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Television crime drama program viewing and O J Simpson bias: Applying the cultivation theory

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TELEVISION CRIME DRAMA PROGRAM

VIEWING AND O.J. SIMPSON BIAS:

APPLYING THE CULTIVATION THEORY

by

Allan Pearlstein

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

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ABSTRACT

According to media critics, no criminal event has ever received as much publicity as the O.J. Simpson double murder case. The purpose of conducting this research was to apply the cultivation analysis theory to the O.J. Simpson case to see if heavy daily television viewers, heavy viewers of crime drama programs both realistic and fictional, and heavy newspaper and magazine readers expressed guilt against O.J. Simpson. With the assistance from personnel at the Clark County Courthouse in Las Vegas, Nevada, the researcher administered 205 survey questionnaires to summoned jurors who were released from jury service. A negative correlation was found between heavy daily television viewing and belief in the likelihood that O.J. Simpson was guilty. A negative correlation was found between heavy viewing of realistic crime drama programs and belief in the likelihood that O.J. Simpson was violent with his former spouse Nicole. A positive correlation was found between heavy newspaper and magazine reading and belief in the likelihood that O.J. Simpson was guilty. The results for both television viewing variables were inconsistent with the cultivation theory since light television viewers tended to believe that O.J. Simpson was guilty. Conversely, results for the newspaper and magazine readers were consistent with the cultivation theory since heavy readers tended to believe that O.J. Simpson was guilty.
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A football Hall of Fame running back was indicted for a double murder of his former spouse and a waiter in Los Angeles. Since June 1994 when the murders occurred, through October 1995 when O.J. Simpson was acquitted of the double murder charge, the news media have relentlessly pursued this case. Televised trial proceedings, interviews with witnesses on various news programs and talk shows, and headlines in the newspapers have captured the public's attention.

The major role of the mass media is to help people understand what events are important, who is important, where these events occur, and why these events are important (Erickson et al., 1991). The mass media tend to be important in the United States because large institutions such as the criminal justice system depend on the mass media to disseminate information about them (Surette, 1992). One of the central roles of the press in the United States is to cover criminal trials (Surette, 1984). Since most viewers have no firsthand knowledge of the workings of the justice system, viewers rely on the mass media to provide information about the processes of the criminal justice system (Hans & Dee, 1991). People are showing an insatiable appetite for crime and legal issues since 60 percent of local television news are devoted to police and court stories (Hodson, 1992). "[Televised] media trials, therefore, represent the final step in a
long process of merging the news and entertainment components of the mass media" (Surette, 1989, p. 294).

According to Gerbner (1995), 95 million people watched the opening day of the O.J. Simpson trial. The trial lasted 266 days, attorneys called 126 witnesses, 20 attorneys were used, and 1,105 pieces of evidence were presented. In addition, the television viewer saw parts of the trial that could have potentially biased the jury, such as some of Mark Fuhrman's racial epithets (Gerbner, 1995).

At 1 PM EST on October 3, 1995, "150 million Americans at home and another 50 million outside of home held their collective breath for 10 minutes," as the jury rendered its verdict on O.J. Simpson (Gerbner, 1995, p. 562). By the time the trial had concluded, the history of racial division, domestic violence, and police bungling of the crime were ingrained into the minds of millions of people. Upon conclusion of the trial a Newsweek Poll found that 85 percent of African Americans agreed with the jury's verdict of not guilty; 80 percent of African Americans believed the jury was fair and impartial (Whitaker, 1995). Furthermore, 54 percent of Whites disagreed with the jury's not guilty verdict; 32 percent agreed with the verdict; 50 percent believed the jury was fair and impartial; and 37 percent believed the jury was not fair and impartial (Whitaker, 1995).

Purpose and Justification

The purpose of this thesis was to apply the cultivation theory which is part of cultivation analysis to the O.J. Simpson trial to see if heavy daily television viewers, viewers of both fictional and realistic crime and law enforcement drama programs, and heavy newspaper and magazine readers expressed guilt against O.J. Simpson. Research has shown that heavy
television viewers tend to perceive the world as a mean and dangerous place. Similarly, viewers of crime and law enforcement drama programs tend to view the shows as actual representations of the "real world." Potter (1993) believes that one of the major flaws in the cultivation theory is that researchers have examined the effects of global or overall television programming instead of specific types of genres. This thesis examined the effects of crime drama show viewing and a subject's attitude regarding Simpson's guilt. In addition to television viewing, newspaper reading has been linked to increased perceptions of a defendant's guilt. Opponents of violent television programming and violent journalism (such as this researcher) believed that O.J. Simpson had a difficult time receiving a fair trial by an impartial jury since the mass media have possibly influenced potential jurors. For example, according to Professor Peter Arenella at UCLA Law School, the most prejudicial disclosure of evidence from the case was the release of 911 audio tapes when Nicole called for help on October 25, 1993 (Burleigh, 1994). Arenella believed that potential jurors would have a difficult time getting Nicole's distraught voice out of their minds.

This thesis was unlike previous research in that college students or telephone interviewees were not used as study samples. This study used subjects who were summoned but released from jury service.

**Cultivation Analysis**

Television is an important source of information and teaches us about the world (Haney & Manzolati, 1984). This is especially important when there are no alternative sources of information such as newspapers or
magazines. Most people turn to television when they want to find out information about crime.

Cultivation analysis begins with a content analysis of the program, whereby the program is analyzed and the most stable and recurrent message patterns are measured (Perse et al., 1994; Morgan & Signorielli, 1990). Recognizing the importance of television's interaction with crime, Haney and Manzolati (1984) conducted a content analysis of several hundred hours of crime drama shows. Through content analyses of crime drama shows, the researchers determined that crime and law enforcement procedures are not accurately portrayed, omit large amounts of information about judicial processes, and lead heavy viewers to have less knowledge of the justice system. Cultivation analysis is used to determine how exposure to the message patterns on television influences the audience's beliefs, behaviors, and conceptions of social reality, or the real world (Morgan, 1983). For example, Phau et al., (1995) found that prime-time network television programming seems to affect the publics perceptions of attorneys. Thus, in order to better justify the "television world" answer or show a relationship between television viewing and television answers, a thorough content analysis needs to be done on the programs that the television viewer is exposed to (Potter, 1994).

Television is a major story teller and content is relatively uniform with images and dominant values (Black & Bryant, 1995). "[T]he content of television programming, especially drama, often represents a view of reality that is quite different from what most people experience in their daily lives" (Black & Bryant, 1995, p. 60). For example, content analyses of prime time television programming showed scenes of crime and violence, and showed characters on both sides of the law who used violent
tactics to get what they wanted (Gunter, 1994). Gerbner and Gross (1976) asserted in their cultivation analysis that regular exposure to the violence conditioned viewers to believe they live in a dangerous society. Since the media's general crime and justice content are repetitive and pervasive, the possibility of effects on peoples attitudes towards crime and justice issues may be increased, "especially with limited sources of information" (Surette, 1992, p. 86-87). For example, Gerbner et al. (1980) found that people who read a newspaper everyday compared to those who read a newspaper occasionally believed their chances of being involved in violence were lower, and believed their neighborhoods were safer and had less fear of crime. In addition, the media can be expected to promote crime control attitudes due to its emphasis on law enforcement and crime control (Surette, 1992).

Cultivation analysis posits that mass media viewers unknowingly absorb dominant images and messages from the dramatic content of television programs that are recurrent and stable (Black & Bryant, 1995; Gerbner et al. 1994; Ogles & Sparks, 1989). According to Black & Bryant (1995), "the effects are cumulative and transpire unnoticeably over a long period of time. These processes can be seen as stalagmite theories, which suggests that media effects occur analogistically to the slow buildup of formations on cave floors, which take their form after eons of the steady dripping of lime water from the cave ceilings above" (pp. 58-59). The viewer is assumed to construct these meanings from repetitive, stereotypical images which are inconsistent or not compatible with the "real world" (Ogles & Sparks, 1989). These images which are imbedded in the television system are "virtually inescapable for the regular [and heavy viewers]" (Gerbner et al., 1994, p.25). Cultivation analysis is similar to a
gravitational process whereby the direction of the "pull" depends on where the viewer's lifestyle is in reference to the "mainstream" or line of gravity (Gerbner et al., 1980). Thus, the theory suggests that heavy television viewers are more likely than light television viewers to believe the "real world" is similar to what is portrayed on television (Neuendorf et al., 1995). In other words, heavy television viewers tend to believe that television presents an accurate representation of life in the "real world" (Neuendorf et al., 1995, p.2).

According to the cultivation theory, there is a commonality in the messages in television programs, and at a certain level the heavy viewer of the messages are likely to see the television world as an actual representation of the real world (Potter, 1993). In addition, the theory posits that heavy television viewers are more likely than light television viewers to overestimate the rate of violent crime and "their personal risk of victimization" (McLeod et al., 1995, p.2). Research conducted by Gerbner has shown that the amount of television viewing is an important indicator as to how people think and act (Gerbner et al., 1980). Gerbner suggests that "heavy" television viewers compared to "light" viewers are more likely to give what he calls "television answers" or responses to questions of images that are frequently portrayed on television such as perception of criminal activity (Gerbner et al., 1980 & Gerbner et al. 1986a). The prediction is that heavy viewing is associated with a higher degree of cultivation than light viewing (Potter, 1993).

For most viewers in recent times, cable television, satellite technology and VCR's have increased the integration of the images into everyday life (Gerbner et al., 1994). Perse et al. (1994) conducted a study examining the relationship between television exposure on the fear of
crime, interpersonal mistrust, and selective exposure offered by the newer television technologies such as cable television. The study conducted by Perse et al. (1994) is relevant to this current research since media coverage of the O.J. Simpson case was carried on CNN. The researchers hypothesized that since cable television offers a wider selection of television programs and stations such as CNN, ESPN, MTV, etc., cable subscribers would be drawn away from the dramatic network prime time programs and will perceive lower levels of personal fear of crime and mistrust. Perse et al. (1994) did not find any significant support that an increased range of programming options would decrease the fear of crime and mistrust. The researchers did find in the second study that personal mistrust increased, but the fear of crime did not decrease with cable subscriptions.

In summary, cultivation analysis begins with the researcher doing a content analysis of the television program. After the researcher determines which message patterns are recurrent, the cultivation theory is used to determine how those messages influence a viewer's beliefs of the real world. Gerbner and Potter suggested that heavy viewers of these messages tend to believe that the television programs represent an accurate representation of the real world. The next chapter will review studies and experiments related to the cultivation theory, and how the television and print media might affect a juror's behavior.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will discuss studies and review literature that is related to this thesis. Gerbner theorized that heavy television viewers are unable to differentiate between the real world and the television world. In addition, the cumulative effects of the television messages are believed to homogenize viewpoints of the public (Surette, 1992). The media may either distort the viewer's perceptions of the real world or magnify confirmed perceptions. According to Gerbner, heavy television viewers have "mean-world" views that translates into people's attitudes regarding who are likely to be criminals and who can inflict violence against whom. Gerbner et al. (1986) found that heavy television viewers have "mean world" views meaning that "most people cannot be trusted" and "most people are just looking out for themselves"(p.9).

Similar to Gerbner's & Gross's (1976) study, Signorielli (1990) constructed a Mean World Index Scale that asked respondents questions about people. Signorielli (1990), conducted a study and hypothesized that there should be a positive relationship between television viewing and perceived views of a "mean world," or interpersonal mistrust. Viewers who watched under two hours of television a day were classified as light viewers, viewers who watched two to four hours each day were classified as medium viewers, and viewers who watched over four hours each day were classified as heavy viewers. A content analysis was done on 1336
prime time programs from 1967 through 1985. Results showed an average of 71.9 programs had violent acts. The average program had 5.4 violent acts per hour and 54.9 percent of the leading characters were involved with violence and 11.5 percent of the acts involved killings (Signorielli, 1990).

Signorielli (1990) found that heavy television viewers (4 or more hours per day) are more likely to express views of greater interpersonal mistrust compared to light viewers. The researcher also found that college educated people were not as affected by the television violence compared to those who lacked college; low income respondents were more affected by violence than high income respondents; non-Whites were more affected than Whites; lower social class people were more affected than middle to upper social class people; and women displayed less fear than men. Thus, heavy viewers of television are likely to express greater interpersonal mistrust and perceive the world as being a "mean and dangerous" place, feel danger and insecurity (Signorielli, 1990).

Morgan (1983) conducted a study to determine whether demographic groups who are more victimized on television crime dramas "show stronger evidence of the cultivation of fear in the real world" (p.146). The five major demographic groups consisted of males and females, Whites and non-Whites, young, settled or middle aged, and older adult, married or not married. Social class consisted of white collar, blue collar (no police), and blue collar (including police). The results showed that "[t]hose groups [of people] who see themselves more often on the loosing end of violent encounters are significantly more likely to be 'cultivated' in the direction of greater apprehension" (p.155). Females were significantly more influenced than males, and whites were moderately more influenced than
non-whites. Thus, television is most likely to cultivate views for those people whose fictional counterparts are least powerful (Morgan, 1983).

Barrile (1984) found a strong relationship between heavy television viewing and "crimnophobia," which consists of exaggerated feeling of violence and murder and distorted views of overestimating crime. This finding supports Gerbner's theory that heavy television viewing is related to overestimation of violent crime and chances of being a victim of crime. Barrile (1984) also found that the higher the person's social status is, the less distorted attitude about criminality the respondent had. Conversely, people with less education, lower status jobs, young and older people, and people who had few organization memberships expressed "crimnophobic" beliefs. In theory, "[e]ducated, white, professionals tend to watch television less and to prefer information programs over violent [drama] programs, [but] generally, the greater the social status, the less likely one is to prefer criminal or violent programs or characters (p.148). However, in this study education was the only variable to affect crime viewers, and results were mixed for social class. Education tended to lessen the influence of television but does not eliminate it. Barrile (1984) found a strong relationship between television viewing and attitudes regarding harsher punishment for criminals, attitudes favoring capital punishment, and attitudes favoring less rehabilitative prisons.

Besides the previously discussed "mean world" syndrome, the dominance theory is associated with cultivation analysis. According to the dominance theory, people who watch a lot of crime drama shows are dominated and influenced by the messages (Potter, 1993). Potter & Chang (1990) examined the amount of viewing across a wide scope of television programming. The researchers theorized that a person's dominant viewing
type of specific programs should be a strong predictor of cultivation measures, rather than the number of hours of television programming that a person watches. Thus, if person "A" watches 30 hours of television a week and 10 of those hours (33 percent) are crime shows, and person "B" watches 10 hours of television a week but 8 hours (80 percent) are dominated by crime shows, person "B" might be more influenced or cultivated since they are proportionately exposed to more crime shows (Potter & Chang, 1990).

Potter & Chang (1990) examined the total amount of hours of television exposure in one week and the amount of exposure to specific types of programs in one week, such as situation comedies, action/adventure, prime time soap operas, news, movies on television, sports, talk shows, music on television, game shows, and cartoons. The results showed that the dominance theory is a better predictor of viewer cultivation at the programming type level as opposed to the amount of television viewing. In other words, it is more important to know the types of programs that dominate a person's life compared to the time spent viewing television (Potter & Chang, 1990).

In addition to dominance, mainstreaming is a "relative commonality of outlooks" and values that exposure to television tends to cultivate in subgroups, or groups of people each holding certain characteristics (Carlson, 1983 & Gerbner et al., 1980; Ogles & Sparks, 1989). In theory, the college educated and people in higher income categories expose themselves to various sources of information, are more diversified, and are generally not heavy television users, compared to the non college educated or people in a low income category (Carlson, 1983 & Gerbner et al., 1980). Therefore, the former are less likely to give a mainstream or
"television answer" than someone who is less educated and is likely to watch more television (Carlson, 1983 & Gerbner et al., 1980). Light viewers tend to have less of a television world view (Gerbner et al., 1980). However, within well educated and higher income subgroups, heavy television viewers are more likely to give the television answer, similar to the less educated viewers (Carlson, 1983 Gerbner et al., 1980). Thus, heavy television viewing seems to promote a common outlook even within different subgroups of people and across all control variables (Carlson, 1983 & Gerbner et al., 1980).

In mainstreaming, these characteristics may be diminished due to heavy television viewing which in turn tends to cultivate the viewer into believing that the television world is just like the real world (Gerbner et al., 1994 & Morgan & Signorielli, 1990). Heavy television viewers are more likely than light television viewers in their answers to questions to reflect the images that they see on television. Thus, light viewers stray away from the mainstream view (Gerbner et al., 1986a). The "differences that are usually, social....characteristics" are diminished among heavy television viewers in those groups (Morgan & Signorielli, 1990, p.23).

Ogles & Sparks (1989) conducted a study that examined mainstreaming and the correlation between programs that had low (0-2), moderate (3-9), heavy (10-19), and excessive (20-55) violent acts per hour, and fear of criminal victimization. In the first study that used college students, the researchers found a correlation between the moderate and heavy violent content shows and estimates of criminal victimization, but no correlation was found between shows with excessive violence and estimates of criminal victimization. In the second study that was conducted by telephone, the researchers measured the respondents' overall television
viewing habits and the respondents' exposure to television violence. Data were obtained from respondents in a low crime and high crime city. The researchers found support for mainstreaming since people in low and high crime areas who watched television believed they could be victims of crime. Furthermore, people in low crime areas who were exposed to TV violence believed they could be victims of crime (Ogles & Sparks, 1989).

One variable in the cultivation theory that has been linked to social reality and can influence mainstream views is the television viewers perceived reality or credibility of the television content (O'Keefe, 1984 & Carlson, 1985). Perceived reality or perceived realism is the degree to which the television viewer believes that the fictional message on television is analogous to the real world (Austin, 1995). According to the perceived reality theory, "viewers who believe that television content is real are more likely to be influenced by it than viewers who believe the content to be fictional or stylized" (Potter, 1986, p.161). The degree or extent of perceived reality carries across different viewers. The theory posits that as the amount of viewer credibility of the crime drama show content increases, the more the viewer's perception on crime will be influenced (O'Keefe, 1984). The influence depends on how the viewer interprets and perceives the content of the television program that they are viewing (Gunter, 1994). "Even programs with crime or law enforcement themes may have little impact on beliefs about crime in real life if viewers are not prepared to recognize such programs as having a true reflection of everyday reality" (Gunter, 1994, p.187). Surette (1992) hypothesized that the media perceptions of reality such as viewer believability of crime drama shows may influence their views of the "real life" criminal justice system. Thus, the cultivation effect may be enhanced if the viewer believes
the content of the show is an accurate reflection of the real world (Carlson, 1985).

Previous research has shown non-Whites, and older adults have a higher degree of perceived reality of television crime drama shows than whites or younger adults (Potter, 1986). In addition, according to Carlson (1985), the effects of crime drama show content are greatest among viewers who are not exposed to other media sources such as newspapers or magazines. Thus, it is important to determine to what extent the respondents are exposed to other media sources besides television (Carlson, 1985).

Potter (1986) identified the "magic window" and identity dimensions of the perceived reality theory that are relevant to this thesis. According to the magic window dimension, people who view fictional entertainment types of programs, perceive them as being an actual representation of the people and events in the real world, or perceive the television world as an accurate representation of actual, real-life situations. The identity dimension is the degree or extent to which the viewer perceives television characters and situations to fit into their own lives. People who scored high on this scale, "believe that television characters are very similar to people they encounter in their own lives," and are expected to be more susceptible to the influencing of television compared to those who score low on the scale (p.163). Potter (1986) conducted a study in which subjects completed a questionnaire that ascertained the amount and types of television exposure on a weekly basis. Subjects were given an Estimation Questionnaire that ascertained their views of a mean and violent world, and their beliefs of the causes of death. Overall, people who showed strong beliefs of living in a mean and violent world "are those people who are
more likely to say that television is a magic window....and that they identify with the characters they follow on the television show" (Potter, 1986, p.168).

Similar to Potter's (1986) study, O'Keefe (1984) found that respondents who are in the lower socioeconomic class tend to watch more television overall, watch more crime drama programs, and perceive those programs to be more credible. Younger people tend to watch more crime shows and perceive them to be more believable, and men tend to watch more crime shows than women. O'Keefe also found that the lesser educated and non-Whites had a greater perception of danger. Overall, as the credibility of crime drama shows increased, so did the respondents' perceptions of danger. In addition, O'Keefe found that as credibility of crime drama shows increased, the more positive respondents felt about the courts and police. The researcher concluded that the amount of television viewing was unrelated to perceptions of crime, however, the viewer's credibility was related. In addition, O'Keefe found that credibility of crime shows was in some way related to belief in the likelihood of being victimized, fear of neighborhood danger, and worries about crime.

O'Keefe & Reid-Nash (1987) found in another study that exposure to crime drama shows were related to fear of being burglarized, fear of danger at night, and feeling for a greater need of crime prevention. The researchers did however find that viewers who paid greater attention to crime news were more concerned about protecting themselves from victimization and were more fearful of crime.

Another variable that has been linked to cultivation theory is crime control. According to Watts (1977), anti-heterodoxy is "a tendency to reject and punish those defined as deviant," be in support of treating
criminals severely, having a crime control point of view, and conforming with traditional social values (p.96). This viewpoint has been linked to an authoritarian or conservative personality. People with this behavior tend to have a narrow viewpoint, have "a strong sense of traditional social values which stress obedience and respect for traditional authority, [and] will favor crime control" and law and order viewpoints (p.96). The researcher stated that low levels of education are related to conservative and narrow-minded world views, which is related to rejecting the deviant from society. In contrast, the better educated and the more liberal people tend to have a diverse view of the world that are against the social and political authority structure (Watts, 1977).

Watts (1977) found that respondents who classified themselves with a political ideology of conservative, had high crime control views and low due process views, whereas the moderates or middle-of-the-road respondents had views similar to the conservatives' views. Conversely, the liberal respondents had low crime control views but high due process views. The researcher found a relationship between people who have strong beliefs for stressing obedience, respect for authority, and a crime control point of view, which has been linked to how the child is raised by the family. A crime control point of view has been linked to a socialization within the family structure (Carlson, 1985; Watts, 1977).

Carlson (1985) discussed a study in which two structural characteristics of the family were identified; the socio-oriented family and the concept-oriented family. In socio-oriented families, "communication patterns are related to the ideas of authoritarianism," where children are protected and taught to conform to society and avoid controversy (p.95). In contrast, the concept-oriented family teaches children to develop their
own viewpoints and utilize multiple information sources. In addition, knowledge of the legal system is higher, the person tends to display realistic viewpoints of the law, and information flows much more freely in the concept-oriented family (Carlson 1985).

Crime and law enforcement drama programs constitute a large portion of prime time television programming (Carlson, 1983). The purpose of Carlson's (1983) study was to determine if a correlation exists between crime show viewing and tougher measures for real world crime control. The researcher examined the relationship of viewing crime drama shows and attitudes towards civil liberties that supports the rights for the accused and crime control that supports a punitive criminal justice system. Content analysis of crime shows revealed that police commit constitutional violations such as not securing a search warrant, advising the criminal of their rights, and actions of police brutality. Unfortunately for the viewer, analysts have argued that crime drama programs "present a distorted view of crime and law enforcement" (p. 532). "What is emphasized in crime drama show content is support for the law under all circumstances and the idea that the machinery of the justice sometimes gets in the way of the efficient law enforcement" (Carlson 1983, p.533).

Carlson (1983) asked pre-adults how frequently they watched a listing of sixteen crime drama shows. He had the students answer six questions from a Civil Liberties Support Scale that measured their beliefs for a stringent law and order society. Carlson (1983) hypothesized that heavy crime show viewing would cultivate a crime control point of view and "civil liberties and the rights of [the] accused [would] come to be seen as obstacles to efficient law enforcement"(p.537). As hypothesized, crime show viewing was negatively associated with support for civil liberties or is
in support for a stringent criminal justice system. Carlson (1983) concluded that television does cultivate a mainstream point of view where heavy viewers believe that crime shows represent the "real life" criminal justice system. Carlson (1985) found overall, that light, medium and heavy viewers consistently had a high level of perceived television reality, thus, crime shows do influence reasoning. The researcher also found that a high perception of reality or believability in the crime shows are related to a crime control point of view.

Crime in the United States is measured through the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (Lichter et al., 1994). This is a statistical report of crimes reported by the Nation's different law enforcement agencies. The report addresses seven types of crimes: murder, forcible rape, armed robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. The first four offenses are classified as violent crimes, and the last three are classified as property crimes. These figures on real life serious crime provide a benchmark for comparison with television's crime levels. Studies by Lichter et al. show that violent crime on television is more pervasive than in real life. For example, they found that television characters are murdered at a rate of one thousand times greater than actual victims. According to FBI reports, most Americans are victims of nonviolent offenses such as burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. Property crime on television however is underrepresented since property crime on television is well behind the FBI statistics. Vice crimes such as prostitution, commercialized vice, drug-related crimes, public drunkenness, forgery, and consumer fraud are crimes most frequently seen by real life police which account for eight out of ten arrests made (Lichter et al., 1994).
Crime drama shows portray the rights of the suspect to be a hindrance to law enforcement (Carlson, 1985). The occupation of the law enforcement officer is also glamorized and positively portrayed. More disturbing however, is that the television police officer "never make[s] a mistake" since the wrong person was never in custody at the end of the show (Haney & Manzolati, 1984, pp. 126-27). In addition, the police are portrayed as being extremely efficient since the first person arrested in 90 percent of the cases was the perpetrator. One consequence of crime drama shows is that an "illusion of certainty" in police work is formed by the viewer, meaning that the viewer knows who the criminal is (Haney & Manzolati, 1984, p.127). The researchers also found that in roughly 70 percent of the situations where police discuss courts, judges and the Constitution, the reference is negative in terms of obstruction to police work (Haney & Manzolati, 1984).

The criminal justice system as portrayed on television is so efficient on television, that crimes usually get solved in one hour (Haney & Manzolati, 1984). The researchers found that Constitutional violations frequently occur in crime drama shows but acts are not labeled as such. Thus, the viewer may be lead to believe that the police are unrestricted in their duty to enforce the law. In addition, illegal searches by police turn up vital evidence and a witness who is brutalized by police provides them with a crucial lead to prevent the next crime from being committed. Heavy viewers believe police are justified in breaking the law to stop crime. Previous research has shown that after the arrest, viewers are unlikely to see arraignments, hearing, plea bargains, and jury deliberations (Dominick, 1978). Criminality takes a "backstage" nature since people have limited sources of information on the workings of our justice system (Surette,
As a result, the nature of the crime theme increases the show's popularity and entertainment value (Surette, 1992).

Besides crime and law enforcement drama programs, reality-based television programs such as *Cops, Top Cops* and *America's Most Wanted* have increased in popularity (Oliver, 1994). The show *Cops* uses actual footage to show investigations and apprehension of criminals, whereas the other programs use dramatizations of the actual crimes. "Also new is a trend toward 'reality-based' made-for-TV movies and tabloid news and video shows....based on actual news events, many of them involving re-enactments of real crimes or replays of actual violence captured on tape" (Clark, 1993, p. 267). Oliver (1994) conducted a content analysis of the reality-based crime genres. She found that television genres show criminal suspects being associates in violent crimes 87 percent of the time, whereas the FBI statistics show that violent crimes comprise only 13.2 percent of the crimes committed. In addition, property crimes represented 13 percent of the criminal acts shown on television, but comprised 87 percent of the acts according to the FBI. The programs also showed an exaggerated successful resolution rate for the police officers. "Among crimes in the FBI Crime Index, reality-based police programming portrayed a significantly greater proportion of crimes as cleared (i.e. arrested, killed, or committed suicide; 61.5 percent) than the proportion reported by the FBI (18 percent)" (p.185). Oliver (1994) concluded by stating that future cultivation studies of these types of genres may be linked to overestimation of crime, similar to previous studies that have examined fictional crime shows. Viewing may be linked to perceptions of police effectiveness in solving crimes and viewing may be linked to racial attitudes and beliefs by exaggerating the number of minorities involved in crimes (Oliver, 1994).
Serious consequences in the criminal justice system could result if viewers of the crime shows believe those shows are an accurate depiction of the criminal justice system (Haney & Manzolati, 1984). "An idea that begins for whatever reason in the mind of a television crime writer may end up influencing millions of potential...jurors" (p.125). The prosecution and defense attorney's arguments in the case may or may not seem believable to the juror depending on their perception of a "typical crime." These ideas represent how the juror will evaluate the evidence and arguments that the attorneys present to them (Haney & Manzolati, 1984).

Along the same vein as crime drama programs influencing peoples' opinions about society, Robbins (1986) asserts that advertisements use visual, auditory, and kinesthetic stimuli to put the viewer in the desired state of mind. Television for example, is a very persuasive medium since it makes use of the visual stimuli by showing the viewer pictures of the product, audio that includes catchy tunes, kinesthetics that provides the emotional impact of the message. The stimuli created by the message, coupled with the repetitiveness of viewing the message is believed to persuade the viewer to the advertiser's perspective (Robbins, 1986).

This thesis attempted to combine the theories of two disciplines: communication studies and criminal justice. Furthermore, this current study examined jury bias after the O.J. Simpson trial concluded. Several studies have examined how media effects relate to pretrial publicity. Rollings & Blascovich (1977) examined the relationship between pretrial publicity and public opinion of the Patricia Hearst case. Opinions were sampled on September 22, 1975, four days after her arrest. Opinions were sampled again twenty-three days later. The researchers hypothesized that any changes in opinion would be attributed to the new publicity. The
results showed that 94 percent of the respondents on the first survey believed Hearst was guilty, and 91 percent on the second survey believed she was guilty. In both cases, slightly over 66 percent believed Hearst would go to prison, and in both cases students believed she would go to prison for roughly seven years. Since opinions of Patricia Hearst did not change significantly at the end of her arrest and again three weeks later, the researchers concluded that "pretrial publicity may not influence public opinion in a criminal case to the extent that some believe" (Rollings & Blascovich, 1977, p. 65).

Ogloff & Vidmar (1994) conducted a pretrial publicity experiment and found that people who were exposed to negative publicity (news articles and video footage) about a defendant were more likely to find him guilty as opposed to subjects who were exposed to publicity that just mentioned the crime. Similarly, Otto et al. (1994) conducted a pretrial publicity experiment in which subjects were exposed to negative pretrial publicity information about the defendant's character and found that the subjects were more likely to find the defendant guilty in a realistic trial simulation. Furthermore, the researchers found that the trial evidence appeared to weaken the impact but did not eliminate the effects of pretrial publicity (Otto et al., 1994).

Padawer-Singer and Barton (1975) conducted an experiment in which subjects in the experimental group were given newspaper articles to read which contained two "prejudicial" bits of information. The information mentioned the defendants prior criminal record and a retracted confession for the crime in which he was charged. Subjects in the control group read articles about the crime but the prejudicial information was omitted. After listening to an audio tape of the trial, subjects in both
groups completed a questionnaire. The results showed that 78 percent of the subjects in the experimental group believed the defendant was guilty of the crime, whereas 55 percent of the subjects in the control group believed the defendant was guilty.

In contrast to the previous studies, Davis (1986) concluded that jurors can set aside prejudicial pretrial publicity and render a verdict based on the evidence presented. Davis' experiment examined how pretrial publicity affected the defendant's chance of receiving a fair trial. He used 224 undergraduate students in a 2 x 2 factorial design which used publicity (negative or neutral) and trial time (immediate or delayed for one week) as its variables. The publicity variable consisted of having subjects read either negative publicity or neutral publicity about realistic news events. The negative publicity "implied the suspect's guilt" and mentioned the victims name, the defendant's prior criminal record, opportunity for the defendant to discard damaging evidence, and comments by the suspects former employer about his instability. The neutral publicity which followed the American Bar Association's Guidelines on Fair Trial/Free Press (1969) mentioned the lack of clues and leads, the victims name and the high crime rate. The results showed that subjects who read articles containing negative publicity rendered two guilty verdicts and five not-guilty verdicts. There were three hung juries. Subjects who read articles containing neutral publicity rendered no guilty verdicts and seven not guilty verdicts. There were three hung juries. Davis's study revealed "that juries are able and willing to put aside extraneous information [regardless of the time frame] and base their decisions on the evidence" (p. 601).

Courts employ a number of remedies to counteract the effects of pretrial publicity (Kramer et al., 1990). Voir dire ("to speak the truth") is
a remedy favored by judges and attorneys (Surette, 1992). Judges question prospective jurors to determine what information they have learned about a case, and if that information can be set aside so that the defendant is tried by an impartial jury (Hans & Dee, 1991; Surette, 1992). Dexter et al. (1992) examined the effects of voir dire. He either exposed or did not expose subjects to pretrial publicity, and either exposed subjects to minimal voir dire or extended voir dire. Subjects exposed to minimal voir dire which is typically used in federal courts, were asked 10 questions by the judge which included the juror's ability to be impartial and decide the case on the evidence presented; prior jury service; and occupation. Subjects exposed to extended voir dire were questioned by the defense attorney for roughly one hour. The questioning was more in depth and the defense attorney attempted to "debias" the jury members by explaining the difference between the standards of the mass media and the court system. The results revealed that subjects who were exposed to minimal voir dire and no pretrial publicity acquitted the defendant 53 percent of the time, and subjects exposed to minimal voir dire and pretrial publicity acquitted the defendant 33 percent of the time. Conversely, subjects exposed to extended voir dire and no pretrial publicity acquitted the defendant 80 percent of the time, and subjects exposed to extended voir dire and pretrial publicity acquitted the defendant 65 percent of the time. Thus, extended voir dire made a difference in the trial verdict since the subjects perceived the defendant as less culpable (Dexter et al., 1992).

The aforementioned experiments and surveys focused on the cultivation theory that is the groundwork of this thesis, mock criminal events, and pretrial events. The following review of literature will discuss how actual news events and crime dramas might affect the views of a juror.
The media's role in reporting news is multifaceted - the media report news to the general public by being at crime scenes, arrests, pretrial and trial proceedings, sentences and execution sites (Surette, 1984). Since six to twelve percent of the population have direct interaction with the justice system, the media provide a "prime information base" in educating the public about the criminal justice system (Hans & Dee, 1991; Hodson, 1992). Also, the media report on criminal activity which focuses on the deviant and out-of-place stories such as serial killers and psychotic personalities (Ericson et al., 1991). Furthermore, the public has learned to recognize law as it is portrayed through television and other media of popular culture, rather than through formal procedure in the legal system (Ericson et al., 1991).

Individuals gain knowledge about society from four different sources: personal experiences, significant others, social groups, and the mass media (Surette, 1992). Television or electronic visual media have an advantage over print media since television is easy to comprehend, accessible, and does not require the viewer to be able to read. Television is also very personalized since it allows people of different ages and educational levels to be at the actual event. Furthermore, when reporting a dramatic trial, coverage is usually live and pictures are preferred over text in order to reach a wide range of people (Hans & Dee, 1991; Surette, 1989).

A mid-1980s Hearst Corporation Survey asked people where they received their court news (Hodson, 1992). Results show that 54 percent get their news from viewing television; 51 percent from newspapers; 28 percent from radio news; almost 20 percent from television dramas (legal or police); and 18 percent from magazines. That study provides
information about the educational aspects of the media and the legal system since approximately 75 percent of adult Americans are unfamiliar with the functioning of our judicial system. For example, almost half of those surveyed believed a defendant is guilty until proven innocent (Hodson, 1992).

Sheley & Ashkins (1984) conducted a study examining how public views on crime are influenced by television crime reporting. The researchers gathered crime data from the New Orleans police, the media that consisted of the local newspaper and three television newscast stations, and the general public. Data were collected for a three month period. The researchers found that "[m]urders and robberies account for about 80 percent of the crimes reported in newscasts, [and] the same offenses represent 45 percent of the crimes reported in print (p.132). "Yet the police department reports that only 12.4 percent of the city's crimes are homicides and robberies" (p.132). The researchers also compared the rankings of the seven FBI criminal offenses between the police, the newspaper, the three television news stations, and the public's perception of crime in the community. They found that television news ranks homicide, robbery, and assault as 1, 2, and 3 respectively, the newspaper ranked the crimes as 4, 1, and 3 respectively, the public ranked the crimes as 4, 1, and 5 respectively, and the police ranked the three crimes as 7, 3, and 5 respectively. The researchers also found that crime portrayed on television is unlike the actual police statistics, but crime reported in the newspaper resembles police statistics more closely than crime on television. In conclusion, crime reported on the television news bears little resemblance to the New Orleans police statistics (Sheley & Ashkins, 1984).
According to Weinmann (1992), modern technology has provided terrorist groups with a powerful instrument - the newspaper and the television. Weinmann (1992) conducted an experiment in which the attitudes of two hundred Israeli adult Jews were assessed on two different terrorist incidents; an event in Croatia and an event in South Mollucan. The people in the experimental group were shown newspaper and video footage containing information of the incidents. Their attitudes regarding the terrorist incidents were measured before and after exposure. Similarly, people in the control group were shown newspaper and video footage that did not contain information about the terrorist incidents. Their attitudes were measured before and after exposure (Weinmann, 1992).

Overall, the comparison of the scores before and after exposure revealed that media exposure to the terrorist incidents tends to affect aspects of the terrorists' image. For example, on a scale from one to seven with one representing characteristics such as bad, cruel, and unfair, and seven representing characteristics such as fair, brave, and honest, the experimental groups assessment was negative, however, the degree of negativity decreased after exposure to the newspaper coverage. Subjects who were exposed to press coverage of the terrorist incidents tended to see the issues as more important than the subjects in the control group. In addition, exposure to the press created an awareness and interest in the events. Similar to the press coverage, subjects who were exposed to television news of the terrorist events regarded the terrorists as unfavorable, but the level of unfavorability decreased after exposure to the media coverage (Weinmann, 1992).
Since the news media served as the sole source of information and interpretation of the events, people may form images (Weinmann, 1992). "Press reports were found to be somewhat more effective in forming attitudes and perceptions than television" (p. 116), since the two mediums have different formats and content. Newspaper reports are more detailed, provide more information, and tend to be better remembered than television news. "Television presentation is more condensed and focuses on the visual and often dramatic, features of the event. Thus, television is more effective on the emotional rather than the cognitive dimension" (Weinmann, 1992, p. 116).

Weinmann (1992) makes several suggestions for the aforementioned behavior. Since terrorists are often motivated by social or political reasons, "the terrorists themselves when being interviewed, may lead to sympathy and identification" in support of their reasons for committing the acts (p. 117). Occasionally, the media labels terrorists with positive attributes such as freedom fighters, popular front, or the liberation movement. Terrorists are portrayed by the media as being the underdog since coverage of terrorist events highlights a small group against heavily armed and trained forces. In addition, many terrorists are willing to sacrifice their lives for their cause. Furthermore, "[t]he mass media, which tend to focus on these unexpected terrorist behaviors (human gestures like the release of a pregnant woman, [or] stroking the head of a crying baby) may be themselves subjects of [humanity]" thereby conveying the message of humanity to large audiences (Weinmann, 1992, p. 117).

According to Chaffee & Schleuder (1986), "[e]xposure, not attention to news media has traditionally been the focus of survey research related to public affairs" (p. 78). For example, respondents are asked how many
hours each day they watch television, but the respondents were not asked how much they pay attention to what they are watching. Drew & Weaver (1990) conducted a study that examined the "relationships between exposure and attention to three different media (newspapers, television news, and radio news)" (p. 741). The study also analyzed the "relationships between media exposure/attention and four different possible effects (knowledge gain, opinion direction, opinion strength, and behavior)" (p. 741). The researchers found a significant relationship between local newspaper reading and knowledge about all four news issues. Similarly, attention to local television news showed a positive correlation to knowledge regarding police protection. As television news exposure increased, negative opinions about issues increased. Attention to local government news stories were linked to strong opinions and were likely to affect the respondent's opinion about an event. In addition,"[t]he most consistent finding was between knowledge and strength of opinion, suggesting that those more informed about issues are likely to have stronger opinions about them" (Drew & Weaver, 1990, p. 748).

According to Culbertson et al. (1994), previous researchers have argued that the print media "portrays factual information so as to encourage analysis, [whereas] television....gives little detail but many rather vague images and portrayals" (p. 16). Similarly, the print media presents information in greater detail than the broadcast media, allows the reader to synthesize ideas, and allows the reader to review the articles for further understanding and analysis. As a result, people tend to better understand a story in the print media rather than on television. Newspaper reading has been associated with promoting intellect such as keeping the mind active, giving people ideas to do things, and providing the reader
with useful information. The print media requires the reader to search for particular articles or sections, whereas the broadcast media serves as a "background medium," which means that people may be preoccupied when watching the programs. Previous researchers have also argued that the print medium enhances awareness of the story better than the broadcast medium. (Culbertson, 1994).

Culbertson et al. (1994) conducted a study that examined the attention levels across the print, and television mediums. Three waves of the study were conducted. The researchers found that 70, 66.9, and 64.4 percent of the respondents read the daily newspapers, compared to 46.7, 40.0, and 34.8 percent who watched the early evening network television news. In addition, they found a high correlation between newspaper attention and the "number of campaign issues mentioned" by a subject (p. 26). Over a three month period, newspaper use and attention level remained stable, "while television use and attention generally declined" (p. 26). The researchers concluded that attention to newspapers was better at predicting knowledge of an issue than television (Culbertson, 1994).

Perse (1990) examined the relationship between perceptions of personal safety and viewing local television crime news. Subjects were asked how many times each week they watched the local news, and were asked to express their personal safety when presented with four hypothetical situations. Perse (1990) found that paying attention to the news showed a significant positive contribution "to the cultivation of perceptions of personal safety" (p. 62). Thus, as attention increased, perceptions of risk increased.

The researcher of this thesis surveyed people who were summoned to jury service by the Clark County Courthouse. Several studies have
examined how the television and print mediums have affected jury bias. Moran and Cutler (1991) conducted a study examining the effects pretrial publicity. The authors conducted two telephone surveys of two different criminal events examining the correlation between pretrial publicity and juror prejudice. The questions elicited demographic data, attitudes towards crime, awareness of the publicity related to the defendant(s), and the ability to disregard the mass media and be an impartial juror.

In the first study conducted by Moran & Cutler, 604 respondents were surveyed on a case that involved four defendants who were on trial in Southern Illinois for distribution of marijuana. The authors defined this case as moderately publicized, since a total of 35 articles appeared in the local newspapers. The results showed that 84 percent of the respondents either strongly agreed or agreed that crime stories reported in local newspapers turn out to be true. Furthermore, respondents who viewed five or more articles about a story believed that there was "a lot of evidence" against the defendant, and 38 percent of the respondents said they would be unable to be an impartial juror (Moran & Cutler, 1991).

In the second study conducted by Moran & Cutler, 100 respondents were surveyed on a case involving a Hispanic individual who was charged with the shooting death of a young Miami Beach police officer during a drug deal which went sour. Media coverage of this case lasted from June 1988 through September 1988. The results showed that 72 percent either strongly agreed or agreed that crime stories in local newspapers are true. At least 50 percent of the respondents believed that three or more articles "is a lot of evidence" against the defendant and a minimum of one-third of the respondents said they would be unable to disregard the news media and be an impartial juror. On the basis of these findings, the authors concluded
that even moderate publicity may bias prospective jurors (Moran & Cutler, 1991).

Costantini and King (1980/81) examined to what extent pretrial publicity of three criminal cases: the murders of two California Highway Patrolmen, in which the defendant was Spanish; the murder of a dental hygienist; and the attempted rape of a man's twelve-year-old stepdaughter affected potential jurors in rendering a fair and impartial verdict. The authors conducted a public opinion survey to find answers to the following questions: "Can juror prejudgment be predicted from his/her general attitudes towards crime and punishment"? and "Is prior knowledge about a case a reliable indicator of one's capacity to serve as an impartial juror at a trial"? (p. 12).

Costantini & King examined the relationship between a potential jurors "general attitudes towards crime and punishment" by asking them four forced-choice response questions (p. 24). Results for the murder of the dental hygienist showed that 19 percent of the respondents in the liberal category believed they could not be impartial, and 13 percent of the respondents in the liberal category had formed a prejudgment opinion of guilt. The percentages of those claiming unable to be impartial and prejudgment of guilt increased to 35 percent and 40 percent respectively for those in the conservative category. The results for the attempted rape of the defendant's step-daughter showed that 27 percent of the respondents in the liberal category could not be impartial jurors, and 8 percent had formed a prejudgment opinion of guilt. The percentage of those claiming unable to be fair and impartial remained at 27 percent for those respondents in the conservative category. The percentage of respondents who had formed a prejudgment of guilt increased to 40 percent for those in
the conservative category. The authors did not report results for the murder of the two California Highway Patrolmen.

Costantini & King also examined the relationship between a respondent's knowledge of the three cases and any prejudging opinions that they may have formed. The researches first found that those respondents who regularly read a newspaper and regularly watched the news on television tended to be better informed of the cases than those who did not regularly read a newspaper or regularly watch the news. In addition, the authors also found a direct correlation between those "well informed" and those who formed a preconceived idea of the respondent's guilt and their ability to be an impartial juror for all three cases. As the information level increased, more respondents believed the defendants to be guilty, and more respondents said they would be unable to render a fair and impartial verdict. The authors also found that those respondents who had a Spanish surname were 14 percent less likely to have formed a preconceived idea of a Spanish defendant's guilt, but 15 percent were more likely to be unable to be impartial jurors. The authors concluded by stating that pretrial information is a potential juror's most serious cause for prejudgment.

In addition to the news that reports factual information about crime, the television crime drama may be construed as a representation of the real world, insofar that it is highly informative and factual (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). Sometimes, the drama may be taken too far. For example, a former New York City police official once complained how jury members were forming images and expectations of trial proceedings from television, which is believed to prejudice or bias them in actual trials. Thus, the viewer may think that the television drama is an actual representation of the real world (Gerbner & Gross, 1976).
To determine if people are influenced by the television criminology, (Haney & Manzolati, 1984) conducted a survey by asking respondents about criminal justice issues and the amount of television watched. The results were consistent with Gerbner's theory; heavy television viewers (four or more hours per day) believed that television presented an accurate representation of crime. Television also presents a distorted image of law enforcement work. For example, the television police are frequently seen investigating and pursuing criminals, whereas in real life, most police work is routine and does not entail much investigatory work (Haney & Manzolati, 1984).

This false image of sureness and certainty in the criminal justice system may create in the minds of most viewers a "presumption of guilt rather than innocence" (Haney & Manzolati, 1984, p. 27). The researchers found that people who watched four or more hours of television daily were significantly more likely than light viewers (two hours or less) to believe that a defendant must be guilty of committing a crime because they were brought to trial. The researchers also theorized that as more people watch crime drama shows, the more they may be more persuaded to convict. This theory is based on the misrepresentation of television criminology (Haney & Manzolati, 1984).

Greene (1990) examined how various media sources such as newspapers, radio, television, and movies may influence a juror's decision when rendering a verdict. In 1984, a businessman was on trial in Illinois for the ax murders of his spouse and three children. The judge presiding over that case scheduled the trial during the exact same times that the two-part mini-series "Fatal Vision" aired, which told the story of Jeffrey MacDonald, the Army physician who was convicted of murdering his
pregnant wife and two daughters in North Carolina. The businessman's attorneys convinced the judge that the striking similarities between their trial and the TV movie could bias the jurors on the case.

Greene (1990) asserts that jurors may be influenced by the way that the media portrays lawyers, judges, defendants, and witnesses. "For example, in the months following release of the movie *The Verdict* in which Paul Newman played a downtrodden Boston Lawyer forced to expose a corrupt and biased system in order to win justice for his clients in a medical malpractice case, prospective jurors in civil cases across the country were asked about their reactions to the movie" which depicted several inaccuracies about this Nation's judicial system (p. 443). Several defense attorneys argued that jurors should be told that what occurred in the movie did not happen in the case on which they were sitting in order to prevent an unconscious reaction (Greene, 1990).

Additional research has examined how social schema (previous background) or information that a juror was predisposed to can affect the decision making ability (Greene, 1990). For example, if jurors are inundated with complicated factual information or evidence and do not take notes, they may inadequately interpret this information, and instead rely on previous background information or prejudices that they brought into the courtroom. Furthermore, jurors may rely on their media-informed schemata when rendering a verdict if they hear conflicting testimony from several different witnesses. Heavy viewers of television programs relating to the justice system may have developed preconceived ideas of how the justice system operates, and would have difficulty interpreting factual information in an unbiased way (Greene, 1990).
On the basis of previous finding by other researchers, Greene (1990) believes that the media alone are unlikely to influence a juror. Rather, Greene asserts that the media combined with other forces such as schema (how a person organizes information) and attitudes such as authoritarianism, are likely to influence a juror's decision. Haney & Manzolati (1984) believe that a juror may enter the courtroom with preconceived ideas about crime. There is additional skepticism about media effects. Jurors can only set aside opinions that they may have formed as a result of media exposure only if they are aware of those opinions in the first place (Greene, 1990). Thus many jurors may not even be aware of the media influence. Greene concludes by stating that much of the information presented is based on hypothetical influences rather than "empirically based evaluations on real juries" (p. 440).

Television and print media are seen to present an inaccurate representation of the real life criminal justice system (Surette, 1992). The incredible success rate of television crime show fighters in solving crimes and apprehending criminals could raise the viewer's expectations of the criminal justice system. The common thread running through the aforementioned experiments and studies is that the researcher(s) either used mock, potential jurors, students, or the general public as their subjects. While these studies do provide information on how the mass media affects potential jurors, and the effectiveness of judicial remedies, they neglect to show how actual jurors in a courthouse setting are affected. Research still needs to be done on actual trial participants instead of simulated trial participants. For example, data were elicited in the aforementioned mentioned studies by either observing mock juries or by conducting telephone surveys. The problem with mock juries is that they do not
represent an actual trial, nor is the sample representative since the sample usually consists of college students who wish to earn extra credit. Furthermore, the problem with telephone surveys is that the general public are not well educated with the working of our judicial system, so they may not fully understand the questions or the rationale behind them. In addition, when a telephone interview is conducted, the respondent is not in the same mind set as a respondent who is summoned for jury service and is at the courthouse.

The major problem thus far with research on the media and the criminal justice system is that limited research has examined the effects of the media on actual jury trials. Research is needed on examining jurors who either have been summoned, or are presently serving or previously served on a jury to see if the media either could or did influence their verdicts. For example, present or former jurors could either be personally interviewed or anonymously complete a survey questionnaire on how or why the media influenced their verdicts on the case that they either served or are going to serve. Similarly, it would be interesting to study the jurors' decisions upon completion of the O.J. Simpson trial. This current study attempted to see if summoned jurors who were released from jury service were influenced by the television and newspaper media.

In summary, Signorielli (1990) found that heavy television viewers tended to perceive the world as being a "mean and dangerous" place. Along the same vein, Haney and Manzolati (1984) found that heavy television viewers were more likely than light television viewers to believe that a defendant must be guilty of a crime if they were brought to trial. Potter (1986) found that people who perceived fictional television as being an accurate representation of the real world tended to perceive the world as
violent. Studies conducted by Carlson (1983) and Costantini and King suggested that people who have strong law and order beliefs tended to believe that a defendant was guilty of committing the crime. Padawar-Singer and Barton (1975) found that subjects who read prejudicial information about a defendant tended to believe that he was guilty. Prior research suggests that the print and television media might bias a juror in the direction of the published news accounts.
This empirical study will attempt to find evidence for the following six research hypotheses (see table 4 and appendix A):

**RESEARCH HYPOTHESES**

H1 - As viewing of realistic and fictional television crime dramas increases, belief in the likelihood that one will view O.J. Simpson as guilty increases. The researcher hypothesized there would be a positive correlation between survey variables "hours watching television per day" (question 1); "hours per week watching fictional television" (question 2); "hours per week watching reality based television" (question 3); and the "view" scale (amount of television viewing) which are the predictor variables, and survey variables "Simpson committed the double murder" (question 22); "Simpson was violent" (question 23); and "the LAPD tried to frame Simpson" (question 24), (O.J. Simpson guilt questions) which are the criterion variables by running the Pearson Product Moment Correlation.

H2 - As viewer credibility of realistic and fictional television crime dramas increases, belief in the likelihood that one will view O.J. Simpson as guilty increases. The researcher hypothesized there would be a positive relationship between survey variables "criminals shown on crime drama programs" (question 6); "investigations shown on television" (question 7); "the court system shown on television" (question 8); "programs realistically portray crime in America" (question 9); "programs realistically portray real life police" (question 10); and "real police solve crimes quickly" (question 11), (the "television" scale) which is the predictor variable, and the O.J. Simpson guilt survey variables which are the criterion variables by running the Pearson Product Moment Correlation.
H3 - As the subject's authoritarian views increase, the subject's law and order views are likely to increase. The researcher hypothesized there would be a positive correlation between survey variables "arrested people are guilty" (question 12); "convicted murderers should be executed" (question 13); "an arrested person should be kept in jail" (question 14); "too much concern for the criminal" (question 15); "too many restrictions on police" (question 16); and "convicted criminals should be punished severely" (question 17), (the "real life" scale) which is the predictor variable and survey variables "people should learn respect for authority" (question 18); "discipline and determination are important values" (question 19); "people should not argue with authority" (question 20); and "parents ideas should not be challenged" (question 21), (the "authoritarian" scale) which is the criterion variable by running the Pearson Product Moment Correlation.

H4 - As the subject's law and order views increase, belief in the likelihood that one will view O.J. Simpson as guilty increases. The researcher hypothesized there would be a positive correlation between the "real life" scale which is the predictor variable and the three O.J. Simpson guilt variables which are the criterion variable by running the Pearson Product Moment Correlation.

H5 - As the subject's use of alternative media sources such as newspapers and magazines increases, belief in the likelihood that one will support a strong law and order society decreases. The researcher hypothesized there would be a negative correlation between the survey variable "frequency of newspaper reading" (question 4) which is the predictor variable and the
"real life" scale which is the criterion variable by running the Pearson Product Moment Correlation.

H6 - As the viewing of realistic and fictional television crime dramas increases, the subject's support for a strong law and order society is likely to increase. The researcher hypothesized there would be a positive correlation between survey variables "hours watching television per day" (question 1); "hours per week watching fictional television" (question 2); and "hours per week watching reality based television" (question 3); which are the predictor variables, and the "real life" scale which is the criterion variable through the Pearson Product Moment Correlation.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted under the supervision of the Clark County Courthouse personnel in Las Vegas, NV. Middleton & Chamberlain (1994) suggested the need to use a more valid study population in studying jurors because:

....most research on the impact of crime reporting on jurors comes from studies of public reaction to news stories and research involving mock juries....Research on juror behavior is particularly imprecise because it is conducted on non-jurors in circumstances that do not effectively duplicate the experiences of [real] jurors (p. 366).

The researcher was awarded a $350.00 research grant from the Graduate Student Association Research Grant Committee at UNLV on June 2, 1995. The funding was used to purchase pens, paper, printing costs, parking at the Courthouse, and photocopying expenses.

Subjects

In August 1995, a meeting was arranged between the District Court Judge Donald Mosley, Assistant Court Administrator Rick Loop from the Eight Judicial District Court in Clark County, and the researcher to devise a method for administering the survey questionnaires. The Court permitted the researcher to only administer the survey questionnaires to
summoned jurors who were dismissed from jury service, since the Court feared perspective jurors or jurors in the jury pool who could potentially be called to serve on a trial could become biased by the questionnaire.

**Survey Instrument**

A survey questionnaire instrument (see appendix A) was used since previous research has empirically tested the relationship between viewer perception of crime and exposure to television crime drama programs through questionnaire items. The survey questionnaire cover letter was printed on UNLV letterhead, and each cover letter was hand-signed by the researcher. The questionnaire contained 31 items as part of the research design to examine the correlation between media effects and juror attitudes. Question 1 through question 3 comprised the television "view" scale. Question 1 measured exposure to daily television viewing ranging from "none" to "over four hours per day"; and questions 2 and 3 measured weekly exposure of viewing fictional and realistic television crime drama programs ranging from "none" to "above ten hours." Questions 4 and 5 measured the frequency of newspaper reading from "never" to "always." Question 6 through question 11 comprised the "television" scale and measured the perceived reality or to what extent television crime drama programs represent the actual criminal justice system. Question 12 through question 17 comprised the "real life" scale and measured the subjects' views on law and order or views on the criminal justice system. Question 18 through question 21 comprised the "authoritarian" scale and measured views on authoritarianism; i.e., liberal or conservative. Questions 22, 23, and 24 individually measured O.J. Simpson's guilt (see table 2). The researcher used the Cronbach alpha test on the
aforementioned scales to test the internal consistency. Question 25 measured the amount of weekly O.J. Simpson trial news the respondent viewed or read from "none" to "above ten hours." Questions 26 through questions 30 measured the respondent demographics that included gender, racial or ethnic identification, age, gross household income in 1994, and highest level of completed education. Question 31 measured the respondent's attitude toward jury service. At the conclusion of the survey questions, space was provided for subjects to write additional comments. Questions 6 through questions 24, and question 31 each used a five-point Likert scale ranging from (1) "strongly disagree" to (5) "strongly agree."

The questions that were used in the survey instrument were comprised from the following sources: the researcher's thesis committee; Carlson (1983); Carlson (1985); Corbett (1981); Costantini & King (1980/81); Gerbner & Gross (1976); Gerbner et al. (1980); Gerbner et al. (1986b); O'Keefe (1984); O'Keefe & Reid-Nash (1987); Potter (1986); Potter & Chang (1990); Watts (1977); and personnel at the Clark County Courthouse in Las Vegas, NV.

**Procedure**

With the assistance of Chuck Short, the Court Administrator, and Rick Loop, a pilot study was conducted in the beginning of September 1995 at the Clark County Courthouse. The purpose of conducting the pilot study was to check the overall reliability of the questionnaire, and to check the internal consistency of the perceived reality, law and order, and authoritarian scales. Prior to conducting the pilot study, the questionnaire was approved by the Office of Research Administration at UNLV in September 1995. For the pilot study, twenty-five people who were
released from jury service on the same day were surveyed. The researcher was required by the court to administer the questionnaires to the subjects in a conference room away from the rest of the jury pool to avoid contamination. To insure that no survey questionnaires were removed from the conference room where the study took place, each questionnaire was numbered and collected either by the researcher or court personnel after completion. Completion of the survey questionnaire was voluntary and all responses remained confidential and anonymous.

The pilot study was conducted while the O.J. Simpson trial was still in progress. More than half of those subjects who were originally surveyed were uncertain as to O.J. Simpson's guilt or innocence. Upon completion of the pilot study, data were coded on the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) on UNLV's mainframe computer that was accessed through the Internet. All unanswered questions were coded with a (9). On the pilot questionnaire, the "uncertain" Likert scaled item was initially ranked in the number five position and was designated as a non-response answer. After the data were coded, the researcher determined that since the response rate to the three O.J. Simpson questions was roughly 50 percent, the "uncertain" item was moved to the number three position on the five-point scale.

In contrast to the time frame of the pilot study, the actual study was conducted a few days after the trial concluded. O.J. Simpson was acquitted on all counts of the murders of Ronald Goldman and Nicole Brown-Simpson. The actual study began on October 9, 1995, at the Clark County Courthouse and took approximately five weeks to complete. A total of 205 survey questionnaires were completed by summoned jurors who were released from jury service on the same day. Questionnaires that the subject
started but did not complete were discarded and more surveys were re-circulated in order to have a full 205 usable surveys. Questionnaires in which the subject did not answer certain questions were used. Each questionnaire was numbered and collected immediately after completion. Upon completion of the survey, data were coded and ran on the SPSS. The data were analyzed with the Pearson Product Moment Correlation.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The full study took approximately five weeks to complete and yielded a total of 205 usable questionnaires. The researcher will first report the demographics of the jury sample which were surveyed (see table 1). Of the 205 jurors surveyed at the Clark County District Court, 42.4 % (87) were male and 57.1 % (117) were female. The sample was comprised of 7.8 % (16) African American; 75.1 % (154) White; 7.8 % (16) Hispanic; 3.9 % (8) Native American; and 2.9% (6) Asian. The results showed that 21.5 % (44) had household income ranging from $10,000 to $29,000; 41.5 % (85) had income ranging from $30,000 to $59,000; and 26.8 % (55) had income ranging from $60,000 to $79,999. The results for educational level showed that 64.8 % (133) either had some college or were college graduates; 11.7 % (24) either had less than a high school education, had a Masters degree, Ph.D., or medical degree; and 22.4 % (46) had some high school or were high school graduates. Finally, 38 % (78) ranged from ages 18-40; 51.3 % (105) ranged from ages 41-60; and 10.3 % (21) ranged from ages 61-70.

The Cronbach's alpha test of internal consistency is typically used for reliability assessment, or to show a cohesive bond between the questions (Potter, 1994). According to Kerlinger (1986), internal consistency measures the scale's reliability, looks for homogeneity between the individual scale items. In other words, the scale should consistently
measure the same thing. The "view" scale had an alpha level of .6514 which means that it was slightly reliable; the "television" scale had an alpha level of .8291 which means that it was reliable; the "real life" scale had an alpha level of .7254 which means that it was moderately reliable; and the "authoritarian" scale had an alpha level of .6111 which means that it was slightly reliable. According to Perse (1994), all scales typically have an internal consistency ranging from .80 to .87. According to Rubin & Perse (1994), the "television" or perceived reality scale lacks development and more research is needed to evaluate the effectiveness of this scale.

The Pearson Product Moment Correlation was used to determine the statistical significance, direction, and the strength of the relationship between the variables (Bordens & Abbott, 1991). In other words, this researcher was looking for a pattern between two variables. The significance or alpha level was set at .05 which meant that any relationships with an alpha level of .05 or less "had a probability of occurring by chance 5 percent of the time" (Weaver, 1981, p. 63). The direction could have been (+) or (-), hence, indicating a positive or negative relationship between the questions (Weaver, 1981). In other words, when a positive relationship was found between correlated questions, as one response increased on the Likert scale, the other response increased. Conversely, when a negative relationship was found, as one response increased, the other decreased (Weaver, 1981).

The higher the "r" value, the stronger the relationship was between the questions. "[T]he following is a rough guide to interpreting the strength of a [Pearson] correlation coefficient: less than .20 is a slight correlation [or] almost negligible relationship; .20-.40 is a low correlation [or] a definite but small relationship; .40-.70 is a moderate correlation [or}
substantial relationship; .70-.90 [is a] high correlation [or a] marked relationship; more than .90 [is a] very high correlation [or a] very dependable relationship" (Weaver, 1981, p.75).

The researcher used the Pearson correlation coefficient to see if there was a relationship between the amount of crime drama show viewing and the three questionnaire items (questions 22, 23, 24) (see table 2) which measured O.J. Simpson's guilt (H1); the subject's perceived reality of crime drama programs and the three O.J. Simpson questions (H2); the subject's views on authoritarianism and the three O.J. Simpson guilt questions (H3); the subject's views law and order and the three O.J. Simpson guilt questions (H4); use of alternative media sources and the subject's views on law and order (H5); and subjects level of crime show viewing views for a strong law and order society (H6). Each question which measured O.J. Simpson's guilt was analyzed individually. In support of previous findings by Gerbner, Carlson, Potter, and Watts, the researcher believed associations would be found. The researcher also examined the relationship between the perceived reality and the law and order views. In support of Carlson's (1985) findings, the researcher believes there would be an association.

As previously stated, the main objective of this study was to see if there was a correlation between mass media, which in this study consisted of TV viewing, newspaper and magazine reading, and the three questions which measured O.J. Simpson's guilt (see table 3). There was a slight, negative correlation between question 1 ("hours per day") and question 22 ("double murder") \( (r= -.1961, p<.05) \). Similarly, there was a slight negative correlation between question 1 and question 23 ("violent") \( (r= -.1630, p<.05) \). Those subjects who watched lower levels of television tended to believe that O.J. Simpson was guilty. No statistical association
was found between question 1 and question 24 ("frame") \( (r = .1374, p > .05) \). The next two relationships were consistent with the cultivation theory as posited by Gerbner. There was a low, negative correlation between question 1 and question 29 ("income") \( (r = -.3086, p < .05) \). Similarly, there was a slight, negative correlation between question 1 and question 30 ("education") \( (r = -.1963, p < .05) \). Those subjects who watched high levels of television tended to have lower levels of income and education.

No statistical association was found between question 2 ("fictional television") and questions 22, 23, and 24 \( (r = -.0953, -.1279, \text{ and } -.0251, \text{ respectively, } p > .05) \). There was, however, a slight, negative relationship between question 2 and question 29 \( (r = -.1576, p < .05) \). In addition, there was a slight, negative relationship between question 3 ("reality based television") and question 23 \( (r = -.1755, p < .05) \). There was a low, negative correlation between question 3 and question 29 \( (r = -.2671, p < .05) \). Similarly, there was a slight, negative correlation between question 3 and question 30 \( (r = -.1631, p < .05) \). Those subjects who viewed higher levels of crime drama programs tended to have lower income and less education.

No statistical association was found between the "view" scale and questions 22 and 24 \( (r = -.1334 \text{ and } -.0290, \text{ respectively, } p > .05) \), however, a slight, negative correlation was found between the "view" scale and question 23 \( (r = -.1976, p < .05) \). There was a low, negative correlation between the "view" scale and question 29 \( (r = -.3102, p < .05) \), and a slight, negative correlation between the "view" scale and question 30 \( (r = -.1675, p < .05) \).

The results which the researcher found from the jurors who read the newspapers or magazines were consistent with the cultivation theory as posited by Gerbner. There was a low, positive correlation between
question 4 and question 22 ($r=.2534, p<.05$). Similarly, there was a low, positive correlation between question 4 and question 23 ($r=.2845, p<.05$). Following the O.J. Simpson guilt continuum, there was a low, negative correlation between question 4 and question 24 ($r=-.2303, p<.05$). There was a slight, positive correlation between question 5 and question 22 ($r=.1842, p<.05$). There was a low, positive correlation between question 5 and question 23 ($r=.2133, p<.05$). Following the O.J. Simpson guilt continuum, there was a slight, negative correlation between question 5 and question 24 ($r=.1434, p<.05$). When question 4 ("newspaper") and question 5 ("crime newspaper") were correlated with the three O.J. Simpson questions, the results showed that as the subject's reading level increased, believability of O.J. Simpson's guilt increased. Similarly, as the subject's reading level increased, subjects were less likely to believe that the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) tried to frame O.J. Simpson. No statistical association was found between newspaper/magazine reading (questions 4 and 5) and the "real life" scale ($r=.0670$ and $0.0496$, respectively, $p>.05$). According to Gerbner, as the subject's use of alternative media sources increased, views on stringent law and order society would decrease. Those results were unfounded in this thesis.

There was a slight, positive correlation between question 4 and question 30 ($r=.1714, p<.05$). Similarly, there was a slight, positive correlation between question 5 and question 30 ($r=.1688, p<.05$). As the subject's reading level increased, the subject's educational level tended to increase as well.

Since this study was conducted under the auspices of the Clark County Courthouse personnel, the jurors' opinions regarding jury service were examined. There was a low, positive correlation between question 4
and question 31 ("jury service") (r=.3157, p<.05). Similarly, there was a low, positive correlation between question 5 and question 31 (r=.2325, p<.05). As the subject's reading level increased, the subject tended to believe that jury service was a legitimate duty of the citizen.

Contrary to the cultivation theory as posited by Potter, no statistical association was found between the "television" scale and all three O.J. Simpson questions (r= .0644, .0341, and .0506, respectively, p>.05) (see table 3). According to the cultivation theory, as the subject's belief in crime drama shows increased, the responses to the three O.J. Simpson guilt questions should have increased. The results did show, however, when the "real life" scale was correlated with the three O.J. Simpson questions, significant relationships were found. There was a low, positive correlation between the "real life" scale and question 22 (r=.3690, p<.05). Similarly, there was a low, positive correlation between the "real life" scale and question 23 (r=.3291, p<.05) (see table 3). Following the O.J. Simpson guilt continuum, there was a slight, negative correlation between the "real life" scale and question 24 (r=-.1461, p<.05). Subjects who perceived our criminal justice system to be too lenient tended to believe that O.J. Simpson was guilty.

Contrary to the cultivation theory, no statistical associations were found between all three television viewing questions (questions 1, 2, and 3) and the "television" scale (r= -.0226, .0502, and .1231, respectively, p>.05). Similarly, no statistical associations were found between all three television viewing questions and the "real life" scale (r=-.1330, -.0493, and -.0173, respectively, p>.05). In support of the cultivation theory posited by Watts, a low, significant correlation was found between the "authoritarian" scale and the "television" scale (r=.1527, p<.05).
Similarly, a low, positive correlation was found between the "authoritarian" scale and the "real life" scale ($r=0.3724$, $p<0.05$). Subjects who had conservative views tended to believe that television crime drama shows represent the actual criminal justice system, and tended to believe that the actual criminal justice system should be more stringent. A slight, positive correlation was found between question 1 and the "authoritarian" scale ($r=0.1417$, $p<0.05$). Similarly, a low, positive correlation was found between question 3 and the "authoritarian" scale ($r=0.2051$, $p<0.05$). Subjects who had conservative views tended to watch more television.

In addition to the cultivation theory data, there was a moderate, positive correlation between question 22 and question 23 ($r=0.5789$, $p<0.05$). Similarly, there was a moderate, negative correlation between question 22 and question 24 ($r=-0.5722$, $p<0.05$). There was a low, negative correlation between question 23 and question 24 ($r=-0.3129$, $p<0.05$). Subjects who believed that O.J. Simpson was violent, tended to believe that he murdered Nicole and Ronald Goldman. Similarly, those who believed Simpson committed the murders and was violent, were less likely to believe that the LAPD tried to frame him of the murders.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This final chapter will explain the results found in this current study, limitations, and the need for future research. Hypothesis 1 suggested as the amount of television crime drama programming increased, guilt towards O.J. Simpson would increase. This hypothesis was based on previous findings by Gerbner. No statistical association was found between crime drama show viewing (survey questions 2 and 3) and O.J. Simpson guilt question 22 (r= -.0953 and -.0514, respectively, p>.05). Similarly, no statistical association was found between the level of crime drama show viewing and O.J. Simpson guilt question 24 (r= -.0251 and -.0054, respectively, p>.05). A significant but slight, negative correlation was found between question 3 and O.J. Simpson guilt question 23 (r= -.1755, p<.05). This negative correlation suggests that people who watched low levels of reality based crime drama show programs believed that O.J. Simpson was violent towards his former spouse Nicole. Thus, contrary to the cultivation theory, subjects who watched high levels of fictional or reality based crime drama shows did not seem to be negatively influenced about the O.J. Simpson guilt.

Similar results were found when the amount of daily television viewing was correlated with the three O.J. Simpson guilt questions. When question 1 was correlated with survey question 22 and question 23, a significant but negative relationship was found (r= -.1961 and -.1630,
respectively, $p<.05$). Jurors who watched under two hours of television each day tended to believe that O.J. Simpson committed the double murder and was violent, as opposed to people who watched over two hours of television each day. Conversely, no statistical association was found between daily television viewing and belief in the likelihood that the LAPD attempted to frame O.J. Simpson ($r=.1374$, $p>.05$).

From June 1994 when the Bronco chase began on the California Freeway, until October 1995 when O.J. Simpson was acquitted of the double murder charges, the television coverage of this event had been enormous and extended over 16 months. This researcher speculates that the subjects were able to form opinions about this case from watching a small amount of television since the pretrial and trial coverage was so pervasive.

Hypothesis 2 suggested as belief in television crime drama programs increased, guilt towards O.J. Simpson would increase. Contrary to Potter's (1986) findings, no statistical association was found between credibility of crime drama programs and the three O.J. Simpson guilt questions ($r=.0644$, .0341, and .0506, respectively, $p>.05$). Viewer belief in television crime drama programs did not seem to negatively influence a subject's views about the O.J. Simpson case. Thus, Potter's findings were not supported.

Hypothesis 3 suggested as attitudes for authoritarianism increased, views for law and order would increase. This hypothesis was supported since a significant and low, positive correlation was found between the "authoritarian" scale and the "real life" scale ($r=.3724$, $p<.05$). In addition, a slight, positive relationship was found between the "authoritarian" scale and the "television" scale ($r=.1527$, $p<.05$). As
expected, these results were similar to a study conducted by Watts (1977). Subjects who have a conservative point of view tended to be in favor of a stronger criminal justice system, and tend to believe that crime drama shows accurately portray the real life criminal justice system.

Hypothesis 4 suggested as law and order views increased, belief in the guilt towards O.J. Simpson would increase. A low, positive relationship was found between jurors who have strong law and order views and belief in the likelihood that O.J. Simpson committed the double murders ($r= .3690$, $p< .05$). In addition, a significant and low, positive correlation was found between jurors who have strong law and order views and belief in the likelihood that O.J. Simpson abused his former spouse Nicole ($r= .3291$, $p< .05$). A significant but low, negative relationship was found between people who have strong law and order views and belief in the likelihood that the LAPD tried to frame O.J. Simpson of the double murder ($r= -.1461$, $p< .05$). These results are consistent with results found by Carlson (1983), which suggests that people who advocate a strong law and order system in the United States tend to believe that O.J. Simpson committed the double murder, was violent towards his former spouse, and the LAPD did not try to frame him.

Hypothesis 5 suggested as the use of alternative media sources such as newspapers and magazines increased, views on a strong law and order society would decrease. The researcher could not find an association between question 4 that measured the frequency of the subject's newspaper and magazine reading and the subject's views on having a stringent legal system ($r= .0245$, $p< .05$). The researcher did find, however, a slight to low correlation between the amount of newspaper and magazine reading (survey questions 4 and 5) and O.J. Simpson's guilt (question 22) ($r= .2534$
and .1842, respectively, p< .05). Similarly, a low correlation was found between questions 4 and 5 and O.J. Simpson's violent attributes (r=.2845 and .2133, respectively, p< .05). A slight to low negative correlation was found between questions 4 and 5 and belief in the likelihood of a police conspiracy (r= -.2303 and -.1434, p< .05). As newspaper and magazine reading increased, belief in the likelihood that O.J. Simpson committed the double murder and was a violent husband towards Nicole tended to increase. As newspaper and magazine reading increased subjects tended to believe that the LAPD did not try to frame O.J. Simpson of the double murder.

Hypothesis 6 suggested as television crime drama show viewing increased, views for a stronger law and order society would increase. This hypothesis was not supported and Carlson's theories were unfounded (r= -.0493 and -.0173, respectively, p> .05).

The aforementioned hypotheses could be related to a theory posited by Robbins (1986). According to Robbins, stimuli and repeated viewing of a message may influence the viewer. The O.J. Simpson case included a vast amount of coverage of the pre-trial and trial events and lasted for roughly 17 months. In addition, the researcher of this thesis believes that since the trial coverage was so intense during that time frame, a viewer need not watch a lot of television to be exposed to the "message." Furthermore, violence is viewed constantly on the nightly news and on television programs. This limited but constant exposure could account for 49 percent of the potential jurors believing that O.J. Simpson committed the double murder.

According to Rubin & Perse (1994), the cultivation effects of television are more succinctly explained by viewer exposure to certain
types of programs, such as crime dramas, compared to general overall television exposure. Results in this thesis were inconsistent with the study conducted Rubin & Perse (1994). For example, slight to low, negative correlations were found between daily television viewing and the O.J. Simpson guilt questions 22 and 23 ($r= -.1961$ and $-.1630$, respectively, $p< .05$). Viewing television crime drama shows did not seem to have the effects on people that it was supposed to have. In support of Greene (1990), maybe this particular sample had developed ideas regarding O.J. Simpson even without watching large amounts of television. Jurors in this study may have previously made up their minds regarding the O.J. Simpson case, thus, large amounts of television crime drama viewing would not have any effects.

This current study found evidence in support of Gerbner's previous studies that addressed television viewer demographics. For example, a low, negative correlation was found between overall daily television viewing and income (survey question 29) ($r= .3086$, $p< .05$). As the amount of daily television viewing increased, gross household income tended to decrease. Furthermore, a slight, negative correlation was found between the amount of daily television viewing and education (question 30), which means that as the amount of daily television viewing increased, the level of education tended to decrease ($r= .1963$, $p< .05$). Similarly, a low, positive correlation was found between the amount of newspaper, magazine reading and age ($r=.2815$ and $.1787$, respectively, $p< .05$) As age increased, the amount of newspaper reading tended to increase. A slight, positive correlation was found between education, newspaper, and magazine reading (.1714 and .1688, respectively, $p<.05$). As the level of education increased the amount of newspaper reading tended to increase.
Theories regarding newspaper reading coupled with attention and knowledge were supported. For example, if a potential juror frequently read the newspapers or magazines, he or she tended to believe that O.J. Simpson committed the murders, was violent, and there was not a police conspiracy to frame him. Similarly, the more knowledge that a subject appeared to have about the case, the more negative attributes he or she tended to have against O.J. Simpson. These results were consistent with the study conducted by Costantini & King (1980/81) who found increased newspaper reading lead to increased knowledge about the criminal events, which lead the subject to believe the defendant was guilty of the criminal charges. According to Chaffee & Scheuder (1986), people who use the broadcast or cable television media instead of newspapers for acquiring news, tend to be less educated and less knowledgeable about the events. This is likely to lead the person to be less thoughtful of the events, and less likely to have strong support for their opinions regarding the issues. Furthermore, Chaffee & Scheuder (1986) assert that a person may watch the news and not pay much attention to it.

This current study was unable to support previous findings from part of the study conducted by Moran & Cutler (1991) since no statistical association was found between survey question 25 ("O.J. news") and the three O.J. Simpson guilt questions (r= -.0014, .0480, and -.0512, respectively, p>.05).

Unlike the results found by Carlson (1985) and Potter (1986), perceived reality or the degree of believability that a person has in crime shows produced only one significant relationship in this current study. The researcher found that subjects who have authoritarian viewpoints tended to believe that crime drama shows represent the real life criminal justice
This view is in support of the theory supported by Watts (1977). Watts asserted that people who have authoritarian viewpoints tend to be narrow-minded. In addition, Watts also found that people who have an authoritarian point of view tend to support a more stringent criminal justice system. Similarly, this researcher found a slight, positive correlation between authoritarian views and support for a more stringent criminal justice system (r= .3724, p<.05).

This current study used questions from Carlson (1983) and Carlson (1985) studies to analyze a subject's views on law and order. Results in this study were inconsistent with results found by Carlson. Carlson found that as crime show viewing increased, people were in favor of a more stringent criminal justice system, or stronger law and order views. In contrast, this study could not find an association between question 2 (fictional crime drama programs), question 3 (reality based crime drama programs), and the "real life" scale (r= -.0493 and -.0173, respectively, p>.05). Results did show a slight, positive correlation between question 1 (daily television viewing) and authoritarian views (r=.1417, p<.05). Similarly, a low, positive correlation was found between question 3 and an "authoritarian" view (r= .2051, p<.05). As daily television viewing and weekly reality based crime drama show viewing increased, people tended to have conservative instead of liberal views.

The O. J. Simpson trial sparked public interest because unlike a fictional story, people knew that this event was real (Rosenberg, 1995). Since there were no eyewitnesses to the double murder, people who watched the case unfold were compelled to decide who was lying and who was telling the truth, and to render a guilty or not guilty verdict (Rosenberg, 1995).
Contrary to the cultivation theory, this study tended to indicate a negative relationship between the television viewing questions and some O.J. Simpson guilt questions. For example, people who were light television viewers (under two hours per day) tended to believe that O.J. Simpson committed the double murder. Another condition that was discovered in this study was the high amount of uncertain responses found with survey questions 22 and 24.

McGuire (1992) lists several conditions that may affect media impact on an individual. According to the message clutter condition, the public is only able to process a small portion of a message, especially if the media inundates them with information. For example, during the O.J. Simpson pretrial and trial events, CNN and Court TV carried daily events of the case, and the events of the trial were reported daily in the newspapers and on the television news. As a result, the public might have only been able to ingest a small portion of the overall picture. Another condition that could occur is the counterbalancing condition. Whenever a force such as the electronic media threaten to disrupt the equilibrium of a social system, a counterbalancing effect occurs. For example, in political news, if the mass media reports that one candidate is going to upset the other, the public may rally behind the underdog to mitigate his or her humiliation (McGuire, 1992).

Relating to the results from this current study to the aforementioned information, roughly one-third of those surveyed were uncertain as to whether or not O.J. Simpson committed the double murder, or if the LAPD tried to frame Simpson of committing the murders (see table 2). A possible explanation for these results, or any case involving a criminal defendant, could be that people may have had sympathy for O.J. Simpson
since he is a celebrity, actor, and football Hall of Fame inductee. This researcher speculates that the jurors were unable to render a decision about those two key issues since they were paramount before, during, and after the trial.

According to Perse (1990), "when people encounter messages about topics important to them, they pay attention to and evaluate the content" of the message (p. 53). Thus, as the level of paying attention increases, so does the person's ability to process the information. People are able to relate this new information to prior knowledge. For example, a heavy local news viewer who enjoys watching programs with drama and excitement may pay more attention to crime news and become more involved with crime news leading them to believe they live in an evil world. "Fifty million or more persons read a newspaper each day of the week [and] about the same number watch the news on television each day" (McCombs, 1994, p. 13). As a result of this repeated exposure, the public tends to believe that important issues are emphasized in the news (McCombs, 1994). This could explain why increased newspaper and magazine reading tended to negatively influence a subject's opinion regarding O.J. Simpson's guilt.

According to McCombs (1994), journalists do play a key role in shaping peoples' views of the world. For example, the audience learns the importance of facts and topics from the emphasis that the news media puts on issues. In addition, when violent acts such as the beating of motorist Rodney King by the LAPD are caught on camera, the public's tolerance for violence is expanded (Clark, 1993). "But [an act like that] is only once in a while,' notes University of Pennsylvania communications Professor George Gerbner" (Clark, 1993, p. 282), since typical crime stories are
sensational and graphic. Rex Heinke, a First Amendment attorney believed that O.J. Simpson's defense team was not being realistic about the publicity effect (Burleigh, 1994). A defendant is entitled to a jury who agrees to decide the case based on the evidence they hear in court, and not on what they hear from the mass media (Burleigh, 1994).

The aforementioned results reported in this thesis, could be applicable to another jury sample besides the sample which this researcher used. According to Wright (1979), "[e]xternal validity is the extent to which the findings can be generalized beyond the units studied to the entire population of interest, including different contexts and times" (p.39).

Ideally, research findings should be applicable to a broad range of subjects (Bordens & Abbott, 1991) such as an entire jury pool, which in Clark County averages approximately 500 people each week. A study that examines the effects of how television and the print media affect a juror's opinions about a case should be generalized to jurors who were not included in the sample. In addition, the researcher should be able say that their findings are not limited to a particular research setting (Bordens & Abbott, 1991).

**Limitations**

This study attempted to combine the mass communications discipline, specifically television and the print media, and the criminal justice discipline. Previous studies in mass communication have examined how media effects influence a subject's perception of violence, and previous studies in the criminal justice discipline have examined the effects of pretrial publicity and bias which a potential juror may have against a defendant. This study applied the cultivation theory to examine how
television, the print media, perceived reality of television crime drama programs, attitudes towards the criminal justice system, and authoritarian views affect a potential juror's attitude on an actual criminal event which was highly publicized. Perhaps the high publicity of the O.J. Simpson case overshadowed the cultivation effects of television viewing. Furthermore, the researcher preferred to survey either actual jurors or jurors in the jury pool, but the researcher was only permitted to survey jurors who were excused from service.

In this thesis, the researcher used empirical research to quantify the jurors or audiences attitudes about O.J. Simpson. The researcher was looking for a correlation or association between the amount of television viewing and newspaper and magazine reading (predictor variables), and O.J. Simpson guilt (criterion variable). In other words, the researcher was trying to establish which variables are "causes" and which variables are "effected" (Ferri, 1996). According to Ferri (1996), "[c]ause and effect relationships contain essentially three characteristics" (p. 3). According to the first characteristic, the cause must precede the effect in time. To meet the first characteristic, this researcher would have had to expose the subjects to crime drama programs or give them a newspaper to read and then administer the survey questionnaire. According to the second characteristic, at the same time the subject was exposed to the stimuli, they could have had a flashback which could affect their response. In this study, the researcher did not rule out any third variables or flashbacks. Finally, two variables must be shown to be correlated, which the researcher showed in this study. Thus, cause and effect could not be determined because the first two conditions were not met.
After the data were collected, this researcher found some limitations. According to Potter 1994, "[s]everal studies do not make the case for good scaling, leaving the reader with no information to judge whether the scales are internally consistent" (p.14). The "real life" scale in this current study was derived from studies conducted by Carlson (1983) and Costantini & King (1980/81). Carlson (1983) used a six item scale that had an alpha level of .62. The "real life" scale in this study, however, only had a moderate alpha level of .7254. Overall, however, the strength of the relationships between the variables or questions in this study ranged from slight to low. Potter (1994) asserted the following about cultivation theory:

Critics have been bothered that evidence for cultivation [theory] was too weak to conclude that such an effect existed. [Critics] said that even by social science standards the magnitude of the coefficients is too low to conclude that television viewing is a useful predictor of cultivation estimates and beliefs. When Pearson correlation procedures are used, the resulting coefficients are typically below .15 and very rarely exceed .30. This means that the exposure variable usually predicts less than 3 % of the variance in the cultivation indicator (p.16).

The results of this thesis are consistent with Potter's beliefs. Even though the strength of the results often range from slight to low, the researcher did find several significant relationships. In other words, the results of this study did not happen by chance. In spite of the limitations proposed by critics, this researcher found evidence that crime drama shows may not be as detrimental to peoples thought process as asserted by critics.
Furthermore, increased newspaper and magazine reading was linked to guilty beliefs.

According to Perse (1990), cultivation effects due to television exposure may not be long lasting if the viewer's cognitive involvement in the program is low, since less intense information is not strongly linked to prior knowledge. This current study did not attempt to ascertain if there was a relationship between the viewer’s attention level to the crime drama programs and the news and the three O.J. Simpson guilt questions.

McGuire (1992) explained several effects and limitations of the mass media on an audience. The first methodological weakness found in an empirical study may be linked to the dependent variable. The dependent variable in this current study consisted of three O.J. Simpson guilt questions. The results showed that roughly one-third of those surveyed were uncertain as to whether O.J. Simpson committed the double murder, and if the LAPD tried to frame Simpson (see table 2). In addition, some subjects neglected to complete the "television or "real life' scales which resulted in a sample less than 205 subjects.

Besides the scaling limitations, major problems that were encountered when surveying potential jurors in this study were: some people refused to complete the questionnaire, whereas others were very reluctant; some people started to complete the questionnaire but left halfway through completion that required the researcher to discard that survey and re-circulate another; and others neglected to complete entire sections of the questionnaire. The researcher attributes this behavior to previous research which Adler (1994) conducted on juries. Adler found "[i]n some jurisdictions as many as two thirds of the people who receive jury-related notices simply ignore them. The national no-show rate is
about 55 percent. Despite the warnings about contempt of court printed on jury notices, in almost no instance does anybody suffer any consequences" (Adler, 1994, p. 220). In this current study, the researcher noticed through observation that most summoned jurors did not have a desire to serve.

The public is aware of the flaws in the jury system since pretrial and trial events are now televised on CNN and Court TV (Adler, 1994). The Rodney King and O.J. Simpson cases have turned the jury performance into a national issue. In spite of the flaws, a defendant's right to a fair trial by a jury of his or her peers remains the backbone of the American justice system (Adler, 1994).

**Future Research**

Television is believed to represent one particular source of information that people use to develop opinions and impressions of the world around them (Gunter, 1994). Moreover, audience members may construe the content of the television message differently. For example, television violence in a fantasy show might be perceived differently from violence in a drama setting that is closer to real life circumstances (Gunter, 1994). Future studies may examine the relationship between specific television programs and the degree of a defendant's guilt.

This study only applied the cultivation theory and did not do a content analysis of the television or print media. Future researchers could first do a content analysis of the television news, newspaper stories, and news magazine programs such as *Dateline NBC*, *48 Hours*, and *Hardcopy*, and then examine the relationships between the recurrence of the messages and the degree of a defendant's guilt.
Future research could conduct a study similar to this one, but instead of surveying jurors a few weeks after a high profile trial ended, the future researcher could wait several months to see if there is a change in the subject's attitude. Cultivation effects, specifically from the news media may diminish over a period of several months. Future studies could examine the cultivation effects on a criminal case that has not had as much television, newspaper, and magazine publicity as the O.J. Simpson case. In addition, future research could compare the attitudes of Whites and African Americans. Finally, future researchers using the cultivation theory should apply the theory to actually or practical situations, not hypothetical ones.

Since this researcher was only permitted to survey subjects who were dismissed from jury service, future research as proposed by Greene should be conducted on subjects in the jury pool awaiting to serve on a trial to determine if those jurors are bringing predisposed ideas about the justice system into the courtroom. If this is the case, then maybe judges should address this issue during voir dire (Greene 1990).

Regarding the methodology used in this thesis, a correlational survey was used in which the amount of television viewing and newspaper reading was related to the three O.J. Simpson guilt survey questions 22, 23, 24; perceived reality of crime drama programs (survey questions 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11); and views of the "real life" criminal justice system (survey questions 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17). Based on the results obtained from the methodology used, inquiries could be made about the validity of the results (Gunter, 1994). According to Bordens & Abbott (1991), a valid measure occurs when an instrument, such as a survey measures what it is supposed to measure. Perhaps future studies could reformulate the scaled items and attempt to get higher Cronbach alpha levels.
Cable television, microwave and satellite technology, coupled with public curiosity, have led to live trial coverage and an explosion of reenactment programs such as America's Most Wanted and Unsolved Mysteries (Minow & Cate, 1992). As a result of this increased media activity, impaneling an impartial jury may be difficult. Perhaps our nation's law makers realized that impaneling a jury without prejudice and opinion would be a difficult task, which is why the Sixth Amendment requires the impaneling of an impartial jury. This way, 12 people may render a verdict collectively rather than 12 independent votes. Finally, at a hearing conducted in December 1993, Rep. Charles E. Schumer, D-NY asked: "If TV has no effect on its viewers.... how do we explain the billions spent each year on commercial advertising" (Clark, 1993, p. 271).
REFERENCES


**TABLE 1**

Demographics of the potential jury sample taken at the Clark County District Court

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your gender?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>42.4 percent (87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>57.1 percent (117)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your racial or ethnic identification?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>7.8 percent (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>75.1 percent (154)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>7.8 percent (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>3.9 percent (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>2.9 percent (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.0 percent (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What was your total gross household income in 1994?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under 10,000</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 - 19,999</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000 - 29,999</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000 - 39,999</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000 - 49,999</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 - 59,999</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60,000 - 69,999</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70,000 - 79,999</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refuse to answer</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is the highest level of education which you have completed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*Other                  | 11.7%      | 24    |

*Includes people with a Masters Degree, Ph.D. Degree, Medical Degree, Less than High School(only a few).

What age category are you in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 30</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 60</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 - 70</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 70</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2

**Subject's Perception of O.J. Simpson's Guilt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>O.J. Simpson committed the double murder of his former spouse Nicole and Ronald Goldman.</strong></td>
<td>5.4 percent (11)</td>
<td>9.8 percent (20)</td>
<td>35.1 percent (72)</td>
<td>22.9 percent (47)</td>
<td>26.3 percent (54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>O.J. Simpson was violent with his former spouse Nicole.</strong></td>
<td>1.5 percent (3)</td>
<td>.5 percent (1)</td>
<td>10.7 percent (22)</td>
<td>44.9 percent (92)</td>
<td>41.5 percent (85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Los Angeles Police Department tried to frame O.J. Simpson of the double murder.</strong></td>
<td>22.9 percent (47)</td>
<td>21.0 percent (43)</td>
<td>35.6 percent (73)</td>
<td>14.6 percent (30)</td>
<td>4.4 percent (9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3

Pearson Correlations Amongst Media and O.J. Simpson Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;O.J. committed double murder&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;O.J. was violent&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;LAPD tried to frame O.J.&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;hours watching television per day&quot;</td>
<td>-.1961</td>
<td>-.1630*</td>
<td>.1374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;hours per week watching fictional television&quot;</td>
<td>-.0953</td>
<td>-.1279</td>
<td>-.0251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;hours per week watching reality based television&quot;</td>
<td>-.0514</td>
<td>-.1755*</td>
<td>-.0054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;frequency of newspaper reading&quot;</td>
<td>.2534*</td>
<td>.2845*</td>
<td>-.2303*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;frequency of reading crime in the newspaper&quot;</td>
<td>.1842*</td>
<td>.2133*</td>
<td>-.1434*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;television scale&quot;</td>
<td>.0644</td>
<td>.0341</td>
<td>.0506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;real-life&quot; scale</td>
<td>.3690*</td>
<td>.3291*</td>
<td>-.1461*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<.05
TABLE 4

**Question Number and Variable Labels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Number</th>
<th>Variable Labels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question 1</td>
<td>&quot;hours per day&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 2</td>
<td>&quot;fictional television&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 3</td>
<td>&quot;reality based television&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 4</td>
<td>&quot;newspaper&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 5</td>
<td>&quot;crime newspaper&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 6</td>
<td>&quot;crime drama program&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 7</td>
<td>&quot;investigations&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 8</td>
<td>&quot;court system&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 9</td>
<td>&quot;crime in America&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 10</td>
<td>&quot;real life police&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 11</td>
<td>&quot;solve crimes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 12</td>
<td>&quot;arrested people&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 13</td>
<td>&quot;executed&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 14</td>
<td>&quot;arrested person&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 15</td>
<td>&quot;too much concern&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 16</td>
<td>&quot;restrictions&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 17</td>
<td>&quot;punished severely&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 18</td>
<td>&quot;respect for authority&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 19</td>
<td>&quot;discipline&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 20</td>
<td>&quot;argue with authority&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 21</td>
<td>&quot;parents ideas&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 22</td>
<td>&quot;double murder&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 23</td>
<td>&quot;violent&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 24</td>
<td>&quot;frame&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 25</td>
<td>&quot;O.J. news&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 26</td>
<td>&quot;gender&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 27</td>
<td>&quot;racial or ethnic&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 28</td>
<td>&quot;age&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 29</td>
<td>&quot;income&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 30</td>
<td>&quot;education&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 31</td>
<td>&quot;jury service&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 5

**Subject's Views Regarding Jury Service**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Percentage (Count)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jury service should be considered a legitimate duty of the citizen in the community.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
<td>3.4 percent (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>3.4 percent (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncertain/neutral</td>
<td>6.8 percent (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>44.9 percent (92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strongly agree</td>
<td>40.0 percent (82)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A

To whom it may concern:

The O.J. Simpson trial has raised several issues regarding free press or fair trial rights as afforded by the U.S. Constitution. The purpose of conducting this academic research is to examine your personal views of the media's coverage of this popular trial, as well as the effectiveness of the justice system in the United States.

In order to successfully complete and ensure reliability and validity of this research, your cooperation is needed in fully completing this survey questionnaire. Completion of this form is voluntary and all responses will remain confidential and anonymous.

Your cooperation is deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

Allan Pearlstein
Graduate Student

IMPORTANT: Upon completion of this survey questionnaire, please return it to either Allan Pearlstein or court personnel.
INSTRUCTIONS: For this first section, we wish to know your television viewing and reading habits. Please carefully read each question and circle just one answer. For the purpose of this study, the term police officer refers to all types of law enforcement personnel.

1. How many hours per day do you spend watching both regular television and cable television?
   1. NONE
   2. UNDER TWO HOURS
   3. BETWEEN TWO AND FOUR HOURS
   4. OVER FOUR HOURS PER DAY

2. How many hours per week do you spend watching fictional television crime drama programs on regular television and cable television? (Examples include but are not limited to "NYPD Blue", "New York Undercover", "Law & Order" and "Murder One")
   1. NONE
   2. ONE TO TWO
   3. THREE TO FOUR
   4. FIVE TO SIX
   5. SEVEN TO EIGHT
   6. NINE TO TEN
   7. ABOVE TEN HOURS

* PLEASE TURN THIS PAGE OVER AND CONTINUE ON THE BACK
3. How many hours per week do you spend watching reality based television crime drama programs on regular television and cable television? (Examples include but are not limited to "Cops", "America's Most Wanted", "Highway Patrol" and " Unsolved Mysteries")

1. NONE
2. ONE TO TWO
3. THREE TO FOUR
4. FIVE TO SIX
5. SEVEN TO EIGHT
6. NINE TO TEN
7. ABOVE TEN HOURS

4. How frequently do you read a newspaper or a magazine?

1. NEVER
2. SOMETIMES
3. OFTEN
4. ALWAYS

5. How frequently do you read about crime in the newspaper or a magazine?

1. NEVER
2. SOMETIMES
3. OFTEN
4. ALWAYS

* PLEASE CONTINUE ON THE NEXT PAGE
INSTRUCTIONS: For this next section, we wish to know your personal views on how realistically the criminal justice system is portrayed on fictional and reality based television crime drama programs. Please carefully read each question and circle just one answer.

6. Criminals shown on television crime drama programs are just like criminals in real life.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

7. Criminal justice investigations shown on television crime drama programs are just like criminal justice investigations in real life law enforcement.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

8. The court system shown on television crime drama programs is just like the court system in real life.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

* PLEASE TURN THIS PAGE OVER AND CONTINUE ON THE BACK
9. Television crime drama programs realistic

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

10. Television crime drama programs realistically portray the job of a real

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

11. Police officers in real life solve crimes as quickly as police officers on

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

* PLEASE CONTINUE ON THE NEXT PAGE
INSTRUCTIONS: For this next section, we wish to know your personal views of the real life criminal justice system. Please carefully read each question and circle just one answer.

12. Arrested people are probably guilty.
   1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
   2. DISAGREE
   3. UNCERTAIN
   4. AGREE
   5. STRONGLY AGREE

13. A convicted murderer should be executed.
   1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
   2. DISAGREE
   3. UNCERTAIN
   4. AGREE
   5. STRONGLY AGREE

14. In order to protect your community from further harm, an arrested person should be kept in jail until his or her case comes to trial.
   1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
   2. DISAGREE
   3. UNCERTAIN
   4. AGREE
   5. STRONGLY AGREE

* PLEASE TURN THIS PAGE OVER AND CONTINUE ON THE BACK
15. This country's criminal justice system shows too much concern for the rights of the criminal.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

16. There are too many restrictions on what police officers can do to reduce crime.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

17. Convicted criminals should be punished severely.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

* PLEASE CONTINUE ON THE NEXT PAGE
INSTRUCTIONS: For this next section, we wish to know your personal views on authority. Please carefully read each question and circle just one answer.

18. The most important value which people should learn is respect for authority.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

19. Discipline, determination, and the will to work for your country are important values for people to learn.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

20. People should not argue with authority figures.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

* PLEASE TURN THIS PAGE OVER AND CONTINUE ON THE BACK
21. Parent's ideas should not be challenged by children.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

INSTRUCTIONS: For this next section, we wish to know your personal views of the O.J. Simpson case. Please carefully read each question and circle just one answer.

22. O.J. Simpson committed the double murder of his former spouse Nicole and Ronald Goldman.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

23. O.J. Simpson was violent with his former spouse Nicole.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

* PLEASE CONTINUE ON THE NEXT PAGE
24. The Los Angeles Police Department tried to frame O.J. Simpson of the double murder.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

25. How many hours per week do you spend following O.J. Simpson trial news?

1. NONE
2. ONE TO TWO
3. THREE TO FOUR
4. FIVE TO SIX
5. SEVEN TO EIGHT
6. NINE TO TEN
7. ABOVE TEN HOURS

**INSTRUCTIONS:** For this last section, we wish to know information about you. Please carefully read each question and circle just one answer.

26. What is your gender?

1. MALE
2. FEMALE

* PLEASE TURN THIS PAGE OVER AND CONTINUE ON THE BACK
27. What is your racial or ethnic identification?

1. AFRICAN AMERICAN (BLACK)
2. WHITE (NON-HISPANIC)
3. HISPANIC
4. NATIVE AMERICAN
5. ASIAN
6. OTHER____________________

28. What age category are you in?

1. 18-30
2. 31-40
3. 41-50
4. 51-60
5. 61-70
6. OVER 70

29. What was your total gross household income in 1994?

1. UNDER $10,000
2. $10,000 - $19,999
3. $20,000 - $29,999
4. $30,000 - $39,999
5. $40,000 - $49,999
6. $50,000 - $59,999
7. $60,000 - $69,999
8. $70,000 OR ABOVE
9. DECLINE TO ANSWER

* PLEASE CONTINUE ON THE NEXT PAGE
30. What is the highest level of education which you have completed?

1. SOME HIGH SCHOOL
2. HIGH SCHOOL
3. SOME COLLEGE
4. COLLEGE GRADUATE
5. OTHER PLEASE SPECIFY _________

31. Jury service should be considered a legitimate duty of the citizen in the community.

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. DISAGREE
3. UNCERTAIN
4. AGREE
5. STRONGLY AGREE

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR TAKING THE TIME TO COMPLETE THIS FORM. PLEASE FEEL FREE TO MAKE ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON YOUR OWN REGARDING THIS ISSUE.
November 2, 1995

Donald M. Mosley
District Judge
Eight Judicial District Court
Clark County Courthouse
200 South Third Street
Las Vegas, NV 89155-0001

Dear Judge Mosley:

I am pleased to inform you that I have successfully completed my survey research for "Television Crime Drama Program Viewing and O.J. Simpson Bias: A Cultivation Analysis". I received 205 completed survey questionnaire forms that I will be using as data for my thesis project. I do however, wish to express my sincere appreciation to Mr. Chuck Short, Mr. Rick Loop, and Dina, the Jury Services Assistant for all of their valuable time in assisting me in gathering the research data. Dina especially, was very cooperative in sending the released jurors back to the conference room so that I was able to distribute my survey questionnaire to them. If not for the efficiency of the staff, my project would have never had a chance of being completed.

I expect to have the project completed by the late Spring or early Summer. Upon completion of the thesis, I will bring copies over to the courthouse. Please feel free to contact me if you or your staff needs any additional information.

Sincerely,
Allan Pearlstein
Graduate Student

cc: Anthony Ferri, Ph.D.
    Thesis Chairperson
DATE: September 7, 1995

TO: Allan Pearlstein (CS)
M/S 5007

FROM: Dr. William E. Schulze, Director
Office of Sponsored Programs (X1357)

RE: Status of Human Subject Protocol Entitled:
"Television Crime Drama Program Viewing and O.J. Simpson Bias: A Cultivation Analysis"
OSP #103s0995-044e

The protocol for the project referenced above has been reviewed by the Office of Sponsored Programs, and it has been determined that it meets the criteria for exemption from full review by the UNLV human subjects Institutional Review Board. Except for any required conditions or modifications noted below, this protocol is approved for a period of one year from the date of this notification, and work on the project may proceed.

Should the use of human subjects described in this protocol continue beyond a year from the date of this notification, it will be necessary to request an extension.

cc: Dr. A. Ferri (CS-5007)
OSP File