harsher views on punishments for crime (as shown in Goidel). In summary, *America's Most Wanted* appears to be apart of a much larger media construct that has the ability to influence large numbers of people.

Table 1 – Results		(n=610)
Variable	Result	
<i>Gender</i>	Male - 90.0%	
	Female - 9.5%	
<i>Race</i>	Non-Minority - 52.0%	
	Minority - 46.3%	
<i>Resolution</i>	Captured - 95.6%	
	Deceased - 3.4%	
<i>Year</i>	2005 - 35.7%	
	2006 - 29.5%	
<i>Month</i>	October - 10.8%	
	November - 10.0%	
<i>Day</i>	7th - 6.1%	
	9th - 5.1%	
<i>Week</i>	1st - 27.2%	
	2nd - 23.4%	
<i>Violence</i>	Violent - 71.0%	
	Nonviolent - 25.7%	
<i>State</i>	Florida - 8.5%	
	California - 6.9%	
	Texas - 5.9%	
<i>Listed Crime</i>	Murder - 21.6%	
	Escape - 9.0%	
	Attempted Murder - 3.6%	
<i>Raw Crime</i>	Homicide - 34.1%	
	Escape - 9.0%	
	Kidnapping - 6.6%	
Correlations		
Variable	Pearson's r	Result
<i>Minority and Violence</i>		0.087
<i>Resolution and Violence</i>		0.005
<i>Gender and Violence</i>		0.001

Table 2 - Estimated Number of Arrests vs. number of captures on AMW, 2005*				
Total of all crimes for the US, 2005	14,094,186	UCR	UCR	AMW
<i>Violent crime²</i>	603,503	<i>% of violent crimes</i>	<i>% of all crimes</i>	<i>% on AMW³</i>
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	14,062	2.33	0.09	28.2
Forcible rape	25,528	4.22	0.18	3.58
Robbery	114,616	18.99	0.81	2.56 ⁴
Aggravated assault	449,297	74.44	3.18	6.15
Total	603,503	100**	4.26	40.49
<i>Property crime²</i>	1,609,327	<i>% of property crimes</i>	<i>% of all crimes</i>	<i>% on AMW³</i>
Burglary	298,835	18.56	2.12	1.53
Larceny-theft	1,146,696	71.25	8.13	1.02
Motor vehicle theft	147,459	9.16	1.04	0.51
Arson	16,337	1.01	0.11	1.02
Total	1,609,327	100**	11.4	4.08
<i>Other Crimes</i>	11,885,120	<i>% of other crimes</i>	<i>% of all crimes</i>	<i>% on AMW³</i>
Other assaults	1,301,392	10.9	9.2	1.53
Forgery and counterfeiting	118,455	0.9	0.8	0.51
Fraud	321,521	2.7	2.2	0.51
Embezzlement	18,970	0.15	0.1	0.51
Stolen property; buying, receiving, possessing	133,856	1.12	0.9	--
Vandalism	279,562	2.35	1.9	--
Weapons; carrying, possessing, etc.	193,469	1.62	1.3	1.53
Prostitution and commercialized vice	84,891	0.71	0.6	0.51
Sex offenses (except forcible rape and prostitution)	91,625	0.77	0.6	2.56 ⁵
Drug abuse violations	1,846,351	15.5	3.1	1.02 ⁶
Gambling	11,180	0.09	0.07	--
Offenses against the family and children	129,128	1.08	0.9	4.1
Driving under the influence	1,371,919	11.5	9.7	1.02 ⁷
Liquor laws	597,838	5.03	4.2	--
Drunkenness	556,167	4.67	3.9	--
Disorderly conduct	678,231	5.7	4.8	--
Vagrancy	33,227	0.27	0.2	35.8
All other offenses	3,863,785	32.5	37.4	--
Suspicion	3,764	0.03	0.02	--
Curfew and loitering law violations	140,835	1.18	0.9	--
Runaways	108,954	0.91	0.7	--
Unknown	--	--	--	5.64
Total	11,885,120	100**	83.49	55.3
Grand Total	14,094,186	--	100**	100**

Table 2 Continued

¹Does not include suspicion.

²Violent crimes are offenses of murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Property crimes are offenses of burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson.

³Does not include attempts or conspiracy except in total and other crimes

⁴Includes car jacking

⁵Includes child pornography and failure to register as a sex offender

⁶Includes trafficking

⁷Includes DUI manslaughter

*Compiled from FBI UCR data - www.fbi.gov/ucr/o05cius/data/table_29.html and from www.AMW.com

**Totals may not equal 100 due to rounding errors

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