

FROM THE USA TO THE ROK, CSI IS GETTING AIRPLAY: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE PRESENCE AND POPULARITY OF AMERICAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE DRAMAS IN NORTHEAST ASIA

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Abstract

Considerable research has focused on media presentations of crime and the criminal justice system in the United States, but little attention has been afforded to the popularity of American criminal justice dramas in foreign nations. This study utilizes a mixed methodological strategy to examine the availability and viewing of American criminal justice dramas (television programs and movies) in South Korea. An analysis of daily programming on several networks available in South Korea shows that American criminal justice television dramas such as CSI and American movies about crime and justice such as The Fugitive are frequently broadcast. An analysis of data obtained from a survey of South Korean college students shows that more than half the students watched an American criminal justice dramatic television program at least once and that more than one out of ten of the students watched American criminal justice dramatic programs on a regular basis. The implications of the data for future research are discussed.

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Introduction

The American public has long been fascinated by crime and the criminal justice system. In the early 1900s reports about crime, accompanied by crime scene photos, were common in the tabloids. By the mid-to-late 1900s new technologies allowed news agencies to provide live coverage of crimes in progress such as police pursuits, hostage situations, and searches for fugitives. The more sensational the crime, the greater the coverage with incidents such as the 1966 shootings at The University of Texas in Austin, the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, and the 1999 shootings at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado dominating the national television network news broadcasts. Similarly, crime and justice have long been staples of the American entertainment industry. Starting with Edwin Porter's 1903 silent short, *The Great Train Robbery*, and continuing to the present, the American public has flocked to theaters and tuned in to television broadcasts to be entertained by a cornucopia of cops and criminals. Many critically acclaimed films such as *Cool Hand Luke*, *The French Connection*, *And Justice for All*, *The Shawshank Redemption*, and *Seven* and numerous television series such as *Baretta*, *Columbo*, *Hill Street Blues*, *Ironside*, and *NYPD Blue* focused on criminals and criminal justice officials.

By the early 21st century televised criminal justice dramas became so popular that they spawned spin-offs. The drama *Law and Order* provided the foundation for *Law and Order: SVU*, *Law and Order: Criminal Intent*, *Law and Order: Los Angeles*, *Law and Order: Trial By Jury*, and *Law and Order: UK*, a crime drama set in the United Kingdom which targets British audiences. The drama *CSI* served as a blueprint for *CSI: New York* and *CSI: Miami*. Additionally, documentaries and reality shows about crime, criminals, investigations, incarceration, and trials such as *America's Most Wanted*, *COPS*, *Cold Case Files*, and *Gangland* have become common. One criminal justice drama, *NCIS*, served as the impetus for a spin-off drama, *NCIS: Los Angeles*, and a reality program, *The Real NCIS*. Given the scope of media presentations of crime and justice, it is no surprise that researchers have taken an interest in the subject and conducted analyses of phenomena such as the impact of the consumption of media presentations of crime on criminal behavior and fear of crime (Buckler & Salinas, 2009; Carpenter, Lacy, & Fico, 2006; Chermak, 1995; Dominick, 1973; Garofolo, 1981; Savage & Yancey, 2008; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004).

In contrast to the considerable interest in the effects American media presentations of crime and the criminal justice system may have on the American citizenry, scant attention has been paid to the increasingly global availability of American media presentations of crime and the criminal justice system which is unfortunate, considering the audience reached by American criminal justice dramas. Case in point, the criminal justice drama *CSI* and its spin-offs *CSI: Miami* and *CSI: New York* have been phenomenally popular. In 2006 the *CSI* programs were reportedly carried by 200 distributors around the world with a potential audience of approximately 2 billion people. That same year *CSI: Miami* was the most popular program in Germany (Europe's largest television market), France, and Italy, the second most popular program in Spain, and the third most popular program in Canada (Gilbert, 2007; Robertson, 2006; Ryan, 2006). Data from Eurodata TV

Worldwide showed that in 2007 *CSI* was the most popular program on the planet, with over 80 million viewers (The World is Watching, 2008).

While some reporters and market analysts have taken note of the global presence of American criminal justice dramas, academic and legal scholars have not shown much interest in this phenomenon. A search of several electronic databases yielded a single scholarly article which addressed the popularity of American criminal justice television dramas and reality shows in Canada (Dowler, Fleming, & Muzzatti, 2006). No studies pertaining to the viewing of American criminal justice dramas outside of North America were found. This research contributes to the literature by examining the availability and viewing of American criminal justice dramas in Northeast Asia.

Media Presentations of Crime and Criminal Justice: A Literature Review

When assessing the literature on American media presentations of crime and criminal justice, it is initially important to consider the typical content of such presentations. Research has documented a disjuncture between actual levels of crime in the United States and media presentations of crime, with the most violent and least common crimes (homicide in particular) being prominently featured in news and entertainment productions while the most common and least violent crimes (e.g., burglary, vandalism) receive scant attention (Chermak, 1995; Dowler, 2004; Gruenwald, Pizarro, & Chermak, 2009; Soulliere, 2003a; 2003b). With respect to the impact that media presentations of violent crime may have on the populace, research suggests there is a link between the viewing of violence and engaging in violent behavior. Although there is paltry evidence of a causal relationship between the viewing of violent entertainment and engaging in violent behavior, there is little debate that the consumption of violent imagery can affect behavior (Bushman & Anderson, 2001; Garofalo, 1981; Savage & Yancey, 2008; Sege, 1998). Research has also shown that the greater the exposure to media presentations of crime, the more likely an individual is to be fearful of crime (Chiricos, Padgett, & Gertz, 2000; Escholz, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2003; Romer, Jamieson, & Aday, 2003; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004).

Additionally, media presentations of the police may affect perceptions of the police, with negative coverage of police activity fostering negative attitudes toward law enforcement (Chermak, McGarrell, & Gruenwald, 2006; Dowler, 2002; Dowler & Zawilski, 2007; Eschholz, Blackwell, Gertz, & Chiricos, 2002). Media presentations of crime and criminal justice officials may also foster unrealistic expectations of criminal justice authorities (Ahern, 1972; Deutsch & Cavender, 2008). As the criminal justice drama *CSI* increased in popularity a number of prosecutors commented that juries had developed unrealistic expectations of the quality of evidence required to convict a suspect; a phenomenon termed the “*CSI* Effect” (Hughes & Magers, 2007; Mopas, 2007; Powell & Small, 2008; Stockwell, 2005). Kim, Barak, and Shelton (2009) conducted an empirical analysis of the relationship between viewing *CSI* and jurors’ willingness to convict suspects and found that jurors who frequently watched *CSI* expected scientific evidence be presented and were reluctant to convict suspects based on circumstantial evidence (also see Schweitzer & Saks, 2007).

In brief, crime and the criminal justice system are frequently featured by the media, and media presentations of crime and the criminal justice process have important ramifications. While there is a sizeable body of literature on this subject, most research has been conducted in the United States and little attention has been paid to the exportation of American criminal justice dramas to foreign nations. This study makes a small step toward addressing this gap in the literature.

Research Setting: American Entertainment in South Korea

The present data were gathered in the Seoul/Gyeonggi Province metropolitan area in the Republic of Korea, or South Korea as it is commonly known. South Korea has a population of approximately forty-nine million people, almost half of whom reside in the Seoul/Gyeonggi Province metropolitan area making it one of the most populous metropolises on the planet (Central Intelligence Agency, 2007). As to the availability of western entertainment in South Korea, prior to the latter decades of the 20th century there is no evidence that western entertainment was accessible by the general public. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as the South Korean populace struggled to develop in the aftermath of the Korean War, the nation was governed by the military. During the decades of military rule the importation of foreign films was restricted and the nation's motion picture industry floundered under government control and censorship. In the 1980s, as South Korea was democratically evolving, restrictions on imported films were lifted and the public flocked to theaters to be awed by movies from Hollywood and Hong Kong, the production quality of which was superior to that of the films released by the Korean motion picture industry which had atrophied under military governance. The South Korean government mandated a protectionist quota system requiring theaters to show indigenous films, but foreign films dominated the box office (Cummings, 1997; Eckert, Lee, Lew, Robinson, & Wagner, 1990; Paquet, 2007).

Upon first venturing to and residing in South Korea in the mid-1990s it was easy to find American movies in theaters, as American films were more popular than Korean films. However, American television programs were not broadcast with great frequency, the exception being the programming on AFKN (Armed Forces Korean Network); a channel operated by the U.S. military. Upon returning to and residing in South Korea a decade later the reverse was the case: Korean movies were prevalent in the theaters, but American media productions were easily accessible on television. The news channel CNN (Cable News Network) was available and several Korean and international channels inclusive of CGV (CJ Golden Village),¹ OCN (Orion Cinema Network), OCN Action, and Star World broadcast American programs and movies in English with Korean subtitles.

Star World featured talk shows such as the *Oprah Winfrey Show*, soap operas such as *General Hospital*, and American comedies and dramas, some of which were still in production such as *Grey's Anatomy* and some of which were no longer in production such as *Seinfeld* and *NYPD Blue*. The other networks, CGV, OCN, and OCN Action, featured a mix of Korean movies, American movies, an occasional European movie, and American television programs such as *Alias*, *House*, and *Law and Order: SVU*.² Of

particular interest for the present purposes, in June of 2006 OCN featured its first “*CSI Day*,” 24 hours of airtime devoted to *CSI* and its spin-offs. Also worth note, at the institution where this research was conducted, several Korean colleagues and students mentioned that American criminal justice dramas such as *CSI* and *24* were among their favorite programs.

Methodology

A mixed methodological approach, a combination of document analysis and survey research, was utilized to assess the presence and popularity of American criminal justice dramas. To examine the presence of American criminal justice dramas a document analysis was conducted. From August through December of 2006 the daily television guides in the *Korea Times* were collected. From the compilation of television schedules a random sample of 25 daily schedules was drawn (5 days from each month) and the programs and movies on OCN, OCN Action, and Star World were examined. The programming on CGV is not included in this analysis because the television guide provided in the *Korea Times* did not contain listings for CGV.

Owing to concerns about objectivity and the possibility of exaggerating the availability of American criminal justice dramas, a set of criteria for a program or film to be classified as an “American criminal justice drama” was devised. First, crime and some component of the criminal justice or intelligence apparatus had to be integral components of the film or program. Second, although the crimes and criminal justice operations featured in dramatic films and television programs are not often accurate portrayals of crime and the workings of the criminal justice system, it needed to be clear that efforts had been made to provide the film or program with a facade of realism. Finally, the film or program had to focus on crime and justice in the United States. This analysis excludes any film or program of a futuristic or science fiction nature such as the program *Alias* and the movie *Judge Dredd*, films and programs which featured individuals with supernatural abilities such as the program *Medium* and the film *Daredevil*, films which focused on criminals but few or no criminal justice officials such as *Pulp Fiction*, films which focused on crime outside of the United States such as *Clear and Present Danger*, and comedies which had crime and justice themes such as *Rush Hour 2*. Also excluded from the analysis was the program *Magnum P.I.* because it centered on a private investigator and the program *JAG* because of the focus on military justice rather than the criminal justice system.

Once the random television listings had been reviewed and the list of American criminal justice dramas which met the criteria had been compiled, a system was devised for estimating the time allocated to such dramas. This was necessary because the scheduled start and finish times were not always uniform. Dramatic programs were typically allocated an hour (e.g., begin at 09:00 and end at 10:00) but in a number of instances dramatic programs were allocated an hour and 10 minutes (e.g., start at 19:40 and end at 20:50) and in most instances a movie was allocated 2 hours but in a number of instances a movie was allocated more than 2 hours regardless of whether the movie was in excess of 2 hours (e.g., on Tuesday, September 19th *The Hot Chick*, which has a

runtime of about 105 minutes, was scheduled to begin at 14:30 and end at 17:00). It was not possible to ascertain whether such irregularities were due to extended commercial breaks, typing errors in the television guides in the *Korea Times*, or a combination thereof. To minimize the impact of such irregularities, a television drama was considered to consume 1 hour of broadcast time and a movie was considered to consume 2 hours of broadcast time. Using this system the total number of hours devoted to American criminal justice dramas per day per channel was tallied and the average for the 25 randomly selected days was calculated for each channel.

To assess the popularity of American criminal justice dramas surveys were administered to students attending a college in the Seoul/Gyeonggi Province metropolitan area. Owing to issues such as limitations on resources and the accessibility of classes, the student respondents were not randomly selected. The fact that the majority of students at the college were female was also a concern. To achieve some gender balance among the respondents, accessible courses in subjects which were popular among males such as internet commerce were purposively selected which yielded a sample of 223 students. Of those students 201 completed the surveys, with 22 cases being disregarded due to missing data. The usable sample consisted of a healthy mix of males and females (48.3% and 51.7%, respectively) who ranged in age from 19 to 28 with the average respondent being about 21 years old ($\mu=20.8$, $\sigma=1.75$). It is important to note, however, that South Koreans have a distinctive method of calculating age wherein the period of gestation (treated as roughly a year) is included when determining age. Hence, the mean respondent age is probably a year higher than would be the case if South Koreans calculated age using the mundane method wherein date of birth is the starting point.

In addition to demographic questions, respondents were asked about the viewing of American criminal justice television dramas.³ Specifically, respondents were asked how frequently they had watched the following American television programs: *24*, *Alias*, *CSI*, *CSI: Miami*, *CSI: New York*, *Law and Order: SVU*, *Medium*, *NCIS*, and *Numb3rs*. The list was compiled based on a review of the television listings in the *Korea Times*, occasional viewing of the channel CGV during which time note was taken of the titles of American crime and justice dramas that were broadcast, and conversations with Korean colleagues and students about which American programs they watched. Programs which were broadcast but never mentioned by Korean colleagues or students such as *Without a Trace* and *NYPD Blue* were not inquired about.⁴ Because the programs *Alias* and *Medium* did not satisfy the criteria for consideration as an American criminal justice drama, the data on these programs were excluded from the analysis.

To ascertain the viewing frequency of the aforementioned programs the following response options were provided: "Never," "1 Time," "2 or 3 Times," "4 or 5 Times," and "More Than 5 Times." The responses were coded as ordinal variables in accordance with the response options. Then a dichotomous dummy variable was created which differentiated between respondents who had and had not ever watched an American criminal justice drama. Next, the response options were assigned values ranging from 0 to 4—"Never"=0, "1 Time"=1, "2-3 Times"=2, "4-5 Times"=3, and "More Than 5 Times"=4—and each respondent's responses were tallied to provide a total viewing score

(Range: 0-28) and an ordinal classification system was created for viewing frequency of American criminal justice dramas. A respondent with a score of 0 was classified as having “Never Watched” an American criminal justice drama, a respondent with a score from 1 to 4 was classified as having “Rarely Watched” American criminal justice dramas, a respondent with a score from 5 to 8 was classified as having “Occasionally Watched” American criminal justice dramas, a respondent with a score from 9 to 12 was classified as having “Frequently Watched” American criminal justice dramas, and a respondent with a score of 13 or higher was classified as having “Regularly Watched” American criminal justice dramas.

The goal was to venture beyond an examination of the popularity of individual programs and consider the popularity of the American criminal justice dramatic genre. In the construction of the scale care was taken to avoid exaggeration of the popularity of the American criminal justice dramatic genre. For instance, even if a respondent reported having watched 2 of the programs more than 5 times (which indicates the respondent watches the programs with some regularity), the respondent’s total score would be 8 and the respondent would be classified as having “Occasionally Watched” American criminal justice dramas. To receive a score of 13 or higher and be classified as having “Regularly Watched” American criminal justice dramas, a respondent would have to indicate having viewed more than 3 of the programs.

Findings

The examination of the random selection of television guides from the *Korean Times* shows that American criminal justice dramatic movies and television programs were frequently broadcast (see Table 1). The average daily airtime devoted to American criminal justice dramas ranged from slightly more than an hour on Star World to almost 4 hours on OCN. The high daily average airtime devoted to American criminal justice dramas on OCN was the result of the regular featuring of American criminal justice dramatic films and frequent showing of *CSI*, *CSI: Miami*, and *CSI: New York*. OCN Action broadcast American criminal justice dramatic films, but did not feature American criminal justice dramatic programs during the time period analyzed. Analysis of the survey data (see Table 2) indicates more than half of the respondents had watched *CSI*, *CSI: Miami*, and *CSI: New York* at least once and more than 1 out of 5 of the respondents had watched each of the *CSI* programs more than 5 times. Roughly 1 out of 5 of the students surveyed had watched *24* and *NCIS* at least once with frequent viewing of the programs being less common. Among the dramas inquired about, *Numb3rs* and *Law and Order: SVU* proved least popular. Analysis of the viewing frequency categories shows that more than 1 out of 10 respondents regularly watched American criminal justice dramas and that almost 1 out of 5 frequently watched such programs. An examination of gender differences in the viewing of American criminal justice dramas (see Table 3) shows that a considerably higher percentage of males frequently watched American criminal justice dramas than was the case among females, but owing to methodological limitations (i.e., non-probability sampling, small sample size, small cell sizes) tests for statistical significance are not viable.

It is important to bear in mind the fact that efforts were made not to overestimate the presence or popularity of American criminal justice dramas and that the criteria for a film or program to be classified as an “American criminal justice drama” were conservative. If the analysis had included films which featured crime but not criminal justice officials such as *The Godfather*, films which focused on criminal activity outside of the United States such as *Clear and Present Danger*, movies and programs which featured paranormal or extraordinary activity such as *Alias* and *The Green Mile*, and programs which centered on private investigations such as *Magnum P.I.*, the results of the analyses would have been different in a couple of ways. The daily average airtime devoted to American criminal justice dramas and the percentage of respondents classified as frequent and regular viewers of American criminal justice dramas would have all been higher. In short, the finding that American criminal justice dramas are popular in South Korea is not an exaggeration.

Discussion

The methodological limitations of this study preclude an analysis of any potential effects of the viewing of American criminal justice dramas, but the finding that such dramas are readily available and frequently viewed has implications future scholars may wish to consider. First, it is possible that the frequent viewing of violent American criminal justice dramas may contribute to violent behavior among South Koreans. Next, there are the effects that viewing American criminal justice dramas may have on fear of crime. Because American criminal justice dramas focus on crime in the United States it would be illogical to expect residents of foreign nations who view such dramas to experience elevated levels of fear of crime in their homelands. However, the viewing of American criminal justice dramas by residents of foreign nations may affect fear of crime among such individuals in the event they immigrate to the United States.

Studies conducted in the United States have suggested fear of crime is especially high among immigrants (Ackah, 2000; Brown & Benedict, 2004; 2009). To provide a relevant example, Lee and Ulmer’s (2000) study of fear of crime among Koreans and Korean Americans in the Chicago area showed that Korean immigrants with limited acculturation were more fearful of crime than were Korean immigrants who were well acculturated and that, in comparison to Korean immigrants, Korean Americans born in the United States “were markedly less fearful of personal crime” (p. 1193). Taking into consideration the research which has shown that exposure to media presentations of crime may impact fear of crime, it is possible that foreigners who view American criminal justice dramas prior to entering to the United States will be especially fearful of crime upon entry to the nation.

Another question is whether exposure to American criminal justice dramas may deter immigration. Many young adults from South Korea (and elsewhere) desire to and advance their education by means of study in English-speaking nations such as Australia, Canada, England, and the United States. When deciding upon an English-speaking nation in which to study, people who have frequently watched American criminal justice dramas may opt to study somewhere other than the United States due in part to concerns about victimization.

An additional issue to consider is that the global presence of American criminal justice dramas may affect criminal justice practices. Some characters on programs such as *CSI* demonstrate great integrity in their quest to absolve innocent suspects and locate perpetrators of crimes. Given that policing and criminal investigation in many parts of the world are less advanced than in the United States, it is conceivable that exposure to the idealistic characters on programs such as *CSI* may encourage the citizenries of nations wherein unsavory law enforcement tactics are common to demand greater professionalism from law enforcement.

Conversely, many American criminal justice dramas feature criminal justice officials who are corrupt or willing to utilize combative methods to make arrests, gather evidence, and obtain confessions and it is possible that the widespread exposure to American criminal justice dramas may encourage law enforcement and intelligence agencies elsewhere in the world to utilize barbaric tactics. In an essay on the authorization of torture by the Bush Administration published in *Newsweek*, Lithwick (2008) suggested that characters featured in American criminal justice dramas encouraged American officials to utilize vicious counterterrorism tactics. Specifically, she argued that “the prime mover of American interrogation doctrine is none other than the star of Fox television’s ‘24,’ Jack Bauer” (Lithwick, 2008, p. 11; also see Semel, 2008). If, as Lithwick suggested, ideas advanced in fictional dramas infiltrated U.S. policy, it is plausible to suspect that the exportation of American criminal justice dramas may foster the utilization of inhumane security tactics by foreign governments.

Widespread viewing of the unsavory activities of fictional criminal justice authorities featured in American criminal justice dramas may also affect the ability of U.S. officials to advocate humanitarian reform. U.S. officials have a history of condemning brutal criminal justice practices in nations like China, Iraq, and Mexico and advocating reform in such nations. It is possible that such condemnations by U.S. officials will be viewed with skepticism by foreign populaces whose notions of American criminal justice officials are imbued by images of corrupt and thuggish criminal justice officials in American films and television programs. Case in point, during 2006 when the data for this project were gathered, the American criminal justice drama *The Departed* (which won several Academy Awards, inclusive of Best Picture) was shown at theaters in South Korea. The plot revolved around brutal and corrupt law enforcement officials and even the more honorable characters in the film such as Staff Sergeant Sean Dignam (played by Mark Wahlberg) utilized vicious methods, including murder, to achieve what they perceived to be justice. It would be naïve to disregard the possibility that the global availability of such dramas may impact the ability of the U.S. government to advocate humane treatment of suspects and criminals by foreign governments.

Finally, the global presence and popularity of American criminal justice dramas may impact foreign entertainment industries; an assertion for which there is some empirical support (Dowler, 2004; Dowler et al., 2006). To provide a relevant example, in 2008 the South Korean channel Super Action launched a new criminal justice drama, *KPSI* (Korea Police Scientific Investigation) which “aims to be the Korean version of top investigation series *CSI*” (Han, 2008, p. 3). If the South Korean entertainment industry continues to

emulate the American entertainment industry in such a fashion, the effects of exposure to media presentations of crime and the criminal justice system such as heightened anxieties about crime may surface in South Korea.

In summary, the presence and popularity of American criminal justice dramas in foreign nations may have a number of effects. However, as of this writing almost no scholarly attention has been devoted to the international popularity of American criminal justice dramas. The paucity of research on this subject and the limitations of the present data preclude conclusions from being drawn. More research is needed to ascertain whether the exportation of American criminal justice dramas to foreign nations will have any tangible impact on the populations exposed to such dramas.

Concluding Remarks

Consistent with news reports about the global popularity of *CSI* and its spin-offs (The World is Watching, 2008), this study indicates that *CSI* and its spin-offs are the most popular American criminal justice television dramas in South Korea, but the present research also demonstrates that *CSI* and its spin-offs are by no means the only American criminal justice dramas broadcast in South Korea. The analysis of the programming available on OCN and OCN Action indicates that American criminal justice dramatic films are allocated greater airtime than *CSI* and its spin-offs. However, this is an exploratory study and the limitations of the data do not allow for the identification or analysis of any effects the availability of American criminal justice dramas in South Korea may have.

As technology advances and as internet, cable, and satellite transmissions of information become increasingly used around the world, the international audience for American entertainment will likely increase. In the time which has elapsed since the data presented herein were gathered there have been indications that American criminal justice dramas have become increasingly present and popular in South Korea. A number of anecdotal reports suggested that American dramas have gained popularity in South Korea (Garcia, 2007; Han, 2008) and in 2009 OCN launched a new channel, OCN Series, which airs dramatic programs all day and includes a daily “*CSI* Time” during which either *CSI* or a *CSI* spin-off is broadcast (Han, 2009). As the global increase in popularity of American criminal justice dramatic entertainment is a recent phenomenon, the dearth of literature on this phenomenon is understandable but unfortunate. Hopefully, this study will provide some impetus for additional studies of the presence and popularity of American criminal justice dramas around the world and analysis of the social impact of the widespread consumption of such dramas. It would be a mistake for scholars interested in international comparative research and theory to ignore the global proliferation of American criminal justice dramas.

Endnotes

- 1.) The “CJ” in CJ Golden Village is not an abbreviation for a couple of terms. In 1995 the Cheiljedang company launched an entertainment division and in 1996 the company was renamed CJ Entertainment.
- 2.) Channel CGV also regularly featured blood sports: Namely, reruns of the best bouts from full contact hand-to-hand combat competitions such as *K-1* and *Pride*.
- 3.) The decision to inquire solely about television programs rather than television programs and movies was pragmatic. Compiling a list of every American criminal justice dramatic film which had been screened in theaters, broadcast on television, or was available on the internet or on DVD (legitimate or pirated) would not have been possible. In addition, asking respondents to list every American film they had seen which pertained to crime and some component of the criminal justice system would undoubtedly have been a futile exercise.
- 4.) In addition to the fact that no Korean colleagues or students mentioned older programs such as *Miami Vice*, some other indicators of a lack of popularity were also taken into consideration during the design phase of the survey when the decision not to inquire about such programs was made. Most importantly, typical time of broadcast was considered. Whereas newer programs such as *CSI* were often aired weeknights during prime viewing hours, older programs such as *Miami Vice*, *NYPD Blue*, and *Walker Texas Ranger* typically aired either Saturday afternoon or very late at night.

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Table 1: American Criminal Justice Dramas Broadcast on OCN, OCN Action, and Star World

Date	OCN			OCN Action		Star World	
	Programs	Movies	Hrs	Movies	Hrs	Programs	Hrs
Wed. 8/2/06	CSI: New York (3) Without a Trace (2)	-----	5	Basic	2	-----	0
Fri. 8/4/06	-----	Enemy of the State (2) The Fugitive	6	The Score	2	NYPD Blue Walker Texas Ranger	2
Thu. 8/10/06	CSI: New York (3) Without a Trace (2)	-----	5	Switchback Out of Sight Double Jeopardy	6	NYPD Blue	1
Fri. 8/18/06	-----	-----	0	Along Came a Spider The Negotiator Walking Tall	6	NYPD Blue (2) Walker Texas Ranger	3
Mon. 8/28/06	CSI (2) CSI: Miami (2)	The Score Color of Night	8	Murder at 1600	2	Third Watch	1
Fri. 9/1/06	-----	-----	0	The Negotiator	2	NYPD Blue (2) Walker Texas Ranger	3
Tue. 9/5/06	CSI (2) CSI: Miami (2)	Silence of the Lambs	6	Double Jeopardy	2	-----	0
Wed. 9/13/06	CSI: New York (3) Without a Trace (2)	-----	5	US Marshals	2	-----	0
Mon. 9/18/06	CSI (2) CSI: Miami (2)	Phone Booth	6	Basic	2	Third Watch	1
Tue. 9/19/06	CSI (2) CSI: Miami (2)	-----	4	Along Came a Spider Kiss the Girls	4	-----	0
Mon. 10/9/06	CSI: Miami (4)	15 Minutes Spartan	8	-----	0	Third Watch	1
Thu. 10/12/06	CSI CSI: New York (2)	-----	3	-----	0	NYPD Blue	1

Tue. 10/17/06	CSI (2) CSI: Miami (2)	Enemy of the State	6	-----	0	-----	0
Sat. 10/21/06	CSI: New York	-----	1	-----	0	Miami Vice	1
Sat. 10/28/06	CSI: New York	-----	1	-----	0	Third Watch Miami Vice	2
Mon. 11/6/06	CSI: Miami (2)	Internal Affairs	4	-----	0	Third Watch	1
Sun. 11/12/06	CSI: New York	-----	1	US Marshals	2	NCIS (2)	2
Tue. 11/14/06	CSI CSI: Miami	Phone Booth The Accused	6	-----	0	-----	0
Mon. 11/27/06	CSI: Miami (2)	-----	2	Palmetto	2	NCIS Third Watch	2
Thu. 11/30/06	CSI CSI: New York (2)	-----	3	The Fugitive Kiss the Girls	4	NYPD Blue	1
Mon. 12/4/06	CSI: Miami (2)	Silence of the Lambs	4	Palmetto	2	Third Watch	1
Thu. 12/7/06	CSI CSI: New York (2)	-----	3	The Fugitive Kiss the Girls	4	NYPD Blue	1
Sat. 12/16/06	CSI: Miami	-----	1	The Fugitive	2	NCIS Third Watch Miami Vice	3
Sun. 12/17/06	CSI: Miami	-----	1	The Fugitive (2)	4	NCIS (2)	2
Tue. 12/19/06	CSI (2)	-----	2	Walking Tall	2	-----	0
Daily Average (Hrs)			3.64	Daily Average (Hrs)	2.08	Daily Average (Hrs)	1.16

Note: Numbers appearing in parentheses indicate number of times program or movie aired.

Table 2: Viewing of American Criminal Justice Dramas by Program

Name of Program	Number of Times Viewed				
	Never	1 Time	2-3 Times	4-5 Times	More Than 5
CSI	45.1%	11.2%	16.5%	6.3%	20.9%
CSI: Miami	46.8%	9.8%	13.2%	6.8%	23.4%
CSI: New York	44.7%	13.6%	16.5%	3.4%	21.8%
24	80.0%	6.8%	7.3%	1.5%	4.4%
NCIS	82.0%	7.3%	3.9%	3.9%	2.9%
Numb3rs	95.1%	2.9%	1.5%	0.5%	0.0%
Law and Order SVU	91.3%	3.9%	3.4%	1.0%	0.5%

Table 3: Gender and Viewing of American Criminal Justice Dramas

	Male		Female		Total	
<u>Ever Viewed</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	60	61.9	68	65.4	128	63.7
No	37	38.1	36	34.6	73	36.3
Total	97	100	104	100	201	100
	Male		Female		Total	
<u>Viewing Frequency</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
Regular	12	12.4	13	12.5	25	12.4
Frequent	24	24.7	14	13.5	38	18.9
Occasional	9	9.3	19	18.3	28	13.9
Rare	15	15.5	22	21.2	37	18.4
Never	37	38.1	36	34.6	73	36.3
Total	97	100	104	100	201	100