

The Face of Crime in Prime Time: Evidence from Law and Order*

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Abstract

Race, gender, and crime are inextricably linked in people's minds. These linkages exist in part because of what is shown on television. We investigate the extent to which popular television programming perpetuates these stereotypical linkages. We tally the race and gender of criminals and victims in three popular series of the most successful criminal procedural franchise on television—Law & Order. Data from a census of episodes of *Special Victims Unit* and *Criminal Intent*, and seven seasons of the *Original* series reveal that whites and women are overrepresented (and blacks and men underrepresented), both as victims and as criminals. Underrepresentation of blacks is especially dramatic, with actual arrest rate and violent victimization rates nearly 300% and 200% respectively of the commensurate numbers for the show.

*Data and scripts behind the analysis presented here can be downloaded at: http://github.com/soodoku/face_of_crime.

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Offensive portrayals of African Americans on entertainment shows have long been the norm in the US. For instance, minstrel shows, popular in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, regularly portrayed African Americans as lazy and dim-witted (Dates and Barlow 1993; Toll 1974). More recently, Entman and Rojecki (2001) found that 56% of blacks in the media were portrayed as violent compared to 11% of the whites.

There is good reason to think that these offensive portrayals reinforce negative stereotypes of African Americans. For at least some people likely take these portrayals as representative of African Americans (see Punyanunt-Carter 2008). Correspondingly, research suggests that belief in aversive racial stereotypes is associated with exposure to television programming (Busselle and Crandall 2002; Entman and Rojecki 2001; Armstrong and Neuendorf 1992). For instance, exposure to television news is correlated with the extent to which college students endorse that blacks are lazy (Busselle and Crandall 2002). Similarly, Armstrong and Neuendorf (1992) find that more television news the college students consumed, more likely they were to believe that blacks have lower socio-economic outcomes. (Albeit, “TV drama exposure was associated with beliefs that Black Americans had a relatively higher socio-economic standing.”) A more comprehensive study of how blacks are portrayed in the media by Entman and Rojecki (2001) reached similar conclusions—exposure to nonfictional portrayals of African Americans is associated with negative stereotypes of blacks.

Television’s role in perpetuating negative stereotypes is worrisome because of how consequential stereotypes are in shaping attitudes, preferences, and behavior. Much research shows that racial stereotypes shape political attitudes (see, for e.g., Sniderman and Piazza 1995; Hurwitz and Peffley 1997; Peffley, Hurwitz and Sniderman 1997; Dixon 2006) and affect economic behavior (see, for e.g., Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004).

Given the concern, numerous researchers study how blacks are covered on various television programs (for e.g., Entman and Rojecki 2001; Eschholz, Mallard and Flynn 2004). One particular focus of the effort—given blacks are stereotyped as violent and criminal, and given the

impact such stereotypes may have on policy consequential attitudes related to punitiveness—has been on describing the extent to which blacks are overrepresented as criminals, especially as violent criminals.

Studies on the extent to which blacks are overrepresented in crime news or other programming about crime suggest that the bias is generally small but very variable—some studies document a modest anti-black bias in some news programs in some areas of the country (Gilliam et al. 1996), while others document a large anti-white bias (when compared to criminal arrest data, which are likely biased in favor of whites) (Chiricos and Eschholz 2002; Dixon and Linz 2000; Eschholz, Mallard and Flynn 2004) (see Table 1).

Table 1: Racial Distribution of Perpetrators and Victims on Various Television Shows

Region Covered	Time frame	Media	Key Relevant Findings	Citation
Hampton Roads, Virginia	Jan. 3-31, 2011	Local TV News	Perpetrators: 50.7% Blacks (Violent Crime), 75% Whites (White Collar Crime), 75.9% Blacks (General Crime) (Graph 4) Victims: 78.3% White (Violent Crime), 82.1% Whites (General Crime) (Graph 5)	Agarwal et al. (2011)
National	1994–1997, 2000	Network News	Perpetrators: All Crime: 71% White (vs. 68% in Uniform Crime Reports), 27% Blacks (vs. 30% in Uniform Crime Reports) (Table 4) Violent Crime: 48% White (vs. 56% in Uniform Crime Reports), 38% Blacks (vs. 42% in Uniform Crime Reports) (Table 5) Victims: All Crime: 51% White (vs. 28% in Uniform Crime Reports), 30% Blacks (vs. 48% in Uniform Crime Reports) (Table 6)	Dixon, Azocar and Casas (2003)
National	2002–2003	Local TV News	Perpetrator (All Crime): 26.82% White, 21.06% Black, 42.27% Not Indicated Victim (All Crime): 27.88% White, 9.24% Black, 56.97% Not Indicated (Table 1)	Bjornstrom et al. (2010)
National	2000–2001	NYPD Blue and Law and Order	NYPD Blue: Offender: 50% Whites (vs. 68% in Uniform Crime Reports), 38% Blacks, 11% Violent Off./Sus. 43% (black) 46% (white) 10% Law and Order Figures don't add up to 100. (Table 1)	Eschholz, Mallard and Flynn (2004)
Washington, D.C.	May and June 2005	Local TV News	Perpetrators: Violent Crime: 9% Whites, 32% Blacks, 51% Unrevealed Non-violent Crime: 14% Whites, 29% Blacks, 50% Unrevealed Victims: Violent Crime: 15% White, 10% Blacks, 72% Unrevealed Non-violent Crime: 3% White, 7% Blacks, 83% Unrevealed	Gross (2006)
Los Angeles	1995–1996	Local TV News	All Perpetrators: 37% Black (versus 21% in California Department of Justice Criminal Profile or CDJCP), 21% (versus 28% in CDJCP) (Table 4) Felons: 44% Black (versus 25% in CDJCP), 18% (versus 23% in CDJCP) (Table 5)	Dixon and Linz (2000)
Los Angeles	1993–1994	Local TV News (KABC)	No commensurate numbers, except: 40% where race identified (purportedly across all crime stories). Where race identified in violent crime stories: 45% White and in non-violent crime: 75% white. Blacks actual crime rate: 2.8 * share of population. Coverage: 3.2 * share of population. (Assuming the coverage is estimated as percentage where race identified and not as percentage of total mentions) (Figure 2)	Gilliam et al. (1996)
Orlando	1998	Local TV News	Non-violent crime: Whites overrepresented by nearly 400% (see Figure 3) All Crime: 18% Black (Versus 42% Arrest Rate), 65% White (Versus 58% Arrest Rate) (Table 3) Violent Crime: 20% Black (Versus 49% Arrest Rate), 61% White (Versus 51% Arrest Rate)(Table 3)	Chiricos and Eschholz (2002)

In this paper, we add to this body of work. We tally the gender and race of criminals and victims depicted in three popular series of the criminal procedural, Law & Order. Compared to arrest records, victim survey data, and population demographics, all three series overrepresent whites and women as both criminals and victims.

Learning from Television

Mass media is an important part of the information environment for many people. Thus, what is covered in the media tends to affect what people believe (Gerbner et al. 1986; Shanahan and Morgan 1999). For instance, exposure to more vivid violent media causes people to think that crime and police immorality are more common in the real world (Riddle 2010). Similarly, the extent to which a topic is covered on television news affects how important people think it is (McCombs and Shaw 1972; Iyengar and Kinder 2010; Iyengar 1990).

Similar mechanism likely holds when someone watches one of the tens of hundreds of crime dramas on television. A person watching a crime drama, aware of its fictional nature, may still inadvertently think that the drama accurately ‘mirrors’ society. For instance, people perceive negative personality traits of African Americans portrayed on television as true to life (Punyanunt-Carter 2008). These inferences are liable to be encouraged by prior interpretation and acceptance of flawed—because they are imprecise—statements such as ‘art reflects life’ as true.

Increasingly common mass-media tropes such as realism in depiction and explicit statements designed to cue realism may also increase the chances that people take fictional portrayals as reasonably accurate depictions of reality. As a case in point, all *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* series episodes start with the statement: “...In New York City, the dedicated detectives who investigate these vicious felonies are members of an elite squad known as the Special Victims Unit. These are their stories.” It is not unreasonable to think that some people listening to the statement may come to think that the crimes covered in the drama represent a broad, perhaps representative, set of all “sexually based crimes.”

Besides learning about the extent of crime and what kind of crime is prevalent from television, people may also learn associations between kinds of people and criminal activity, especially when people involved are (superficially) distinctive—say, in the color of their skin. The logic goes that if certain kinds of people are frequently shown as perpetrators of crime, people may come

to believe that as large a share of perpetrators belongs to that group. By the same token, overrepresentation of certain groups as victims may promote misleading views of what populations are the most vulnerable to crime.

Data and Measurement

The data are from three Law & Order series: Original Law & Order series (Original), Law & Order: Special Victims Unit (SVU), and Law & Order: Criminal Intent (Criminal Intent). All the three shows are police procedurals set in New York City. Criminal Intent, which ran between 2001–2011, purportedly follows detectives of the ‘Major Case Squad,’ a division of the New York Police Department (NYPD) focused on solving major crimes against rich, famous, or important people. Meanwhile SVU, which has been on television since 1999, purportedly follows detectives of the NYPD division devoted to handling “sexually based offenses,” the ‘Special Victims Unit.’

All three shows have enjoyed great success. The Original Law & Order is the longest running scripted US prime time TV series on a major broadcast network, and SVU is the longest running scripted non-animated US prime time TV series currently on air. Through its run, Criminal Intent drew an average of 9.3M people, Original, an average of 10.2M, and SVU, an average of 11.81M.¹

For the Original series, we only have data from Seasons 1 and 2 (1990–1991) and Seasons 16–20 (2005–2010).² In all, we have data from 151 shows. For CI, we have data on all the 194 shows aired across its 10 seasons, spanning 2001–2011. And for SVU, we have data on all the 386 shows that were part of the sixteen seasons broadcast between 1999 and 2015. In all, across the three series, we have data from 731 shows, featuring over 1,500 victims of crime, and over 1,100 criminals. We coded the race and gender of all criminals and victims whose race and gender was

¹Based on data assembled by Austin Ogilvie at https://github.com/hernamesbarbara/law_and_order from Wikipedia and TV.com.

²The choice of the seasons is a reflection of what was available on streaming on Amazon Instant as of July, 2016.

identified.

We define criminals as characters whose guilt is very clearly indicated; our definition includes characters not convicted or even indicted for a crime. In line with the law, active instigators and financiers of crime were coded as criminals. We marked attempted crimes as such. Lastly, we focus on ‘major’ crimes, excluding infractions such as failing to comply with court orders.

We coded victims’ and criminals’ race as white, black, Asian, or Hispanic, following the general census guidelines.³ Characters of Middle-Eastern descent were coded as white, but a note marking their specific background was included in the data. And under ‘Hispanics,’ we included non-Hispanic Latinos such as Brazilians.

In addition to the data on the race and gender of the victims and the criminals from the shows, we collected data on a few baselines. From the 1990, 2000, and 2010 census, we collected data on the percentage of whites, blacks, and men in the US and in New York City. Like [Dixon and Linz \(2000\)](#), from the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Uniform Crime Report (UCR), we gathered data on the percentage of blacks, whites and men arrested for *All Crimes*, *Violent Crimes*, and *Sexually Based Crimes*. From New York Police Department’s Crime and Enforcement Activity in New York City Report (NYPD),⁴ we gathered data on the percentage of blacks, whites and Hispanics who were suspected of (and were victims of) murder, rape, assault and robbery each year between 2008 and 2015. Lastly, from the Bureau of Justice Statistics’ National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) ([Powers 2016](#); [Victimization 1998](#)), we gathered data on the race and gender of victims of crime.

The UCR data on race of alleged criminals is available for 1995–2015. In UCR, race is split into white, black, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. The totals in these categories include Hispanics. Data on Hispanic background only began to be collected in 2013, and even then the race totals are not split by Hispanic ethnicity.

³<http://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html>

⁴http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/analysis_and_planning/crime_and_enforcement_activity.shtml

Not separating out Hispanics naturally inflates the numbers for whites and blacks. But the inflation for blacks is quite modest. Nearly 93% of Hispanics self-identify as whites (Steffensmeier et al. 2011). And accounting for Hispanics changes the percentage of blacks rape and assault by generally no more than a couple of percentage points (see figure 4, Steffensmeier et al. 2011).⁵ Thus, for the main analyses, which focus on representation of blacks and Hispanics, we utilize unadjusted numbers for blacks from UCR.

In UCR, 28 types of crimes are split into two categories: *Violent Crime* and *Property Crime*. *Violent Crime* includes murder and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. And *Property Crime* includes burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. We collected data on the percentage of people arrested by race (white and black) and gender (male) for all crimes, violent crimes, as well as arrested for three of the most common offenses shown in the Law & Order shows: homicides, rapes, and assaults. (660 of 731 shows or just over 90% of the shows included in our data featured a rape, murder, or assault.)

Victim data from the NCVS covers the period between 1993–2014. Racial data in the NCVS can be gathered with Hispanics included in the category totals, and without. We collected both kinds of data, but focus on data that more closely matches our data for Law & Order, and separates out Hispanics.

Like the UCR, the NCVS aggregates various crimes into categories. In NCVS, however, the categories are *Violent Victimization* and *Serious Violent Victimization*. Both account for victims of rape, sexual assault, and robbery. *Violent Victimization*, however, tallies all types of assault, while *Serious Violent Victimization* only tallies aggravated assaults. Therefore, *Serious Violent Victimization* is the closest to the *Violent Crime* category in the UCR. Hence, we use data from that category. In addition, we also collect data for two specific offenses: rape/sexual assault and aggravated assault. (Given that the NCVS data comes from interviews with victims, there is

⁵Steffensmeier et al. (2011) adjust UCR data by leveraging arrest data from California and New York, where arrest data includes Hispanics.

naturally no data on murders. Data on the race and gender of murder victims comes from UCR.⁶⁾

Results

To study how racial and gender breakdown of criminals and victims in Law & Order compares to ‘the real world,’ we compare the percentage of black and female criminals and victims on the three Law & Order shows to a variety of baselines. In the main text, we describe the percentage of black and female criminals and victims by show, same percentages for episodes featuring murder, and SVU episodes featuring rape. (Criminal Intent and Original had fewer than 10 episodes each where rape was one of the crimes.) We compare these to average percentage of black, Hispanic, and female criminals for all crimes, rape, and murder from the UCR, and percentage of black and female victims for murder, rape, and serious violent crimes during a commensurate period. A series of graphs and tables in [SI 1](#) and [SI 2](#) break data down by year, and provide other baselines like data from the census that we don’t include in the main text.

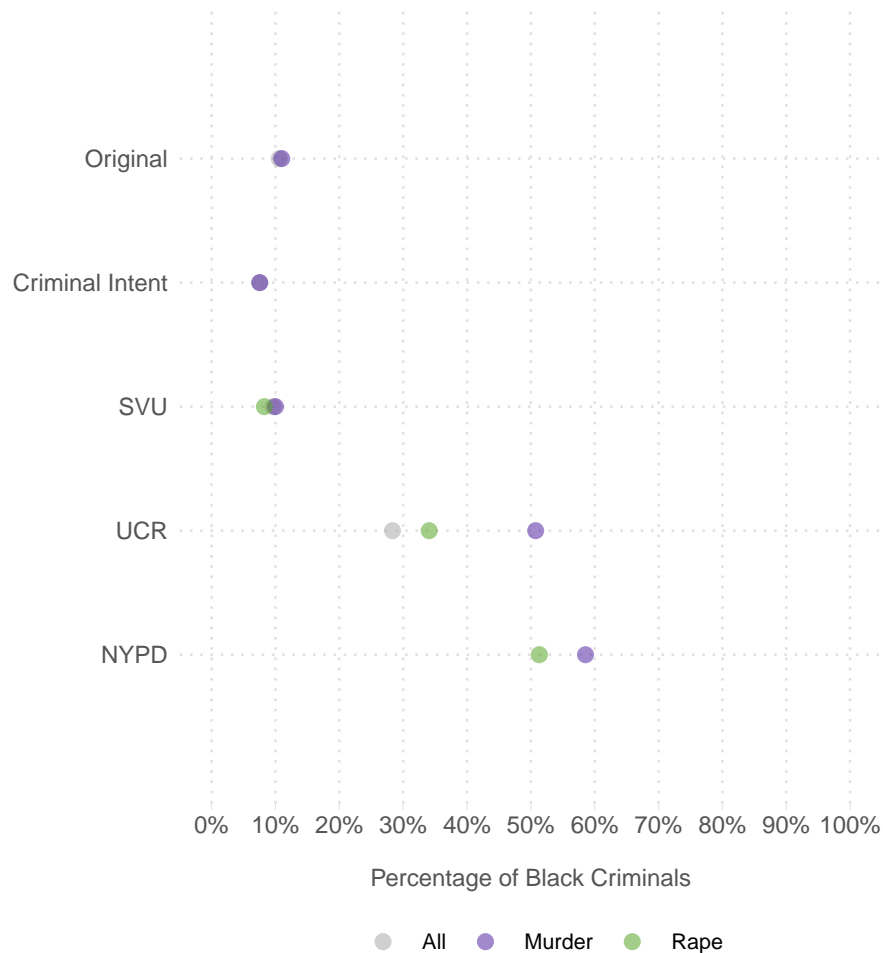
As [Figure 1](#) and [2](#) show, criminals on all three shows were overwhelmingly white. 80%–85% of the criminals in each of the shows was white. The figures also illustrate that blacks and Hispanics are dramatically underrepresented as criminals. The percentage of black and Hispanic criminals in the three series is between a third and a sixth of the percentage of Blacks arrested for commensurate crimes (see [Figure 1](#)).

Looking at percentage of black criminals by year—all episodes broadcast in an year; generally includes episodes from two seasons—we see no discernible pattern (see [Figure SI 1.1](#) and [Table SI 2.4](#)). However, one fact deserves closer attention. In 2012, FBI, which produces the UCR,

⁶Since homicides almost always lead to the discovery of the bodies of victims, data on their gender and race are usually present. In 2015, for instance, there were 13,455 homicide victims. Of those, 29 (0.2 percent) were of an unknown gender. Thus, for data about gender of homicide victims, the percentages we use are the same offered by the UCR, which are calculated on the total of homicide victims, even the ones whose gender is unknown as that has a negligible impact on the final numbers. For instance, if we include victims with unknown gender—which is done by UCR—78.8 percent of all victims were male. Excluding those, the percentage changes to 79.0 percent. For perpetrators, we also use percentages offered by the UCR, but there is a high number of perpetrators unknown gender. Therefore, the percentages are based on the total of perpetrators whose gender is known.

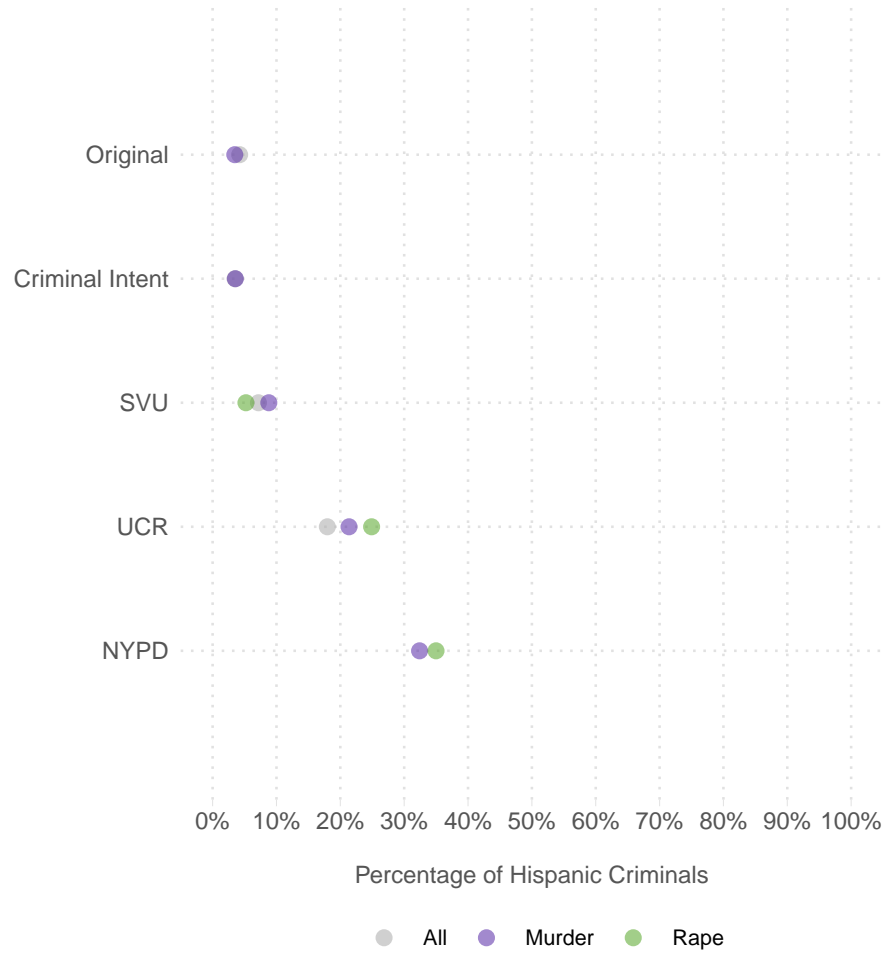
changed its definition of rape from ‘carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will’ to ‘Penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim.’ The new definition for the first time accounted for male rape. As we can see in Table SI 2.2, the change at best leads to a 1–2% change in proportion of rapists who are black. And accounting for that does not alter the substantive inferences in any meaningful way, as the average difference between the percentage of black rapists on Law & Order and in the real world is close to 25%.

Figure 1: Share of Black Criminals in Law & Order and the Real World



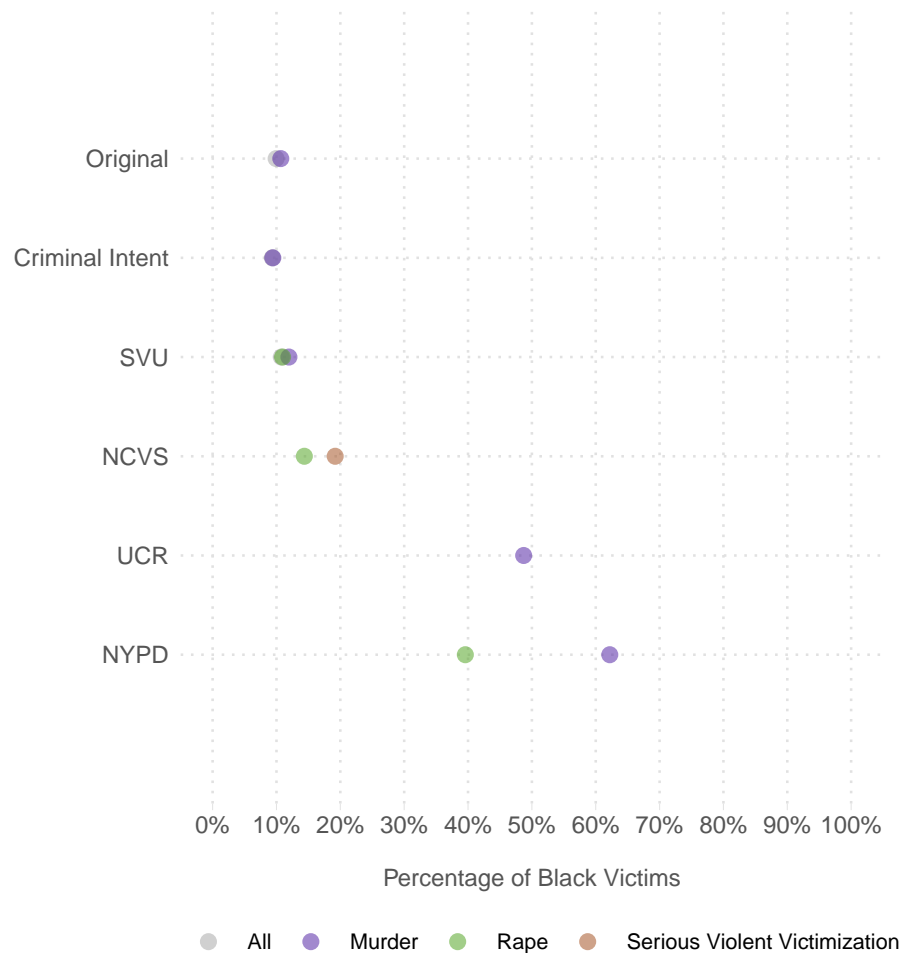
Not only were the perpetrators of crime overwhelmingly white, so were the victims (see Figure 3). Nearly 75%–85% of the victims depicted in all three shows were white. Compared to

Figure 2: Share of Hispanic Criminals in Law & Order and the Real World



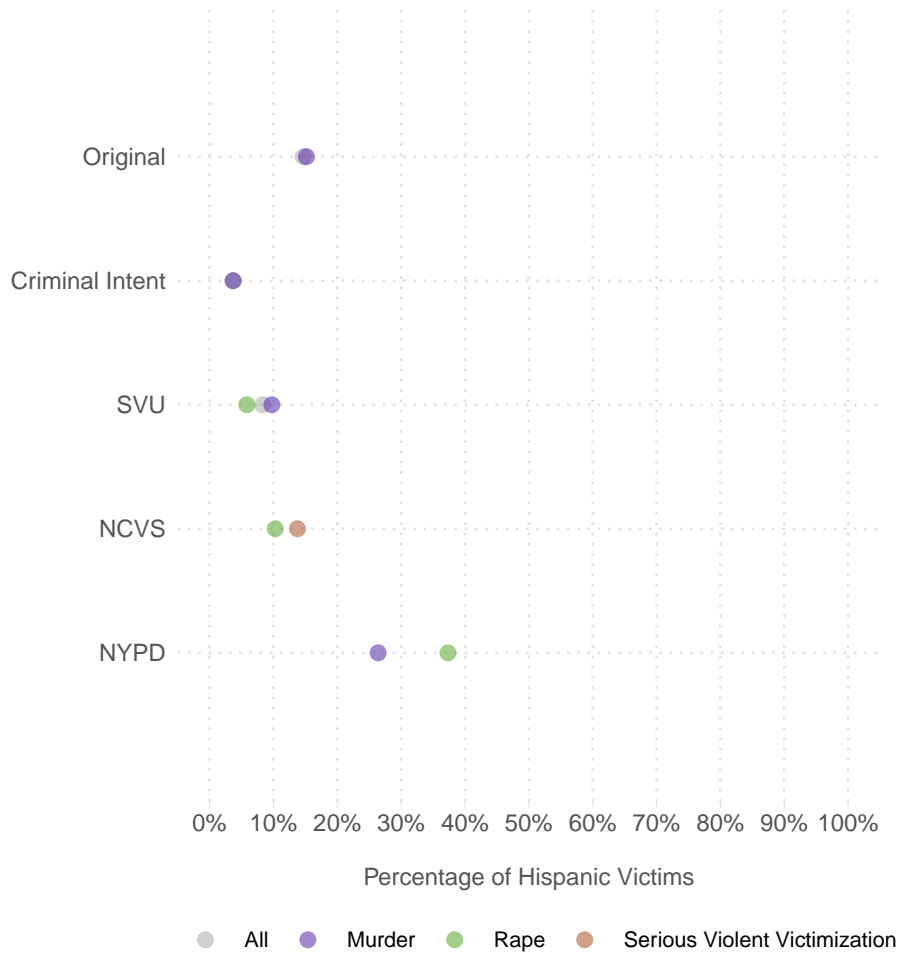
Law & Order, where only about 10 percent of the victims were black, the average percentage of black victims of a serious violent crime between 1999 and 2014 was 19.8%. Commensurate number for victims of sexual assault was 15.21%, for aggravated violence, 19.4%, and for murder, nearly 50% (see Figure 1). Underrepresentation of Hispanics was less dramatic, with real world shares of Hispanic victims of rape and murder 2–5 folds the share of Hispanic victims of same crimes on Law & Order. Splitting the data by year and tallying the percentage of victims who were black revealed no discernible time trend across shows (see Figure SI 1.2 and Table SI 2.1).

Figure 3: Share of Black Victims in Law & Order and the Real World



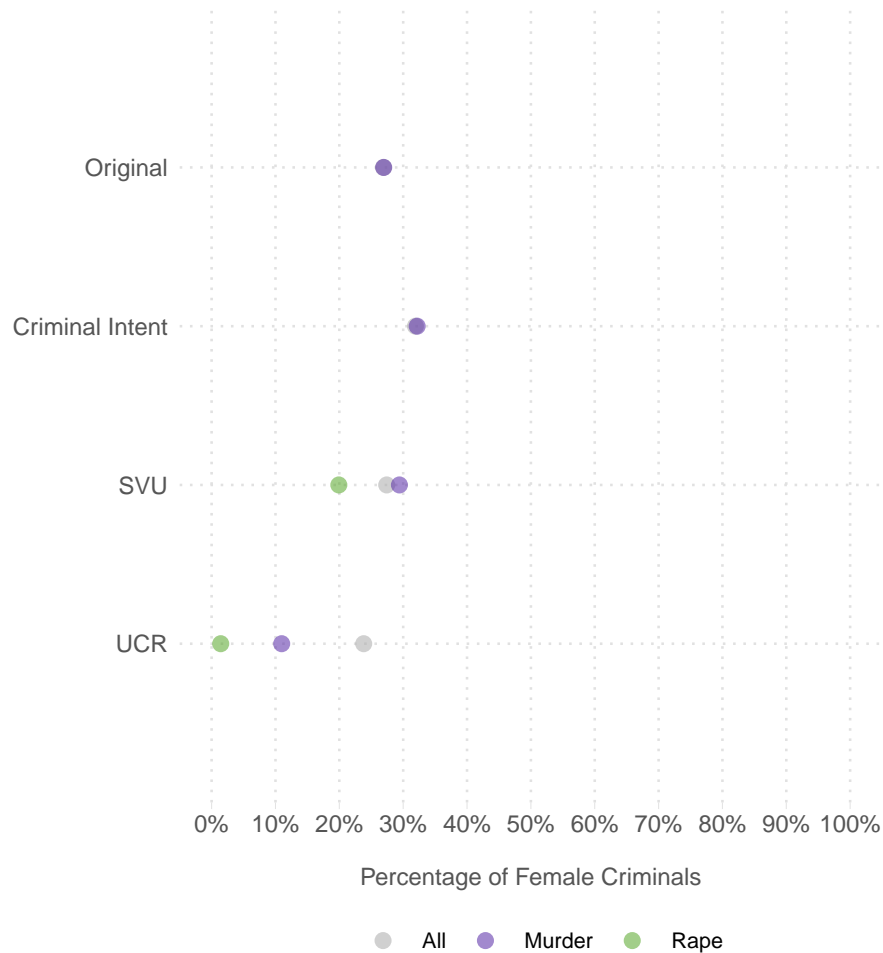
Moving to gender, nearly 30% of the criminals were women across the three shows (see Figure 5). While the percentage of criminals in episodes featuring murder was considerably

Figure 4: Share of Hispanic Victims in Law & Order and the Real World



higher, ranging between 40% (in Original) and 60% (in SVU). Once again, there was no distinct over time pattern in percentage of criminals who were men across the three shows (see Figure SI 1.3 and Table SI 2.4). The percentage of female criminals in the real world based on arrest data is lower—ranging from 11.1% of murderers to approximately 1.4% of rapists to nearly 18.4% for those arrested for a violent crime. But once again, we note the change in definition of rape in the UCR in 2012. The commensurate change in proportion of women rapists is approximately 1% (Table SI 2.4).

Figure 5: Share of Female Criminals in Law & Order and the Real World



When we looked at the gender of victims, there was an expected sizable variation across shows, with female victims constituting roughly 40% of all the victims on Criminal Intent and

Original and just over 60% on SVU (see Figure 6). Except for CI, where there appears to be downward trend post 2005, there was no discernible time trends in Criminal Intent and SVU (see Figure SI 1.4 and Table SI 2.3). In the real world, the percentage of victims of serious violent crime who are women is about 47%, while the percentage of female victims of rape or sexual assault is a distressing 89.2%, and for murder it is 22.5%. As is clear in Figure 6, SVU understates the percentage of female rape victims, and all the three shows show a much larger proportion of female murder victims than in the real world.

Figure 6: Share of Female Victims in Law & Order and the Real World



Discussion

Popular television is our bay window to the world. What we see on television likely has a sizable influence on how we think about the world. In particular, television programming likely influences how we think about crime, how common we think it is, especially in our communities, who we think perpetrates it, the reasons why criminals do what they do, who the victims are, the efficacy of the police and judicial systems, among other things.

In this essay, we shed light on whether a popular police procedural perpetuates adversarial stereotypes about blacks, and in doing so shed light on racial and gender imbalance in portrayal of criminals and victims. In line with other evidence (see Table 1), we find that contrary to worries about overrepresentation of blacks as criminals, whites are significantly overrepresented as perpetrators, and to a smaller degree, overrepresented as victims. We also find that women are overrepresented as criminals. These imbalances likely affect people's perceptions of who the criminals and victims are. For instance, naive but avid viewers of *Law & Order* may come to believe that the share of perpetrators and victims of crime who are white is substantially higher than it is. This, in turn, may shape their views about crime and policies that are likely to be most efficacious in reducing crime. For instance, they may become persuaded that greater policing of white neighborhoods is needed. Similar such shaping of policy consequential attitudes is easy to fathom.

Beyond its potential impact on policy attitude consequential beliefs, the racial and gender asymmetries also hint at the beliefs and motives of the writers and producers of the show. One potential reason for asymmetries may be that writers and producers are politically liberal. In particular, the writers and producers may have reasoned that the audience is liable to swap $p(\text{black}|\text{criminal})$ with $p(\text{criminal}|\text{black})$ (see, for instance, [Bordalo et al. Forthcoming](#); [Ahler and Sood 2016](#)) and altered race to address such concerns. Or the profit motive may have weighed in on their decisions. By exaggerating the share of white victims and criminals, they may have

thought that they would be able to instill greater fear (and thrill) in the white audience members. Or it may be something else entirely. Whatever the genesis of the decisions about race and gender of criminals and victims, our purpose in this essay was to merely describe the decisions. And that the racial and gender breakdown of victims and criminals on the show goes against conventional wisdom is likely worthy of notice.

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Supporting Information

SI 1 Percentage of Black and Female Criminals and Victims in Law & Order By Year

Figure SI 1.1: Race of Criminals in Law & Order Original, SVU, and Criminal Intent by Year

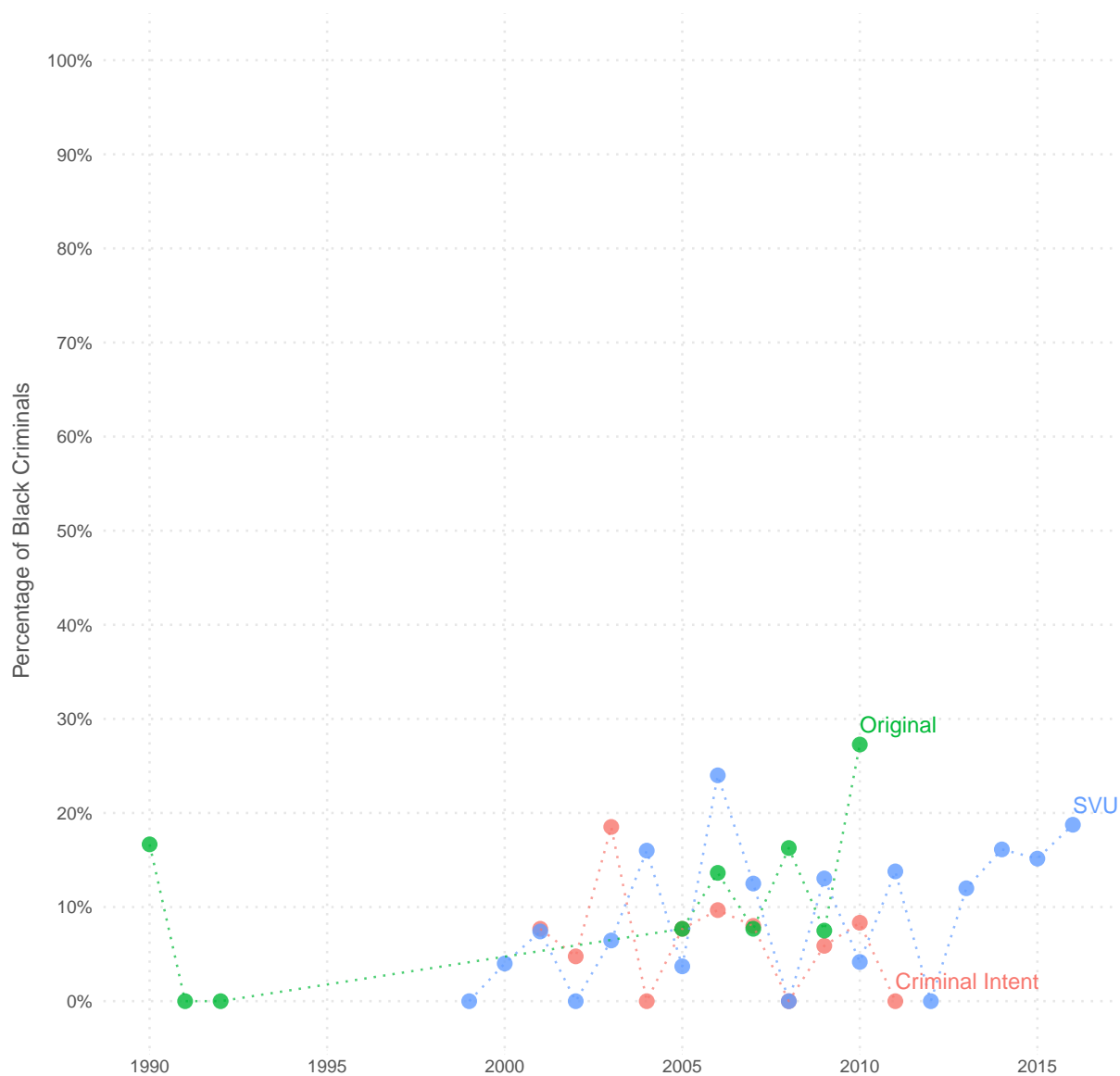


Figure SI 1.2: Race of Victims in Law & Order Original, SVU, and Criminal Intent by Year

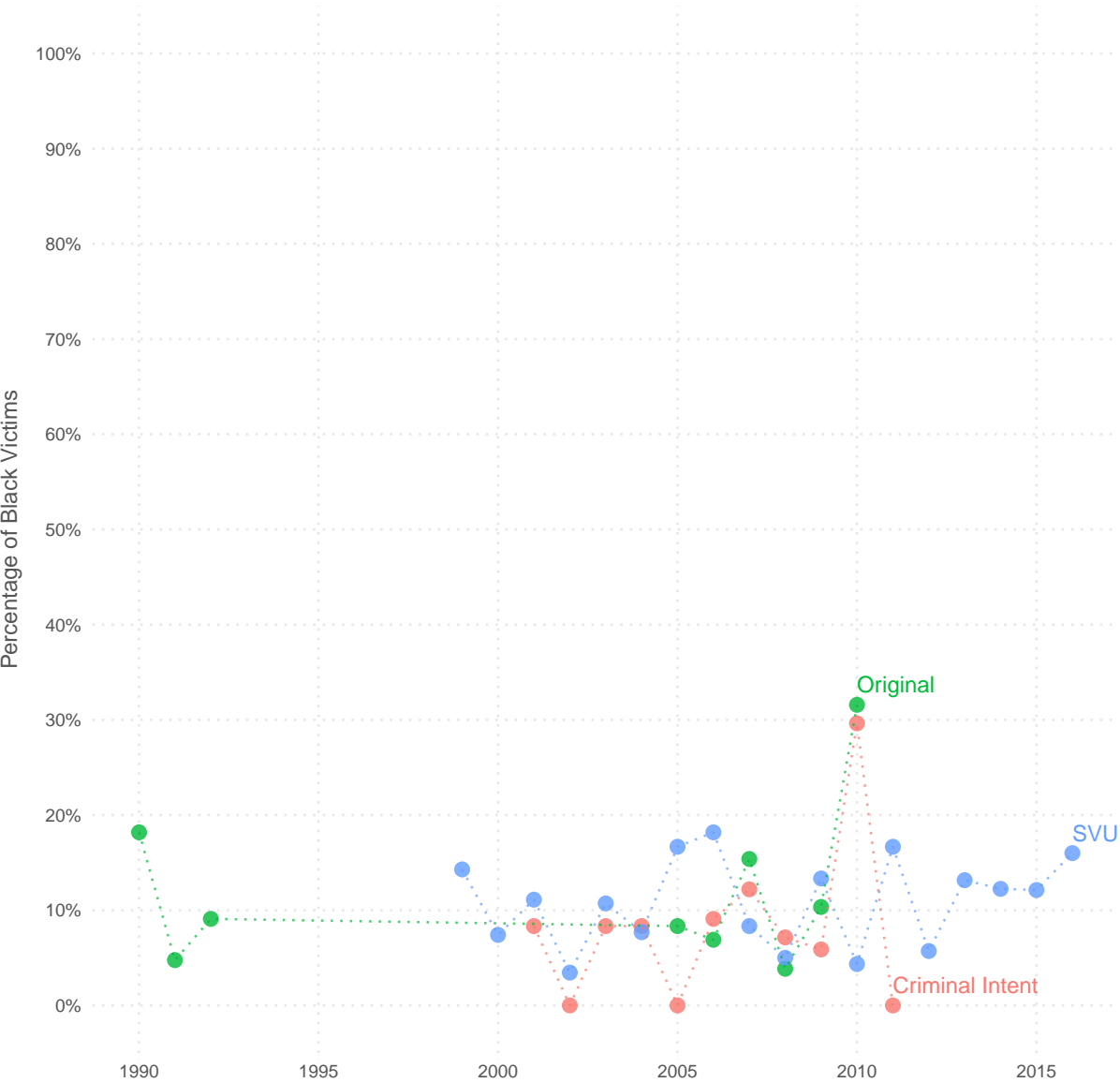


Figure SI 1.3: Gender of Criminals in Law & Order Original, SVU, and Criminal Intent by Year

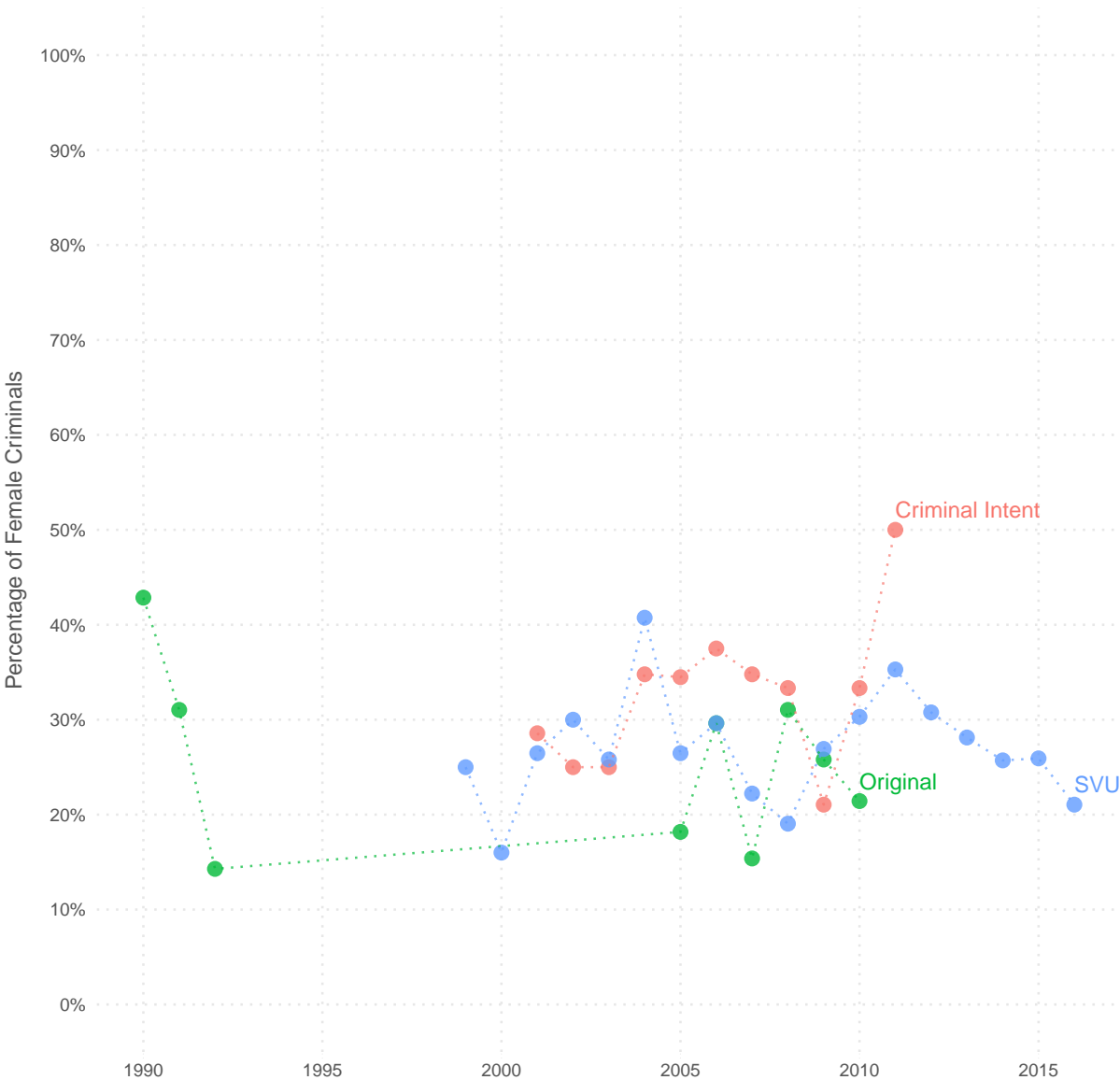
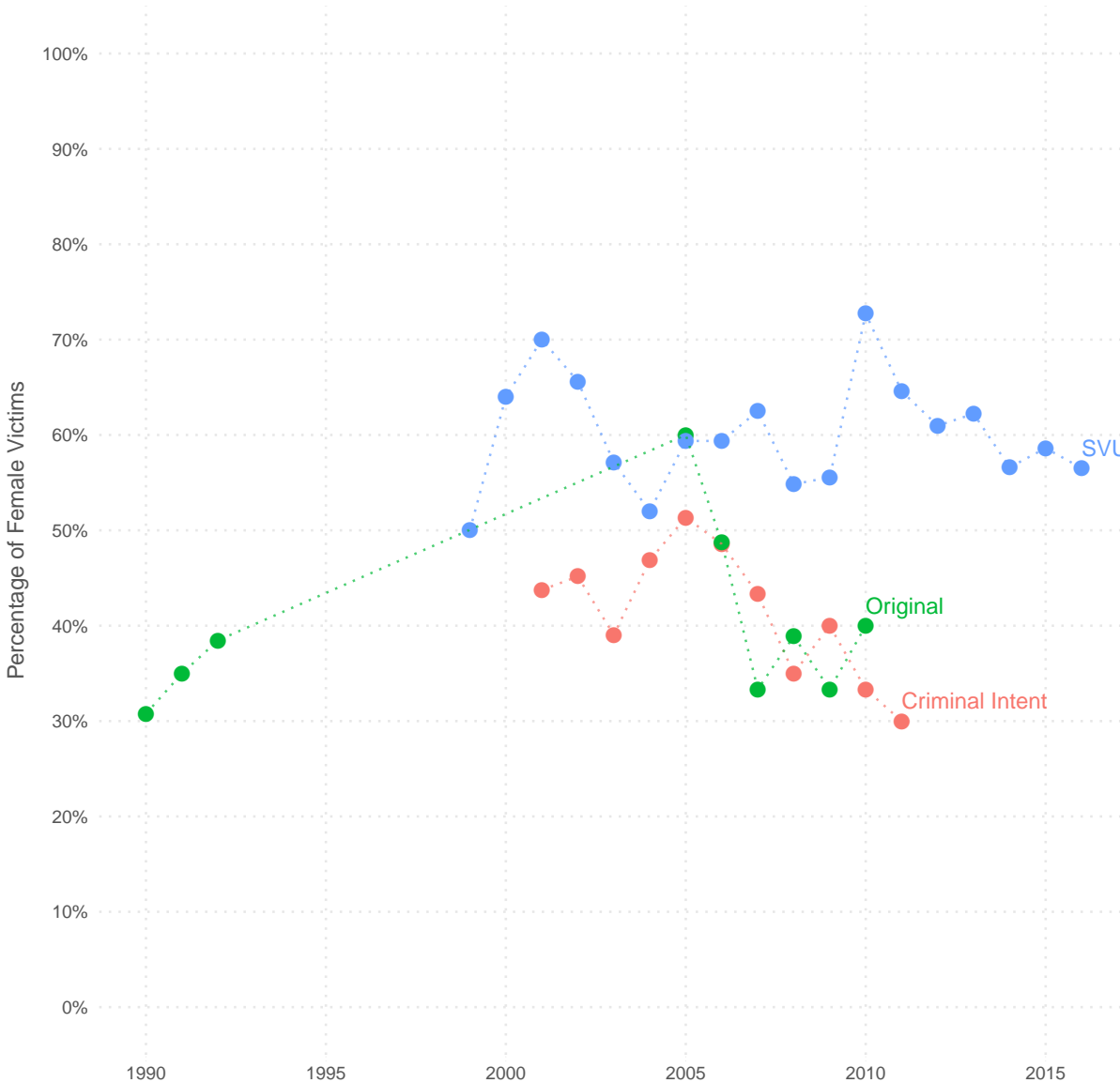


Figure SI 1.4: Gender of Victims in Law & Order Original, SVU, and Criminal Intent by Year



SI 2 Sex and Race of Criminals and Victims in Law & Order and the Real World

Table SI 2.1: Share of Black Victims in Law & Order, and the Real World, and Share of Blacks in the Population

Year	Law and Order			NCVS			NYPD			UCR		Census	
	Criminal Intent	Original	SVU	Serious Violent Victimization	Rape or Sexual Assault	Aggravated Violent Victimization	Homicides	Rape	Assault	Robbery	Murder Victims	US	NY
1990		18.2										12.0	28.8
1991		4.8											
1992		9.1											
1999			14.3	21.4	16.4	19.0					46.0		
2000			7.4	16.0	9.2	13.8					48.0	12.3	26.6
2001	8.3		11.1	19.5	22.1	18.9					47.0		
2002	0.0		3.4	22.1	27.3	22.2					48.0		
2003	8.3		10.7	15.2	7.4	12.6					48.0		
2004	8.3		7.7	20.0	19.1	16.7					47.0		
2005	0.0	8.3	16.7	20.7	24.9	21.8					48.0		
2006	9.1	6.9	18.2	21.8	18.9	27.8					50.0		
2007	12.2	15.4	8.3	24.9	6.3	24.2					49.0		
2008	7.1	3.8	5.0	19.2	16.3	16.4	62.1	40.6	47.9	30.5	48.0		
2009	5.9	10.3	13.3	26.3	12.7	24.2	57.6	40.5	46.7	31.0	48.0		
2010	29.6	31.6	4.3	19.1	12.2	21.1	67.0	40.9	46.9	31.7	50.0	12.6	25.5
2011	0.0		16.7	18.2	14.7	18.0	61.8	36.8	47.8	31.7	50.0		
2012			5.7	17.9	5.6	18.6	60.1	37.9	47.8	31.9	51.0		
2013			13.2	16.5	7.7	20.6	62.9	40.8	46.7	33.4	51.0		
2014			12.2	17.3	22.6	15.1	62.4	39.7	47.0	33.7	51.0		
2015			12.1				63.7	39.4	45.8	32.7	52.0		
2016			16.0										

Table SI 2.2: Share of Black Criminals in Law & Order, and the Real World, and Share of Blacks in the Population

Year	Law and Order			UCR					NYPD				Census	
	Criminal Intent	Original	SVU	All Crime	Violent Crime	Homicides	Rape	Assault	Homicides	Rape	Assault	Robbery	US	NY
1990		16.7											12.0	28.8
1991		0.0												
1992		0.0												
1999			0.0	28.6	38.7	51.8	36.2	34.8						
2000			4.0	27.9	37.8	48.8	34.1	34.0					12.3	26.6
2001	7.7		7.4	28.1	37.6	48.7	34.8	33.7						
2002	4.8		0.0	26.9	38.0	50.0	34.0	34.2						
2003	18.5		6.5	27.0	37.2	48.5	33.3	33.0						
2004	0.0		16.0	26.8	36.9	47.2	31.9	32.7						
2005	7.7	7.7	3.7	27.8	38.8	48.6	32.7	34.3						
2006	9.7	13.6	24.0	28.0	39.3	50.9	32.5	34.5						
2007	8.0	7.7	12.5	28.2	39.0	50.4	33.5	33.7						
2008	0.0	16.3	0.0	28.3	39.4	50.1	32.2	34.2	60.8	52.8	55.5	72.5		
2009	5.9	7.5	13.0	28.3	38.9	49.3	32.5	33.9	59.8	52.4	54.3	70.6		
2010	8.3	27.3	4.2	28.0	38.1	48.7	31.8	33.5	60.9	52.6	54.9	70.8	12.6	25.5
2011	0.0		13.8	28.4	38.3	49.7	32.9	33.6	56.3	48.8	56.3	70.6		
2012			0.0	28.1	38.5	49.4	32.5	34.1	53.7	50.5	55.9	70.6		
2013			12.0	28.3	38.7	52.2	31.3	33.9	55.0	53.0	55.9	69.7		
2014			16.1	27.8	37.7	51.3	29.9	33.1	59.8	49.3	55.3	70.6		
2015			15.2	26.6	36.4	51.1	28.2	32.1	62.1	51.2	52.4	69.2		
2016			18.8											

Table SI 2.3: Share of Female Victims in Law & Order and the Real World, and Share of Women in the Population

Year	Law and Order			NCVS			UCR	Census	
	Criminal Intent	Original	SVU	Serious Violent Victimization	Rape or Sexual Assault	Aggravated Violent Victimization	Murder Victims	US	NY
1990		30.8						51.3	76.3
1991		35.0							
1992		38.5							
1999			50.0	48.2	93.3	39.2	24.0		
2000			64.0	38.1	96.0	27.1	24.0	50.9	72.2
2001	43.8		70.0	49.0	90.1	41.1	24.0		
2002	45.2		65.6	49.3	86.6	44.0	23.0		
2003	39.0		57.1	50.7	94.0	41.6	22.0		
2004	46.9		52.0	45.4	97.6	37.1	22.0		
2005	51.4	60.0	59.4	40.1	92.7	39.3	21.0		
2006	48.6	48.7	59.4	47.4	77.6	42.5	21.0		
2007	43.3	33.3	62.5	46.5	95.5	39.0	22.0		
2008	35.0	38.9	54.8	54.9	88.7	47.2	22.0		
2009	40.0	33.3	55.6	49.4	93.5	45.0	23.0		
2010	33.3	40.0	72.7	52.5	94.4	43.2	23.0	50.8	71.4
2011	30.0		64.6	47.5	85.7	43.0	22.0		
2012			61.0	42.3	62.2	42.5	22.0		
2013			62.2	49.0	88.7	39.1	22.0		
2014			56.6	46.9	90.1	39.6	23.0		
2015			58.6				21.0		
2016			56.5						

Table SI 2.4: Share of Female Criminals in Law & Order, and the Real World, and Share of Women in the Population

Year	Law and Order			UCR					Census	
	Criminal Intent	Original	SVU	All Crime	Violent Crime	Homicides	Rape	Assault	US	NY
1990		42.9							51.3	76.3
1991		31.0								
1992		14.3								
1999			25.0	21.8	17.0	11.4	1.3	19.7		
2000			16.0	22.2	17.4	10.6	1.1	20.1	50.9	72.2
2001	28.6		26.5	22.5	17.3	12.5	1.2	20.1		
2002	25.0		30.0	23.0	17.4	10.8	1.4	20.2		
2003	25.0		25.8	23.2	17.8	10.3	1.3	20.7		
2004	34.8		40.7	23.8	17.9	11.5	1.5	20.8		
2005	34.5	18.2	26.5	23.8	17.9	11.0	1.5	20.8		
2006	37.5	29.6	29.6	23.7	17.8	10.9	1.3	20.7		
2007	34.8	15.4	22.2	24.2	18.2	10.2	1.1	21.3		
2008	33.3	31.0	19.0	24.5	18.3	10.8	1.2	21.5		
2009	21.1	25.8	26.9	25.3	18.8	10.4	1.3	22.0		
2010	33.3	21.4	30.3	25.5	19.5	10.9	1.1	22.6	50.8	71.4
2011	50.0		35.3	25.9	19.6	11.8	1.2	22.7		
2012			30.8	26.2	19.9	11.3	0.9	22.9		
2013			28.1	26.5	20.1	11.7	1.9	23.0		
2014			25.7	26.7	20.2	11.5	2.8	23.0		
2015			25.9	26.9	20.3	11.5	2.9	23.1		
2016			21.1							